

EDUCATION for ISOLATION

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“No other passion is so fatal to the pursuit of truth as fanatical partisanship. Wherever it exists, whether it takes the form of religious intolerance or ferocious patriotism, there is an atrophy of science, learning and all the humane arts.”

—Dean Inge.



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The First School in South Africa

THE first school established in South Africa is described in Jan van Riebeeck's Journal, Vol. II, the entry dated 17th April, 1658:

Arrangements were started for establishing a school for the Company's male and female slaves brought here from Angola by the "Amersfoort", which had taken them off a prize Portuguese slaver. The sick-comforter Pieter van der Stael of Rotterdam has been entrusted with the task of giving them instruction in the morning and afternoon, besides his duties of visiting the sick particularly because he reads Dutch well and correctly.

To encourage the slaves to attend and to hear or learn the Christian prayers, it is ordered that after school everyone is to have a small glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco. All their names are to be written down and those who have none, are to be given names, paired or unpaired, young or old. All this to be done in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for a few days to put everything in proper order and subject these people to proper discipline, signs of which are already apparent.

All the slaves are also being properly clothed to protect them against the daily increasing cold. The strongest have also been put to work so that they may as soon as possible be of service to the settlement.

EDUCATION for ISOLATION

WHAT is happening to education in South Africa today? Parents are asking that question with growing anxiety and the anxiety is not confined to English-speaking parents, or to White parents as a whole. There is a strong suspicion that the ideas and principles of Christian National Education, as laid down in the handbook published in 1948 by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, are being applied in government schools, and the suspicion persists despite official assurances that there is nothing to worry about.

This booklet attempts to throw light on the matter. We have tried to ensure that the factual content of the articles is correct, but the opinions expressed are the personal views of the contributors themselves.

To see the prevailing pattern it is necessary first of all to study the policy of Christian National Education. The details of that policy have been summarised and critically reviewed in this booklet. We have also included an article defending C.N.E. principles.

In accordance with C.N.E. policy, White children are separated into English- and Afrikaans-speaking groups. The Transvaal, the Free State and the Cape all have ordinances that eliminate parental choice until after Standard VIII. The Provincial Administrations are permitted to dis-establish parallel-medium schools without reference to parents, school committees or school boards. In the Natal Provincial Council Nationalists are still in a minority and it is the only Province in which there is still parental option.

Some approved and recommended textbooks used in Transvaal schools reveal a marked bias. Readers may judge for themselves, in the light of the articles in this booklet on Guidance and Race Studies and Social Studies in the Orange Free State, whether attempts are being made to indoctrinate children with certain political ideas and racial theories.

During the past parliamentary session the Union Education Advisory Council Bill was introduced to bring about a "uniform" system of education. This step was necessary, it was claimed, to reduce the administrative difficulties of "separate" education in the four Provinces. Our analysis of the Bill leads us to conclude that it was designed to force all the Provinces into the iron embrace of State authority. There is still time for the public to make such strong representations against the Bill that the Government will be persuaded to withdraw it.

Turning to an examination of the education of non-Whites, we find that the Bantu Education Act is the main feature of the programme to dominate the lives of Africans. The education of African children has been wrested from the Provinces, to what effect may be seen in an article on this subject. African children are now to be taught in the vernacular far beyond the primary stages. We have included an article by an African writer explaining the implications of vernacular instruction, and Africans' objections to compulsion. Some discouraging aspects of the education of Coloured and Indian children are discussed in separate articles.

In higher education the policy of separation is being pursued vigorously. The Extension of University Education Act forces non-Whites to attend their own universities where they will be untainted by "foreign ideologies". Next year the Indians are to have a separate university. In a system of tribal colleges, Zulu are to be separated from Xhosa, and Xhosa from Sotho. In these colleges Africans will receive an inferior university education: they will be deprived of the wider contacts needed for full development.

There are other disquieting aspects of education that are not dealt with in this booklet. We have not discussed the technical standard of teaching and problems of staffing and finance because these matters are

secondary in importance to the underlying principles that are being applied.

We believe that no fair-minded person can read this booklet without realising that there is a strong tendency in our educational system to foster race prejudice and group hostility among White schoolchildren, subservience among non-White schoolchildren, and a narrow outlook among all schoolchildren. The title of this booklet, "Education for Isolation", sums up the threat we face.

In conclusion, we list ways in which parents may combat the present policy. If parents fail to do so, through apathy or fear, they will be failing in an essential duty to their children, who cannot defend themselves.



"Doesn't that show the danger of the Western academic tradition! He won't join us."

THE ESSENCE OF C.N.E.

"We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races."

—Preface to Institute of Christian National Education pamphlet.

MANY of our readers will have read the pamphlet setting forth C.N.E. policy, or the excerpts that were printed in the September, 1959, issue of *The Black Sash*. For the sake of those who have not yet done so, we give a brief summary of its fundamental provisions, and refer them to *Blackout*, which can be obtained from the Black Sash or from the Home and School Council for 2s. 6d.

Divine Task

The meaning of C.N.E., according to those who drew up the policy, including Dr. Dönges and Prof. J. G. Meiring, is indoctrination with sectional (Nationalist) and sectarian (the three Calvinist Dutch Reformed Churches) ideas, and "facts" moulded to support these ideas. God has earmarked South Africa for the Calvinist Nationalists, who are to have the final say in all race matters, as being "the senior partner." This is a divinely appointed task. Nothing that is in conflict with the fundamentalist doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Churches, or that does not actively support it, is to be tolerated. Any teacher not imbued with these doctrines and theories is "a deadly danger" to the community. Religion is to be the key subject and to permeate all the rest, and history and geography are to be used in the first place in inculcate "the love of one's own which is nationalism."

There must be mother-tongue schools, and there must be no mixing of cultures, religions and races (i.e., Afrikaans and English). (History, as Dr. Stokes has said, cannot be taught in mixed schools, because you cannot teach Afrikaans children the history of their own heroes if there are English children in the class. There will thus be two unlike sets of historical "facts".)

Home, school and State must work in conjunction, but the parents cannot act as individuals, only as a group *holding certain ideas* (our italics), and the three Churches will exercise the necessary discipline over the doctrine and lives of the teachers, over

whom the parents will keep watch. Teachers' Training Colleges must be Christian National, too.

All authority in school is "borrowed from God" (i.e., there is no appeal from the discipline of the Churches, nor can any criticism of Church or State be allowed).

There must be "at least" two kinds of primary schools, one for Afrikaans-, and one for English-speaking children. (C.N.E. is designed for Afrikaans children, and the implication here is that English-speaking children should be imbued with their own brand of sectional and secular ideas. But as they have the same syllabuses, learn South African history and geography, and as all Training Colleges are to be staffed exclusively with Christian Nationalist teachers, this seems a remote possibility. No provision at all is made for Afrikaans-speaking children whose parents do not hold C.N. views, unless it be implied by the words "at least" above.)

University education must be "Christian." The sciences must not be experimental or teach evolution. Students must be taught that the State is superior to the individual, and that his freedom would be incompatible with its authority, which is absolute (i.e. there must be no criticism of the Nationalist Government, merely unquestioning obedience).

Deep Gulfs

Coloured and African education must be Christian National and self-supporting, and both sections taught that their real happiness lies in being separate and inferior. (An illustration of what is meant is to be found in the Tribal Colleges.)

Apart from the passages in brackets, there is nothing in the above that is not explicit in the pamphlet. Its systematic implementation is recorded elsewhere in this issue. Its success is evident in many ways, chiefly in the deep gulfs that have been set between the sections of our community, and the increasing unilingualism that prevents their bridging; and also in the almost complete absence, in Nationalist and D.R.C. circles, of criticism of the acts of the Nationalist Government.

N. J. M.

C.N.E. — STEP BY STEP

By **CHRISTINA VAN HEYNINGIN**

Senior Lecturer in English, University of Natal.

1 Official F.A.K. policy for Christian-National Education published in February 1948. Attacked by Education League in pamphlet *Blueprint for Blackout*, revised in 1959 and reprinted as *Blackout*.

2 C.N.E. discussed in Parliament early in 1949. Dr. Dönges and Dr. Jansen, both Directors of the Institute for Christian-National Education, were present and did not repudiate the policy. They said nothing. Other Government members bitterly attacked critics of the policy, at the same time disclaiming responsibility for it.

To-day Dr. Dönges is one of the most powerful members of the Cabinet, and the late Dr. Jansen was Governor-General. Other sponsors of C.N.E. are men of the greatest influence in our country. They include Mr. Justice de Vos Hugo, a former chairman of the Group Areas Board; Mr. Greibe, former President of the Transvaal Afrikaans Teachers' Association; Dr. C. Coetzee, rector of the University of Potchefstroom, and Dr. J. G. Meiring who was appointed Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape Province, and is now Principal of the new University College for Coloured students.

3 Declaration by the Onderwysersunies of support for C.N.E., only that of S.W.A. stipulating "but not as defined in the pamphlet."

4 Transvaal Language Ordinance passed, in accordance with first C.N.E. principle: No mixed schools. Ordinance attacked by Education League Home-School Council clause by clause, when still in draft, in vain. This ordinance removes (a) parental right to choose a school; (b) parental right to decide which is the child's home language; and (c) it proposes to abolish gradually all parallel and dual medium schools.

5 The determined implementing of all parts of this Ordinance, despite impassioned and incessant protests from individual parents, schools, P.T.A.'s, Teacher's Associations, the Education League, Church. This is still going on.

6 Education Ordinance in the Orange Free State passed extending compulsory mother-tongue education from Standard VI to VIII. (Thus in practice to Matriculation.)

7 Transvaal Education Ordinance altered to amend election of School Boards so that the ordinary rate-paying members of the public are excluded from taking part in the elections.

Only parents of pupils in primary schools now have the right to vote in school board elections. C.N.E. principle: Education should be controlled by the parents (in community), the school and the Church.

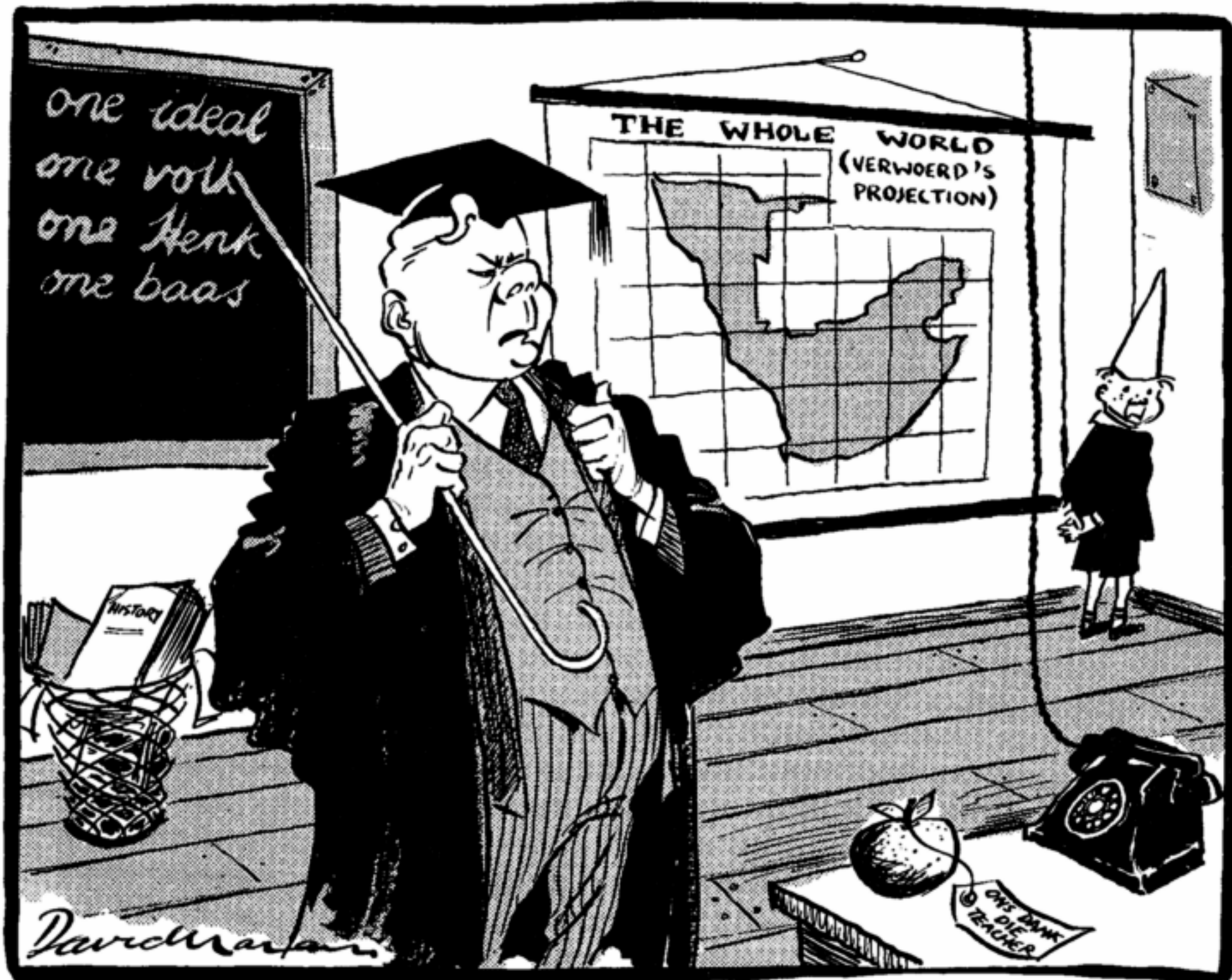
8 Potchefstroom University Act passed, in accordance with second main principle of C.N.E.: "All teachers who are not Christian Nationalists are a deadly danger to us." This Act abolishes the Conscience Clause for teachers at the University of Potchefstroom even although not a Church institution. The Conscience Clause makes it illegal to enquire into teachers' or students' religious convictions—except, of course, in teaching institutions paid for by a Church. Subsequently it was omitted in the Extension of University Education Act, and its abolition is advocated in certain quarters at all Afrikaans Universities generally and at the University of the Orange Free State particularly.

9 Bantu Education Act passed, in accordance with Articles 14 and 15 of the C.N.E. policy. These articles state that non-Europeans shall be educated according to Christian-National ideals, that foreign ideologies make them unhappy, and that they shall be placed under the tutelage of the senior trustee, *die Boerenasie*.

10 The implementation of this Act by such means as:

- (a) Dispossessing various English-speaking Churches and Missions of their schools, or of authority in them;
- (b) Replacing English mission personnel by Afrikaans-speaking personnel;
- (c) Carrying out the C.N.E. principle of regarding teachers who are not yes-men as "a deadly danger", by withholding the salaries of those who are *personae non grata*, etc.

11 Extension of University Education Act passed. This act breaches the traditional autonomy of Universities by forbidding the "open" universities to continue to admit non-White students. In the proposed tribal colleges, personnel shall not criticise Government action in any field, under pain of heavy fines or dismissal. C.N.E. principle: No anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-Nationalist or non-Nationalist propaganda may be made.



There will also be a slight change in the arithmetic syllabus. As from to-day $2 + 2 =$ whatever I say.

12 On the recommendation of a Committee of the three Dutch Reformed Churches, technical colleges placed under control of central Government. C.N.E. principle: All education shall be Christian-Nationalist—"Christian" means adhering to the creeds of the three Dutch Reformed Churches.

13 New religious syllabus introduced into all schools controlled by the Department of Education, Arts and Science, after consultation with the three Dutch Reformed Churches only. C.N.E. principle: "Christian" means adhering to the creeds of the three D.R. Churches.

14 School library censorship instituted by the Transvaal Education Department when it banned from school libraries, classrooms and hostels all books which did not appear in the official book guide, or were not approved by the Depart-

ment's Library Service. C.N.E. principle: The school must educate children in accordance with the parent community's view of life, in its national context.

15 Government insistence, in spite of his unanimous rejection by the Natal Executive Committee, on the appointment to the Deputy-Directorship of Education in Natal of Mr. J. H. Stander, well-known to have C.N.E. sympathies.

16 Declaration by the Prime Minister that he intends to introduce a uniform policy of education in South Africa, since more than one policy in the same country is "intolerable". C.N.E. principle: All education from the Nursery School to the University, must be Christian-Nationalist. Apologists try to soothe Natal by explaining that this probably only means compulsory mother-tongue

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In Defence of CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

By **W. J. du TOIT,**

Minister, Dutch Reformed Church, Bellville

IN 1948 the Institute for Christian National Education published a pamphlet explaining the underlying principles of C.N.E. Since then much has been said and written on this subject, sometimes obviously without a clear conception of either the right of existence or the aims of this trend in South African education.

Far-fetched explanatory interpretations have been and are continually being offered by persons who, through lack of knowledge or through prejudice, fail to grasp and appreciate the basic principles of C.N.E. as being similar to those readily accepted in almost any civilized country in the world. These self-appointed authorities are constantly prepared to pillory C.N.E. as a ridiculous monstrosity of self-righteousness, and the Afrikaans-speaking supporters thereof as tyrants who wish to enforce their own political and religious beliefs upon people of different creed and conviction.

Its Origin and History

Following the peace treaty of Vereeniging in 1902, Sir Alfred Milner was determined to anglicise the Boer population of the conquered republics. With this in view, he imported teachers straight from England and decreed that only one official language should be used in every school, "and damn the consequences." (His own well-known words.)

In response to this attitude of Milner's, the Afrikaans churches established schools of their own which would respect the language and history of Afrikaans-speaking children. These were known as C.N.E. schools but owing to strenuous financial demands, they eventually disappeared to be superseded by State schools.

The pamphlet of 1948 formulated the principles on which these C.N.E. schools were based, adapted to contemporary circumstances. Recently the name of the Institute was changed to The National Institute for Christian Education, and at present the text of these principles is being revised so as to be adaptable to the educational demands of today.

A summary of the most popular misconceptions about C.N.E. would lead one to believe that C.N.E. is concerned only about the welfare of the Afrikaans-speaking child, is striving to have Afrikaans proclaimed as the only official language in school, wants to separate the two language groups into different schools up to senior certificate standard, tries to impose the Reformed faith of Calvinistic origin on children of other denominations and is advocating a narrow, implacable, unscientific form of education.

This representation is altogether untrue and can easily be refuted by any honest and unbiased student of C.N.E.

Basic Principle

The basic principle of C.N.E. is really very elementary and obvious, viz. that it is the hereditary right of every child to be educated in his mother tongue and in the religious atmosphere to which he is accustomed, and that only in this way will he yield his utmost and develop into a complete human being.

In most countries this basic human right is acknowledged, and on account of this we find in the British Isles, Canada, the United States of America, Belgium, Sweden, Australia, and even in Russia, systems of education that are essentially the same as C.N.E.

For the Afrikaans-speaking child such a school can hardly be more than a pious wish, but the English-speaking child is more privileged and can well attend English "C.N.E." schools, provided his parents can foot the bill. These Church schools to which I am now alluding are founded on the very principles that C.N.E. advocates for Afrikaans children. If it is contentious to foster Afrikaans ideals, it is equally censurable for scholars in English schools to be "unashamedly British" (an exhortation from a well-known Church leader).

This patriotic attitude adopted by either Afrikaans or English-speaking pupils, need not necessarily be wrong or harmful. I have not had the opportunity of studying all the principles of the English

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SEPARATION IN SCHOOLS

"There should be at least two kinds of primary and secondary schools; one for the children of Afrikaans-speaking parents, with only Afrikaans as medium, and the other for children of English-speaking parents with only English as medium. In each there should be the right relationship between home, school, church and state."

—Article 8 (i), Christian National Education.

By **JANIE MALHERBE**

A former teacher in the Transvaal

AFTER the Campbell-Bannerman government, on its accession to power in Great Britain in 1906, granted responsible government to the two former Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the Boer leaders voluntarily dissolved their C.N.E. (C.N.O.) schools, and amalgamated with the government schools. These C.N.E. schools had only been established by the Boer leaders shortly after the end of the Anglo-Boer war because Lord Milner had unwisely decided virtually to ban the Dutch language from all government schools — Afrikaans had not yet been introduced as an official written language.

For the Nationalists of today to work on the sentimental feelings of Afrikaans parents by making out that the C.N.E. schools were unilingual mother-tongue medium schools, is blatantly dishonest political propaganda. The C.N.E. schools used both English and Dutch as media up to and including Std. III, and from Std. IV to Matriculation only English medium was used in the C.N.E. schools of the Boers. The Afrikaans children who attended

those schools, far from receiving mother-tongue — more correctly home language — instruction, were very successfully being educated through the medium of two (to them) foreign languages!

As a result of the amalgamation of the Dutch and English schools in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, Afrikaans- and English-speaking children throughout these two then British colonies attended the same schools. The same was happening in the Cape and Natal colonies, but here, as before the war, all instruction was through the medium of English.

In the Transvaal and O.F.S., thanks to the lead given by Generals Smuts and Hertzog, both English and Dutch were used as media in the government schools. This led not only to a rapid improvement in bilingualism, but also to a steady growth of mutual understanding and co-operation between the two language groups.

The Broederbond

Unfortunately the first demand for separate schools came from short-sighted English parents in the Transvaal who could not afford to send their children to English medium private schools, and who felt that their children were at a disadvantage where both languages were used as media. As a result, the 1917 Education Commission agreed to the principle of separate unilingual government schools for English- and Afrikaans-speaking children with provision for parallel classes in areas where one group was too small to warrant a separate school.

At this very time, 1918, was born the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, sworn to achieve ultimate Afrikaner domination of the whole of South Africa. It eagerly seized on separate schools as the most potent instrument to achieve its purpose in as short a time as possible.

Until 1933 the Broederbond was a body to which both Nationalist and South African Party (fore-

—Continued overleaf

Confusion of Thought

"The perpetual insistence on separation between White and White on the ground of language will lead to ever greater differences in approach and opinion between them. These can produce nothing but greater confusion of thought in matters of national significance, and bode nothing but ill for the country which they all wish to serve."

—J. P. Duminy, Principal of the University of Cape Town, Cape Argus, June 24, 1960.

runner of the United Party) Afrikaners belonged. With coalition in 1933, however, all members who belonged to the newly-formed United Party resigned, and since then the Broederbond has been nothing but the underground pressure group of the Nationalist Party.

In 1935, General Hertzog, speaking for three hours at Smithfield in the Orange Free State, fully exposed the Broederbond, which had become implacable in its determination to eradicate from public life in South Africa all English-speaking people, and non-Nationalist Afrikaners, using encroachment in the field of education as a means to this end.

General Hertzog pointed out that one-third of the members of the Broederbond already consisted of teachers, saying:

"There are few towns or villages in the country where the Broederbond has not already established cells of five to six members, with at least two teachers belonging to each and whose duty it is to spread Broederbond propaganda. Should it be allowed that teachers who are paid by the State should abuse the privilege of contact with the children of the country by disseminating trouble-making political propaganda?"

For the Republic

So well did Broederbond machinations succeed, and so true were General Hertzog's predictions, that eight years later, during the secret Silver Jubilee Conference of the Broederbond in Bloemfontein in 1943, a Free State school inspector declared:

"The Afrikaans teachers will show the Afrikanerdom what a power they possess in their Teachers' Associations to build up the country's youth for the future republic. I know of no more potent instrument. They handle the children for five or more hours each day for five days in each week, while this contact continues unbroken in hostels and boarding schools for long periods. A nation is born by having its youth impregnated at school in the traditions, customs, ways and ultimate destiny of its people."

In the notorious Broederbond-sponsored C.N.E. pamphlet Prof. Van Rooy said:

"Our schools must not only be mother tongue schools, they must be Christian and National schools in the truest sense of the word; they must be places where our children can be steeped in the Christian National spiritual 'kultuur' stuff of our (Boer) people."

In 1943 the United Party fought the Provincial and General Elections on the language medium principle, with the avowed intention of making bilingual medium schools, to be attended by both language groups, the ideal for South Africa. The Broederbond, seriously alarmed at this grave threat to their sectional ambitions, immediately launched a nation-wide protest, and worked out a detailed scheme to sabotage any effort made by the Government—with a mandate from the biggest majority any government has ever had in South Africa—to implement its plans.

But when the Transvaal and Cape Provincial Councils announced their plans for introducing bilingual medium, the most vehement opposition came from English school principals. Gleefully the Broederbond circularised its cells to take it easy: "The Rooineks are sabotaging the United Party plans for us."

Hypocrisy

Today the Broederbond is unwittingly abetted by English-speaking educationists who are content as long as they can retain their separate English medium schools, and by Provincial Councils like that in Natal, which deliberately accede to requests for separate medium schools.

The English-speaking parents of South Africa presented the Broederbond with its most powerful weapon. Let them now try to repair the harm by uniting to demand that all new schools—in Natal at all events, which still has parental option—be made bilingual medium schools to be attended by both English and Afrikaans-speaking children. All the smarmy talk of clerics and Nationalist-Broederbond politicians about creating goodwill between the two language groups, "building bridges" and so on, is pure hypocrisy so long as they continue to do everything in their power to keep the two groups apart. People learn to co-operate by co-operating, not by talking about it!

Separation Disastrous

" . . . to attempt by rigid legislation to separate the children into different schools is disastrous. The authorities claim that in spite of separation the children are well-disposed to one another. But this is not always borne out by experience."

—T. J. Haarhoff, "Why not be Friends?"

GUIDANCE and RACE STUDIES

"Teaching should also be nationalist, the child to become an heir to and worthy carrier-on of the national culture."

Article 3, Christian National Education.

By MAVIS WARREN

TWO new compulsory subjects "Guidance" and "Race Studies" were introduced into all Transvaal High Schools when a new education policy was adopted by the Province in 1957. In this article the suggested syllabuses and recommended text books for both subjects are examined.

According to the Transvaal Education Department, Guidance or Counselling "is that aspect of the systematic educational process whereby the individual pupil may be helped, either by group or individual counselling, to discover his own potentialities, and to plan a way of life which will enrich his experience and enable him to play his part in our democratic society. The ultimate aim is to guide the pupils that they may take their places in our socio-economic society when they leave school."

Ideological Policy

There is no objection in principle to Guidance, which could be of great value in this country as it is in Canada and the United States. But in our present South African setting it is important to know by whom and in which direction pupils are to be guided.

An indication of the ideological policy behind the Guidance Service occurred in a departmental course for Guidance teachers in October, 1958. Here Christian National Education was advocated in the narrowest sense, in particular, in a lecture by Prof. P. J. Coertze on "The Origin and Development of the Traditional and Legal South African Point of View on Race Relations."

The concept of the "volk" is defined as a supra-organic creation of God within which complete uniformity of culture and outlook is to be expected. "The pattern of race relations in South Africa forms part of the culture pattern of the Afrikaner volk." Hence, not to conform to Nationalist race ideology is to be an element foreign to the volk. Liberal humanism and the view on race of churches other than the Dutch Reformed Churches, are singled

out for castigation as un-South African intrusions.

Following this address, the Head of the Guidance Service moved and commended an unopposed motion from the chair that "no matter how important factors such as training and experience may be for the guidance teachers, the most important still is that he/she be a person of Christian National outlook."

As the Guidance teachers will have unrivalled power to influence the outlook of pupils compelled to take this subject, no parent should be unaware of the opportunity afforded for prying and political indoctrination.

Modifications

Already such concern has been caused that important modifications have been made to the syllabus, so that provisions which enabled the Head of the Psychological and Guidance Service to bypass the authority of the school principal no longer apply. It is now laid down that departmental officials from outside the school may only advise and not control. A clause obliging Guidance teachers to divulge all information collected about pupils and their home background has been deleted, and only non-confidential information may be obtained, through the school principal.

Grounds for disquiet still exist, however. No attempt has been made to amend a clause applying to Standards 6, 7, 8 and 10, which reads: "Race Relations: Whites and non-Whites, according to the legal and traditional South African point of view—how to promote this tradition." The legal view on race relations is obviously that involved in the race legislation of the past ten years and is therefore the apartheid view of the Nationalist Party and Government. To call this the "traditional" South African view implies that there are no other traditions, or that if there are, they are not truly South African. That this is the interpretation intended appears in the first two text books published in Afrikaans by the Voortrekkerpers: "Voorligting vir Std. VI—*Ken Jouself*" and "Voorligting vir Std. VII—*Beplan jou Plek*" by Mr. L. C. Bekker, Head

--Continued overleaf

of the Psychological and Counselling Services of the Transvaal Education Department, and Dr. G. J. Potgieter, principal of the Pretoria Afrikaans Boys' High School.

Afrikaner Nationalism of an exclusive kind is advocated repeatedly. The English-speaking are by implication excluded from the select body of the Volk, and their language branded as "the language of the conqueror" (Std. VII, page 109). In a chapter on race relations (Std. VI) this blatant untruth is stated: "In some countries where Whites settled, they soon intermarried with the non-Whites and a bastard population originated. In South Africa this did not happen."

No Mixing

In the same chapter, support is lent to the bulk of apartheid legislation. "Although our forefathers since the time of Jan van Riebeeck had been in daily contact with the non-White inhabitants, there was virtually no inter-marrying. Our forefathers believed, and we still believe today, that God himself made the diversity of peoples on earth. It is therefore bad for White and non-Whites to inter-marry. . . ."

"It has become the traditional standpoint that although White and non-White share a common fatherland, there should be no mixing of races, and that there should be no eating, drinking and visiting together. This viewpoint is also set down in various laws. Inter-racial residence and intermarriage are not only a disgrace, but are also forbidden by law.

"It is, however, not only the skin of the White South African that differs from that of the non-White. The White stands on a much higher plane of civilization and is more developed. Whites must so live, learn and work that we shall not sink to the cultural level of the non-Whites. Only thus can the government of our country remain in the hands of the Whites" (pp. 30-31).

In the Std. VII text-book, there is a section headed "Trade Unions" in which the Industrial Conciliation Act and Job Reservation are commended as follows: "Before the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 came into operation, mixed trade unions were the rule in South Africa. Communism infiltrated into certain trade unions and later secretaries and leaders were 'named' as Communists, thereby putting their activities under control. In these trade unions which had Whites and non-Whites, social mixing at their meetings was common. They ate and drank together. Sometimes they had parties together. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 put an end to many of these wrong things. Henceforth no mixed

Narrowness in Outlook

" . . . It seems a pity that if 'guidance' is so important for university and college students, the new subject in schools is so orientated that it can only lead to narrowness in outlook and circumscription of the spirit."

—Editorial in *Transvaal Educational News*, April, 1959.

trade unions may be established. The existing mixed trade unions must split into separate branches for Whites and non-Whites (p. 23).

"One of the most important advantages that the Industrial Conciliation Act holds for the White worker is job reservation. Equal pay for equal work, which sounds fine if one does not think about it, meant that the Whites had to support themselves with the same wages as the non-Whites were paid. Such a thing was impossible for most Whites, seeing that the non-Whites' way of life requires less money than that of the Whites. Non-Whites were employed on an equal footing with Whites. The result was that the Whites had to give up their work and more non-Whites took their places. The Industrial Conciliation Act now operates here. Henceforth work will be able to be divided up for each racial group so that the one does not oust the other" (p. 24).

Brainwashing

A careful study of the syllabus and text-books reveals signs of systematic "brainwashing," i.e. the application of psychological principles which could be of the greatest assistance to anyone seeking to mould character and outlook to a desired pattern. The text-books abound in little homilies on obedience to authority of all kinds and adherence to sets of rules. These are usually followed by lists of questions probing the personality, morals and manners of pupils, similar lists being given in the syllabus also. Pupils are to assess themselves and award themselves marks, each one's answers then being checked by a fellow pupil.

The Guidance syllabus also advocates the keeping of a daily, even half-hourly time-table on how pupils spend their time (teachers to check on the accuracy of the information!) and the collection of anecdotes about pupils by other pupils. The uncertainty, anxiety and guilt which such a procedure can be expected to induce, is precisely the frame of mind most suitable to a would-be brainwasher, for whom it is then a relatively simple matter to reorientate personality and implant his own view, particularly in the context in which the pupil with



“In accordance with tradition No. 10,573 (Bis), as amended, students are permitted to make fires in the centre of a room, Dhlamini — but NOT WITH MATCHES!”

non-conforming parents is an outcast from the group and therefore in a state of semi-isolation (a context by no means rare in Afrikaans medium schools in the Transvaal). How far this is actually applied, or with what degree of awareness of what is being done, it is impossible to say. It is not necessary, however, for those applying the techniques to know what they are doing. All that is necessary is that they should set out to impart government ideology and follow departmental instructions.

Race Studies

The Nationalist Afrikaner view on race is not confined to Guidance, but underlies the other compulsory subject of “Race Studies,” an innovation parallel to “Rassenkunde” in the education of Nazi Germany. The introduction to the syllabus states that the aim is to “guide” pupils “so that they may

—Continued overleaf

RACE STUDIES—continued

become adapted to fast changing developments in life and world affairs in general." From the actual contents of the syllabus, however, the real aim seems to be adaption, not to "the winds of change," but to government enactments in the sphere of race. It is stated that "the subject must be approached objectively" but the material is selected and arranged with a pronounced bias, which must inevitably imprint on the minds of pupils the idea of the different races as separate and distinct rather than economically inter-dependent and united by their common humanity.

The emphasis is almost entirely on the rural and the primitive tribalism of the Bushmen, Hottentots and Bantu. The only sections of the syllabus devoted to the urban African reads as follows:—

- (1) Administration and control;
- (2) Native locations and Native towns;
- (3) Compounds and hostels and bachelor Natives;
- (4) Problems: housing, indolence, juvenile crime, other forms of crime and the deterioration of tribal authority."

The assumption is clearly that, detached from his primitive culture, the African is automatically debased. There is nothing to indicate that tribalism, however long its history, is a temporary stage of development which the people of Africa are rapidly out-growing in favour of new and better ways of life.

Care for the Bantu

Their incorporation into Western industrialised society is dealt with under the heading "Administration and Care for the Bantu." "Arrangements" are made for "separation, reserves and guardianship" on the one hand, and for "employment of the Bantu by the European." Types of employment are "agriculture, mining, industries and servants," all of which is subject to benign "control." The assumption here is obviously that the servitude of the Bantu is something imposed for his own benefit for which he must be grateful.

The course ends with a section headed "The Traditional Standpoint with Respect to the Control and Administration of Non-Europeans (Historical): (a) Separate development; (b) Guardianship: The duty and calling of the European." This is a clear indication that the whole course is expected to inculcate the doctrine that the White man has been placed by God in South Africa as guardian of the Black, and that the only way he can carry out his duty is by apartheid. All syllabuses are theoretically "suggested," yet the teacher is told that "clear, sys-

tematic schemes of work compiled in accordance with the proposed syllabus will be required."

One has only to follow such a syllabus faithfully, according to the prescribed order (as an amendment advises), to indoctrinate according to the official view.

The bias of the syllabus is reinforced by the officially approved text-books of which there are two series, one published by the Voortrekkerpers and the other by the Nasionale Boekhandel Beperk. There is little to choose between the two sets, although the latter is preferred by most English medium schools, probably because the English translation is less stilted and more grammatical than in the other.

Attitude Revealed

The attitude of the writers of "Race Studies for Standards VI, VII and VIII" (Nasionalepers) is revealed in this passage: "The Bantu had a splendid way of living of their very own before they ever came into contact with the culture of the Whites. In the cities and towns they have lost much of their old delightful way of living, but fortunately much of this has been preserved in their tribal reserves." (Standard VI, p. 78.) Yet regarding this "splendid way of living" the insulting generalisation is made that "the ideal of every Bantu man . . . is to have more than one wife." (Standard VII, p. 35.)

The Indian community is assumed to be anti-African; for example, it is stated that "one of the ways that the Indians have concentrated on in order to escape the Bantu danger is sending their children to schools in large numbers so that they may qualify themselves for other and better work." (Standard VII, p. 166.)

Under "Attempts to Repatriate Indians": "Repatriation means the return of foreigners to their homeland" (Standard VII, p. 168). The inference is therefore that South African Indians are not South Africans but foreigners.

Anti-Indian prejudice on the part of Europeans is treated sympathetically and is said to be "understandable" (Standard VII, p. 169).

—Continued on page 42

Only One View

"The chapter on race attitudes is biased. There is no attempt to suggest that there might be any point of view except one."

—*Voorligting vir St. VI deur L. C. Bekker en G. J. Potgieter* — "A Critical Appraisal" in *Transvaal Educational News*, April, 1959.

“Social Studies” in the O.F.S.

By HELEN O'CONNOR

A former teacher of history in the O.F.S.

HISTORY and geography are both subjects that are worthy of an independent place in the school curriculum, and they cannot be satisfactorily replaced by a hotch-potch of the two combined as is now being attempted under the title “social studies”.

The subject matter of the syllabus is open to criticism; in the primary school, for example, it is confined solely to South Africa, which exists, apparently, in a vacuum. In Standards VI and VII attention is given to some world events, but there is no connecting link, and the syllabus becomes so wide that it can be dealt with only in the most cursory manner; South African history is continued, but most attention is given to the Boer Republics, while such important events as the achievement of a free Press and Parliamentary institutions are passed by unheeded.

Civics

The Standard VIII syllabus, in the part devoted to Civics, includes the Native, Asiatic, and Coloured policy of the Union. The wisdom of dealing in schools with the most controversial legislation ever passed in South Africa is doubtful, but its treatment in the text-book (Social Studies for Standard VIII by Messrs. Uys, Volstedt, Weideman and Coetzee) is even more questionable.

For instance, it is admitted that, even when all the land has been acquired under the Native Trust and Land Act, the Bantu will possess only about 13% of the total area of the Union, but it is added that, if the Protectorates are included in the Native areas, the total will be 45% of “Greater South Africa.” No mention is made of the fact that a great part of the Protectorates is either mountainous or desert, and so useless for cultivation, nor is the unlikelihood of their incorporation referred to.

With regard to the Bantu Authorities Act, it is said that “no Bantu authority in a region or a territory is established before the Minister of Native Affairs has consulted the Natives in the Region concerned.” But what of the Minister's powers to decide who may or may not participate in public life in the Reserves? What of the Chiefs who have been deposed?

The Group Areas Act enables the Minister arbitrarily to deprive South Africans of their rights to their homes and their land without compensation.

People have found themselves uprooted and removed from areas in which they were born and bred, and compelled to settle in strange surroundings, often at considerable financial loss. But all the text-book can find to say is: “The Act applies the principle of compulsory apartheid, but will be applied so gradually that in most cases it will take place without causing any great privation.”

In discussing the First World War the authors say, “General Botha and General Smuts held the view that South Africa as part of the British Empire was automatically involved; they at once undertook the defence of the Union, and Parliament, by a large majority, acceded to the request by Britain to attack S.W.A. The Afrikaners were shocked.” The implication is that General Botha and his followers were not Afrikaners, thus expressing the popular Nationalist fallacy that Afrikaner and Nationalist are synonymous.

In dealing with the rebellion of 1914, it is said that Generals De Wet and Kemp were sentenced to many years of imprisonment and, in addition, heavily fined. But no mention is made of the fact that six months after the sentence was imposed, General de Wet, at least, was let out on parole, and in 1919, when the War had ended, all disabilities were removed.

Republicans

The League of Nations was said to be established to preserve peace and watch over the interests of smaller nations, “yet a delegation of Republicans appealed to the League in vain.” It is not stated how many the delegation represented, nor is the question answered whether the League was obliged to heed every opposition party in every country.

In speaking of the South African Party the book states: “It was the declared policy of the Party to gain the confidence of the rest of the English-speaking people. This brought it in conflict with General Hertzog who declared that there should be only one great principle in the country's policy, viz., the principle of South Africa first.” But why should gaining the confidence of the English-speaking people be against the policy of South Africa first?

It is devoutly to be hoped that the Education Department will soon restore the study of history to its proper place in the curriculum and will refuse to recommend as text-books those which fail to treat it objectively.

CENSORSHIP IN SCHOOL LIBRARIES

"The spirit of all teaching must be Christian-nationalist; in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made."

-Article 6 (i), Christian National Education.

By **W. R. MARTIN**

Department of English, University of Stellenbosch

FOR seven years the Transvaal Education Department's Library Service has sat in solemn judgment on the whole range of English literature and in its Book Guide it can find room for only a very limited number of the universally acclaimed classics.

The Guide lists a mass of "Biggles" and Enid Blyton, but to take three writers whose novels are frequently set for Matric, and even J.C. exams, — of the works of Thomas Hardy, these experts can find a place for only two less important novels. "Nicholas Nickleby" and "Great Expectations" are among six major novels not listed under Charles Dickens; Jane Austen's "Mansfield Park" and "Persuasion" still await approval. By 1958, in the Guide's list of individual poets, 55 volumes had appeared in the Afrikaans section and 13 in the English. And so on . . .

Threatening Tone

But indignation about the content of the Book Guide is beside the main point. The Book Guide would be obnoxious even if it had been compiled by the most impartial and enlightened of librarians. If it were merely a list of books recommended, perhaps no one outside the Transvaal would ever have heard of it. But the Book Guide is an instrument of censorship. *No book that is not listed in the Guide may be bought for or kept in a school library unless permission is applied for and obtained. Moreover, only books officially and expressly approved may be brought on to school or hostel premises, and severe, unspecified action is threatened against teachers who contravene this ukase.* (See item No. 21 of Dept. Circular No. 1 of 1956.)

Here is a characteristically "thorough" argument in a threatening tone: "In the same way as a school must ask for the permission of the Administration to erect a building on Departmental grounds

with their own funds, the Department also expects approval to be obtained for books not purchased out of Departmental funds, but made available in Departmental buildings and time, by Departmental officials and for the achievement of Departmental objectives." The analogy is imperfect, the tone military and the English awkward, but the sentence appears in the Supplement of August, 1957, and was written by one who is qualified for the task of "evaluating" English literature.

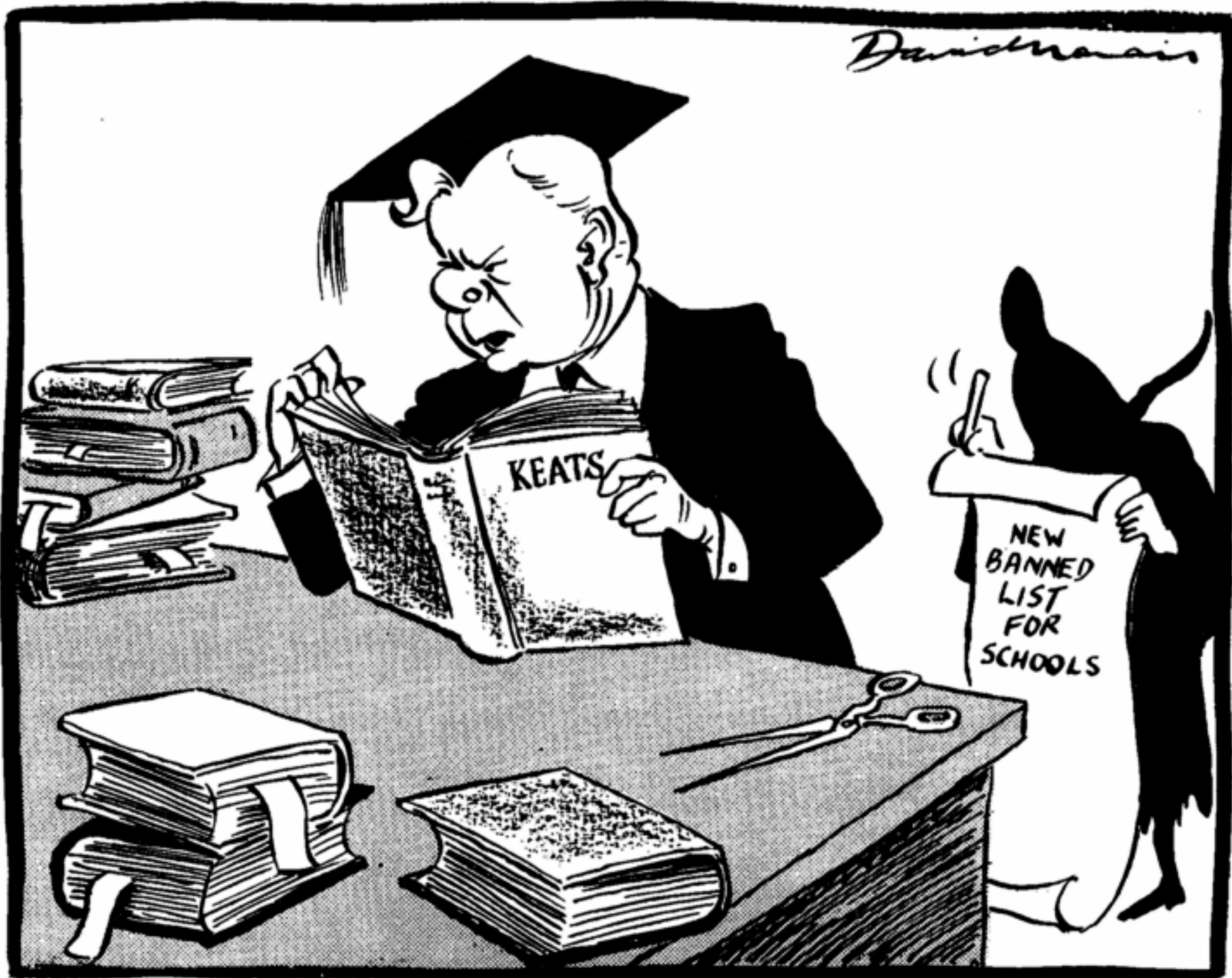
When apologists argue that books for children must be selected, all sensible people will agree, though they could define one undesirable quality more happily than the Supplement of August, 1957, which refers to "very inferior and generally accepted pornographic contents." The question is: Who is to do the selecting?

Apologists are disingenuous when they proclaim that schools welcomed the publication of the Book Guide. Of course they did: before it appeared no one knew what books the Library Service approved of, and permission had to be sought for every purchase. Given a system of censorship, a book guide is a great convenience, but to repeat—it is the censorship that is deplorable, not the fact that there is a book guide.

Think for Themselves

The issue here is similar to that raised by Christian National Education—it is, I believe, the same issue. The first sentence of Article 1 of C.N.E. policy states that the teaching and education of the children of White parents should be on the basis of the outlook and philosophy of the parents. This has pernicious implications. Children should be taught to think for themselves.

This is essentially the same argument as the one over the Transvaal Library system. Must teachers teach only those thoughts that their pupils' parents think, and use only those books that the Library Organizer allows them to use, or should teachers



**“‘Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn’ . . . See that
‘Ode to Autumn’ is banned from the syllabus!”**

think for themselves and buy the books that they feel their pupils need?

We live in what purports to be a democratic system. The citizens (some of them) are entrusted with the election of their legislators, but the Transvaal Education Department Library Service will not trust its teachers to do an essential part of the work for which they are professionally qualified. The Supplement of August 1957 defends “judicious selection by persons qualified for the task”. One can only say that if teachers are not fit to select the books their pupils read, they are not fit to be teachers.

We who object to the Transvaal system do not say that some teachers will not make mistakes, perhaps more mistakes than the experts of the Library Service, but we maintain that by requiring teachers to submit to “experts” in a matter that is so patently part of their own function, democracy is weakened and totalitarianism is brought closer. I don’t mean merely that the Transvaal system provides an instrument that a dictator would find ready-made for him, but chiefly that it creates, in administrators and in those who are administered, an attitude that would find in dictatorship nothing new or objectionable.

The Child and his Text-books

"History should be seen as the fulfilment of God's plan for humanity . . . God has enjoined on each nation its individual task in the fulfilment of His purpose. Young people can only undertake the national task fruitfully if they acquire a true vision of the origin of the nation and of the direction of the national heritage. Next to the mother tongue the history of the Fatherland is the best channel for cultivating the love of one's own which is nationalism."

—Article 6 (i), Christian National Education.

By **BARBARA McCORMICK**

A school teacher in the Cape

LET us begin by admitting that perfect text-books are seldom, if ever, written, and that South Africa is not the only country with glaring inaccuracies in its text-books. I have, for example, met American, English and South African history books in which the writings of Copernicus, published in 1543, are mentioned as a contributory cause of the Voyages of Discovery, fifty years or more earlier!

Dull Books

Regrettable as such howlers are, their importance can be exaggerated. A good teacher can put them right and point a useful lesson on the fallibility of the printed word at the same time. The pupil who is not much interested in history forgets facts in any case; the interested pupil goes on reading and must, in the end, find at least an approximation to the truth for himself. The speed with which European history is presented to the South African child (in the Cape about a thousand years in twenty-five lessons) makes it impossible for more than a hazy picture to remain. In such circumstances the stimulating phrase, prejudiced or not, is probably more important than fact, and the dullness of our history books, particularly at primary school level, is almost worse than their inaccuracy or bias.

Nor is South Africa the only country in which history books are biased. A bias against other countries is common in history books all over the world. Although it is far from the historian's ideal of the pursuit of truth, such bias has been used to foster national unity. What is unusual and

doubly disturbing in South Africa is that the bias in the history books is against other South African groups. Nor is there the safety valve of the big sweep as in European or ancient history. South African history, as taught, is very short and very close to us. It can be studied in some detail. The study begins in Standard III or IV and goes on to Standard X. The writers of text-books are not as a rule researchers. They rewrite the books of others, adapting them to different age groups and, inevitably, to their own outlook. The work of Theal forms the basis of most of them. Theal has been largely debunked by Macmillan, Walker, Marais and De Kiewiet, but not all text-book writers have taken note of the debunking.

Moreover, South Africa has a small educated population. There are few historians, and those who write text-books tend to be teachers and examiners too. The examiner rewards the pupil who reproduces his book and the ordinary teacher, keen on good results, can hardly be blamed for taking cognizance of the fact. This exaggerates the importance of the text-book.

It would be idle to pretend that our school text-books have not perpetuated certain fallacies—to cite but a few examples, the legend that the White man and Bantu came to South Africa simultaneously, whose debunking by Professor Monica Wilson has had publicity in the press recently; or the magnifying of the Slagters Nek rebels into a nation in arms, when in fact the majority of Boers supported the government; or the ignoring of provocation by the Boers on the Fish River boundary by Fowler and Smit (still the standard history book in many schools).

But the attitude of mind inculcated by a history book is as important as the facts it teaches. It is almost impossible for a historian to avoid seeing history in the light of his own attitudes—the greatest historians stand guilty of it—but the writer

of a school text-book must aim to produce in the minds of the pupils the conviction that truth is more important than the fate of parties, races or nations. The writers of many of our school books reveal their attitudes all too clearly. They do it through emotive language as much as through inaccurate facts or suppression of facts. For example: Howes and Mandelbrote, approving of the introduction of Circuit Courts, say "Unfortunately the first Circuit was mainly used to investigate charges of cruelty towards Hottentots," or describing Janssens they say, "Though he was an efficient man of action, he was imbued with philanthropic ideas," implying that to be so imbued is discreditable. And in a Standard V book I read that Natal was "infested" with Indians.

Unless they are lucky in their teachers—and some of them still are—South African children can hardly escape imbibing the following opinions:

- That Kaffirs are treacherous.
- That South African history is the history of a white people (they will study the Kaffir Wars interminably, the Zulu Wars hardly at all).
- That other races exist only as "problems".
- That liberalism and philanthropy are synonymous with the unpractical.
- That the Boers "knew the native"—missionaries who were foreigners did not (a little supplementary reading here, on the lives of the missionaries, should disabuse them of this one).
- That the Great Trek is the most important event in South African history and perhaps the most heroic action of all history.

In view of the kind of South Africa, and indeed the kind of world, in which our children will have to live, the view of South African history as the struggle of a little band of white people to build a nation in a vast empty land is perhaps the most dangerous fallacy of all. The fact that the Departments are introducing something called Race Studies suggests that educationists are noticing a gap, but so far as I have met it this subject contains no more than advice to the white youngster to study hard and get well qualified to maintain his white supremacy, besides some odd statements about the origin of the Coloured people. Guidance or Voorligting text-books I have seen maintain the same insularity.

What are parents to do about all this? At high school level parents should know what history books their children are using and see that they are using Walker, Marquard and De Kiewiet rather

Damaging Group Relations

"The damaging of group relations is punishable by law today, but we have no legislation to condemn or punish the irresponsible teacher of history who foments the worsening of group relations in his class-room."

—"*History Teaching and Responsibility*"
by Dr. F. A. van Jaarsveld, in the
Transvaal Educational News, April,
1959.

than Fowler and Smit and the potted descendants of Theal. In the Cape teachers have considerable choice in the matter of text-books. In some of our smaller communities there are close links between parents and teachers and friendly discussion of history books between the two would not come amiss. Many a teacher is still using Fowler and Smit because his own teacher did and it is the book he knows. (Parent-Teachers' Associations, as such, have no authority to question text-books.) If, in spite of all, parents find that the children are using the wrong books, then no studious senior pupil will fail to enjoy De Kiewiet's "History of South Africa" or Marquard's "Story of South Africa" as supplementary reading.

Boys and girls should be encouraged to share an adult interest in books and articles on Africa. With the unstudious pupil, who swots his book for examinations and forgets it afterwards, parents still have scope to help to develop a broader, more questioning point of view through pleasure reading, films and records. There is no way to guide children's tastes and interests except by putting a lot of the best in their way.

In Perspective

At primary school level the parents' influence is much stronger and they should make every endeavour to stimulate the children's interest in other parts of the world to enable them to see South Africa in perspective. Children of this age have more time and more inclination to read, and good children's books, splendidly illustrated, have never been as good or as plentiful as they are now. To mention but one, the Great Golden Book "History of the World" by Watson Dewitt, tells its story most amusingly, and I have yet to find the youngster who will not look at Geographical Magazines.

Europe and America are very much aware of the necessity for children, in this shrinking world, to grow up aware of their common humanity with the children of other lands and races. It is no

—Continued on page 40

BANTU EDUCATION

"Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aims should be to inculcate the White man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee . . . Native education should lead to the development of an independent, self-supporting Christian-nationalist Native community . . . Native education should not be financed at the expense of White."

—Article 15, Christian National Education.

By a Sociologist

IT IS six years since the Bantu Education Act came into effect and it is now possible to see some of the results. Before the Act was passed, control of education lay in the hands of the Provincial Governments. Most of the schools had been built up by missionary bodies who had been subsidised by the Government as the educational system expanded. According to the report of the Department of Native Affairs, 1953-54, of the 5,819 schools, 4,827 were aided private schools and only 992 Government schools.

The type of education given in the schools was in general the same as in the European schools and the attitude it was based on was summed up by Edgar Brookes when he wrote, "Education must take into account differences, not create them; there is no special philosophy of African education differentiating it from the rest of the world."

The source of the structure and aims of Bantu education as envisaged by the present Government

can be found in the Eiselen report, the Native Education Act and in the statements of Dr. Verwoerd, particularly the statement to the Senate on June 7th, 1954. The Eiselen Report made a number of criticisms of the then existing system, including the statement that mission schools were divorced from local government, that there was denominational rivalry leading in some areas to wasteful duplication, and that there was no uniformity among the provinces. Perhaps the most contentious recommendation in the report was that the medium of instruction for at least the duration of the primary school should be the vernacular instead of, as hitherto, one or other of the official languages.

Minister's Powers

The most significant aspect of the Bantu Education Act is the overriding powers with which it endows the Minister. He may, for instance, at any time suspend, reduce or withdraw any subsidiary or assistance granted to any school. He may prescribe conditions of appointment and the rights, duties and privileges of teachers in Government schools. Section 15 alone lists 19 points on which the Minister may make regulations. The Act transferred the control of all Bantu education from the provincial governments to the central government, proclaimed that, unless registered, no body or person might conduct a Bantu or Native school and gave the Minister power to refuse or cancel registration. Lastly the Bill purported to hand over the management of the Bantu schools to Bantu regional, local and domestic councils.

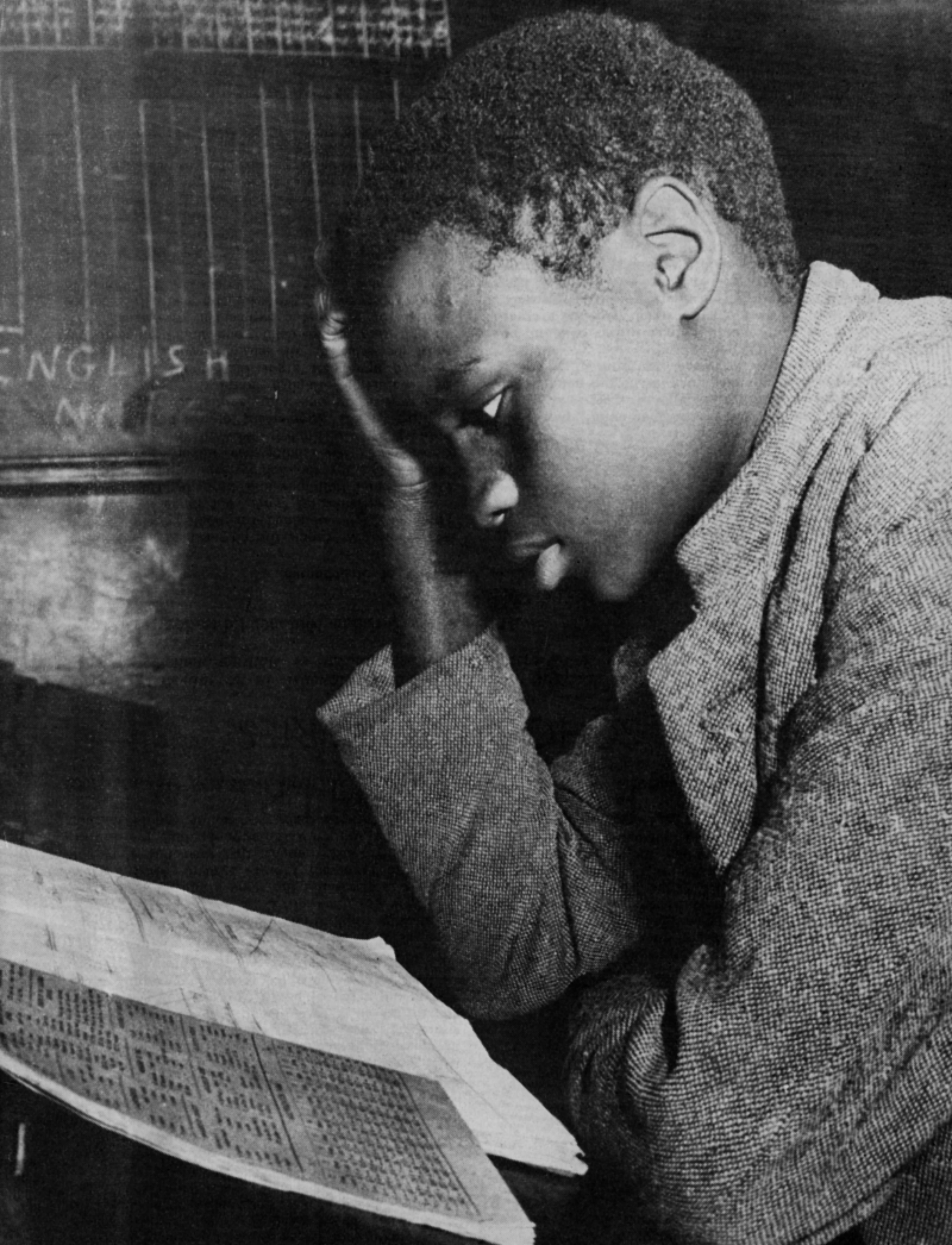
Dr. Verwoerd's speech in the Senate gave the most detailed account of his policy. It announced the reduction and finally the elimination of the existing grants to mission schools, which would then be transferred to the state, the introduction of two shifts in the primary schools with reduced

—Continued on page 22

No Equality

"When I have control of Native education I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them . . . People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for Natives . . . When my Department controls Native education it will know for what class of higher education a Native is fitted, and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge."

—The Minister of Native Affairs, in the debate on the Bantu Education Bill, 1953.



ENGLISH
No.

hours of work for each shift (but taught by the same staff); instruction in the mother tongue in the lower primary schools, with equal time to be devoted to the two official languages; the removal of European teachers, but with no increase in salaries for Bantu teachers.

"The salaries," said Dr. Verwoerd, "which European teachers enjoy are in no way a fit or permissible criterion for the salaries of Bantu teachers. They must be fixed in comparison with the average income of the average parent whose children he teaches."

Dr. Verwoerd crystallised his attitude to Bantu education in words now familiar—"the Bantu must be guided to serve his community, there is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

Must be Tri-lingual

Some effects of this policy can now be seen. Firstly, between 1953 and 1957 enrolment increased from just under 900,000 to over 1½ million, but this has been achieved with only a slight increase in the number of teachers and chiefly on the basis of the shift system and increased classes. With less than 3 hours a day in a class of over 50, in some cases with a teacher already tired with one session, coming to school in many cases without having eaten, provided with no school meal,* the amount that a primary school pupil is able to learn is, to say the least of it, severely limited. Added to this, teaching in the vernacular has already been introduced though scarcely any text-books are yet available, the teacher having to prepare from books in either Afrikaans or English and translate into the vernacular. For the pupil there is no text-book and he must rely on his memory. As subjects advance in complexity, the difficulties of creating a vocabulary in the vernacular for things and concepts for which there are no equivalents, increase.

The pupil is now required to be tri-lingual, something not demanded of the average White pupil. The

FOOTNOTE

*On taking over African education, the government froze the feeding scheme grant at the 1955 figure. It also expressed a desire that feeding scheme funds should not be used for the supply of a school meal but for the "provision of buildings, teachers, and equipment," and promised a £ for £ contribution on all sums diverted to these purposes. As a result, in 1955-6, only one African school child in seven was provided with a school meal.

Quite Absurd

"What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? . . . That is quite absurd."

--Dr. Verwoerd, introducing the Bantu Education Bill in Parliament.

result is a marked decline in the knowledge of the official languages, chiefly English, when the pupil enters the secondary school. The general opinion of educationists agrees with the late Dr. Loram, who, in his book, *The Education of the South African Native*, wrote: ". . . apart from sentiment there is no reason for wishing the Bantu languages to survive. They have served their purpose. They are not capable of expressing the ideas which the new European civilisation has brought to the country. They are hopelessly clumsy and inadequate on the mathematical side."

From the financial viewpoint the Act fails to fulfil the recommendations of the Eiselen Report which envisages an expansion of about 7 per cent each year in the contribution of the central Government; the amount contributed has been pegged at £6½ millions, Dr. Verwoerd explicitly stating that "a sound pedagogic principle was sacrificed when there was a deviation from the principle under which a direct contribution was demanded from the Native in order to earn a subsidy from the Government." The result is that stringent economy is practised in all Bantu schools, the primary school child produces his own exercise books, in secondary schools the pupil pays fees and provides his own books. How heavy a burden this can be will be realised from the fact that the books for the matriculation syllabus cost at least £10. The allowance for equipment to schools is ludicrously small; for laboratory work, for instance, £5 appears to be the normal grant.

The Act Accepted

At the beginning the Act was accepted most readily by the average African parent because of the attraction of the Minister's assurance that the people would now have a greater share in the control of their schools. The structure set up by the Act was of school committees controlling each school and a school board co-ordinating the school committees in a given area. The committees consist chiefly of nominated members, except in urban areas where there are a few elected members; in rural areas the committees and boards are nominated partly by departmental officials and the rest by chiefs

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Jabulani!

By J. SWANSON

FAIRY-GODMOTHERS do not thrive in the rarefied atmosphere of the Bantu Education Department, nor did our small African farm-school materialise at the flick of a wand. The school's triumphant opening day, in the spring of 1958, was preceded by many years of frustration and bitter disappointments, of patient endeavours, steadfast faith and hard work.

Community Effort

Perhaps the least known fact about this school has been its greatest triumph. It was a community effort undertaken by a scattered, illiterate and poverty-stricken group of Africans. It became an enthralling experience in which we all shared.

The nearest school for African children was five miles away and their parents rightly felt that it was not suitable for small children to walk this distance alone every day.

So we bought slates, pencils and books, and soon had a small "school" of more than a dozen children. The teacher was an old Masuto, living on our farm, who was barely one page ahead of his class! Every day they sat under the trees near our house, completely absorbed in their work.

The attitude of our neighbours was adequately summed up by the wife of a school master. When she heard of our "school" from one of the African parents, she grimly remarked to him, "Oh, we shall soon put a stop to that!" Although we were reported to the authorities, there were no serious consequences.

About a year later a law was passed prohibiting private schools or classes for Africans (with a fine of £50 for culprits). Reluctantly we were forced to close our "school".

Then, under the influence of our missionary friends, we spent the next two years applying (usually in triplicate) for a registered farm school.

This involved us in the unpleasant task of canvassing our neighbours for signatures, to give the African children on their farms permission to attend our school. There were a succession of acrimonious visits. Even the Farmers' Association meetings became a battle ground. For not only were our neighbours intent on preventing us from opening a school, they were also trying to close the existing African school.

They sent deputations to the school board and to the local M.P. in an attempt to save their children from a fate worse than death! They were convinced that Black schoolchildren must automatically pollute White schoolchildren. We were lucky to harvest eight signatures!

We felt stunned when we heard that our school had been registered. Obviously some junior clerk in the Department had made an appalling blunder! The sting, of course, came in the tail of the official letter. The school could only admit children from our own farm.

However, amid feverish excitement and soaring hopes, all the parents combined to make sun-baked bricks, and lay strong stone foundations, during weekends. Joseph Ndala, the eldest son of one of our own families, quickly assumed leadership. His skill, organising ability and quiet determination were invaluable.

We chose a delightful site for the school, high up on the hillside, amongst green trees. It is a

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peaceful and secluded spot, well-hidden from prying neighbours.

When the building reached window-level we had another unpleasant shock. The Department withdrew its offer of a grant to pay for the doors, windows and roofing. But friends helped generously in supplying windows, doors, beams and blackboards. One of them made benches from packing-cases, and a cupboard from paraffin boxes. We painted them in bright colours and they made the classroom look very gay.

The missionaries found us a young teacher who had passed his J.C. He had had no previous teaching experience, and none of the sixteen children had ever been to school before, so the school was launched in an atmosphere of joyous adventure!

On the second day of term a freak storm blew off half the roof. Rain poured in before the roof was replaced. But in the eyes of the children, a far greater calamity was the compulsory public holiday during the first week. That was a tragedy indeed!

The teacher and children cleared a sports field and made a small garden in front of the school. The parents held a competition to choose a name for the school. They finally selected "Jabulani," which means "Let them be happy." We painted the name on an old pastry board, and Joseph hung it above the school door!

A school committee was formed, consisting of the teacher and some of the fathers. The parents were illiterate and had never before heard of a committee. Yet this committee, with Joseph Ndala as its chairman, soon became a most active and efficient body, which insisted on taking over the whole responsibility of running the school.

During 1959 our numbers rose rapidly from 16 to 60. It has been heartbreaking to turn away almost as many children as have been admitted. The Department now pays the teacher's salary, but the parents are willing to pay his wife to teach these extra children. She is quite capable of teaching the grades, but this ideal arrangement is made virtually impossible by Departmental regulations.

There is the urgent need for a night school for the adults. This, too, would have to be registered. The Department has been closing down many private night schools, so it is scarcely worth applying for one here.

In March, 1957, the Department stated categorically that it was the Government's policy to reduce farm-schools to "one-teacher," and "one-classroom" units. A "one-teacher" school is not allowed to go beyond Standard II. At the same time, inspectors (of all colours!) continue to pay us surprise visits.

In spite of all these frustrations, the school has forged ahead. It has become a centre for inter-

school sports and games (organised entirely by the staff and school committee). for church services, a weekly clinic and for the school committee and mothers' meetings every month.

Generous friends have organised a feeding scheme for the children. School finances are always precarious, but whenever the need has been most desperate, help has miraculously appeared — often from the most unexpected quarters.

Our most urgent problem now, is how to educate these children, in spite of Government legislation. Parents, teachers, children and friends, must all keep bright the vision that Standard II is not the end, but only the beginning of their education. And it must be clearly understood that this whole endeavour can become a futile waste — unless the law of the land entitles Africans to make full use of their education and ability — not only in their work, but in all other aspects of their lives.

As I write this, on the first school day of a new year, I have had a typical note from the teacher. He writes, "There are so many children here who want to start school. I don't know what to do. Please come and help." Then, with a triumphant flourish, he adds, "Some children have now passed into Standard I. Isn't this progress!"

Helping the Farmer

"As regards the farm schools, we have made it compulsory that where the farmer wants these facilities, part of the school instruction of those children on the farm of the European farmer must be training in the normal activities on the farm, in order to encourage a feeling of industriousness on the part of those children and particularly, to sharpen in their minds the fact that education does not mean that you must not work with your hands, but to point out to them specifically that manual labour and also manual labour on a farm is just as good a formulative and development level as any other subject is. In order to do this we create the opportunity so that if there is any farmer who has a farm school on his farm and who wishes to make use of the school children under the supervision of the teacher to assist with certain farm activities, this can be arranged in a proper manner to fit in with the curriculum and the plan of development which is envisaged or provided for that farm school."

—Minister of Bantu Education, speaking in the Senate on 2nd June, 1959. Hansard, col. 3463.

VERNACULAR TUITION

Why Africans Object to Compulsion

"The mother-tongue should be the basis of Native education but the two official languages should be learned as keys to the cultures from which the native will have to borrow in order to progress."

—Article 15, Christian National Education.

MOTHER-TONGUE instruction is a fine theory, and it has the support of eminent educationists the world over. The Africans, however, argue that these scholars did not have South Africa in mind when they formulated their theories: South Africa with its nine or more different languages of which only two enjoy official status; South Africa where the means of self-preservation — economic and political power — are concentrated in the hands of one-seventh of the population. What use is any education if it cannot provide the means of effective self-preservation in life?

The child who approaches a White railway booking clerk and says, "Ndifuna itikiti le klasi yokuqala ukuya nokubuya eMhlangeni" (I want a first class return ticket to Randfontein), will probably be told, "Jy mors my tyd, jy moenie daardie taal hier kom praat nie." It may be shattering to the African's ego, but he will be able to do nothing about it. The other has the whole machinery of State behind him, and he, the less substantial backing of educational theorists.

Recommendations

Vernacular instruction for the first few years of the African child's school life was an undisputed principle and an accepted fact of Native Education in all Provinces long before the advent of Bantu Education. The extension of the practice to middle and upper classes, however, is regarded by the African as a totally different proposition. As early as 1936, the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education reported as follows:

"Native opinion generally, the Committee found, was not favourable to any immediate extension, beyond the present practice, of compulsory mother-tongue medium . . ."

(U.G. No. 29/1936, page 83, par. 440.)

— By J. C. M. MBATA

The writer submits this article in his personal capacity, and nothing contained in it should be construed as representing the considered opinion of the South African Institute of Race Relations of which he is a Field Officer.

The Committee recognised the practical considerations involved, and made recommendations which allowed for flexibility and experiment—a very important principle in education. The Committee recommended:

"that for the present the mother-tongue of the pupils should as a general rule be the medium of instruction in all Native schools, during at least the first four years of the child's school life."

(Par. 441.)

The Committee stated in the next paragraph:

"It will naturally follow that from the fifth year of instruction the chief medium will generally have to be an official language introduced according to the pupils' ability to benefit by instruction through that medium."

(Par. 442.)

In 1951, the Eiselen Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, published a report which formed the basis of legislation which was to have far-reaching effects on African education. Among other things is stated:

"Your Commission is of opinion that the question of mother-tongue medium in Bantu schools is vital to the whole system . . ."

(U.G. No. 53/1951, page 145, par. 919.)

The Commission advanced a reason which, on the face of it, cannot be gainsaid. It pointed out that—

"The Bantu child has the right to expect that the knowledge which is imparted to him should be understood by him . . ."

(Par. 920.)

The Introduction to the Higher Primary School Syllabus contains the following statement:

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VERNACULAR TUITION—continued

"Strong emphasis must, however, still be laid on the Bantu language, and the principle of mother-tongue instruction must also be applied here in order that the pupil may be able to use his own language for his needs in a civilized society."

(Bantu Education, 1956: The Higher Primary School Course.)

It has already been indicated that mother-tongue instruction is an accepted principle in education, and that in a different setting objections to it might have little ground. The African child indeed has the right to expect that what is taught shall be understood by him. Is the assumption valid, however, that he will not understand if, after the first few years of careful preparation, knowledge is imparted to him in some other language spoken in the country? What is the African standpoint in this matter?

A Subject People

In the plural-language setting of South Africa, English and, in increasing measure, Afrikaans are the languages of commerce and industry; and an economic system which does not employ these has yet to be born in the country. The African feels he has a right to demand for his children an adequate preparation for the type of life in which, for the foreseeable future at least, they are likely to find themselves. The Federal Council of African Teachers' Associations, in a memorandum dated 20th September, 1955, puts the case as follows:

"The Bantu are a subject people in a multi-racial and multi-lingual country and they realise that many economic avenues will be forever shut to them if they fail to master fluency and accuracy in the speaking and writing of the official languages, Afrikaans and English. They realise also that even if the ideal of the present Government of serving their people in their own areas should ever be attained in the near future, there would still be an urgent need for a masterly knowledge of the official languages."

Another argument against vernacular tuition is that the relegation of English, in particular, to the

A World Language

"Any African who knows a world language like English can be forced into an ethnic 'Bantu community' physically but certainly not ideologically."

—Henry Simmons in *Natal Mercury*.

status of a mere "time-table subject" will shut the doors to the vast wealth of knowledge and literature that is readily accessible to those who have a mastery of the language. The 20th century African is not a moon-struck isolationist. He appreciates the value of contact with those from whom he can learn. In the same memorandum, the Teachers' Federal Council states:

"Consequently, the pupils would be cut off from the fundamental streams of Western culture and civilisation and this type of educational isolationism is conducive to inferior standards. This, we suggest, would be particularly unfortunate in a world whose vastness is ever narrowing. In the modern set-up the endeavour should rather be that of broadening horizons by stimulating the universal instruments of constant contact and communication than a kraaling parochialism induced by a bewildering babel of localised dialects and languages."

The African desperately strives for unity, and is strongly opposed to any tendency to division among his people. The multiplicity of African languages has always been regarded as an impediment to unity. In an effort to overcome this, the African has accepted English as the lingua franca of the sub-continent, and is glad to see the disappearance of tribal barriers. To him, then, the re-tribalisation of the schools and the emphasis it lays on the different vernaculars is a retrogressive step.

A national awareness that is little appreciated by many has come over the African, and it is perhaps the greatest single reason for his objection to vernacular tuition. He feels he has a right to decide his own destiny. To the stranger, national consciousness and opposition to mother-tongue instruction may seem incompatible; to the African, in his present circumstances, there is nothing contradictory in it.

African Names

Some years ago, it was becoming the vogue in meetings of Africans for people to use their own languages. It was a spontaneous reaction, not imposed from outside. The tendency became so strong that numbers of young men and women dropped their European names, and insisted on the use of African names. These young people are mothers and fathers today, and in many cases their children bear only African names, yet some of them are in the vanguard of resistance to vernacular tuition. There is nothing contradictory in this. The African rejects vernacular tuition because it is imposed on him. He wants to be accepted as

Destroying Foundations

“ . . . English has had three great advantages in the past. By its use as a common shared language it has helped to create harmony among the African people; it has enabled them to take the same exams. as Europeans; and it has proved beyond doubt their capacity for higher education.

“The new language regulations, whether intentionally or not, are destroying the foundations of African higher education in this country.”

—J. W. Macquarrie in the *Evening Post*.

a grown-up person, capable of making his own decisions. He will react with equal vehemence to paternalism and to attempts to force things down his throat—however good the medicine may be alleged to be.

Discussing the question of books, the Teachers' Federal Council wrote:

“We are informed that ‘arrangements will speedily be made to produce text-books’ . . . The most that could be done, as far as we can imagine, would be to translate a few text-books on the various subjects and thus the teacher would be severely handicapped in his sources of information and reference.”

(F.C.A.T.A. Memorandum, 20/9/55.)

Prophetic Words

The Federal Council's words were strangely prophetic. Seven years after the passing of the Act, very little progress can be reported in the production of text-books. This means that a whole generation of pupils is about to graduate from primary school with no experience of direct study from a text-book in most of the informative subjects. Progress is possible only by the educationally unsound method of copying notes and “swotting” them. The teacher is doomed to the drudgery of translating and simplifying from English and Afrikaans texts. His teaching becomes less imaginative. Evidence of this is provided by the frantic rush that takes place when teachers are called upon to take part in exhibitions of teaching aids. Most of them only then begin to prepare charts and models, and in the process disrupt the school routine, because in the normal course of things they have not found time to prepare these.

The cumbersome form which certain expressions take in the vernacular is common knowledge. Anyone who tries to say or write in words, for example,

the number 8899 in any African language will immediately appreciate this. Efforts have been made to introduce more concise forms in certain instances, but these barely touch the fringe of the problem. New problems arise instead. A Sotho-speaking child who talks to his parents of “Shong” for eleven, or “Kgosotharo” for 113, will find that the terms are foreign to them. A new language is in fact being created—the language of the classroom, for it is not spoken anywhere else. It would appear that the child is being asked to bear the burden of an extra language.

The Eiselen Commission recommended that—

“In employing the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction the language requirements of the pupil in the subsequent stages of his education should be borne in mind so that he will at no time be penalized as a result of his poor knowledge of an official language.”

(U.G. No. 53/1951, page 146, par. 920 (c).)

The principle of co-ordination implied in this recommendation appears to have been overlooked. Pupils are instructed through the vernacular medium up to Standard Six in all subjects except English and Afrikaans. At the subsequent secondary school stage, mother-tongue instruction is continued, if at all, in the following subjects only: Religious Instruction, Physical Education and Music, all of them non-examination subjects. In the case of languages, the medium of instruction is, of course, the language concerned. With the remaining subjects, it is stipulated that half shall be taught in Afrikaans and the other half in English, both of which have not been used as media of instruction in any of the preceding stages. The Commission's recommendation leaves no doubt about the handicap imposed on the child by this arrangement.

Multi-vernacular areas present yet another problem. Attempts were made in some areas to provide for each of the seven African languages. Practical considerations made this impossible in most areas, and as an expedient schools were divided into two groups only, Nguni and Sotho; the former comprising Xhosa and Zulu, and the latter Pedi, Southern Sotho and Tswana. While the languages in each group are closely allied, it is also true that profound differences exist. A study of the Department's own suggested terminology for Zulu and Xhosa (“Zulu-Xhosa Terminology and Spelling No. 1”) reveals an interesting position. Under the letter “C” alone, 108 English and Afrikaans terms are listed. Zulu and Xhosa equivalents of these are given, and in 32 cases the Zulu and Xhosa terms do not even remotely resemble each other. It is clear therefore that where a Xhosa child attends a Zulu-medium school, he is placed at a disadvantage compared to his Zulu desk-mate, and vice versa.

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Some Problems in the Education of COLOURED CHILDREN

"It is the Afrikaners' sacred duty to see that the Coloureds are brought up as Christian-nationalist. Only when he is christianised can the Coloured be truly happy; and he will then be proof against foreign ideologies which give him an illusion of happiness but leave him in the long run unsatisfied and unhappy."

—Article 14, Christian National Education.

By Dr. R. E. VAN DER ROSS
Principal of Battswood Training College, Cape

THERE are today almost a quarter of a million Coloured children in school in the Cape Province. Although there are no official figures, it is estimated that there are some 30,000 children of school-going age not attending school.

This indicates one of the major problems: no adequate system of compulsory school attendance. The law provides for the introduction of compulsion between the ages of seven and fourteen years, but only under certain conditions. There must be a full-range primary non-denominational school in the area, the compulsion will be effective within a three-mile radius of the school, and there must be adequate school accommodation for all children of school-going age within that area. This, it will be seen, places the onus of providing the school accommodation on the community, not on the education authorities, where it belongs.

Coloured parents and teachers work for the ideal that the authorities should accept the full responsibility for their children, as they do for White children. Education must be provided for every child as a right. It is wrong to place the onus of accommodation on the people through their churches, where the people are already under great economic burdens.

Almost all our educational problems have an economic basis. The chief problem is not that less money is spent on the direct provision of schools, teachers' salaries, etc., but that the children's parents are underpaid. The practising teacher in a school for Coloured pupils is constantly up against the fact that the children are too poor to provide the essentials. There are exceptions, of course. In some of the out-of-town areas the children, on the whole, are well fed and clothed. But this is only on the whole. It can safely be said that there is no school,

even in our "better-off" city or suburban areas, where there are not many children who cannot afford to pay for the essentials, and where the school authorities have to assist with books, food, transport and even clothing.

In a recent medical survey of the schoolchildren of Cape Town, it was found that Coloured children are inferior to White children in weight and height at all ages. At age six, for instance, the weight of White children was—Boys: 46½ lb., girls, 45 lb. For Coloured children it was: boys, 42 lb.; girls, 41 lb. At age 15 the differences were even more striking. For Whites: boys, 117 lb.; girls, 117 lb. Coloured: boys, 96 lb.; girls 106 lb. This is very largely due to lack of proper nourishment, say the investigators (Drs. Lurie and Ford, University of Cape Town, Department of Child Health, S.A. Medical Journal, 18th October, 1958).

This poverty and lack of proper nourishment were recognised by the feeding scheme of the Provincial Administration, which allowed twopence a day per child for providing a school meal. But the scheme was stopped, on the grounds that the Province couldn't afford it. Can the Province afford to have thousands of its citizens undernourished, especially where the people are exposed to such illnesses as tuberculosis, which thrive in conditions of deficiency? Is it in the end better economy to provide food, or to build hospitals to cure T.B. and such illnesses? Again, the authorities show a lamentable indifference to the needs of the non-Whites especially, for, although the feeding scheme was stopped also for Whites, it is the non-Whites who need it most.

A problem connected with the above is the early school-leaving age of Coloured children. Of the group of 47,915 Coloured children who entered school in Sub. A in 1946, there were 26,344 in Sub. B in 1947, only 8,021 in Std. 6 in 1953, which

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"The welfare and happiness of the Coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence apartheid is necessary in education), and in his being proud of it . . . Coloured education must not be financed at the expense of White education."

—Article 14, Christian National Education.

became 2,387 in Std. 8 in 1955 and a mere 735 in Std. 10 in 1957. The big difference between Sub. A and B is due largely to heavy retardation in Sub. A. This is due to overcrowded conditions in the lower standards, lack of books and equipment, low standard of teachers, great distances from school, resulting in frequent absence, lack of proper food, resulting in poor powers of attention.

Again, no provision is made for the transport of the country primary school child. It is still common to find tiny tots of six or seven having to walk five, six, even ten miles to school and back every day. In one area, near Plettenberg Bay, parents simply (and understandably) refuse to send their little children to the nearest school, which is some six miles away, and where the children have to walk along the national road, with its dangerous traffic. Result: these children simply grow up without schooling. Nor are there boarding schools in central places so that the children may be centralised for their education, going home for the vacations.

Cheap Labour

Because Coloured children leave school early, mainly in order to supplement the meagre family income, there are not enough passing the Senior Certificate examination to make this the entrance level for teacher-training, as it should be. The result is that Coloured women, who are the bulk of the teaching service, especially in that vital area, the lower primary school, are allowed to teach after a two-year course following a meagre Junior Certificate. This weakens the whole structure.

The salaries of Coloured teachers are a matter of grave concern for all—or should be. Coloured teachers are paid considerably less than White teachers with the same qualifications and experience and doing the same work. This leads to discontentment in the service, which has its outlet in various ways. The White-Coloured ratio has actually dropped since 1948, from 80 per cent to somewhere between 65 per cent and 75 per cent.

In terms of money, these discriminations mean that for the year 1957-58 the Province spent £10,874,531 on the education of about 194,000 White children, and £5,499,807 on the education of about 243,000 Coloured children.

The effect of this is that the Coloured people are kept as a group of largely semi-skilled and unskilled workers—a source of cheap labour for the farms and secondary industries of the towns. Even when

they reach the level of skilled workers, there are real or threatened difficulties in the form of Job Reservation. In many clerical posts there is wage discrimination. Even Coloured medical practitioners, working as interns in Provincial hospitals, are paid less than their White counterparts.

Although the Coloured people are, to a large extent, farm workers, there are no agricultural schools. The result is that the children in farming areas never gain a systematic knowledge of farming and, although many rise to responsible positions on farms, they are not paid salaries commensurate with the work done.

Technical education is also virtually non-existent. Whereas the apprentices in a community such as the Coloured people should number thousands, the Cape Technical College enrolled 575 Coloured apprentices in all trades in 1959. White apprentices outnumber them by more than eleven to one. It is understood that a Technical College and Technical High School are to be built at Athlone. It is not known whether this will lead to an increase in the number of apprentices, as the matter is still in the hands of the employers and Apprenticeship Boards.

The establishment of the new Coloured University College at Bellville is a matter for no satisfaction at all among the Coloured community, who regard it as another step in their complete removal from the body politic and from citizen status. It is not a matter of the validity of the degrees, but rather a matter of being politely but firmly shown the back door.

* * *

It is not denied that there has been progress in "Coloured education." It would be wrong to deny that there have been increases in the number of children attending school, in the amount spent on these children, in the number of teaching posts, of schools, especially secondary schools, of matriculants, and so on. This is so. But the increase has not been sufficient. And the really bad aspect of the matter is that, in spite of these increases, there has been a steady worsening of race relations. There has been a weakening of trust. Faith has been lost. Acts like the Group Areas Act, which has proved a major set-back in educational planning, have brought about an atmosphere which is bad for education. Those involved in the education of Coloured children—parents, teachers, students—will need a very considerable demonstration of real good faith in many spheres if this attitude is to change.

STRUGGLE and SACRIFICE

By Dr. S. COOPAN

Department of Education, University of Natal

THE brightest feature in the stormy life of the Indian people in South Africa is their educational advancement in spite of the general indifference of the rulers of the country to their needs, or even active hostility to their advancement.

What has been achieved in Indian education is the result of widespread community effort sustained over decades. They have received some aid from the educational authorities, but even this would not have been forthcoming had they not taken the initiative themselves in establishing and maintaining schools.

Inferior Status

A review of the history of Indian education shows clearly that the State did not regard the education of non-White children as of the same consequence and urgency as the education of White children. Educational policy reflects the subordinate and inferior political, economic and social status of the non-Whites in South Africa, their exclusion from the pale of citizenship and responsible participation in the affairs of the country. But the Indian minority has steadfastly refused to accept this as its settled status in life. Though completely deprived of representation in Parliament, in Provincial Council, or in Town Councils, Indians have quietly determined to pool all their spiritual and material resources to resist the attempt to keep them chained to the conditions of life and labour and status under which they were originally brought into the country.

One of the great retarding factors in Indian education was the apathy of the parent working as an indentured labourer and living under compound conditions on the plantations and mines. The stimulus to advance materially and culturally came with emancipation from indentured labour

TO-DAY the Indian population of South Africa numbers about 450,000 (or 3 per cent of the total population). Some 95 per cent of them are of South African birth and domicile.

This article is concerned primarily with the educational problems of Indians in Natal for that is where the majority (80%) lives.

service, for it brought rising incomes and, with that, higher status.

Another obstacle in the growth of Indian education, related to Indian tradition, was the attitude of Indians to the formal education of their girls. They suspected the kind of instruction imparted in the "English" schools, usually under the management of Christian missionaries until the 1930's, as being unsuited to the role of a housewife. The intellectual emancipation that came with schooling unfitted the girl for the role of an unquestioning and obedient wife. The Indian community has undergone a profound change of attitude in this regard in the course of one hundred years of settlement in South Africa and contact with Western traditions. But the ratio of girls to boys in school is still unsatisfactory from Standard IV upwards.

The educational advance of the Indian woman might have been more broadly based today had the educational authorities been more sensitive to Indian needs and responded by establishing many more girls' schools, and provided a choice of curriculum oriented to homecrafts. This would have brought more girls into the schools and also given the kind of education some parents preferred.

Proof of this contention is to be found in the remarkable support given to the special courses for women and girls at the recently established M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban. Though some parents are willing to send their adolescent daughters to co-educational institutions if a purely girls' college or high school is not readily available, more girls' schools are required if the enrolment of girls in the upper standards is to be stepped up.

Building Schools

Much of the advance in Indian education, for women as well as men, has been registered in the post-Cape Town Agreement period, that is, after 1927. One important reason was the sense of security of tenure engendered in the minds of the Indian people who have been (and still are today)

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INDIAN EDUCATION—Continued

persistently threatened with expatriation from the land of their birth. The assurance given in the "uplift" clause of that agreement that the Union Government would not allow Indians to lag behind other sections of the community if they were prepared to conform to Western standards of living, stimulated a powerful movement of self-help among the Indians to reinforce their claim to South African citizenship. This movement found particular expression in the field of education.

Faced with the reality that the South African authorities did not intend to give effect to the spirit of the terms of the "uplift" clause, they began to build as many schools as possible. Only by taking the initiative were they able to induce the educational authorities to spend any money on Indian education by way of grants-in-aid of buildings, equipment and teachers' salaries. Social services are generally starved of adequate finances from the State. The disfranchised state of the Indian community made the position even worse, for there was a strong reluctance in the Provincial Council to vote sufficient funds for the capital and recurrent needs of Indian education. Even to this day the financing of Indian education is on a discriminatory basis. The consequence has been that thousands of children have been sent back home every year for want of school places.

Refused Admission

In 1951 more than 16,000 children were refused admission, and ever since then an average of 9,000 children have not been able to get into schools every new term. The situation has been partly met by using existing school buildings on a double shift. Last year, of 92,740 Indian children in primary classes some 24 per cent were enrolled in the afternoon classes. At the beginning of 1959 there were still 3,500 children in the Province who could find no place in the schools, morning or afternoon. The worst hit are those living in Durban. A shortage of high school accommodation is also beginning to be felt now.

The extent to which Indians have been compelled to provide their own school accommodation may be gauged from the fact that 76 per cent of the primary school children and 12 per cent of high school pupils are in government-aided schools, and the rest in government schools. The proportions are just the other way about for European children.

In the erection of a government-aided school the initiative has to come from the local community. The Province makes a £ for £ grant towards the cost of the building and equipment, but nothing towards the cost of the land. Between 1928 and 1955 the building grants towards Indian-aided schools totalled

£309,853. The contribution of the Indian community exceeded this amount. Faced with the current shortage of accommodation the Indian teachers levied themselves 6 per cent of their salaries spread over two years and have already made grants totalling over £19,000 towards the building of classrooms. The total *capital* expenditure by the Province for the period 1928 to 1955 on schools and hostels was as follows:

Indian education (including building grants)	£579,995
Coloured education	£243,285
White education	£6,405,152

The Estimates of Capital Expenditure for 1960-1961 presented to the Provincial Council were as follows:

Indian education (including building grants)	£199,300
Coloured education	£54,850
White education (excluding building grants to aided schools)	£1,155,050

The contemplated contribution by the Province to the future programme of approved government school and hostel buildings is equally revealing:

Indian education	£591,600
Coloured education	£324,750
White education	£5,876,250

The figures of *recurrent* expenditure on teachers' salaries, etc., also tell their own story. The Indian school population in September, 1959, was 97,997 against a European school population of 75,946 in the existing government and government-aided institutions in Natal. The estimated gross expenditure for 1959-60 for these two groups was £2,207,668 and £4,894,379 respectively.

The efforts of the Natal Indian Education Committee, formed to solve the problem of shortage of school accommodation, have not resulted in any increased financial assistance from the Province. Since 1953 this Committee has urged the Province to build more government schools as the Indian people are generally too poor to cope with the situation. At the same time they offered to build more aided schools but asked that the building and equipment grant should be increased from 50 per cent to 75 per cent, which would have helped the poorer localities which were finding great difficulties in raising the necessary funds. Provincial policy is indifferent to the economic condition of the majority of the Indian people. According to the Population Census of 1951, three-quarters of the individual incomes of Indians was £15 15s. 0d. and below per month; the middle fifty

per cent of the incomes ranged from £6 to £15 15s. 0d. per month.

This is the centenary year of the Indians in South Africa but there is still no compulsory education for Indian children. The Province is reluctant to assume full responsibility for the education of Indian children in spite of the considerable assistance given by the parents.

As if these difficulties were not sufficient in themselves, we now have to contend with the Group Areas Act which threatens to uproot thousands of Indian families from their present localities and existing community amenities built up laboriously over the decades. Under the City Council proposals and Group Areas Board recommendations for Durban, the Indian community is sure of retaining only 30 per cent of the existing school sites; another 24 per cent of the sites fall in White or Coloured areas. The fate of the rest hangs in the balance.

In the Transvaal pressure has been put on Indian parents to compel them to move into the Indian group area of Lenasia, 18 miles from the centre of Johannesburg, by closing down an existing government school and forcing the children to travel there daily.

The issue that these group areas proposals, recommendations and proclamations raise is who is going to bear the replacement cost of the government and

government-aided schools? The cheapest kind of structure costs about £30-£35 per child. As the plan seems to be to move two-thirds of the Indians in Durban, this is likely to involve two-thirds of the school population. Towards the end of 1957 there were 43,248 Indian children in the schools of Durban. This works out to between £750,000 to £875,000 on *buildings* only.

Another serious issue that faces all non-Whites is the restricted field of employment for the products of the schools. The avenues of employment now open do not make full use of the education and talents of Indian youth. The frustration caused to the individual and the wastage to society is incalculable.

Currently the most serious threat facing Indian education is the closure of the "open" universities (including Fort Hare) to Indians and the announced intention of the Government, in pursuance of its policy of apartheid, to start a separate uni-racial college for Indians as from 1961. This measure will set back the progress made for another 50 years or more, and the harm done by spiritually isolating the tiny Indian minority will be immense.

These problems of Indian education stem from the undemocratic nature of our society and the resultant inequalities of opportunity which prevent an individual from attaining his full stature.





Apartheid Enters

THE UNIVERSITIES

"Higher education should be so controlled that the Christian-nationalist view of life may come into its own." — Article 2 (iii), Christian National Education.

By **MAURICE POPE**

Professor of Classics, University of Cape Town

A PARTHEID has been introduced into the Universities. The legislation to effect the introduction of apartheid was passed under the extraordinary title of "Extension of University Education Act". But far from "extending university education" the Act deprives the Universities in South Africa of one of their basic freedoms, and deprives the entire non-White population of the right to attend any properly constituted university at all.

As with most apartheid legislation, the suffering inflicted on the non-Whites is immediate, that inflicted on the Whites is latent—it will reveal itself gradually.

Financial Loss

The most obvious latent damage that will be suffered by the Whites is financial. The Union already has eight universities, several of them uneconomically small. It is now intended to build some four or five more "university colleges" to cater for the non-Whites that are to be excluded from the genuine universities.

The tremendous extravagance of this is obvious. Even if there are going to be more non-Whites at the new "university colleges" than were already in attendance at the existing universities (though it is by no means clear where these will come from unless there is to be a drastic lowering of admission standards), it would have been much cheaper to enlarge the existing universities to accommodate them. The rest of the money would then have been available for improvement. It is no secret that in respect of staffing, library facilities, and laboratory equipment, our universities are seriously under-financed. Here as elsewhere the Whites are made to pay for apartheid by the perpetuation of inferior facilities for themselves.

But for academic institutions, money is considerably less important than freedom. This is where the most serious latent damage lies. One of the internationally accepted freedoms of a university is that it should be free to teach whom it wishes. This freedom has now been removed, and non-White students must receive special permission from the Minister before they can attend a "White" university. That this method of controlling university attendance is—to say the least—unorthodox is tacitly admitted by the Government by their having excluded members of diplomatic families from the provisions of the Act.

One cannot pretend that the immediate effect on the now "White" universities will be disastrous: the international recognition accorded to them will not be withdrawn overnight, and South African degrees will continue to be accepted. But the world is becoming increasingly multi-racial, and academic people are particularly sensitive to this development. It may become more and more difficult to attract the best qualified people to teach in "closed" universities—to say nothing of the probability that in ten or twenty years' time many of the best qualified people may themselves be non-White. And if the calibre of the staff in South African universities should fall below that of the rest of the world, so will the value of their degrees. The example of many countries shows how quickly government interference can rob universities of their status.

Rights Taken Away

What the Whites may lose in future, the non-Whites are losing now. The right of attending a university has been taken away from them. Instead they are to be provided with "university colleges" on a tribal pattern. There are to be colleges for the Zulu, Xhosa, Indians, and Coloureds. Later there are to be yet others for smaller sections of the population. Eventually everybody will have their own, and nobody will be allowed to attend anybody else's.

—Continued overleaf

THE UNIVERSITIES—continued

It is clear that this seclusion alone—which contradicts the whole nature and purpose of universities—is enough to invalidate the claim of the De Wet Nel Report that the colleges are to become “fully-fledged universities that will take their place among the best in the world.” But there are more immediate reasons for questioning the sincerity of this resolution.

The first of these reasons is the way these new colleges are to be run. The Minister is to appoint the staff. The Minister is to nominate the entire Senate and Council. The Minister will have power even over the students, being enabled to prohibit any individual student from attendance. He can also discharge or summarily transfer to a lower grade post a staff member that he himself put there in the first place. And the Minister with all these powers is not even to be the Minister of Education, but the Minister of Bantu Education. It is obvious that no institution so administered can even remotely be called a university; in particular, the restrictions imposed on the staff and their insecurity of tenure will clearly make it impossible to attract people of the necessary calibre.

Fort Hare

The second reason for doubting that these institutions are intended to be proper universities is the destruction of Fort Hare. The University College of Fort Hare was until last year exactly what one would suppose a university to serve the non-White population ought to be. It was not quite “fully-fledged” since it was still under the aegis of Rhodes University. But its Senate and Council had almost complete autonomy. The College was a full member of the Association of Commonwealth Universities,

Threats and Compulsion

“Surely if the policy of apartheid or separate development is all that it is claimed to be, it ought to mean that within their separate university institutions the non-Whites will have all the freedoms normally associated with university life in other societies, instead of being expected to work in an atmosphere of threats and compulsion.”

—Professor Z. K. Matthews
in *Africa South*, July-Sept.,
1957.

“When I’ve made enough money here, Baas, must I go to Bantustan as a cartage contractor, or can I be Professor of Public Transportation at Fort Hare?”



which is a status not easily gained. Its Principal was a full member of the Committee of University Principals. It provided facilities for post-graduate training and research. Its teaching record was good, and the performance of its students compared favourably with that of other residential universities in the country. Its staff were of university calibre. And, perhaps most important of all, it had the confidence of the Africans, both within the Union and outside it. In fact, until the present Government applied prohibitions, it drew students from as far afield as Central Africa, Tanganyika, and the Portuguese territories.

What better foundation could be looked for? An honest attempt to “extend university education” for the Africans would surely have retained an institution of such high repute. Instead, as the immediate sequel to the Extension of University Education Act, the buildings of Fort Hare have been appropriated by the Government, and the administration transferred to the Bantu Education Department. Some of the staff have been dismissed and a majority of the remainder have resigned. Thus the one predominantly African university institution in the Union has been abolished. It cannot even be pretended that the object of this destruction was the furtherance of university education. The purpose can only be political. And the only conceivable political motive a government can have for taking over control of a university is to indoctrinate the students.

The third reason for doubting the Government’s sincerity is the simplest. Why close the doors of the existing open universities? There can be no academic justification for this. The political reason, though, is not hard to find. It is to prevent the various sections of the population from finding out the truth about the world and about one another. The opposite of truth is either falsehood or ignorance. Neither provides a good foundation on which to build a nation.

The Conscience Clause

"Being a substitute for the parent, the teacher does the parent's work as the parent himself would do it were he able. Unless, therefore, he is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us."

—Article 9 (1), Christian National Education.

By OWEN WILLIAMS

ONE of the grave threats involved in the implementation of Christian National Education (that is, South African nationalist Calvinistic indoctrination) is the elimination of the conscience clause. Two attacks have already been made, and there is little doubt that if the course of nationalism is as faithfully followed as it has been up to now, the clause will be altogether repudiated.

The clause reads:

No test of religious belief shall be imposed on any person as a condition of his becoming or continuing to be a professor, lecturer, teacher or student of a university college, or of holding any office or receiving any emolument, or exercising any privilege therein, nor shall any preference be given to or advantage be withheld from any person on the ground of his religious belief.

In 1932—so have times changed—even the late Dr. D. F. Malan, then Minister of the Interior, stated: "I consider the conscience clause in the interests of science, and I am of the opinion that it is just as much in the interests of religion . . . I regard the conscience clause as a protection not only of liberty of thought and inquiry in our higher educational institutions, but, at the same time, as a protection of their honesty."

An Obstruction

The clause was included in the statutes of the three universities established in 1916—Cape Town, South Africa and Stellenbosch—and in the statutes of all universities and university colleges established after that.

The Potchefstroom University College, however, chafed at the clause, which it regarded, in the words of one of its professors, as an obstruction to "the full development of its Calvinistic principles and the upbuilding of a Christian science in the light of God's word."

After preliminary skirmishes, the college sought parliamentary sanction in 1949 to assume the status

of a full university, and it proposed a modification of the clause which was approved by Parliament on a free vote. Among the members who voted for the modification was the late General Smuts, revealing as he often did a rather surprising failure to grasp elementary democratic principles.

The prohibition against a religious test for students was reaffirmed, but on the appointment of staff the clause read:

The Council shall ensure that the Christian historical character of the university shall be maintained: provided that no denominational test shall be applied.

Denominational was defined to mean "the requirement of membership of any church."

The University of the Orange Free State attempted unsuccessfully to delete the clause from its statutes. The statutes, however, contain this clause which appears to nullify the conscience clause:

Policy: Although the policy of the University of the Orange Free State shall be determined by the Council, the University, in view of its historical associations, shall have a Christian character, and its aims shall be in accordance with the national character and cultural requirements of the Orange Free State.

The University makes a regular practice of requiring all applicants for posts to state their religious denomination.

The Registrar stated that, as in the case of the Potchefstroom University College, the Free State University was founded on a Christian basis. It would, therefore, not tolerate the appointment of people who did not believe in God or whose characters left something to be desired.

Along with these factors a campaign has been waged for years for the abolition of the clause by the so-called Union for the Furtherance of Higher Education on a Christian Basis, with whom the late Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, was reported to agree that the clause was "an anomaly in South African legislation because the Constitution recognizes the sovereignty of God."

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THE RECORD OF THE GOVERNMENT

Compiled by the the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)

1949 onwards

A NUMBER of non-White students were refused permits for inter-provincial travel, to continue their studies in Universities of their choice; others were refused passports to take up overseas scholarships.

1950

NON-WHITES accepting government bursaries to Durban Medical School were required to sign an agreement to exercise their profession among non-Whites only and in an area approved by the Government (this constitutes a breach of the Hippocratic oath).

In May the National Advisory Council for Adult Education was instructed that the 400/500 bodies receiving grants from it would not be permitted to perform or exhibit before mixed audiences if they were in receipt of Council grants.

On 2nd November the Secretary for Education indicated to all educational institutions concerned that Africans from outside the Union were not to be admitted.

Several conferences, including a joint meeting of the British and S.A. Medical Association, were to have been held in the Union but because non-Whites would have participated in them, administrative steps by the Government caused them to be abandoned.

1951

THE Government discontinued the five scholarships at the Witwatersrand University Medical School previously available to Africans.

1952

THE Government sent no delegates to the International Geological Conference and the Pre-History Conference held in Algiers in September 1952. The decision was said to be based on financial reasons. With the maximum cost at £1,000 it appears more likely that the discussion on the theory of evolution was the real reason.

An attempt was made to prevent Professor Z. K. Matthews from giving evidence before the special political committee on the South African situation by the Principal of Fort Hare, who said, "As a member of a college which is subsidised by the Government, Professor Matthews is not free to speak."

1953

IN the Cape the increase in the salaries of White teachers was proportionately greater than that of non-White teachers. (The former ratio between European and Coloured teachers' salaries had been 5 : 4.)

1954

TRANSVAAL Education Ordinance was passed forbidding the appointment of White teachers in schools for Coloured and Asiatic pupils.

The Government pegged the allocation for African Education from the Consolidated Revenue Fund at £6,500,000. All additional expenditure was to be obtained by additional direct taxation on Africans.

1955

IN April, South Africa withdrew from UNESCO because it interfered in South African Affairs.

Interference in NUSAS mail by the authorities was proved.

In June, members of the Research and Information Commission of the International Student Conference were refused visas to enter South Africa.

The International Relations Vice-President of NUSAS was refused a passport to attend the Fifth International Student Conference.

Seven thousand children were associated with a boycott of schools which were shifted to the Native Affairs Department under the Bantu Education Act. The Minister of Native Affairs said that the children would be re-admitted the following year only "if during the rest of the school year and at the beginning of the next school year, no boycott of any importance takes place, and if the Native organisations and people who incite boycotts are rendered powerless through the withholding of support."

1956

THE Government refused permission to the students at St. John's College to affiliate to NUSAS.

1957

A WEST GERMAN Student Press Digest, "Student Mirror", was banned in South Africa.

In July and August the Government started construction of the two tribal colleges envisaged for

the Zulu and Sotho ethnic groups, although the University Apartheid Bill was not law and no vote to finance the project had been approved.

In September, a student told the Student Representative Council at Rhodes that he had been passing information to the Special Branch on lectures and discussions. The Commissioner of Police said in a statement: "No University can regard itself as being immune from security regulations."

Regulations for the control of night schools and continuation classes for Africans were issued in terms of the Bantu Education Act. No school was to continue without registration and the appointment of all teachers was subject to the approval of the Director of Bantu Education. This could be withdrawn at 24 hours' notice, without reason being given.

Students at Bantu Normal College were threatened with expulsion if they associated with NUSAS.

In December regulations for African teachers were published by the Native Affairs Department saying that teachers might not identify themselves with a political party or actively participate in political affairs or in the nomination or election of members of school boards, unless they had obtained the approval of the school board, which required the consent of the Secretary for Native Affairs.

In September, the Minister of Native Affairs informed the Johannesburg City Council "that prior Ministerial approval be obtained for the awarding of bursaries to Bantu scholars or students in the future."

1958

FIVE students of Asiatic origin were refused permits to travel outside Natal.

Four hundred children of Indian origin were not admitted to Johannesburg schools and were directed to Lenasia, 18 miles from the city area.

In July, the Minister of Finance announced a 75% increase in taxation for Africans, stating that the purpose was to provide funds for the expansion of Bantu Education.

Towards the end of the year armed police were rushed to the Government-controlled Amanzimtoti Training School (formerly Adams College) as 245 students indicated that they would stage a mass walk-out in protest against the threatened expulsion of 25 of their fellows.

The Press carried reports that students at Fort Hare were being paid by the Special Branch to pass information on student activities at the College.

The Witwatersrand Students' Representative Council asked for confirmation or denial from the Assistant Commissioner of Police that the Special Branch were intimidating students participating in

demonstrations against the Extension of University Education Bill. No reply was received.

1959

IN February a woman student at the University of Witwatersrand admitted that she had informed the Special Branch on student activity within NUSAS and at Wits. during her academic career. In the events following this admission, the offices of the Students' Representative Council of Wits. University and the homes of student office-bearers were searched by the Special Branch.

In August, the Fort Hare University College Transfer Act, which shifted control from the College to the Department of Bantu Education, was passed.

In October, seven members of the staff at Fort Hare were dismissed without an enquiry. Later, in explanation, the Minister responsible said the members concerned were "destroying the Government's policy of apartheid."

1960

IN February, Professor Ross, new Rector of Fort Hare, stated that the students at the College would not be permitted to continue their affiliation to NUSAS.

Eleven students returning to Fort Hare were refused permission to register on the grounds that they had been active in politics. Professor Ross threatened to have arrested any NUSAS representative who came to Fort Hare. Only four Africans out of more than 180 applicants were granted permission to enter universities other than tribal colleges.

Officials of NUSAS were searched by the Special Branch near Fort Hare.

The rules governing student activities at the tribal colleges were published. These restricted meetings, circulation of literature, subscription lists, access to and from the precincts of the university and student organization generally.

The Special Education Amendment Act introduced apartheid in schools for mentally and physically handicapped children.

The new Education Advisory Council Bill was introduced in Parliament, but has not yet been enacted.

Language

"The parent has no right to choose the medium of instruction because if the parent chooses wrongly he does an injustice to the child, and the authority must protect the child even against its own parent."

—Professor Coetzee, University of Potchefstroom.

and headmen. In every case the Department can override the boards when they are critical, and where teachers and officials are known to be unsympathetic to the Government's conception of Bantu education their contracts are terminated.

There is, in fact, in Dr. Verwoerd's speech in the Senate a veiled threat to teachers. "I wish," he says, "to express the hope that the teachers will not fail in this (that is in accepting their duties as laid down in the Act) because for teachers who are not faithful in this regard there is no place in the service of the Bantu Education Department." Even if the Boards had been given the measure of control they expected it is doubtful if they could immediately have taken over control from the long established and experienced missionary boards. As it is, in many rural areas the board members are illiterate and even an urban school committee may contain only two to three literate members. Thus the teachers, who are among the élite of African society, cannot have real respect for the committees and boards; discipline is weakened and this is reflected among the pupils. Many parents who were originally willing to accept the Act are now disillusioned.

It is inevitable that the standards of those coming into the secondary schools should show a decline, particularly in the knowledge of the official languages necessary for Junior Certificate and Matriculation. In some secondary schools much of the first year had to be spent on English to bring it up to pre-Act standards. It is the language question which is the centre and pivot of Bantu opposition. It is, of course, intimately connected with the whole government policy of apartheid and for the African it interposes a brake on, if not a barrier to, the educational progress which he values so highly and into which so much progressive effort has been placed in recent years.

Green Pastures

"Until now he (the African) has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze."

—Dr. Verwoerd in *Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future*, p. 23.

The most recent and serious onslaught on the clause has been its omission in the tribal colleges established under the Extension of University Education Act. The clause was dropped on the recommendation of the Parliamentary Commission which examined the Bill. The report stated: "In 1950 Parliament by free vote of an overwhelming majority replaced the traditional conscience clause in the University of Potchefstroom with a positive norm. This introduced a new principle and the Universities Act of 1955 was therefore purely a recognition of the existing position that every university applies to its norm."

A remark of the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, in this connection is highly significant. He said: "Inasmuch as all Bantu education arose from religious instruction and is still and should be coupled with it, there will be no insertion of a conscience clause in their statutes."

There is, it is easy to see, a very clear and defined trend away from the liberties that should be associated with teaching. Calvinistic state patronage is only a short step away from Calvinistic state ownership, a concept entirely divorced from the idea of a university, aptly expressed by Disraeli as a "place of light, of liberty and of learning."

TEXT BOOKS

—continued from page 19

accident that a recent review of children's books in the *New Statesman* was entitled "The Rest of the World." For the moment a great many of these books find their way into the Provincial libraries but it is significant that a delightful story like "Judy and Lakshmi" by so famous an author as Naomi Mitchison is difficult if not impossible to obtain. It is a story of a friendship between an Indian and an English child.

For the very young there are even supplementary readers on the children of foreign lands—Nigeria, Iraq, and so on. These are not easy to come by because few South African bookshops stock them. But publishers' representatives have this subject very much at heart and are most helpful. It might even be an idea to organise, through them, an exhibition of children's books stressing the common humanity of all races and the role of other races in world history. If the history of African people is still largely unwritten, we, in South Africa, live with their folk lore and legends and wrongly ignore them. Even in the nursery we could read of Kalulu the Hare.

The Union Education Advisory Council Bill

A HIGHLY contentious little Bill to establish a Union Education Advisory Council was introduced at the end of the past Parliamentary session. Its contents were kept secret — with good reason, for had the public been given adequate notice it may well have caused an outcry.

The provisions of the Bill will virtually give the government complete control over Provincial education systems. All schools receiving government subsidies will be affected.

The proposed advisory council is to consist of seven to 12 members, appointed for an indeterminate period not exceeding five years. All appointments will be made by the Minister of Education, Arts and Science. The Minister may dictate who is to be the chairman and vice-chairman. In consultation with the Minister of Finance he will determine salaries and allowances. He may dictate when and how the meetings are to be called and conducted, and what the quorum and the procedure are to be.

IN DEFENCE OF C.N.E.—*continued from page 8*

C.N.E. schools in our country, but the Afrikaans C.N.E. system emphatically considers and honours the language, religion, faith and culture of both language groups in South Africa.

The crux of the problem is that we have two language groups, each with a proud heritage and ambitious visions for its own children. Few other countries have to cope with such a dilemma as confronts us every day. The fact of the two-stream ideal can neither be ignored nor changed, but there is one thing that we all can do, and that is to show sympathy for and understanding of people in "the other" language group, and to respect their language and ideals.

In face of the grave problems ahead of White South Africa, we have only this one attempt at a solution to which we must all contribute. An inseparable part of our educational programme must be to teach our children to love their own heritage and develop a spirit of tolerance towards those who differ with them, and this we must teach them **now**.

None of the members is required to possess any special qualifications, but the Provinces are each to be given the right to be represented by one educationist who is to be recommended by the Administrator. The council may appoint committees, but the Minister will decide how they are to be constituted.

The function of the council is "to advise the Minister generally in regard to the policy to be adopted in connection with the education of White persons." The assumption here is that, contrary to all accepted theories of education, there is now to be a kind of education specially adapted for White children.

Demand Information

The Minister may also appoint a committee, consisting of a member of the council as chairman and two other persons, to carry out at any school any investigation ordered by the Minister himself "in connection with any matter affecting the basic principles of education." Nowhere in the Bill are these principles defined.

The committee may demand "such information and documents and such other assistance as the committee may require for the purpose of the investigations."

It is clear that the advisory council will be obliged to dance to the Minister's tune.

Clause six, at the end of the Bill, contains the fatal thrust—no Province may introduce draft legislation on education without the prior approval of the Minister himself. Attempts to defy or by-pass this provision could mean that the Governor-General would refuse his assent to the ordinance.

The public must not be deceived by the pretext that these powers are necessary to co-ordinate purely administrative difficulties between the provinces. An advisory board was set up for this purpose in 1958, and there has long been satisfactory inter-provincial co-operation.

The "uniform" system of education which Dr. Verwoerd promised his cohorts could be a wooden horse concealing Christian National Education.

The series published by the Voortrekkerpers is of the same ilk.

One section seems designed to stir up antagonism between Africans and Coloured people. "In the past few years and especially in the Western Province, Coloured workers have experienced increasing competition from the Native men who have streamed in in large numbers, from the Transkei. Until quite recently the Western Cape was regarded as the living and working zone of the Coloured people only. This monopoly has now been threatened by the Bantu, who in turn are regarded as intruders. This problem is the more serious when it is realized that some employers prefer Native labourers. They maintain that the Bantu have a greater capacity for work than the Coloured people and sometimes are also more reliable. These Native workers have considerably upset the economic position of many Coloured people." (p. 143.) "There are clear signs that the Coloured men and women are proud of their people, and that they are strongly opposed to the entry of the Bantu into their field of employment and into their residential areas. This pride will in many respects be a force for the good." (Std. VI, pp. 147-8.)

Wicked People

Towards the end of the text-book for Standard VIII, in this series, there is an exhortation that "Vigilance must also be maintained against the evil practices of wicked people scheming to exploit Bantu ignorance for the sake of financial gain, and against the spreading of foreign ideologies about which they have no clear notions" (p. 169). This is, of course, merely a repetition of the usual Nationalist belief that all grievances or urban and rural Africans are the result of "agitators."

The Voortrekkerpers series includes a section on "Contact between Whites and Bantu" (Standard VIII) in which it is naively stated that "As Whites and Bantu expanded towards each other, it was inevitable that they should eventually meet" (p. 9). "Between the two groups there was a vast difference in culture for the Whites followed the Christian faith and had learned to read and write; while the Bantu did not know Christianity and were quite illiterate. . . . In the course of time these differences in way of life, religion and concepts were to lead to clashes" (page 15). A history of the clashes is represented as ending always in a boundary settlement which is interpreted, against all historical evidence, as proof that a desire for apartheid is an old tradition among Whites in South Africa.

For example, on page 20: "Thus for the first time, there was put into effect a policy of territorial

segregation between Whites and Bantu on the eastern frontier." On page 26: "Hence there now existed in the Free State clear territorial separation between Whites and Bantu." On page 28: "The Transvaal Republic recognised the Bantu tribes, their chiefs, and their tribal areas. Hence, as elsewhere, territorial separation existed between Whites and Bantu." Contact between Whites and Bantu is so described as to appear to issue always and everywhere in ever greater separation. "So began the present Bantu areas in South Africa. . . ." Conclusion: Contact is Separation—a species of double-think worthy of an Orwell novel!

It should be emphasised that the text-books quoted in these articles are approved and recommended by the Transvaal Education Department. They are, therefore, read by thousands of young South Africans, whose thinking undoubtedly will be guided along Christian National lines. It must also be emphasized that the kind of "history" here taught is in flat contradiction to conclusions come to, after scholarly research, by South African historians such as Marais, Macmillan, De Kiewiet, Walker and Van Jaarsveld. It is a "history" based on an idealized view of the Afrikaner "volk" that bears little relation to the facts.

C.N.E.—STEP BY STEP—continued from page 7

education. But this is the door to all the rest. As Dr. Albert Hertzog says, "Mother-tongue education is the foundation of Nationalism." As Dr. J. C. van Rooy says in the preface to the pamphlet, "The mother-tongue schools . . . will be saturated with the Christian and Nationalist spiritual cultural stuff of our nation."

17 Summary dismissal from Fort Hare University College, without even an enquiry, of several teachers on the grounds that "they were sabotaging the government's policy of apartheid." C.N.E. principle: No anti-Nationalist or non-Nationalist propaganda may be made.

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Resentment and a feeling of frustration arise, and it is known that in certain areas there have been demands for additional schools to cater for the minority sections. Tribal considerations never entered the question of classification and school accommodation before.

The references quoted here indicate that Africans and others foresaw the anomalies inherent in the new system. To smooth these requires a depth of insight and a sensitivity of conscience seldom

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EXPANDING HORIZONS

The Education Conference in Natal

IT is difficult for anyone who was not present to appreciate the breadth — one might say vastness — of the recent national education conference in Durban organized by the University of Natal. The theme of the conference — “Education and our Expanding Horizons” — suggested the wide sweep, and the promise was grandly fulfilled.

Some 1,600 South Africans of all races took part and discussed their problems with prominent educationists and celebrities from Britain, the United States, Holland and other countries. The conference lasted 12 days and during this time about 140 lectures were delivered on a range of subjects that is too wide to compress into an adequate summary here. To many, the main value of the conference lay in the opportunity it gave them of exchanging ideas informally and making contact with people of different background and attainments.

How, it may be asked, did the exponents of Christian National Education fare in this large gathering? Prof. C. J. Coetzee, Rector of Potchefstroom University, commanded the attention, if not the entire assent, of his audience. He said that the Institute for Christian National Educa-

tion definitely did not propose C.N.E. for all children, but only for the children of parents who belong to the three Afrikaans churches. He also made the observation that one's philosophy of education derives from one's general view of life, and that this view cannot be rationally proved, but is simply accepted.

Dr. R. E. van der Ross made the following justifiable comment on this in an article in the *Cape Times*: “If this is accepted it would seem to follow that one cannot persuade others to accept one's educational philosophy, and that, therefore, a State would have little but force to rely on if it were to try to apply a general educational outlook from which many must perforce differ.”

Many of the delegates to the conference showed unmistakably that their general view of life was an all-embracing humanitarianism. This led them to advocate compulsory education for all, equality of opportunity, respect for human dignity, and an end to race prejudice and segregation in schools.

Perhaps some of the seeds that were sown by far-sighted and experienced educationists at this tremendous conference will germinate in the minds of others, expand the horizon in South Africa and lead to a wider understanding of the real functions of education in the shrinking world of today.

VERNACULAR TUITION—*continued from p. 42*
engendered in the super-charged atmosphere of our country. Julian Huxley's words written almost thirty years ago apply today, and sum up the position admirably:

“The African wants to know English; as education spreads he will want it more intensely; and . . . he won't be happy till he gets it. Any attempt to keep progressive Africans from European languages is doomed from the outset to create friction and to end in failure.”

All political comment and headlining in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by Desirée Berman, 47a Main Road, Claremont.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Since this article was written, Mr. I. J. van Rooyen, Regional Director of Bantu Education in the Transkei, has stated that in order to improve the number of examination passes in Bantu schools, particularly in Matriculation, English A will no longer be a compulsory subject in African schools; English B will take its place.

It is feared that the intention of the Government is to introduce a “Bantu Matric.” In this event African students would be at a disadvantage as far as other universities are concerned.

Summing Up

THE Black Sash respects the desire of the Afrikaans-speaking section to protect and maintain its language, culture and traditions, but believes that the restricting influence of present government policy will increasingly have the effect of destroying the rich heritage of both English and Afrikaans culture.

It believes education should be a training of the young person to think for himself, to seek truth and to follow wherever it may lead; to be tolerant of ideas and ways not his own, to welcome knowledge and culture from whatever source so that he may eventually pass it on enriched with his own contribution.

It repudiates the policy of C.N.E. as formulated in the handbook published by Die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings in 1948 because it is a negation of all that the Black Sash believes education should be.

The proposed Union Education Advisory Council Bill will destroy Provincial autonomy and facilitate the regimentation of the minds of South African children.

The Black Sash appeals to the electorate not to allow the government to build prison walls around the minds of South African children, but to demand the free and liberal education which should be the birthright of every child.

We ask parents to work for:

- The establishment of schools in which children of both language groups are given the opportunity to know each other.
- The restitution of the right of the parent to decide which language is to be the medium of instruction.
- The freedom of the Provinces from further Government control.
- The withdrawal of the proposed Union Education Advisory Council Bill.
- The revision of text-books to ensure they contain nothing harmful to good race relationships.
- Equal and compulsory educational opportunity for all children, White and non-White.
- Freedom of teachers and pupils from the risk of victimisation on religious or political grounds.
- Religious instruction, when given in schools, to be free from denominational bias.

Parents . . .

YOU SHOULD

- (1) Read the text-books for history and social studies, and draw your child's attention to passages that are open to question.
- (2) Join your school's Parent/Teacher Association, and take an active interest in it. Raise queries about any attempt to indoctrinate children.
- (3) See that you vote for the candidates most likely to represent sound educational principles on your School Committee, and on the School Board in your area.
- (4) Join the Freedom in Education movement in Pietermaritzburg (Secretary: Dr. D. M. Brodie, 137 Roberts Road, Pietermaritzburg), the Natal Education Vigilance Committee (Secretary: Mr. J. L. Castledon, Langford Road, Westville, Durban), The Education League (Opvoedingsbond), P.O. Box 6475, Johannesburg, The Home and School Council, 90 Market Street, Johannesburg.
- (5) Read educational journals — keep up to date.
- (6) Write letters of protest to the Press when necessary, and make your opposition known to the authorities through personal representation or through your Member of Parliament.
- (7) Encourage your child to read widely outside the curriculum.

OUR AIMS

The Black Sash is non-party political and undenominational and its objects are:—

- (i) To conduct propaganda, enlist support and aid for the observance of:—**
 - (a) Political morality and the principles of Parliamentary democracy within the Union of South Africa;**
 - (b) Civil rights and liberties.**
- (ii) The political education and enlightenment of citizens of South Africa, and other persons.**
- (iii) The doing of all such things and the carrying out of all such activities as may further the objects of the Organisation.**

THE BLACK SASH

• DIE SWART SERP