

Black Sash, Urban Foundation and Oppenheimer, participating in symposiums on Black Education, expressing views on the relationship between urban and rural blacks, attacking community councils and Inkatha, making frequent comment on issues in the press etc. etc. It cannot be denied that quite often the 10 played a progressive role in articulating opinions other than those of the Buthelezi's and Thebehali's, as well as maintaining some kind of political momentum in a period when mass militancy had died down and the major political organisations banned. But the social forces shaping South African history were changing, a fact which was to have an effect on the character of the Committee of 10.

The most significant force was the growing impetus to absorb and co-opt a black middle-class as a buffer between those in power and the masses. The most effective way of resisting this kind of onslaught is to establish a democratic grass-roots organisation which, by the demands it makes and the action it undertakes, serves to highlight the moderate compromises that middle-class elements are likely to make in the process of co-optation. The militant mood of the masses in 76/77 kept the Committee of 10 from taking on any mediatory role is of restraining the militancy of the people. Once this militancy died down, the '10' was left on its own, subject to the imperialist overtures of social forces advocating a middle-class co-optation. Having failed in an earlier period to embody the militancy of the masses in an organisational form, the Committee of 10 became increasingly distanced from a grass-roots base. Without this organisational base, the Committee

dissolved into a "newspaper/public platform" party. And this kind of political party is ideal for the purposes of co-optation in that it does not mobilise and organise people at a grass-roots level in a democratic fashion, thus providing a force behind the voice of the party. In other words, part of the process of co-optation is increasing the voice of the middle-classes whilst silencing the voice of the oppressed majority. Of course, the Committee of 10 can never be put in the same class as the so-called 'puppets' of the South African government; on a conscious and vocal level they were opposed to the co-optation of the middle-class, but this position was undermined by their political practices which were eminently suitable for the processes of co-optation.

The refusal to participate in Koornhof's committees on urban blacks marks the beginning of a third phase in the Committee's history, viz the new era of the Black Consciousness movement, marked by exclusivist nationalist positions in general, and by a refusal to participate in government institutions in particular. The decision to set up a Soweto Civic Association and the emphasis which Azapo places on the mobilisation of workers was a tacit admittance that the Black Consciousness movement and its organisations needed to establish grass-roots support, a support which had gradually diminished after a brief flowering in 1976/77.

The historical significance of this new era of the Committee of 10 is difficult to assess at this stage; moreover, it would be inadequate if one were to analyse it outside of an analysis of the strength, ideology and

tactical positions of the exclusivist nationalist movement presently emerging. What is of critical strategic significance is whether this movement is adopting the correct response to the present re-structuring being undertaken by the state and big business. Obviously, the strong middle-class content of the movement, i.e. doctors, teachers, lawyers, intellectuals, petty traders, students, etc., is going to prove problematic for the forging of alliances with the masses. Moreover, as their ideological position crystallizes, it is going to accentuate the differences between the various political groupings. In this way, the battle-lines are going to be drawn more sharply and with more precision.

BANTU EDUCATION

SOCIALISATION FOR DEPENDENCY.

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION does not operate autonomously in any society. In Durkheim's terms, it cannot be understood apart from its cultural context, and it is that cultural context which determines the focus and ideal of the educational system. Education functions to socialize people about the way things appear to be, rather than how they are, or could be. It treats appearance as reality, and in so doing, reflects and reproduces the social relations of production in a particular economic system. Thus, Bantu Education is an

aspect of the reproduction of the capitalist division of labour in South Africa. In itself it is not the cause of repression and inequality - that lies in the structure and functioning of the capitalist economy (Sarup, 1978:167) - but it is dominant among what Althusser (1971) refers to as the ideological state apparatuses. In other words, it functions not only to reproduce skills, but also to reproduce "submission to the rules of the established order" (1971:127), and it does this by ideology rather than violence. Any analysis of Bantu Education must, therefore, look not only at facilities and statistics, but also at form and content, and at the needs of the economic system which it serves. Williamson (1974:8) writes that "Marxist writers such as Althusser, have never entertained the illusion that a capitalist society is capable of sustaining an education system which promotes equality". According to Bowles and Gintis (Sarup, 1978) schooling is the essential mechanism of the integrative function which allocates individuals to economic positions. It produces a stratified labour force for the capitalist enterprise.

What, then, are the specific needs which Bantu Education is designed to meet in the South African economy, and how does it go about meeting them? Most of this paper will deal with the second part of the question. I shall attempt briefly, now, to suggest some answers to the first part.

The Eiselen Commission of 1949-51 reported that "... education has the effect of making the native more intelligent, more civilised and more loyal and of increasing his wants" ('Rebusoajoang', 1979). This covers, broadly,

the two main aspects of education which relate to the needs of the capitalist economy in South Africa: that it "discipline them (young Africans) so they can play a meaningful role in the South African economy" (from a report on proposed youth work camps for Africans - Weekend Post, 79.08.18); and that it increase the dependency of potential workers on the commodities of capitalist production - this is a double dependency, both as consumer and wage-earner, the former role necessitating the latter. According to 'Rebusoajoang' (1979:235) "the economy needs a stream of literate, computing workers, comprehending and articulating at least one language spoken by their white superiors. The best way to obtain this is to increase their 'wants' in part through education. At the same time, to satisfy the white electorate, these skills should not lead to expectations."

In what follows I try to show how Bantu Education functions to satisfy "the need for blacks to play an increasingly important role in providing skilled manpower to sustain economic growth in South Africa" (Bantu, Department of Information publication, July, 1976), and, at the same time, the need to maintain a compliant, passive labour force, unaware of its own strength. To explain this, however, it is necessary to have some understanding of Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' and how it operates.

HEGEMONY

ACCORDING to Gramsci, class domination is exercised as much through popular 'consensus' in civil society as through physical coercion by the state apparatuses (there is an

obvious link here to Althusser's Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses). Beliefs, values, cultural traditions, function on a mass level to perpetuate the existing order, and this is the meaning of 'ideological hegemony'. Williams (1976) sees hegemony as supposing "the existence of something which is truly total, which is not merely secondary or superstructural, like the weak sense of ideology, but which is lived at such a depth, which saturates the society to such an extent, and which, as Gramsci put it, even constitutes the limit of commonsense for most people under its sway". In other words, those who live under a particular hegemony experience the dominant ideology as reality. Those who are not part of the dominant group accept the group's definition of them as reality. Steve Biko (1972) put it this way: "Who can resist losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word - barbarism?" Educational institutions are important agencies in the transmission of the dominant culture. They stipulate the parameters of 'reality' and prevent the development of an alternative framework from which the hegemonic culture can be questioned. They define that which is worthwhile and, in capitalist societies, at any rate, channel potential challengers into individualistic competition and aspirations while submerging the majority in passive acceptance of their own inferiority.

When cracks become apparent in the hegemonic rule, the repressive apparatuses of the state have to be used, as happened in Soweto in 1976. Recent changes in legislation

affecting Bantu Education have been aimed at covering those cracks rather than at any significant change of direction. What remains unaltered is a commitment by those in power to a system of differential education, based on race which, on the whole, articulates conveniently with class.

DIFFERENTIAL EDUCATION

DURKHEIM believed that education should be both common and differentiated - common for social consensus and to reinforce homogeneity; and differentiated so that the child might be prepared for the function he would have to fulfil as a member of a particular social class. Coleman (1966) sees the differentiated system as allowing "the community's collective need for a trained labour force, and the middle class individual's interest in a better education for his own child" both to be met, while at the same time, being "designed to prevent a wholesale challenge by the children of the working-class to the positions held for children of the middle-class." There appears to be an assumption that the class structure is immutable, and this assumption is fueled by the vicious cycle effect of providing an education which trains people according to their 'opportunities in life'. "This concept of differentiated curricula uses the expected future to match child and curriculum" (Coleman, 1966:219), and takes as given the problematic notion that working class children, or black children, or minority group children, have restricted futures. By accepting this without question, and providing a limited education to match that restricted future, differential education ensures the continuation of the cycle. Bantu Education is an example par excellence

of this. But it is worth noting that the removal of differential education does not automatically imply equality of opportunity or of achievement, if it is not accompanied by the removal of differential socio-economic conditions and values given to background and culture, ie you can't have equality of opportunity without a good deal of equality of condition.

HISTORY

AT this point I would like to take a necessarily brief look at the history of African education in South Africa, for, although Bantu Education is a product of Nationalist Government, differential education and the debate over African education long predates 1948. Until 1850 African education was a purely missionary endeavour (Havighurst, 1968). My interest here, however, lies with the latter period.

The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1905 stated that what was desirable was an education which placed heavy emphasis on industrial training because it had the particular advantage to the Native of fitting him for his position in life (Rose and Turner, 1975).¹ The Commission did not add that it also had the particular advantage to the whites of providing a dependent and useful labour force.

The Phelps-Stoke Report of 1922 (this was an international commission composed of Americans, Englishmen and Africans) came to the following conclusion: "In view of the obvious need for relating education to conditions of life, it may seem surprising that some educated Natives have been opposed to any

departure from the existing conventionalised school systems. Intimate knowledge of the nature of those protests reveals their origin to be fear of any movement for segregation of the black people. Past experience has convinced some of the educated Natives that departures from the white man's methods have too frequently meant an inferior provision for the black people. They are therefore naturally suspicious of adaptations as the entering wedge for educational segregation." In 1936 the Welsh Commission (an inter-departmental committee on Native education) reached the following conclusion: "From the evidence before the Committee it seems clear that there still exists opposition to the education of the native on the grounds that (a) it makes him lazy and unfit for manual work; (b) it makes him cheeky and less docile as a servant and (c) it estranges him from his own people and often leads him to despise his own culture. Those who bring forward such criticisms in some cases add that it is not to education as such that they object, but to the wrong (present) type of education. While these criticisms of the present system are not without foundation, the aim that most of such critics have at the back of their minds is that we must give the Native an education which will keep him in his place" (Rose and Turner, 1975:231-2). The commissioners go on - "The education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the black child for a subordinate society."

While acknowledging differences in life opportunities, the commissioners asked: "Should education lead or follow the social

order?" Unfortunately their wisdom went unheeded.²

When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 it appointed a commission on Native education in South Africa (known as the Eiselen Commission). While the Commission concluded that "The Bantu child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs so far as the commissioners have been able to determine from the evidence set before them, so slightly, if at all, from that of the European child that no special provision has to be made in educational theory or basic aims" (quoted in Hartshorne, 1953), by accepting a positivist and functionalist approach to education as given, the commission willingly laid itself open to being used as the foundation of the 1953 Bantu Education Act which entrenched the practice of differential education for blacks and whites in South Africa.

The Act provided for the establishment of government schools for Africans; for the transfer of the administration of native schools from the provinces to the union; and for these schools to be administered by the *Native Affairs Department*, rather than the Department of Education. An amendment to this Act, passed in 1955, pegged the general taxpayers' contribution to African education at R13-million, with further increases in expenditure to be financed by the Bantu themselves, thus giving statutory force to the myth of the dual economy in South Africa. (According to this myth there is a 'developed' and an 'underdeveloped' economy in South Africa, the two being independent of each other. In fact, underdevelopment is the reverse side of

development, the one occurring at the expense of the other - they are inextricably linked.

LEGISLATION: aims and changes

Aims

WHAT were the declared aims of the Act?

According to Dr HF Verwoerd, the then Minister of Native Affairs, "Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live" and "Native Education should be in accord with the policy of the State.... Good race relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself" (SA Outlook, 1953). Further, he said: "It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupts the communal life of the Bantu and endangers the communal life of the European" (quoted in Jones, 1970). "The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour" (Verwoerd, 1954:24).

There is no attempt in these statements to disguise the fact that Bantu Education is meant to fit the African child for an inferior, subordinate role in South African society. More recently government spokesmen have denied this, but Verwoerd's notorious words have not been forgotten by black South Africans. The Soweto Teachers' Action Group sees Bantu education as "a Broederbond controlled political weapon used by whites to ensure their continued dominance of blacks" and as being "geared to indoctrinate blacks to despise

themselves and bow down to white people" (Sunday Post, 79.07.25).

Changes

IN 1972 an Act was passed removing the financial provisions of the 1955 amendment. This amendment (mentioned above) had made increases in public expenditure for Bantu Education contingent upon Bantu economic productivity and tax revenues, themselves dependent on the general level of Bantu educational achievement. The result was an increasing backlog and deterioration in African educational facilities, which, despite the Act of 1972, and particularly given the differential spending on black and white education (see later), have been, and will be, hard to eradicate. At the beginning of 1978 there was a backlog of 700 classrooms or 40 schools in Soweto alone. (Kane-Berman, 1978:185). (This is further compounded by the emphasis on building secondary schools only in the 'homelands', although, since Soweto 1976, this has, apparently, been somewhat relaxed).

The Education and Training Act which was passed earlier this year replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953. (Since the beginning of 1978 the Department of Bantu Education has been renamed the Department of Education and Training. Is this as cosmetic and unconvincing a measure as some of the provisions of the new Act - or does it have symbolic significance?) The Act allows for a more flexible application of the medium of instruction provisions of the earlier Act. While this may be the result of the lesson learnt at Soweto, the language issue was obviously only the 'last straw' rather than the cause of the 1976 uprising. The Act

declares as its aim and objective the introduction of compulsory education in all areas, but does not couple it with free education, which casts grave doubts on its viability.

The Act provides for the matriculation or senior certificate examination to be that of, or the equivalent of, either the Department of National Education or the Joint Matriculation

Board, but, given the minute fraction of African students (0,3%) who reach matriculation level and given that differential education but equal examination can only result in high failure rates among the African students, this hardly seems an important concession.

The government, from the statements of its spokesmen, has, since the second half of the

1950s, seen itself in the role of noble and misunderstood benefactor in the realm of African education.³ The basis of its claim to have done so much for African education must be questioned. Certainly the numbers of African children at school have risen both absolutely and proportionately, but from 1955 to 1971 the pupil/teacher rose from 45,5 to 57,8

LESSON 10.

THE COMING OF THE 1820 SETTLERS.

English, starving, Government, strange, party, drought, farm, settlers, leader,

When the fighting against Napoleon was over, the English soldiers returned to their homes in England to find that they could get no work. Meal, bread and most other food cost much money. Men, women and children were starving.

In South Africa there was much land and few people to plough and sow it. The Dutch farmers along the Great Fish River lived far from each other. Often men who were looking after their cattle were killed by the Ama-Xhosa who stole the cattle and burnt down the houses. There were not enough soldiers to punish the Ama-Xhosa and bring back the cattle.

The Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, thought that it would be a very good thing if more White farmers lived along the Great Fish River. They could then help each other and the Ama-Xhosa would be afraid to cross the river and steal. He knew that many people were starving in England; so he wrote a letter to the English Government asking that some of these people should be sent out to South Africa. He said he would give them big farms and help them buy food, oxen, waggons, ploughs and seeds the first year.

When the English Government promised to give tickets to those who wanted to go to South Africa, many men sent in their names and said they would like to take their wives and children to a new land and make new homes where there would be enough food to

eat.

At last the day came for them to leave their own land. They were put into parties of ten. Each party had a leader, one of whom was William Shaw, the great missionary. They were not very happy on the small sailing ships that took three months to reach South Africa. There were so many people on the ships that there was not much room to move about. Sometimes the sea was rough and many were sea-sick. All were very pleased when the ships sailed into Algoa Bay and landed at the place where Port Elizabeth now stands.

How strange it must have been for those new settlers to stand on the land and see not a house for miles around. Dutch farmers were *waiting for them with waggons on which were long white tents*. Never before had they seen waggons pulled by oxen, never before had they seen little black boys leading oxen over the veld. It was strange at night, when the waggons were outspanned, to sit beside the fire and eat mealie-meal porridge. They had never seen mealies growing!

When each party reached the land that had been given it by the Government, the few things they had brought from England were taken off the waggons and they were left on the wide open veld. Often there was not a house to be seen.

The Dutch farmers living along the Fish River were very good to the new settlers

They helped them to build their houses and plough their lands. They showed them what to plant and when to plant.

Many of these settlers had never been on a farm but had lived and worked in big towns. Some had never before had a garden or held a spade in their hands. Some buried their seed two feet under the ground and waited for them to grow! Drought came, the rivers dried up, the grass became brown, the animals starved and the plants died.

After the drought came heavy rains which filled the rivers, drowned their sheep and cattle and washed away their gardens. The Ama-Xhosa crossed the Great Fish River and stole their cattle and set fire to their homes while they were sleeping. Some wished they had stayed in England to starve and many left their farms and went to the towns where they found work.

More stayed. They were too brave to run away and had learnt to love the land with its bright sunshine. Year by year they learnt

(Troup, 1976), while the drop-out rate at African schools is exceptionally high. Many of the reasons for this can be found by looking at hard figures.

FACILITIES

LIBERAL critiques of Bantu Education have tended to concentrate on facilities rather than on form and content. Thus, equalisation of expenditure is seen as crucial, covering compulsory free education, teachers' salaries, removal of double sessions, reduction of pupil/teacher ratios, provision of laboratories and libraries, school feeding schemes, improved teacher qualifications, rather than what is actually taught or how it is taught. Auerbach, speaking at the 1969 SAIRR Conference on Bantu Education, concluded that, on the whole, shortcomings were not of the curricula "which are reasonably balanced, nor of syllabuses which, generally, are educationally sound." Obviously the reforms suggested by liberal educationalists are important, and some of the actual figures involved are given below. Nevertheless, the problems of Bantu Education go far beyond expenditure as I shall attempt to show in the following section.

Undoubtedly, differential education in South Africa has meant differential access to resources. This has been partly excused by the dual economy myth, and partly by the 'homelands' policy, in terms of which all African South Africans are citizens of a 'homeland' and so their education should be 'homeland' centered and ultimately 'homeland' controlled.⁴ In figures this means that in the 1976/7 period the average per capita expenditure on the education of a white child

was R654, on an African child in the 'common area' R48,55 (all figures taken from the 1978 SAIRR Survey of Race Relations, and Africans referred to are from the 'common area', unless otherwise stated).

In 1978 the pupil/teacher ratio at white schools was 1:19,7, in African schools 1:49,2. Whereas in African schools only 12% of school-going children were enrolled at secondary school (0,9% in the final two years), in white schools 36,6% were enrolled at secondary schools (5,6% in the final two years). In 1978 only 2,3% of African teachers had university degrees; 81,3% had only a junior certificate or less. On average, African teachers earn 67% of the salary of a white teacher with the same qualifications. During 1977 there were 19 183 African student teachers enrolled for teacher training courses, compared to 13 167 whites, serving, respectively, populations of 19 369 500 and 4 365 000 (this covers the whole of South Africa, including the Transkei region). The bias towards white education is obvious. The accumulative effect is both vicious and self-perpetuating.

Most revealing of all, perhaps, is the drop-out rate among African school children. Out of a total school population of 4,5-million only 2% get to Std 7 (Financial Mail, 77.12.09). In a study done by Prof R Tunmer (Rhodes), he found that one out of two children had dropped out by Std 3, one in five in the first year (EP Herald, 77.10.18). A writer in the Bantu Educational Journal (Department of Information) in April, 1976, had this to say about the drop-out rate: "There are various factors which contribute

to this phenomenon. The parent or the school may be at fault, or possibly the opportunities for work which present themselves may cause the child to leave school. However, here I wish to concern myself solely with the child as factor." In the light of the preceding figures, and in the context of the socio-economic conditions in South Africa, such an emphasis on the child must appear wilfully blind.

According to Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, Secretary of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, "From the financial discrimination all other inequalities flow" (RDM, 78.01.12). This is, however, questionable. The difference does not lie only in money and numbers. The form and content of Bantu Education are geared towards the reproduction of an obedient, dependent workforce, particularly at the junior school level. As 88% of African school-going children are enrolled at junior school, the curriculum, syllabus and text-books at this level are particularly significant.

FORM AND CONTENT

BOWLES (1977:137) sees mass education as ensuring social control and political stability. It instills discipline, punctuality, acceptance of authority and individual accountability, all of which are needed by workers, particularly in a capitalist society. According to Postman (1970), "If you cannot read you cannot be an obedient citizen", and "an important function of the teaching of reading is to make students accessible to political and historical myth." Bantu Education syllabuses and text-books are geared towards training obedient

citizens and workers and propagating convenient myths. Blacks must be taught to respect the values of white, technological society; to equate progress and civilisation with the coming of the white man to South Africa. Intrinsic to this is the acceptance of the necessity and sacredness of law and order,

the work ethic, and a negation of the role of blacks in South African history (Adler, 1973). The myths that come through are (a) that black is bad and white is good, (b) that apartheid is natural and given, and (c) that obedient submission is the 'natural' role of the black man.

Black is bad; white is good

This myth is particularly prevalent in the teaching of history, where the emphasis is on "the white man who carries truth to savages - all-white truth" (Fanon, 1967:147).

According to the Bantu Education (BE) Social Studies syllabus for Std 5, "The aims

LESSON 21.

CECIL JOHN RHODES.

born, digger, diamond, college, donkeys, war, member, Parliament, Prime Minister, done.

Cecil John Rhodes was born in England in 1853. He was not a very strong boy so when he was seventeen years old his father sent him to South Africa where he hoped the beautiful sunlight would make his boy strong.

Cecil's brother was a farmer in Natal and to him the boy went to live an open-air life. Soon after he arrived, diamonds were found on the Vaal River and hundreds of people from all over South Africa left their farms, their offices and their shops and went to dig for diamonds. Among them were Cecil Rhodes and his brother.

On their waggon these two young men loaded spades, picks, buckets, food and clothes.

Then they inspanned their oxen and, taking with them some Zulu servants, set off on their long journey over the Drakensberg to the Vaal River. When they reached Kimberley, they bought a small piece of ground and began digging.

Hundreds of other men were digging too and soon the ground was covered with deep holes. Every bucket of earth was brought to the top and carefully washed to find the heavy white shining stones that would make the diggers rich.

Life was not easy for these men. They had no time and no money to build houses in which to live. Most of them slept in their waggons or in tents; a few built small iron huts which were too hot in summer and too

cold in winter. The country was dry and bare with few trees and gardens. Meal, mealies, sugar, tea and other food were brought on waggons from the Cape and cost much money—a bag of meal cost five pounds.

The farmers who had water on their farms sold it to the diggers. So much water was wanted for washing the earth that there was very little for bathing, cooking, and washing clothes. It cost one shilling and sixpence to have a shirt washed and ironed.

This hard rough life did not kill Cecil Rhodes, who found many diamonds and became rich. When he had enough money, he went back to England to college with boys younger than himself. He wanted to learn more and more. In the long holidays he came back to Kimberley to work on his diggings.

When he left college, he returned to South Africa and worked hard to make more money. He did not want to buy large houses, fine clothes and rich food. He wanted money so that he might help to make his country great.

At that time the country North of the Limpopo River was called Zambesia and the Great Chief was Lobengula. Rhodes paid many visits to Lobengula and begged him to sell some of the great land. At last the chief said he could send some White settlers into the country.

Khama let Rhodes build a railway through Bechuanaland to the North and on this railway he spent thousands of pounds.

The men he sent into the new country which he called Rhodesia were brave and wise. After they left the railway they found no roads. The country was covered with thick forests and trees had to be chopped down to make

roads for the waggons; lions roared round the tents at night and sometimes carried off donkeys; oxen were stung by poisonous flies and died; wild animals had to be killed for food; but on and on went the brave men slowly until they reached the place where Fort Victoria now stands. Here they outspanned and began farming and looking for gold.

The Matabele were brave strong men who did not like to see the White settlers in their land. They stole and murdered until some soldiers were sent to punish them. The Matabele attacked and killed a small party of soldiers and war began.

Rhodes came from Cape Town to see what could be done to put things right. He and a few men without guns rode out to the Matoppa Hills where the Matabele had collected in thousands. The soldiers could easily have killed Rhodes and his men but not one threw a spear; they were brave themselves and liked to meet men who were not afraid. Rhodes put up his tents, then he sent messengers to call the chiefs to come and talk things over. He waited many days before one old chief came, then another and another.

When all had come the great talk began. Day after day it went on and the great man listened to all that the chiefs had to say. He made them many promises and when at last he asked, "Is it to be peace or war?" they all shouted, "Peace, Nkosi."

In the Cape Rhodes was a member of Parliament and became Prime Minister.

He died in 1902 and was buried on the top of a mountain in the Matoppas near the place where he had had his great meetings with the African Chiefs.

of the teaching of History are: to show the pupil, through the study of the past, how man has reached his present stage of development" and "to foster an appreciation of the ideals, achievements and historical characters that can influence his own personality for the good."

The South African history studied in Std 5 covers "(1) Jan van Riebeeck and his work as founder; (2) Van Riebeeck's successors." A Form 2 and 3 Social Studies textbook (Van der Merwe et al, Bona Press, 1973, quoted by Adler, 1973:122) tells the African student that "If the white man did not intervene (in the Zulu ward), there probably would have been a much smaller number of Bantu in South Africa today", while a Std 4 supplementary reader (the Govan English Readers for Bantu Schools, 1974), is filled with Wolraad Woltemade, Pieter Retief and Cecil John Rhodes. In "The Coming of the Dutch" chapter the African school child can read how "The Hottentots killed their herdboys and stole their cattle" but "These brave men did not give up."

In the section on the 1820 Settlers: "The Ama-Xhosa crossed the Great Fish River and stole their cattle and set fire to their homes while they were sleeping." In the chapter on Moshesh: "At last in 1870 after there had been much fighting, murdering and cattle stealing Queen Victoria said she would protect Basutoland and let the chief govern his own people with the help of a wise man sent from England." God is always on the white man's side; white men are always "brave and wise"; black men, until they accept christianity and commerce, always steal and burn. The History and Geography syllabuses are generally very limited in scope, particularly in the lower

standards. Thus, according to JW Macquarrie (1969), "the child who passes Std 6 will have learned no history other than that of South Africa...he will have learned, however, about such useful and exciting things as the reference book, the labour bureau and control measures in urban areas." While the environment of the white child is seen as the world of man, for the African child it is his magisterial district and his homeland. Apartheid as natural Apartheid and the 'homeland' policy are treated throughout the syllabuses as natural and god-given, rather than as a particular government's policy. Anything opposed to the policy is seen as 'wrong'.

Thus, in Schoeman and Prior's 'Social Studies Std 5: a Junior Secondary Course' (Pretoria, 1957 - quoted in 'Rebusoajoang', 1979) the writers tell the student that "the tribal system, which is part of the life of the black man in South Africa, remains" (p 99); that "experts (people who know - sic) tell us that by 1980, 9,3-million people will be living in the homelands" (without any reference as to how they will get there). Van der Merwe et al (op cit) tell the reader that "the function of pass laws is to protect the people who are already permanently resident in the cities and to see that the work of our people is not taken away from them by foreigners from across the borders." (p 174).

The Environmental Studies syllabus for Stds 1 and 2 gives as its aims: "1) The pupil should realise that he is a member of a particular community and that he is bound by various ties to particular groups of people in the community, as they are represented, for

example, in his home, his school, his church, his residential area and his tribe. These groups serve him directly or indirectly and he in turn owes them loyalty and co-operation. At a later stage larger loyalties can be developed."

In the Std 5 Vocational Guidance syllabus there is a section on the "Physical aspects of the occupation" which asks teachers to stress "The social and economic value of employment near one's place of abode rather than having to travel to work", while the Std 4 Reader quoted earlier has two chapters on the advantages of going to work on the gold mines. The section on "Political Development" in the Std 5 syllabus deals exclusively with Homelands, functions of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education, Tribal and Community Authorities and Bantu Administration Affairs Boards (BAAB).

Obedient submission

In the Std 5 Vocational Guidance syllabus teachers are told they must emphasize the importance of loyalty to one's employer; of punctuality, neatness, honesty, politeness, quiet behaviour, etc. The Environment Studies syllabus for Stds 1 and 2, gives as one of its aims that the African child must "realise that laws are necessary to the people of any community for harmonious living together. Consequently teaching should lead the child to do naturally, and therefore willingly, what society has prescribed as correct, good and commendable." In the Sub A Religious Instruction syllabus we find as part of a sub-theme: "God also loves little girls: he used the obedient little girl, Miriam, to look after her brother" and "God also used a

little girl carried away as a slave. He loves children like this too."

Textbooks interpret the syllabus for the teachers and children. Thus, in Schoeman and Prior (op cit:92), "We have seen that one must have certain basic characteristics such as honesty, trustworthiness, honesty (twice), etc to make a success of life and job." In the Std 4 supplementary reader (op cit): "If a man shows that he is hardworking, brave and wise, he is put in charge of a small party and paid more money" (this is re working on the gold mines, where the work is described as - "some drill holes in the hard rock; into these a European miner puts fuses").

The African child is being prepared for his/her role in the South African economy, a role which in terms of money, status, and potential, is inferior to that for which the white child is prepared. An interesting point here is the way in which the role for which the black girl is prepared combines elements of both the sexist and class stereotypes. Thus Bantu (July, 1976) in an article on "Education for South Africa's black peoples", included the following passage on vocational training for girls:

There are a number of courses available to girls who have completed at least a primary school education. Most of these courses serve a dual purpose: They prepare the girls for their future task as homemakers and also train them as workers, particularly in the textile and clothing industries.

Form

I have discussed, so far, the content of Bantu Education. Mention should also be made of the form. This is linked to the previous section on facilities, for the lack of

resources, the size of the class, and ill-trained teachers lead to an authoritarian ethos and rote-learning, with a high premium on obedience and punctuality rather than on creativity and independence. This slots in well with the aims of BE. According to Barbagli and Dei (1977) authority learned in the class leads to an attitude of complete subordination to the political authorities.

The sum total of the effects of BE is the acceptance of the status quo and the hegemonic definition of it:

LESSON 28.

THE GOLD MINES (Part 1.)

mines, taxes, million, helmet, miners, cages, drill, fuses, trucks.

There are about three hundred thousand Africans working on the gold mines in the Transvaal and of these about one hundred and eighteen thousand come from the Cape Province. They first began working there in 1901 and go to get money to pay their taxes, to buy cattle and to send their children to college. In times of drought they work to get money for food.

For their wool the Africans in the Cape Province get about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds but from the mines they bring back two million pounds a year.

If a man wants to go to the mines, he sometimes tells the trader, who sends him to the mines' office in the nearest village. Here the doctor looks at him to see if he is strong enough to work on the mines. No one who is not well may go; for gold digging is hard work. When a man has passed the doctor, he travels by train to the Transvaal. There he chooses which mine he wants to work on. Some men return again and again to the same mine, others go to different mines. Those who go up for the first time like to go to places where they have friends. Each man promises to work from nine to twelve months. At the end of that time he may return home or he may stay for a longer time if he wants to do so

What is called 'underdevelopment' is at its deepest root a state of prostration of the spirit, objectively a situation so defined by an overbearing culture and, subjectively, the condition of a mind which has meekly internalised its prescriptions (da Veiga Contintio, 1972).

Part of this 'underdevelopment' involves the incorporation of an elite group into the white, privileged, middle-class culture.⁵

For the few who reach matric, and for those who teach within the BE system, there is the possibility, at least, of integration into middle-class values and life-style. This

Before he goes down the mines, he must see another doctor. Sometimes the doctor says he is not strong enough to work under the ground, then he is either given work above the ground or he may be sent home again.

Work on the mines begins early in the morning, but first each man is given a piece of bread and something warm to drink. In the mines he must wear strong boots to keep the sharp stones from cutting his feet and a helmet to protect his head from falling stones.

There is a big hole in the ground down which the miners must go in cages. They go down, down, down into the earth. Sometimes they go down six thousand feet, before they reach the place where they will work.

What do these men do under the ground? Some drill holes in the hard rock; into these a European miner puts fuses. When all is ready he lights them and every one is told to get away. If foolish people stand near, they will be killed by the pieces of rock which fly in all directions.

When the noise is over and the dust has settled, the miners return to the place with their spades. They load the broken rock on to trucks which, when full, are pulled up above the ground.

Trunks of great trees are put into the mine so that the roof may not fall in and crush those who are working underneath.

possibility, limited though it is, of social mobility operates as a form of social control. Social mobility, or possibility thereof, requires the acceptance of the parameters already established by those who have power. There is certainly no question of challenging the status quo at a structural level.

CONCLUSION

BANTU Education operates at many levels to enforce dependency. It takes as given the subordinate role of the Africans in the labour force. It reinforces the notion that what Africans have they owe to whites. It teaches that the present economic and political dispensation is right and good and that the African is in the white man's land on sufferance. It emphasises passive obedience. Above all, it teaches that the African's role in the South African economy is as worker and consumer. BE opens Africans to the influence of mass media which entices them with the commodities of capitalist production, and it teaches them that the way to get these commodities is through being a good (=obedient) worker. To this end it offers basic literacy, numeracy and job-related skills within a framework of values that denigrates what is black and eulogizes what is white.

"...the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."
Steve Biko (1972)

FOOTNOTES

1. The 1892 report of an educational commission on education in the Cape Colony (Rose and Turner, 1975:215) contains the following memorandum from a certain Mr Levey: "as far as possible, I would at these schools teach every occupation that a servant is required to do in the colony... The present system of education is not only a waste of money..., but money spent in raising up an army of discontents, who sooner or later would become a serious danger to the country." The final report of the commission concluded (p 217) that: "There should be a definite regulation that one half of the school time required of those in attendance shall be devoted to such manual training as can best be followed in the local ... The 'literacy' instruction sanctioned in native schools should be purely elementary."

2. By contrast, Fick published a treatise on "The Educability of the South African Native" in 1939 in which he states: "The inferiority of the Native in Educability... limits considerably the proportions of Natives who can benefit by education of the ordinary type beyond the rudimentary." In 1949 the Federation of Afrikaners Cultural Societies (FAK) wrote of Bantu Education: "We believe that any system of education of the native should be based on these three principles (guardianship, no levelling, and segregation), with this proviso... that the financing of native education be placed on such a basis that it does not take place at the cost of European education" (Jones, 1970:54,5).

3. The Bantu Education Journal of October 1975 (Department of Information publication) talking of a "new orientation in industrial subjects" course, says: "The Department meets the costs, for it accepts this service as part of its educational task in the general development of the black man in the Republic of South Africa". The implication here is that the government does not owe the black man anything, but, nevertheless, contributes towards his education in a spirit of service and altruism. Moreover, comparisons are made between black South Africans and the rest of black Africa, rather than between black and white South Africans, between whom, apparently, there is an unbridgeable ontological distinction. Thus Prof JJ Fourie, a member of the National Advisory Education Council,

could write in 1966: "Why pick on the South African Nationalist government which has done more for the education of its non-white masses than most other governments in Africa can boast of?" (quoted in Hunter, 1966:310), while Eric Louw, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking in 1961 (quoted in Biermann, 1963), declared that: "The great progress made in Bantu Education in South Africa is considerably in advance of that made by most other African countries. The success obtained is due to the fact that an educational system has been evolved which recognises that educational methods designed for European and American children with different background habits and behaviour patterns cannot simply be grafted on to the methods used for children that have grown up under entirely different circumstances. In most cases these children are acquainted only with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned from a Bantu mother, and are more often than not living in surroundings appropriate to an early stage of civilization."

4. Thus we have the then Minister of Education and Training, W Cruywagen, saying he could foresee "developments leading to a situation where the homeland governments would have a full say in the education of their subjects in white areas" (Rapport, 78.02.19).

5. Black teachers are susceptible to this mode of incorporation. The April, 1979, editorial of Educamus (Department of Education and Training publication) was devoted to the "Image of the Department", and had this to say: "There are... methods and ways by means of which teachers can air their grievances without harming the image of their department. Members of family do not denigrate each other in public." Soweto 1976 showed that this social control does not always work, that sometimes the limited rewards are not seen as being worthwhile by all teachers and students. Nevertheless, where BE is the only education available, it is, on the whole, accepted; and for those who do manage to matriculate, the temptation to despise that which they have been taught is inferior, and to respect those who have "given us all that we have" (black 1st year sociology student) must be great. Even among those who reject this image of the white, there is an acceptance of white standards. The Financial Mail (79.02.16) reports a "youngster in Soweto" as saying

"we want an education which will be fundamentally the same as the whites'" and the Soweto Students' League (SSL) tells students to "carry on with Bantu Education while the struggle for its abolition continues". There is an assumption here that education per se is good, that the problem with BE is not that it is negative, but that it is not good enough. This is not to suggest that there is not and has not been resistance to BE, from the ANC boycott of 1955 to the present. This is an area that needs further investigation.

Another factor should be mentioned under social control: that of fear. There is not only fear of losing potential membership of the black elite, but also that if one does not toe the line in the classroom, whether as student or teacher, there will be someone to inform on you. According to a 1st-year student at Rhodes who has been both a student and a teacher within the BE system, one is always very careful about the questions one asks and how one answers them. The result is the fostering of an illusion of consensus based on white magnanimity and black humility.

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