In every form of organized society the education of the young is regarded as the principal means of maintaining and enhancing the social heritage of the community as well as inculcating the bringing about the all-round development of the individual. This social heritage consists of the accumulated experience of the community in the form of knowledge, skills, and techniques, and values of value. Though the educational process helps the individual to develop in such a way that he treasures his heritage and does contribute to its further development. Understood in the broadest sense of the term, education represents the instrument through which the community achieves its survival in the environment in which it lives its life, because the circumstances and conditions under which it has to live are seldom static but are constantly changing. Its environment both natural and social.

Successful adaptation demands that the community must be on the lookout for any changes which require to be made in its educational system. Hence necessary changes must make the decay.

In most civilized countries education is rightly regarded as a national undertaking which contributes in the national interest. It should not be left to the individual family or to a section of the community, with its limited resources, to undertake. Instead, an effort is required to ensure that, within the limits of its resources, the nation as a whole, education is placed within the reach of every national or potential citizen of the country. Especially is this the case in countries which lay claim to being democratic, because the democratic form of government in which every adult citizen is expected to take an intelligent interest in the development of his country cannot be satisfactorily conducted in circumstances where the majority of the population is in a state of ignorance and general backwardness. In other words in the most civilized countries, education of the people is looked upon as an investment which is expected to yield rich dividends for national wellbeing, progress and well-being.
On the other hand, the interest of the nation those who wield power in the nation in the education of the masses is not always as altruistic or as disinterested as they would like us to believe. They are always concerned to see that the educational system does not disturb the power relations which obtain in the community. They know that education is not necessarily a panacea for all the ills of a community, but that on the contrary it can be a supreme destroyer of both solidarity and tractability. Experience shows that it appears to be much easier and safer to dominate an undereducated section of the population than to try to do so with an enlightened community. For that reason the dominant sections of the a community always deny the dominated sections the right to education or if they do not withhold it altogether do as little as is consistent with the maintenance of the status quo in the society concerned. Subject races on the other hand always regard education as a matter of vital concern to them as constituting one of the best weapons of the downtrodden and oppressed against exploitation and domination. For that reason anything which is calculated to subject races will make any sacrifice called for from them in order to give their children a measure of education, and will oppose most strenuously anything which in their view is calculated to undermine the education of their children.

In the light of these considerations let us review the position of the education of the African in the Union of South Africa?
It will be remembered that when Union was achieved in 1910, the South Africa Act in which the Constitution of the Union of South Africa is to be found, distributed various powers between the various organs of Government founded for the Constitution, i.e., the Union Government and the provincial councils. The subject of education the Act had shown that was by that Act divided into two categories, namely (a) higher education and (b) education lower than higher. The Act provided that "higher education" would be the responsibility of the Central i.e., the Union Government, while "education lower than higher" would be the responsibility of the provincial Administrations. It would appear from the terms of the South Africa Act that it was probably contemplated that the control of all education would eventually be entrusted to the Union Government because "education lower than higher" was entrusted to the provincial Administrations for five years and thereafter until Parliament should decide otherwise. Since Union became, of all the functions entrusted to the provincial Administrations—judicial, rural, local government and "education lower than higher"—the last has developed into the most important, and all attempts to develop the provincial Administrations into a "control of all education lower than higher" have proved abortive, except in the case of African education as we shall see. Indeed, this educational function has probably become the principal status of the provincial Administrations.

In the South Africa Act no special mention was made of African education as such. At that time African education consisted mainly of primary education; secondary education for Africans was then provided at only one place in the Union (the Indelbok Missionary Institution, which incidentally had also, until 1911, been an education for some of South Africa's most illustrious white citizens). Higher education for Africans was then non-existent. The establishment of an institution for the higher education of education which had been recommended in the Report
of the Intercolonial Conference of 1903-5 still lay in the future. Thus as African education at that time consisted entirely of "education No. then higher," it was assumed that those engaged in the education of the Africans would have to look to the province for financial support and administrative direction and control. The Union Government had no direct connection with African education and did not regard it as in any way a national undertaking. It was a matter for taking care of, white people, because it deserved the highest commendation and approval.

Neither of the two white Natives nor any white person in character, or in some cases, and according to other white people, the white people's highest commendation because it taught Natives "book learning" and made them "chicke". At all events it was not a State undertaking, although it might be State aided. The position was different with Native administration. This was regarded as a State function, required urgent help, made it in the South African Act. It was by that Act entrusted to the Central Government, and a special Department, the Native Affairs Department, was set up to deal with the important matter of developing a uniform Native Policy and to administer laws especially affecting Natives. In other words, it was thought that it was done at the time of Union, the education of the African came within the scope of the term "Native Affairs". Perhaps it was by accident rather than design that African education at that time escaped from the clutches of the Central Government. Thus the position remained from 1910 until 1925. At this stage, that is the Provincial Council was beginning to feel the burden of the Native Act of the service which they had been entrusted with directly, but, as it was by implication. The needs of this service were expanding more and more rapidly and the demands of Africans for education were becoming more and more insistent. The Provincial argued that they
could only meet increased expenditure on African education by
exposing additional taxation on the African population or by
pressing on the responsibility to the Union Government. It is
not necessary for us to go into the details of the struggle between
the Provincial Councils and the Union Government over the portion
of ultimate responsibility for financing African education. Sufi
it to say that it was under the Financial Relations Act 5 of
1922 that the Union Parliament deprived the Provincial Councils
of the power to tax the farming incomes and property of Africans and
resorted to itself. Resuming this power it itself undertook to make
itself responsible for finding the necessary funds for the expansion
of African education.

But where the Union Parliament tackled the problem of raising
the necessary funds it produced a scheme which preserved the
conception that African education was not a State function. The
not only did the scheme get in fact fail to provide room for
expansion but it inaugurated the further disadvantage of introducing
into this field the unwieldy principle from the point of view of public
finance of financial segregation. Under this scheme the
which was introduced by the Native Corporation Development Act 41
of 1925, the Africans were expected to provide the sums required
for the expansion of their education. The Native Corporation and
Development Act provided for the imposition upon all the African
m akers between the ages of 15 and 65 of a specific tax of 25. The
proceeds of the tax were to be divided up as follows:

(1) four fifths of the proceeds were to be paid into the Contributed
Revenue Fund

(2) One fifth of the proceeds were to be paid into a Native Development
Fund to be established under the Act.

The Native Development Fund was to be further augmented
by an annual block grant of £40,000, representing the
money spent by the Provincial Councils on Native Education
in the year 1921-22. The formula for the financing of
African education had become £240,000 plus one fifth of the proceeds of the Special Tax paid by Africans. It was hoped that with the steady increase in the number of taxable Africans, the Native Development Fund would be able to meet the demands upon it, and at first it looked as if these hopes might be realized. The finances of African education passed to the Union Government, with the Ministry of Native Affairs as the managing agency, acting by and with the advice of the Native Affairs Commissioner, responsible for the management of the proceeds of Native Development Fund, while the day-to-day administration and control of African education remained vested in the Provincial Administrations.

For a time it looked as if African education had entered upon a new era of progress. Whereas prior to 1925 the educational system had been hampered by lack of funds, owing to its dependence for funds upon school fees, local contributions by the African people and the meagre resources of missionary societies, had been laboriously struggling along, at a snail's pace as it were, hopes ran high that the entrance of the Union Government into this field would quicken the pace of things. In the first ten years enrolment in African schools went up by leaps and bounds; primary and secondary schools were opened, more teachers were employed; secondary school departments were started at the leading African educational institutions, a new scale of teachers was adopted, the 1928 scale which was the implementation of which did not go beyond the first note, for the simple reason that the limits of the formula were reached sooner than had been anticipated. The increase in the proceeds of the Poll Tax—the only flexible part of the source of revenue of the Native Development Fund—did not keep pace with the increasing demands of the service. Short of devising an entirely different formula, it soon became clear that the only alternative for the Government in order to meet the pressing needs of the service, was to surrender
more and more of the proceeds of the Poll Tax which were supposed to go into the Consolidated Revenue Fund. These losses were gradual but inevitable, in any realistic approach to the problem. Beginning in 1935 it continued until 1940 when the club of the proceeds of the Poll Tax had to be paid into the Development Fund to meet the cost of African education; but even that amount together with the block grant of £40,000 led by then becomes totally inadequate to meet the ever growing needs of this service.

In the meantime the system of dual control initiated by the Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925—namely financial control and administration of African education with the Union Government providing and distributing the funds for this service through the Native Affairs Commission—had continued, but on all sides severity there were misgivings about the system.

The financial Councils complained about the system on the ground that they could not carry out this important part of their constitutional functions with the inadequate funds furnished by the Union Government. The Native Economic Commission of 1925-26 on which the Native Affairs Commission was strongly represented condemned the system on the ground that "in view of the peculiar nature of African Education" they regarded it "as essential that it should be controlled from one source" and considered that "the time had come for vesting the superintendence of it in an officer of the Union Government." The other departmental Committee on Native Education of 1925-26, which was specially empowered among other things to investigate and report upon the very pressing report against the existing system and recommended that

(a) Native Education be transferred from the control of the Provinces to that of the Union Government

(b) the administration and financing of Native Education be discontinued from the Native Affairs Department (including the Native Affairs Commission) and be placed with the Union Education Department. The Native Affairs Commission did not take these recommendations lying down and opposed them most vigorously in a report— Native Affairs Commission Report 1926—which gave rise to a great deal of controversy.
There followed a regular tug of war between the Provincial Council, the Native Affairs Department and the Union Education Department over the function of the control of African education. For the Provincial Councils the issue developed into a constitutional one involving the delicate problem of the possible diminution of powers granted to them under the sixth Native Act; for the Native Affairs Department it developed into a question of Native policy also entangled to it under that passed act, the sixth Native Act; for the Union Education Department the matter was partly a professional question e.g. education pure and simple and partly one of sound public finance, namely that the body which is accountable for money should control its spending. After nearly ten years of public discussion in which time practically all shades of opinion were canvassed or expressed their views about the matter, a compromise solution was arrived at and embodied in the Native Education Finance Act of 1945. In the terms of this Act certain important principles and potentials for reaching inflections were adopted. Once, the finances of African education ceased to be geared to the proceeds of the Poll Tax and the Union Government assumed responsibility for providing the necessary funds for African education from General Revenue. African education seemed well on the way to becoming a national undertaking, a State responsibility, in the same way as Education, Public Health or Social Welfare. Education responsibility for this purpose would no longer have to be limited like the Poll Tax service to the proceeds of the Poll Tax imposed on Africans but could look to the Consolidated Revenue Fund for support. It was realized of course that even the resources of the Consolidated Revenue Fund were not inexhaustible and that funds available for African education would be limited by the demands of the State services, but it was hoped that those interested in African welfare that as the full implications of this step came to be appreciated and developed, African education would in fact as well as in theory be freed from the procrustean bed in which
at held been confined for so many years. The assumption of
pragmatic responsibility for African education by the Union
Parliament meant of course that African education would now
be thrown into the arena of party politics, and from the very
outset it seemed doubtful whether members of Parliament
were to regard themselves as in no way responsible
to or for the African public and find it possible to adjust to
the new situation and learn to think of the province
of African education otherwise than in terms of the direct taxation
response imposed upon Africans. The learning process before
the Union was much more predictable than that
of children of school age, as we shall see.

Secondly under the Native Education Finance Act of 1945, instead
of the Ministry of Native Affairs set up by and with the advice of the
Native Affairs Commission, the accounting officer for African
Education became the Minister of Education acting with the
advice of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education
established under the Act and on which the Union Government,
the Provincial Administrations, the Mininirs of the African people
were represented.

Finally, mention must be made of the fact that the Native Education
Finance Act did not eliminate the counterfactually element of
dual control from African education. The management and direct
supervision of African schools remained in the hands of the
Provincial Administrations. It was doubtful whether the companies
on the matter of administrative control would stand the test of time
especially when it was borne in mind that there was a third
by no means negligible factor to be reckoned with in the control
of African education, namely the Christian Missionary who owned
and controlled to a large extent the vast bulk of the schools
for African children. The three less
been carried out.

African education have been managed for many years have
been the Mission for the initiation and management of schools.
the financial administration for administrative direction and
supervision, and the Union Government for financial grants in aid.
Of these three legs two, namely the Union and the Financial
Administrations, had been standing all the time, but the
third leg — the Union Government — had been rather weakly, in
that from 1925 to 1945 it was represented by the Native Affairs
Department, and from 1946 to 1952 it looked as though it was charged to the
since Union Education Department and 1953 with the passage of
the South Education Act it changed back to the Native Affairs
Department. No wonder there are doubts on many quarters as to
whether this third leg is one which can be depended upon.

The Government educated the population of the Union Education Act
entirely. Of that, more anon.

It must not be supposed that while this wrong step
over the control and financing of Education had been
proceeding, things had remained static in the field of African
education. That would have been contrary to the spirit of those
who had been engaged in the work of uplift of the African people.

While those primarily responsible for what progress has been
made in African education, namely, the African people themselves
and the Missionaries, had been to live a hard and monotonous
life in the fourth corner of the world, they had not been deterred by
difficulties nor had they been deterred from their endeavors
by the common reply to their representatives to the public
authority, "No funds available." With faith and determination
self-sacrifice and devotion to duty, they had embarked upon new developments, started schools of the old type and
new schools of new types. While continuing their plea for
the provision of better facilities for the education of African
children, they had not folded their arms and waited for
something to turn up. They had worked together whatever they
could, their hands, they had begged and borrowed, saved
and economized and with what they had been able to gather
they had carried on in dilapidated buildings with the best
minimum of equipment or material—a veritable case of making bricks without straw. They had made mistakes of which they had been much more conscious than those who had merely looked on and passed by on the other side, but they had also had the consolation of notable achievements to their credit. Having regard to the obstacles which they had encountered, those who had been engaged in the education of the African people could well be proud of the by no means unimpressive results achieved to date. Today when it is becoming so common for people who have never been inside an African school to boast that themselves on the back for the evangelization and the educational development which has taken place among Africans and to boast about how far ahead of the territories in Africa the Union is in this regard, it is obligatory for us to consider those who for generations bore the brunt of bringing about this state of affairs.

One who is inclined to lay undue emphasis upon the amount of money voted for African education by the Union Parliament may have to be reminded that this educational system does not live by money alone but by the spirit and the ideals inspiring those responsible for its conduct. As is often said these days when everybody is bowing the knee to the good golden calf, it is just as well for us to recall that people have been known to prefer martyrdom to idol worship. Although the African people and the Africans do not appear to possess the financial resources with which to carry on the vast services which have been built up in the field of African education and therefore appear to be wholly at the mercy of the Government in the situation created by the Bantu Education Act, it must not be supposed that they will not be prepared to put up with anything which is handed out to them.
This brings me to a consideration of the Native Education Act. The passing of this Act by the Union Parliament has caused a great deal of concern not only among African people but also among all those who have the interest and the welfare of the African people in particular and of South Africa in general at heart. The implementation of the Act and the regulations for publication in terms thereof, as well as the provisions contained in the Act and in the regulations framed undertake that the issues involved are in danger of becoming confused. What the Native Education Act professes to do which has caused so much opposition in so many quarters? The Act itself is a very short Act, consisting altogether of only 12 sections. It is a dangerous thing for a lawyer dealing with such an important subject affecting the lives of millions of people to be embroiled in such a brief document. This necessarily means that much of the law relating to that subject will be embodied in delegated legislation in the form of regulations and other administrative orders which do not receive the close scrutiny usually associated with an Act of Parliament. Such an Act is not to entrust too many much power to the department entrusted with the administration of the Act. This is of course much more dangerous in a situation such as this where the Union of South Africa, where the people affected by the Act are so inadequately represented in the Legislature. But that is by the way. Africans in the Union are already subject to many administrative laws in so many aspects of their lives that perhaps it would have been too much to expect Parliament to depart from this pattern in dealing with African education.
On the subject of the machinery set up under the Act the following points are worthy of note:

(a) the Act amends the South Africa Act by making "native education" together with "higher education" the responsibility of the Union Government. At last native education has qualified for special mention in the South Africa Act. (S. 16). This means that

then the provincial administrations have at last been divorced of their administrative direction and supervision of native education and can no longer put forward any constitutional argument for the retention of control over native education. As this was done with some haste their concurrence, it may be taken that no these need be shed over that point.

(b) The Department of Native Affairs will in future be responsible for both the administrative control and the financing of native education (S. 16(4) read together with Ss. 6, 7-8)

(c) The Act contemplates the closer association of the native people with the education of their children through the establishment of native community schools to be managed locally. school be in the hands of "any native authority or any native council, tribe or community" subject to such special conditions as the Minister may prescribe (S. 6)

(d) The native Act also contemplates the gradual elimination of mission control of native schools and the transfer of such schools either into Government reserve schools or native community schools through the limitation of the subsidies that will be available for such mission schools. If such native desire it remains something like the measure of control and management they primarily enjoyed.

To the uninitiated this new arrangement might at first glance appear as a step forward for reasons which have been a frequent aid in trouble to information officers who have tried to put across the native Education Act in meetings with the native people. Here are:
(a) It does away with the dual control of, as between the Provincial Administrations and the Union Government, which has characterised African education since 1925. The Union Government alone will be responsible for both the administration and the financing of African education.

(b) As regards local management of schools, it will make possible the transfer of the schools from the missions to the African people themselves. But the old saying that appearances can be very deceptive is no where truer than in African affairs in both Africa. Africans are accustomed by now to having to deal with schemes which look like the innocent flowers but harbour a sapient underneath.

Initial satisfaction with the apparent redress of grievances which they have expressed so often followed by the realisation that they have lost more than they appear to have gained. What is the position as far as the Native Education Act is concerned?

In the first place, the institutional formation of African education is to merge with higher education because of doubtful prosperity when it is found that it is accompanied by a separation or is mingled with that "higher education" will remain under the roof of the Union Education Department while African education will have to consort with the Native Affairs Department. Now the African people are not particularly enamoured of the Native Affairs Department. This is not the fault of the Department as such but of those who have entrusted it with the administration of all the democratic laws affecting Africans. Practically, anything in this country which acts as a brake on African progress or sets a limit to African aspirations is which is a violation of the African spirit has to be handled by the Native Affairs Department. The result is that its officials have in the main to be "tough guys" with strong arms, sharp tongues, gloomy faces, but no imagination and none of the
The milk of human kindness. Education is a matter of the spirit or which there is no place for the provincial bully, and the child cannot be carried on in an atmosphere of threat and compulsion. The African people cannot be blamed for being apprehensive as to whether the Native Affairs Department will be able to rise to the occasion and remember that the conduct of education is a very different process from the conduct of an English central control. Labour bureaux and press offices. Nor are their fears allayed by the fact that a special division of Bantu Education has been created within the Department to which have been transferred many officers previously in charge of African education. These officers will in future be among strange faces, other minds and it remains to be seen whether the Department is able to retain their patience, sympathy, and understanding.

Secondly the supposed assumption of financial responsibility for African education by the Union Government turns out on examination to be a return to the outmoded system of block grants which we thought we had left behind for good in 1925. This system was tried for twenty years and was found wanting. The fact that the block grant for African education will in future be fixed at 6½ million pounds instead of the £49,000 which it used to be in no way affects the principle enunciated by the principle involved. We are back where we were in 1925 when the financing of African education was geared to the proceeds of the Poll Tax and the Union Government was solely responsible for financing this important service.
tries to

the animal which climbs up a pole 20 feet long. For every three
feet that it climbs up, it stays during the day, it just sits
while there are two feet during the night. How long will it take to reach
its summit of the pole if African investment
the tip of the pole. Alternatively, the Union's provision seems to have
attained upon the nocturnal period when slipping back down is in
the order of the day.

Ying I believe is general as are often done in the 50s
the bombed and wrecked buildings of Fishmongers 6½ million pounds
is all the European is prepared to pay for public, for African education
and of that if the African wants any more education than that
amount will pay for he will have to find the money himself through
additional direct taxation upon himself. The man who is satisfied
with the sort of education is the first to be shocked when he finds
that the African does not regard the Union Government as his government.

The fact of the matter is that he knows and those who think like him
cannot have it both ways. Either the Union Government is a government
to which all sections of the population must look for their welfare or
to which they must not. Yet in the distribution of funds derived from
the taxation, direct and indirect, if all sections of the population
we must be guided by some overall principle than the foregoing.

Such the amendment of the Exchequer and Audit Act would be
wrong for the creation of a deep separate account for African
education is looked upon as an attempt on the part of the Union
Government to relieve itself of the obligations of an unilateral
decision to make African education a matter of national policy.

In the matter of the clear demarcation of the African
people with the education of their children, it seems clear from
the regulations governing the establishment of school committees
and school boards that it is not intended to give the

public genuine representation on school committees or school boards.

These members are to be chosen with either all or the majority
of members will be nominated by government officials such
as chiefs, headmen. Acting Commissioners, District Superintendents,
and the like. The local management of their schools by missionary
managers or priests entailed little or no consultation with the
fathers of the members of the community in matters in which the African
people have not been eyes to eye with some churches. Instead
of the virtual dictatorship of the manager the people have called
for the creation of school committees and school boards in which
the African parents might be adequately represented. Under the new
scheme for the dictatorship of the missionary manager is substituted
that of officials to whom reference has already been made. Even in the urban areas where at least one of the
members of the school committee will be elected by the parents
themselves, the oath may be that the members will in official
apartness and they can be no doubt as to where this will prevail
in rural committees, yet even if the principle of election had
been accorded more general recognition in the constitution of their
school committees and school boards the African people would
still have doubted the wisdom of participating in bodies
committed to the execution of educational policies with
which they are in fundamental disagreement.

The greatest concern in connection with the Bantu Education Act
has been caused by the declared intention of the Government to
make African schools the vehicles of apartheid propaganda.

The theory by which African education is to be isolated in future
may be gathered from the utterances of the principal architect
especially of apartheid - the Minister of Native Affairs (see "Bantu Education:
Plan for the Immediate Future" issued by the Information Service
of the Department of Native Affairs). He has complained that
Bantu African schools have been "unsympathetic to the country's
policy" and have ignored "the aspirations of apartheid policy.
These schools should produce pupils trained on a European model", thus creating "the new hope among
of Natives that they could occupy posts within the European
community despite the country's policy of apartheid."
It would not be difficult to show that far from educated Africans seeking jobs within the European community, it is educated Europeans who have long coveted educated Africans out of jobs within the African community. It is common knowledge that all services extended for Africans rely too much upon the products of the European educational system. For too many Europeans are employed in services for Africans. The African people have consistently opposed the policy of segregation or apartheid, but as long as this policy is followed officially by the Africans, they cannot permit the advocates of apartheid both to eat their cake and have it.

At all events the African people have never subscribed to the theory that they have been created as a means to the end of others and they find it particularly repugnant the conception that they or their children must be so moulded to the master servient pattern as associated with the policy of apartheid. There can of course be no doubt that the genuine efforts of the African Government made in this regard will prove abortive for no parent and no teacher will be satisfied to limit their theory into practice.

The proposed elimination of missions from the field of African education will close a by no means unimportant chapter in the history of African education. For all the mistakes which they have made in the education of African children, the missions will long be remembered as the pioneers in practically every aspect of African education. The African people have felt with the increase of government grants-in-aid there has been a tendency in the past of some missions to identify themselves more and more closely with the parents that be and less close with the African people with whom they jointly embarked upon this venture. The treatment they are receiving at the hands of the Government has one time unhappily led the man that has his trust or friends.

It cannot be denied that the African people have in recent years increasingly demanded that the missions, because they are unable to cope with the financial requirements
Of this education service should consider handing over African schools to the control of the government. It was their hope that this would involve the assumption of full responsibility for the maintenance and management of such schools. In the event what has transpired is that the government contemplate the total elimination of voluntary agencies from the field of African education. The ban on the establishment of "any school or mission school" prescribed is going to discourage initiative in which much progress has been due to private endeavors. Many flourishing African schools tolerated or private schools were started by people who did not apply for recognition until their experimental efforts showed signs of success. Now the power of registration will be interpreted liberally or otherwise remains to be seen.

Sufficient has been said to show that the people directly concerned with African education are apprehensive with regard to what the future holds in store for them and for the children on whose welfare and upbringing they have a vital concern. We are assured on every hand by government officials that these fears are not well founded; that there is no intention on the part of the government to forbid the African people with an inferior type of education; that in fact more children will in future receive the rudiments of education than in the past. These assurances have not alleviated the sense of insecurity and uncertainty which surrounds African education today. Time alone will tell whether the fears of the African people are groundless or well founded.