

THE EDUCATION OF THE AFRICAN: THE ROAD AHEAD

[1959?]

In every form of organised society the education of the young is regarded as the prinpal means of maintaining and enhancing the social heritage of the community as well as bringing about the all round development of the individual. This social heritage consists of all the accumulated experience of the community in the form of knowledge, skills and techniques and scales of value. Through the educational process the individual is developed in such a way that he treasures this heritage and contributes 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 ~~sk~~ changing, successful adaptation to its environment, both natural and social, demands that the community must be on the lookout for any changes which require to be made in its educational system, in order to avoid stagnation and decay which would otherwise set in or the stresses and strains which would otherwise result from a lack of correspondence or correlation between the aims, obggects and content of the ~~education~~ education given to the young and the changed conditions under which they will have to live.

In most ~~civilised~~ civilised countries education is rightly regarded as an undertaking which in the national interest should not be left to the individual family or to a section of the community, with its limited resources, both human and otherwise, to undertake. Instead no effort is spared to ensure that, within the limits of the resources of the nationa 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 and the government of the country cannot be satisfactorily conducted in circumstances in which the majority of the population is in a state of ignorance and general backwardness. In other words in most civilized countries the education of the people is looked upon as an investment which is expected to yield rich dividends in national progress and well-being.

On the other hand the interest of those who for historical or other reasons wield ~~power~~ political power in the nation in the education of the masses is not always as altruistic or as disinterested as they would like other to believe. They are always concerned to see that the educational system does not disturb the power relations which obtain within 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 docility and tractability. Experience shows that it appears to be much easier and safer to dominate an uneducated section of the population than to try to do so with an enlightened community. For that reason the dominant section of a community always tries to 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 subject peoples will make great sacrifices 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. This happens both before and after they have overcome their initial resistance to foreign systems of education. In the case of Africans at first they resisted interference with their traditional systems of education by missionaries and administrators who were anxious to introduce western ideas of education among them. Once they accepted the western system of education their opposition to any attempt to deny them the benefits of modern education becomes equally uncompromising.

In the light of these considerations let us review the position of the education of the African in the Union as it has developed during the last fifty years and try to envisage what is likely to happen in the next half-century.

When Union was achieved in 1910, the South Africa Act in which ~~the constitution of the Union~~ the constitution of the Union of South Africa was laid down, distributed various powers between the different organs of government provided for in the constitution, i.e. the Union Government and the Provincial Councils. The subject of education was by that Act divided into two categories, namely, "higher education" and "education other than higher". The Act provided that "higher education" would be the responsibility of the Central ~~the~~ i.e. the Union Government, while "education other than higher" would be the responsibility of the Provincial Administrations. It would appear from the terms of the South Act that it was probably contemplated that the control of all education would eventually be entrusted to the Union Government because "education other than higher" was entrusted to the Provincial Administrations "for five years and thereafter until Parliament should decide otherwise".

Since Union, however, of all the main functions entrusted to the Provincial Administrations--hospitals, roads, local government and "education other than higher", the last has developed into the most important, and all attempts to deprive the Provincial Administrations of their control of "education other than higher" have proved abortive, except in the case of African education, as we shall see. Indeed their educational function has probably become the principal raison d'etre 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 (at the Lovedale Missionary Institution which incidentally had provided that type of education for a few white students who afterwards became some of South Africa's most illustrious ~~white~~ citizens.). Teacher training was very elementary. Higher education for Africans was then non-existent. The establishment of an institution for the higher education of Africans which had been recommended in the Report of the Inter-Colonial Commission of 1903-5 still lay in the future. Thus as African education at that time consisted almost entirely of "education other than higher", it was assumed that those engaged in the education of the African would have to look to the Provincial Administrations 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 missionary undertaking, deserving according to some white people of the highest commendation, because it provided Africans with training in character and in some

useful arts, and according to other white people deserving of the highest condemnation because it taught Africans some "book-learning" and made them "cheeky". At all events it was not a State undertaking ~~although it might be State-aided~~ although it might be State-aided. The position was of course different with Native Administration. This was regarded as a State function, special mention being made of it in the South Africa Act. Native Administration 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 question of developing a uniform Union Native Policy and to administer laws specially affecting Africans. In other words it would appear that at the time of Union it was not yet clear as to whether the education of the African required any special differential treatment. Perhaps it was by accident rather than design that African education at that time escaped the attention of the Central Government.

Thus the position remained from 1910 to 1925. At this latter date the Provincial Councils were beginning to feel the burden of the rising costs of this service with which they had been entrusted not directly but, as it were, by implication. The needs of this service were expanding more and more rapidly and the demands of Africans for educational facilities were becoming more and more insistent. The Provinces argued that they could only meet increased expenditure on African education by imposing additional taxation on the African or by passing on the financial responsibility to the Union Government. It is not necessary for us here to ~~go~~ go into the details of the struggle between the Provincial Councils and the Union Government over the question of the ultimate responsibility for financing African education. Suffice 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 persons, income and property of Africans and, reserving this power to itself, undertook to make itself responsible for finding the necessary funds for the expansion of African education.

But when the ~~provision~~ Union Parliament tackled the problem of raising the necessary funds for African education, it produced a scheme which preserved the conception that African education was not a State function. Not only did the scheme fail to provide room for expansion but it had the further disadvantage of introducing into this field the unsound principle, from the point of view of public finance, of financial segregation. Under this scheme which was introduced by the Native Taxation and Development Act 41 of 1925, Africans alone were expected to provide the money required for the expansion of their education. The Native Taxation and Development Act provided for the imposition upon all African males between the ages of 18 and 65 of a General Tax of £1. The proceeds of the tax were to be disposed of as follows:-

- (a) four-fifths of the proceeds were to be paid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Union Government
- (b) 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 £340,000, representing the money spent by the Provincial Councils on African education in the year 1921-22. The formula for the financing of African education thus became £340,000 plus one fifth of the proceeds of the General 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 would be realised.

The financing of African education passed to the Union Government, with the Minister of Native Affairs acting by and with the advice of the Native Affairs Commission, responsible for the disbursement of the proceeds of the 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 into a new era of progress. Whereas prior to 1925 the African educational system, owing to its dependence for funds upon school fees, local contributions by the African people and the meagre resources of missionary societies had been barely limping 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; new primary schools were opened; more teachers were employed; secondary school departments were started at the leading African educational institutions; a new scale of teachers' salaries, the 1928 scale, was adopted, although its implementation did not go beyond the first notch 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 sources of revenue of the Development Fund--did not keep pace with increasing demands of the service. Short of devising an entirely different formula, it soon became clear that the only alternative which would make it possible for the Government to meet the pressing needs of the service would be for the Government to surrender more and more of the proceeds of the Poll Tax which were supposed to go into the Consolidated Revenue Fund. This process was gradual but inevitable in any realistic

approach to the problem. Beginning in 1935 it continued until 1944 when the whole of the proceeds of the General Tax had to be paid into the Development to meet the cost of African education; but even that amount together with block grant of £340,000 had by then become totally inadequate to meet the ever growing needs of the service.

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

The Provincial Councils complained about the system on the ground that they could not carry on this important part of their constitutional functions with the inadequate funds provided by the Union Government. The Native Economic Commission of 1930-32 on which the Native Affairs Commission was strongly represented condemned the system on the ground that "in view of the peculiar nature of Native 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 Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-36, which was, among other things, specially empowered to investigate and report upon this very problem reported 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 dissociated 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--the Native Affairs Commission Report of 1936-- which gave rise to a great deal of controversy. There followed a regular tug-of-war between the Provincial Councils, the Native Affairs Department and the Union Education Department over the question 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 South Africa Act; for the Native Affairs Department it developed into a question of Native policy also entrusted to it under that sacred Act--the South Africa Act; for the Union Education Department the matter was partly a professional question i.e. one of education pure and simple, and partly one of sound public finance, namely, that the body which is accountable for public money should control its spending. After nearly ten years of public debate during which time practically all shades of opinion were consulted or expressed their views about the matter, a compromise solution was arrived at and embodied in the Native Education Finance Act of 1945. In terms of this Act certain important principles with potentially far-reaching implications were adopted. Firstly the financing 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 this service from General Revenue. African education seemed well on the way to becoming a ~~state~~ national undertaking, a State responsibility in the same way as Railways or Public Health or Social Welfare. Government responsibility for this service would no longer have to be limited to the proceeds of the tax specially imposed on Africans

but could, like other State services, look to the Consolidated Revenue Fund for support. It was realised of course that even the resources of the Consolidated Revenue Fund were by no means inexhaustible and that funds to be made available for African education would be limited by the demands of other State services, but it was the hope of 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 it had been confined for so many years.

The assumption of financial responsibility for African education by the Union Government 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 who regard themselves as in no way responsible to or for the African people would find it possible to adjust themselves to the new situation and learn to think of the financing of African education otherwise than in terms of the direct taxation imposed upon Africans. The response of Parliamentarians to the learning process proved much more unpredictable than that of school-going children.

Secondly under the Native Education Finance Act of 1945, instead of the Minister of Native Affairs acting 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 a Union Advisory Board on Native Education established under the Act and on which the Union Government, the Provincial Administrations, the Missions and the African people were represented.

Finally mention must be made of the fact that the Native Education Finance Act did not eliminate the unsatisfactory 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 this compromise on the matter of administrative control would stand the test of time, especially when it is 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 Missions who owned and controlled to a large extent the vast bulk of the schools for African children. The three legs of the melting pot in which African education has been cooked for many years have the Missions for the ~~initiation~~ initiation and management of schools, the Provincial Administrations for administrative direction and supervision and the Union Government for financial grants-in-aid. Of these three legs two, namely, the Missions and the Provincial Administrations, had been relatively steady all the time, but the third leg, the Union Government, had been rather wobbly, in that from 1925 to 1945 it was represented by the Native Affairs Department, from 1946 to 1952 it changed to the Union Education Department and since 1953 with the passing of the Bantu Education Act it has changed back to the Native Affairs Department which has since been divided into two separate departments, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and the Department of Bantu Education. No wonder there are doubts in many quarters as to whether this third leg is one which can be depended upon entirely..

It must not be supposed that while this wrangling was the control and financing of African 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 uplift of the African people. While those primarily responsible for what progress had been made in African education, namely the African people themselves and the Missions, had had to live a hand to mouth existence in the period under review, they had not been daunted by difficulties nor had they been deterred from their endeavours by the common reply to their representations to 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 ~~walked~~ folded their arms and waited for something to turn up. They had scraped together whatever they could lay their hands on; they had begged and borrowed, saved and economised and with what they had been able to gather, they had carried on in dilapidated buildings with the barest 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 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 they had achieved. Today when it is becoming common for people who have never been inside an African school to pat themselves on the back for the evangelisation and the educational development which has taken place among Africans and to boast about how far ahead of other African territories the

the Union is in this regard, it is well to pay tribute to those who for generations bore the brunt of bringing about this state of affairs. Moreover, those who are inclined to lay undue emphasis upon the amount of money voted for African education by the Union Government today compared with what happened in the past may have to be reminded that an educational system does not live by money but also by the spirit and the ideals inspiring those responsible for its conduct. In these days when everybody is expected to bow the knee to the 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 Missions do not 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 forever be prepared to put up with anything that is handed out to them. This brings me to a consideration of the Bantu Education Act. The passing of this Act by the Union Parliament has caused a great deal of concern not only among the African people but also among all those who have the interest and the welfare of the African people in particular and of the people of South Africa in general at heart. The implementation of the Act and the regulations framed under it have, if anything, caused an even greater sense of insecurity and dismay among those directly affected by it. So much feeling has been engendered among both those in favour and those against the proposals contained in the Act and in the regulations framed under it that the issues involved are in danger of becoming confused.

What is it that the Bantu Education Act has done which has aroused so much opposition in so many quarters?

The Act itself is ~~xxxxxxx~~ is a very short Act, consisting altogether of about 18 short sections. That in itself is of course open to question. It is a dangerous thing for a law dealing with such an important subject affecting ~~xxxxxxx~~ the lives of millions of people to be embodied 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 administrative orders which do not receive the close scrutiny usually accorded to important laws. Such an Act is apt to entrust too much power to the Department entrusted with its implementation. This is naturally much more serious in a situation such as prevails in the Union where the people primarily affected by the Act are either inadequately ~~xxxxxx~~ represented or not represented at all in the Legislature and in other organs of government. But that is by the way. Africans in the Union are already subject to administrative law in so many aspects of their lives that perhaps it would have been too much to expect Parliament to depart from this established 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 section 85 of the the South Africa Act by making "native education", together with "higher education" the responsibility of the Union Government. At last African education has qualified for special mention in the South Africa Act. (s.16) This means that the Provincial Administrations have at last been deprived of their administrative direction and supervision of African education and can no longer put forward any constitutional argument for the retention ~~xxxx~~ of control over African education. (s.2(b)). As this was done with their concurrence it may be taken that no crocodile tears need be shed over this development.

- (b) The Minister of Native Affairs was originally to have been responsible for both the administrative control and the financing of African education (s.1(iv) read together with ss.6,7,8). Since the establishment of a separate Department of Bantu Education the Minister of Bantu Education has now taken over those functions.
- (c) The Act contemplates the closer association of the African people with the education of their children through the establishment of Bantu community schools, the local management of which shall be in the hands of "any Bantu authority or any native council, tribe or community" subject to such special conditions as the Minister may prescribe. (s.6). The value of this provision depends upon the "special conditions" which the Minister may prescribe.
- (d) The Act contemplates the gradual elimination of Mission control of African schools and the conversion of such schools either into Government Bantu schools or Bantu community schools through the limitation of the subsidies that will be available for such Church schools if the Churches desire to retain anything like the measure of local control and management they previously enjoyed.

To the uninitiated this new arrangement might at first glance appear as a step forward for two reasons which have been a present aid in trouble to Information Officers who have tried to put across the Bantu Education Act in meetings with the African people. These are:

- (a) It does away with the dual control, i.e. as between the Provincial Councils and the Union Government, which has characterised African education since 1925. The Union Government, the body which taxes the African people, will alone be responsible for both the administration and the financing of African education.
- (b) As regards local management of schools the Act will make possible the transfer of the schools from the Missions to the ~~xxxxxxx~~ African people themselves in their own school committees and school boards manned by their own people subject to the approval of the Minister.

But the old saying that "things are not always what they seem" is nowhere truer than it is in African affairs in South Africa. Africans are accustomed by now to having to deal with schemes which look like the innocent flower but harbour a serpent underneath. Initial satisfaction with the apparent redress of grievances of long standing is often followed by the realisation

that they have lost more than they appear to have gained. What is the position as far as the Bantu Education Act is concerned?

In the first place the constitutional promotion of African education brought about by its marriage with "higher education" becomes of doubtful propriety when it is found that it is accompanied by a separation a mensa et thoro in 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 Bantu Education Department). The African people are not particularly enamoured of these special Departments for Africans. This may not be the fault of the Departments themselves but of those who entrust them with the administration of all the discriminating laws affecting Africans. Practically everything in this country which sets a brake on African progress or sets ~~an~~ ~~xxxx~~ artificial limit to African aspirations or which is a vexation of the African spirit has to be handled by the Department of Native Affairs now divided into the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and the Department of Bantu Education. The officials of these Departments have in the main to be "tough guys", with strong arms, sharp tongues, gloomy faces, but no imagination and none of the milk of human kindness. Education is a matter of the spirit in which there is no place for the proverbial bully and which cannot be properly carried on in an atmosphere of threats and compulsion. The African people cannot be blamed for being apprehensive as to the Bantu Education 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 influx control measures, labour bureaus and pass offices. Nor are their fears allayed by the fact that

a new Department of Bantu Education has been established to which have been transferred many officers previously in charge of African education. These officers will in future be among "new men, strange faces, other minds" and it remains to be seen whether they will all retain their former sympathetic understanding of the problems of African education and their professional loyalty to the universal principles derived from the history of education in every civilized country, or succumb to the new ideological influences to which African education is to be subjected.

Secondly the supposed assumption of financial responsibility for African education by the Union Government turns out on examination to be a return to the outworn and outmoded system of block grants which we thought we had left behind for good in 1945. 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 instead of the £340,000 which it used to be in no way affects the unsoundness of 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. In terms of section 20 ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of the Exchequer and Audit Act of 1956 a Bantu Education Account has been created into which will be paid the block grant of £6½ million plus a proportion of the proceeds of the Poll Tax which has been substantially increased and will in future apply to certain categories of African women as well as to African men. The expenditure on African education is to be met from these limited sources of revenue. Thus the actions of the Union Government as regards African affairs often remind one of that common schoolboy problem of the snail which tries to climb a pole of a certain length.

For every three feet that it climbs during the day, it slips down two feet during the night. How long will it take to reach the top of the pole. In climbing up the pole of African development the Union Government seems to have entered upon the nocturnal period when slipping down is the order of the day.

It may of course be argued, as is often done on both the front and the back benches of Parliament that £6½ million is all the European taxpayer is prepared to sacrifice for African education and that if the African wants any more education than that amount will pay for he will have to find the money himself through additional taxation upon himself. That is what seems to be contemplated under the new system. The man who is satisfied with this sort of argument 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 one 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 it is not. If it is, then in the distribution of funds derived from the taxation, direct and indirect, of all sections of the population, it must be guided by less one-sided principles than the foregoing. The use of the Exchequer and Audit Act to create a separate Bantu Education Account is looked upon by the African people as an attempt on the part of the Union Government to divest itself of the obligations necessarily flowing from its unilateral decision to make African education a matter of national policy.

In the matter of the closer association of the African people with the local management of the education of their children, it seems clear from the regulations governing the establishment

of school committees and school boards and their working that it is not intended to give the people genuine representation or authority. Either all or the majority of members of these bodies will be nominated by public officials such as chiefs or headmen, Bantu Affairs Commissioners as they are now called, urban location superintendents and the like. The local management of their schools by missionary managers or grantees with little or no consultation with the adult members of the community is one of the matters on which the Africa people did not see eye to eye with some of the Churches. Instead of the virtual dictatorship of the church Manager of schools the people have called for the creation of school committees and school boards in which the people might be adequately represented. Under the new dispensation, for the dictatorship of the missionary manager has been substituted that of the officials referred to above. Even in the urban areas where at least some of the members of the school committees are to be elected by the parents themselves, the vast majority will be official members, and there can be doubt as to whose will prevail. Moreover it would appear that the better educated sections of the community are not welcome as members of these bodies. Of course it must be remembered that even if the principle of election had been accorded more general recognition in the constitution of these school committees and school boards many of the thinking sections of 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 such fundamental disagreement.

The greatest concern among Africans in connection with the Bantu Education Act has been caused by the declared intention of the

to make African schools the purveyors of apartheid propaganda. The theory ~~xxx~~ by which African education is to be inspired in future may be gathered from the utterances of the principal ~~xxx~~ architect of apartheid--Dr Ver woerd (see especially "Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future", issued by the Information Service of the Department of Native Affairs, 1954). It is his complaint that hitherto African schools have been "unsympathetic to the country's policy" and have ignored "the segregation or apartheid policy". These schools have committed the unpardonable sin of "blindly producing pupils on a European model", thus creating "the vain hope among 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 "so-called educated Natives" seeking posts within the European community, it is "so-called educated Europeans" who have for long crowded educated Africans out of posts with the African community. It is common knowledge that all public services intended for Africans rely too much upon the products of the European educational system. Far 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 in South Africa, they cannot permit the advocates 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 ends of others, and they find ~~xxx~~ particularly repugnant the conception that their children in their schools must be moulded to the master-servant pattern associated with the policy of apartheid. There can be no doubt that the efforts of the Government in this regard will in the

long run prove abortive, because no African parents and no African teachers worthy of the name will be satisfied to put this theory into practice in its stark nakedness without taking steps overt or covert to counteract its evil effects.

The intended elimination ~~from~~ of the Missions from the field of African education will close a by no means undistinguished chapter in the history of African education. For all the mistakes which they have made in the ~~first~~ education of African children, the Missions will forever be remembered as the pioneers in practically every aspect of African education. The African have felt that with the increase of Government grants-in-aid there has been a tendency on the part of some Missions or some individual missionaries to identify themselves more and more closely with the powers-that-be and less and less with the African people with whom they jointly embarked upon this venture. The treatment the Missions are receiving at the hands of the Government proves once more 'how unhappy is the man that puts his trust in princes.

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 expanding service, should consider handing over African schools to the control of the Government. It was their hope that this would involve the full assumption by the Government of responsibility for the maintenance and management of African schools. In the event what has transpired is that the Government contemplates the eventual total elimination of all voluntary agencies from the field of African education. The ban on the establishment of "any Bantu or native school other than a Government Bantu school unless it is registered as prescribed"

(s.9) is going to discourage initiative in a field in which progress has been largely due to private endeavour. Many flourishing African schools began their careers as private schools started by people who did not apply for government recognition until their experimental efforts showed signs of success. Those who know their Nationalist government are extremely doubtful as to whether the power of recognition will be interpreted as liberally as to make possible the participation of voluntary i.e. non-governmental agencies in the education of African children.

The latest field of African education to be invaded by Government is that of higher education. This the Government has done by passing two Acts through Parliament, namely, the Extension of University Education Act and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act 64 of 1959. The object of these two laws is to give effect to the Government's policy of apartheid or separate development in the field of higher education for the different racial groups represented in the Union. To achieve this objective the Government proposes to do two things which are complementary to one another, namely,

- (a) to remove non white students from the white universities which have hitherto admitted such students for registration. Such students will in future require the special permission of the Minister of Education before they are allowed to enter such universities.
- (b) As a quid pro quo to set up alternative facilities for the non-white students on an ethnic basis. The scheme envisaged is that five University colleges will be established for non-white students, namely, one for Indian students, another for Coloured students and three for African students, i.e. one for Xhosa-speaking students, another for Zulu-speaking students and a third for Sotho speaking students.

By the beginning of 1960 four of the proposed Colleges will be opened, namely, a College for Coloured students at Bellville in the Cape, a college for Zulu students at Ngoye in Zululand and a college

for Sotho students at Turfloop near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal, while the University College of Fort Hare is to be converted into a college for Xhosa students. The Coloured College and presumably the Indian College when it is eventually established will be under the Department of Education, Arts and Science, while the colleges for Africans will be under the Department of Bantu Education. As purely government institutions these colleges are to be governed in an entirely different way from the other institutions of the country. For academic purposes the Colleges will fall under the University of South Africa, which is the recognised examining body for external students in the country. As far as internal administration is concerned each College is to be governed by a dual Council, consisting of an all white executive council and an all non-white advisory council, with all the members in each case nominated by the Minister concerned. Similarly the Senate which will presumably be responsible for academic matters is to be a dual Senate consisting of an all white executive Senate and an all non-white advisory Senate, all the members being nominated by the Minister concerned. The members of staff are to be divided into two categories, some holding what are known as "Council posts" and others holding what are known as "State posts". Holders of State posts will be subject to civil service regulations which among other things make membership of a political organisation "misconduct", while holders of Council posts will be subject to ~~special~~ special regulations drawn up by the Council subject to the approval of the Minister concerned. Needless to say all non-whites will hold "State posts".

The position we have reached as of 1960 is that African education is completely under the control of the Government. From the primary school, through the secondary and high schools, through the teacher training institutions right up to ~~the~~ university education, it is the Bantu Education Department which has the final say as to which African shall learn, what he shall learn, how he shall learn and from whom he shall learn. When it is remembered that this is being done who are not represented at all in any of the organs of government in the country, it will be realised to what extent this represents a completely totalitarian domination of the African educational system. It may of course be argued that the government has set up an elaborate system of school committees and school boards for the primary and secondary schools and advisory boards for the ~~the~~ tribal university colleges consisting of African members. The elaborate character of this machinery does not later the fact that it consists of handpicked men and women who represent the voice of the Minister of Bantu Education by whom they are picked, sometimes without even proper consultation of the member concerned, and not the voice of the African people. Nowhere to my knowledge has any of those bodies publicly laid claim to representing the African people. Nor does the fact that the African people in different parts of the country appear to acquiesce in this system make it any more justifiable. A condition of slavery or serfdom cannot be justified on the ground that is apparently accepted by the people on whom it is imposed by all the means of coercion usually employed by those in power. The position in South Africa is that by law if the African is to receive any education at all, he is compelled, with "permission" to go to an institution conducted by the Government and to no other.

No voluntary agency, however genuine its bona fides or responsible its membership is permitted to conduct an educational establishment of any kind for the African except with the permission of the Minister of Bantu Education. Even with regard to theological training the Minister of Bantu Education is reported to have informed a deputation of churches interested in establishing an inter-denominational theological school for non-whites that he would permit them to conduct such a school only if they confined themselves to purely theological subjects as he understood them. If they attempted to give ~~him~~ instruction in what he regarded as a secular subject such as psychology or philosophy of New Testament Greek, he would step in and demand control of that type of education. He is reported to have threatened ~~him~~ even to enter the field of correspondence schools so as to make sure that the Africans who register with that type of school receive the kind of education of which he approves. In other words as of 1960 the African educational system has become a closed system where entry and exit are closely controlled by the Minister of Bantu Education or his duly accredited representatives. Indeed it seems a misnomer to refer to this as a system of education in the commonly accepted sense of the term. The rigid control over it ~~XXXX~~ suggests that it is a system designed to prevent rather than to promote self-expression and self-realisation, the real objectives of any true system of education.

What sort of future has such a system got?

Those who take a pessimistic view of things would say that in the years that lie ahead things are bound to become even worse. That every effort will be made by the powers-that-be to remove every tiny bit of what may be described as a liberal i.e. a free element

from the system. Thus teachers who have been educated and trained under a different dispensation will systematically be removed and be replaced with teachers who have been properly indoctrinated under the new system. Terms and conditions of service will be adopted which will ensure that the proper relationship between white and non-white--the relationship of master and servant--is maintained. The content of education in African schools will be carefully scrutinised so as to remove from the curriculum all those subjects or aspects of subjects which are inconsistent with Government policy as far as Africans are concerned. The medium of instruction will be changed from English--which has been the main medium of instruction in African schools and colleges--not to Afrikaans, but to the appropriate Bantu language for the ethnic group concerned--Zulu for the Zulu, Xhosa for the Xhosa, Sotho for the Sotho. In that way the Government hopes to ensure that contact and communication between the different ethnic groups will be reduced to a minimum, thus rendering difficult if not impossible the growth of that measure of mutual understanding between these groups which might lead to a development of a common standpoint on matters of common concern and a broad nationalism among them instead of the narrow tribalism on which white supremacists have decided to pin their hopes for the future. Furthermore the system as a whole can be starved financially and thus prevented from expanding by the simple expedient of making development dependent upon such funds as the people--the poorest section of the populatio--may be able to raise themselves. In this way, by design, there will gradually settle upon the African educational system a kind of paralysis which will render its products incapable of raising a finger against the dominant white man and thus make the

southern tip of the African continent of Africa a white man's country forever, whatever may happen to the rest of the continent. By rigidly controlling all aspects of the education and the training of the African the Government aims at moulding the ideas and limiting the aspirations of the African people, and in particular at removing from among them anything likely to give them the false hope that they might eventually achieve a status of ~~xxx~~ equality with the white man in any field of life, political, economic or social.

The question arise as to whether the Government will in the long run succeed in achieving the objectives which it has set itself in Bantu Education.

In trying to answer this question we must not underestimate what can be achieved in the matter of indoctrinating people with the instruments at the disposal of modern governments. With whole apparatus of modern means of mass communication--cinema, radio, television the Press, etc.--combined with information services and information officers with their informers and with the usual quota of quislings and "sell-outs" to be found among all people, much can be done to keep vast sections of the population in a kind of mental dungeon. In case these methods are not adequate with those made of ~~xxx~~ sterner stuff, modern governments have at their disposal bans, deportation or banishment orders, the power to arrest and detain without trial, the reckless use of emergency powers, pseudo-treason trials, etc. All these are calculated to, and do in fact, intimidate vast numbers of people and so stifle criticism and so create the appearance of acquiescence. It has been done in Germany, Italy, in Russia and other totalitarian countries with highly civilised populations and even in so-called democratic countries such as Kenya and the Central African Federation.

What reason can one have to suppose that the same or even better methods will not succeed in South Africa?

There are certain factors which tend to militate against the success of the Government's scheme for the control of the ideas of the African people. In the first place the very separation which has been set up between the different racial groups in South Africa makes it impossible for the Government or its representatives to know what is really going in African circles. The Government has of course its army of black spies,stooges and informers who are supposed to keep the authorities informed about what ideas are current among Africans. The information they gather and pass on is bound to be coloured by the fact that they themselves believe in the liberation of their people and not in the system of oppression and domination of which they are unwilling instruments. Occasionally the Government does manage to get a particularly zealous minion in some area or another who becomes a true "dog of the government",as such people are termed,but the activities of such people do not materially affect the submission I am making,that it is practically impossible for the Government to get a true picture of what is going on in the African mind and to know whom to trust. Beneath the semblance of acquiescence in its schemes it is to be found a deep-seated resistance of the mind to give in to what it knows to be evil and detrimental to their true interests. It is only when people know that will not be made to suffer directly or indirectly for their opinions that they will express their true views. Otherwise they tell the questioner what they think he would like to hear or become so evasive in their answers as to give the impression of being stupid when they are not or become so obsequious that the credulous white man thinks he is

dealing with what he regards as a "good Bantu" who knows his place vis a vis the white man. The fact that the Government is in the main in the dark about what is going on in African circles accounts for the occasional surprise outbursts of rioting and violence in places which are regarded by government officials as comparatively safe and quiet. Of course it is usual nowadays when these incidents occur for the blame to be laid on some scapegoat or other, the A.N.C. being the most convenient scapegoat. This gives the A.N.C. unmerited kudos because the fact of the matter is that the activities and policies of the government or of government officials are far bigger "agitators" than the A.N.C. will ever be. In nooks and crannies of the country where the A.N.C. has never been heard of, government officials are implementing the hated schemes of the government and it is not necessary for anyone to teach the people that they are being subjected to oppressive measures. The wider the gulf between the Government and the leaders of the African people who have a following, the more difficult it will be for Government schemes such as Bantu Education to succeed.

Moreover it must be remembered that the education of the African people has for the last 150 years been inspired by entirely different principles from those which the present Government is seeking to establish. Thousands of Africans up and down the country have been through schools and colleges which, whatever their limitations, belonged to a different tradition from that of 'Bantu education'. They naturally form the hard core of resistance to the new system of education and will do everything in their power to minimise ill effects among the rising generation. Parents take steps in their homes to correct the tendentious propaganda in favour

of apartheid which pervades the new African educational system or to supplement what they consider to be lacking in the modern African school. Books, papers, magazines which differ in their content and approach from pro-government publications such as "Bantu" will become more and more popular. Of course in order to pass their examinations under Bantu education African students will dish for consumption of the examiners the appropriate Bantu education answers, but there will always be a vast difference between what they write for the benefit of the examiners and what they believe. The African will have to develop a kind of facility for Double-talk if his spirit is to survive in the closed atmosphere of Bantu education. History is full of examples of oppressed people who have had to hide their true feelings and views from their so-called masters and to keep alive within them the spirit of freedom until they were ready to wrest their liberation from those withholding. The African will prove no exception to the rule. He will cling to the idea of education without the adjective 'Bantu' until that day which know must surely come when they rejoin the mainstream of free education.

There is also something to be said for the fact that the men and women engaged in African education--both white and black-- will out of professional pride and integrity endeavour to minimise the bad effects of the crude political propaganda which they are supposed to carry out. Just as a judge who is appointed on political grounds does not necessarily show political bias when he gets on the Bench, similarly the teachers who have been appointed or retained in Bantu education because they are supposed ~~theyxare~~ to be politically 'reliable' will not always be satisfied to be mere purveyors of political propaganda. Some will out of a genuine interest they teach

and the students they are teaching rebel against the system and overtly or covertly do what they are not supposed to do. Those who are discovered will be dismissed from the service but many will escape detection and will sow seeds which will bear fruit, some thirty fold, some sixty-fold and an hundred-fold. In other words the attempt of the government to educate the African people for ignorance or for slavery, as it has been put by some critics, is doomed to fail, because in the long run it will prove impossible to curb the urge to freedom among the people and to suppress their irresistible desire to join the mainstream of development in modern Africa. Modern Africa, unlike the Africa of the colonial past, is not going to be a continent split into a number of territories with their peoples under different colonial powers more or less isolated from one another but a number of free and independent states in ~~permanent~~ constant communication and in fruitful co-operation with one another. It will be extremely difficult for one territory at the shank end of the continent to live unto itself and to insist upon giving the vast majority of its population a type of education which is inconsistent and incompatible with the spirit which is abroad in modern Africa. Thus whatever the position may be in 1960 and however gloomy the immediate prospect may appear to be, the long term view of the road ahead, as it seems to me, is that African education will sooner or later throw off the temporary shackles by which we are seeking to bind it and will step forward and take its proper place among the educational systems of free peoples in free countries.