

# The Black Consciousness movement and social research

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The Black Consciousness movement is a term of convenience that refers not only to the organizations that sprang up in South Africa after 1968 but also to the widespread mood of Black pride that encompasses the Black man's commitment to a search for human dignity and liberation from all those forces that seek to oppress him psychologically and physically. In time, this mood was to become a political movement that moved from protest to open revolt in 1976.

Black Consciousness was defined by the South African Students' Organisation (SASO)<sup>1</sup> as '... an attitude of the mind, a way of life'.<sup>2</sup> Therefore SASO saw itself as verbalizing, giving shape and direction to feelings of anger and resentment that lay embedded in the psyche of the ordinary Black people. Black Consciousness according to the SASO Policy Manifesto implied 'the awareness by Black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically'.<sup>3</sup> The Manifesto also defined Black people as

those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.<sup>4</sup>

This definition may be assumed to imply that all those who suffer victimization at the hands of a common oppressor share the same aspirations. Yet SASO made it very clear that such Black people had to be 'identifying themselves as a unit'.<sup>5</sup> Therefore whereas SASO clearly saw the question of colour—and not race—as a factor in seeking unification of all oppressed people towards a national consciousness, it certainly does not exclude the clear possibility that there may be factors which may cause some, who would otherwise fit into this category, not to identify themselves with the aspirations of the Black people and their struggle for liberation. The message of the oppressed classes accordingly was to be spread to reach all sections of the Black community.

This brief discussion of the Black Consciousness philosophy is essential if we are to understand the subsequent developments in the commitment by Black people to the total liberation of the Black community. SASO, incidentally, was the first organization to enunciate this theory in this form in South Africa, but soon the philosophy was to spread to embrace all aspects of Black life so as to grip the very souls of a people who were continuing their centuries-old search for a means towards self-determination and resumption of total political and economic control over their fatherland.

Social research is understood to mean a careful, scientific search of inquiry or a course of critical investigation into the mutual relations of classes of human beings (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*). Though the Black Consciousness movement was not interested in erudite, academic understanding of society and its social and political concerns, it set out a critique of the position of the Black man, an understanding of the true nature of the oppressive society in South Africa and sought to motivate the oppressed masses and to galvanize them into a formidable force that could bring about a social revolution.

SASO expressed this commitment as representing the interests of students 'on all issues that affect them in their academic and community situation'.<sup>6</sup> This objective necessitated a critique of South African society and in particular the education system that was then available for Black people in terms of Bantu, Coloured and Indian education departments of the Nationalist Government.

It is now useful to analyse the aims and ideological foundations of Bantu education. It shall be accepted in this chapter that the education programme for Coloureds and Indians also falls into this category of government policy.

In this chapter I shall seek to point out that not all those who oppose Bantu education do so for the same reasons. I shall also argue that for Black people the alternative to Bantu education is not necessarily the same education that the Whites in South Africa receive. I suggest that the national objectives of the two peoples are so divergent as to be in conflict with each other. I shall seek to establish the thesis that what Blacks seek in the current South African situation are mental tools that will enable them to reach their national goal. It seems to me fair to say that most of the creative thinking within the Black Consciousness movement was possible because for once, being on their own, Blacks could determine their own goals unobstructed by competing claims upon them by liberal White people who seek to soothe their own consciences. There was a move from 'Black visibility' within the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) to Black participation and creativity in the Black Consciousness movement.

A word of explanation about the terms used in this text is necessary. Whenever convenient the words used officially by the government will be retained. This does not imply in any way this author's acceptance of what the Black Students' Manifesto calls 'definitions that have been imposed upon (the Black man) by an arrogant White world'. Black will be used to refer to Africans, Coloured and Indian South Africans. Whenever it

becomes necessary to differentiate between them the above terms will be used. Terms like 'Native', and 'Bantu' belong to government terminology at various stages.

This chapter dwells extensively on the activities of the South African Students' Organization. That is unavoidable in a discussion of this nature because SASO had concerned itself with these matters even before other Black Consciousness organizations did so. But it will be fair to say, I think, that the views expressed here are an accurate representation of the thinking within the Black Consciousness movement.

In his short account of *The Education for the Bantu of South Africa*,<sup>7</sup> G. W. Sneesby hopes that what he calls a 'factual account' will be of value to people in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. While Sneesby states that 'far from the present system of Bantu education being completely revolutionary, one imposed in recent years, it has very largely grown out of the old order of things'.<sup>8</sup> He also seeks to demonstrate that 'very substantial progress in the education of the Bantu has been made'.<sup>9</sup> It is not the intention of this writer to refute the extravagant claims of the apologists for Bantu education; suffice it to say that the former statement is only a half-truth and the latter can be proved to be altogether false.

Bantu education must be and was seen by the Nationalists as a revolutionary step away from the system, in their eyes, that had the effect of creating Blacks who aspired to be Whites and thus threatened their monopoly of intellectual and political superiority. M. D. C. de Wet Nel<sup>10</sup> stated in Parliament on 2 April 1945:

I say there should be a reform of the whole educational system and it must be based on the culture and background and the whole life of the native himself in his tribe.<sup>11</sup>

De Wet Nel later became Minister in charge of Bantu education. According to J. N. le Roux<sup>12</sup> the threat posed by the system of education then available was that there would be no one to do manual labour if everybody is offered academic education: '... we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be a labourer in the country'.<sup>13</sup>

De Wet Nel's use of the word 'reform' was a classic understatement because what indeed happened after 1955 was of a revolutionary nature. Its ripples were to be felt in the events that led to the Soweto uprisings of 1976.

What Bantu education did was to remove the partnership between the education authorities and the Churches who were jointly responsible for the provision of Black education. In terms of this policy the syllabuses were set by the education authorities and the same examinations were taken by all the students in the same level of education. It is true that, in terms of this system, Black people had no say in the education of their children. However, even when Black education was placed on an unashamedly political footing, Blacks still had no voice in policy-making. A whole array of advisory channels were created, which led to administrative ineptitude and tied Black education much more tightly to the apron-strings of

doctrinaire Afrikaner political ideology. By this process, therefore, Black education was to become a political football thrown hither and thither at the whim of an oppressive machinery.

From colonial days, education for Black people had always been destined to conquer the minds of the Black people of South Africa through the advent of dominion status and up to the Nationalists today. For a long time Blacks were given only enough education to enable them to become useful members of the conquered race. Honour and respect, if not awe for the master-race, were inculcated very studiously. Therefore very few Blacks passed through the ranks of the educated. Many who were educated were absorbed by the system as teachers (often very lowly qualified) and clergymen. Leadership had to remain firmly in White hands. The result was that attitudes of élitism were prevalent among the educated class.

In his so-called historical approach G. W. Sneesby conveniently omits mentioning the ideological foundations of what the Nationalists came to call Bantu education. In her book *Forbidden Pastures*<sup>14</sup> Freda Troup traces the development of ideas on education since the Nationalists took over as the governing party in South Africa. The Eiselen<sup>15</sup> Commission's terms of reference were clearly based on the principles of the Christian National Education which had been the bedrock of Nationalist ideological thinking since the beginning of the Second World War. The brief stated that the commission of enquiry must

formulate the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration . . .<sup>16</sup>

It must be observed from these terms of reference that the so-called 'Natives' had 'distinctive characteristics and aptitude'. Their educational needs were so fundamentally different from those of the Whites as to demand a commission of inquiry to look into them and make recommendations. This was to lead Freda Troup to comment:

This idea has become part of the stock-in-trade of the rationale of discriminatory and inferior education for Africans in South Africa.<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, what at first seemed to be an acknowledgement of 'difference' was to be emblazoned as inferior in subsequent practice and administration of what was later to be known as Bantu education. In many ways Blacks are being treated as inferior. The funds allocated by the government are a mere handout while attempts by Blacks themselves trying to establish an alternative system of education are being frustrated.

According to Christian National Education: 'Education should enable the young to take over from their cultural heritage everything that is good and beautiful and noble and develop it in accordance with their own gifts.'<sup>18</sup> However, the Institute of Christian National Education was not given to such flamboyant euphemisms. It states bluntly:

Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality, and segregation; its aim to inculcate the white man's point of view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee.<sup>19</sup>

To the extent that the new custodians of Black education sought to 'civilize and Christianize the native', they were passing on a tradition which they received from a plethora of coterminous forces which ensured the subjugation of the Blacks by the settler race.

The Eiselen Commission duly recommended that all education should be in the medium of the mother-tongue for the first eight years. It was envisaged that this would be extended to secondary level. The official languages were also to be taught 'in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities, to follow oral or written instruction and to "conduct" a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest'.<sup>20</sup> However, the most important recommendation was the reorganization of all education for the Bantu under a government department to be 'integrated organically with all other state efforts'.<sup>21</sup>

In the heat of the Parliamentary debate, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, introducing the Bantu Education Bill was more than candid when he stated:

Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live . . . Native education should be in accordance with the policy of the state . . .<sup>22</sup>

We have seen that this policy was enshrined in the principles of Christian National Education. It must also be remembered that the Nationalists came to power on a ticket of *swart gevaar*<sup>23</sup> whereby the Whites were warned about the impending dangers inherent in the previous government 'native policy'. The Smuts regime was not firm 'enough', there was a danger of integration with the resultant threat to race purity. Therefore Verwoerd stated:

I will reform it [education for the Africans] so that natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them . . .<sup>24</sup>

Later he said:

'it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community.'<sup>25</sup>

To Verwoerd, the White society (he calls them Europeans) were 'green pastures . . . in which [the Native] is not allowed to graze'.<sup>26</sup> It was not that Verwoerd was himself leading Blacks to any pastures that were greener than those of the Whites. He was to commit Blacks to an intellectual aridity that would set them on the road to retardation. Their growth as individuals and as a community was to be stunted effectively by the deliberate policies of the government.

This system of apartheid in education was to be extended to the universities. The University College of Fort Hare<sup>27</sup> was the only institution of higher learning that was specifically set aside for Blacks. Fort Hare has often been lauded by the supporters of what is called universal or liberal education. Yet in his research J. Hunt Davis found that Fort Hare was established in reaction to the alleged bad influences brought back home by Blacks who had gone to the United States for university education.<sup>28</sup> It was an experiment in the control of Blacks by providing education merely for utilitarian purposes. Side by side with Fort Hare, there were Black students at the so-called 'open' universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand where separate social and cultural facilities were provided for Blacks though they sat in the same lecture rooms as the Whites. In his critique of this system Willie A. Maree, then Minister of Bantu Education, felt that this made 'second-class students' of non-Whites.<sup>29</sup> He feared that it would create hatred towards the Whites. It seems fair to state clearly from the very outset that no Black could be deluded into thinking that the prevailing system was perfect. It reflected a great deal on the hypocrisy of the White liberal university establishments. In fact Dr. T. Alty, Chancellor of Rhodes University, which conferred degrees on Fort Hare graduates, stated:

At present each and every university in South Africa has the right to say which students will be admitted. We hold it as a right. We are jealous of our rights and of the fact that we have a few Non-European students.<sup>30</sup>

It is quite clear that they used this right to shut out many Black students and to pride themselves on having admitted 'a few Non-European students'.<sup>31</sup> In the light of this, Dr Verwoerd's fears of mixed universities were unfounded.

If they got their way and the mixed universities emerged, leaders among both white and non-white students would arise who would favour a mixed society, and there would be no opportunity at a later stage to bring about separation.<sup>32</sup>

There was to be no integration under any circumstances. Verwoerd actually expressed the fear that if integration were allowed where 'white and non-white sat together . . . it followed inevitably that South Africa would become a mixed society in which the "Black masses" would rule.'<sup>33</sup> One suspects, however, that this prescription was shared by many university administrators, because they accepted too few Black students to their universities, as most of the places were reserved for Whites who were in any case in a privileged position. There would necessarily have been few Blacks who qualified for university entrance because the school system was loaded against aspiring Black university material. In fact, in the same debate Sir de Villiers Graaff stated that

Whereas the universities had in the past co-operated to uphold the country's social conventions, they would in future be compelled to do as they were told.<sup>34</sup>

Insisting that the government policy was justified Maree stated that

The government could not and would not allow the retention of institutions which not only refused to practise this policy (i.e. separate development) but directly opposed it, and it was therefore necessary for the government to have control of Fort Hare.<sup>35</sup>

He went on to say that at Fort Hare representation on the governing bodies was on the basis of equality and therefore:

These practices must arouse the 'futile expectation' that academic status would enable the non-white to overcome discrimination and would make him an agitator against South Africa's racial pattern instead of a valuable member of his own community.<sup>36</sup>

Mrs Margaret Ballinger in the same debate decried the fact that

a white council nominated by a white Minister would say who the university would teach and how, what and by whom the students would be taught. The only people who would have no say in the development of African culture would be the African.<sup>37</sup>

In the wake of the controversy over government moves to control university education according to its policy of separate development, (Dr Verwoerd, then Prime Minister, delivered a significant speech at the Afrikaner University of Stellenbosch. He stated that universities had played an invaluable part in developing the Afrikaner people. If 'Natives studied at White universities, they might not want to return to their own people who would thus lose potential leaders'.<sup>38</sup> This does not necessarily follow. Verwoerd could not produce evidence that African leaders who had forsaken their people had done so because of the education they received. Many were in the leadership of political organizations that sought to represent the will of their people. What Verwoerd's otherwise laudable assertion hid, however, was the hideous idea that Blacks had to be tailor-made to fit into the style of government policy.

The Afrikaners Dr Verwoerd refers to were able to rise to a position of dominance because they received very favourable terms after they had been defeated in the Anglo-Boer War in terms of the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902 and they were grafted into the scheme that was intended to ensure that Blacks would have no stake in the new political order created by the South Africa Act 1910. They used to great effect a favourable political climate, built a sound political base by using the constitution that gave them a foothold and protected their rights. The Afrikaner had power. For Blacks it was a totally different story. They had no power. The Whites had consistently manipulated the Westminster constitution and nudged out, first the few Cape Africans who were on the Common Voters' Roll by qualified franchise, and then, in 1956, by unconstitutional trickery eventually removed the Coloureds.

Article 26 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups . . .<sup>39</sup>

Article 1 of the Unesco Convention against Discrimination in Education defines discrimination as including

any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular:

- (a) Of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level;
- (b) Of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standard' . . .<sup>40</sup>

It is necessary to point out that South Africa is not a signatory to this convention. It certainly does not adhere to the notions of human Rights proposed by international organizations. Verwoerd himself greatly opposed all universalism in education and detested what in his view amounted to instructions by the international community which he regarded as interference in domestic affairs of South Africa. It will be remembered that it was General Smuts, then Prime Minister of South Africa, who was instrumental in the insertion of a clause in the Charter of the United Nations Organization declaring the domestic policies of Member States to be sacrosanct. Yet the declaration and the Unesco convention provide a basis, at least a starting-point, for a critique of education policies adopted by successive White minority governments of South Africa.

During the debate of the Separate Universities Bill and the Fort Hare Transfer Act, Maseko, the Minister of Bantu Education, chided the opposition for not knowing Bantu leaders. When they referred to these they meant the African National Congress, yet he had received a cable from Bantu Chief Sigcau extolling the virtues of the Fort Hare Bill and the right of Xhosas, I presume, to have their own universities. The African National Congress organized a boycott of schools in protest against Bantu education on 12 April 1955. By so doing ANC was expressing Black opposition to Bantu education and rejected the right of the Nationalist Government to hold the monopoly of total policy in the education of the African child. It was feared by Black people that Bantu education would lead to the lowering of standards. As Dr Verwoerd insisted on the value of African leaders remaining in their community to lead them at Stellenbosch in 1959, two leaders of the African National Congress, Chief Albert J. Lutuli and Oliver R. Tambo, received banning orders preventing them from attending any gatherings. The ANC-led boycott certainly did not achieve what it set out to establish—an alternative system of education, but it had clearly managed to sow seeds not only of suspicion about the real motives of the government but, also, of rejection by Black people of the system of Bantu education that came into the open in 1976.



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Internationally, 1968 was generally regarded as the year of the student. There were protests in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United States of America against the prevailing status quo. Young people rejected the norms of society and sought to inject new values into their communities. In South Africa, protest was sparked off by the refusal of the government to allow the appointment of a Black academic to the staff of the University of Cape Town. The whole principle of academic freedom was revived. At Fort Hare<sup>47</sup> the issue took on other dimensions. The students protested against the inferior quality and incompatibility of the lecturing staff, most of whom were drawn from Afrikaner universities for purposes of indoctrination. Many were barely able to speak English, let alone to teach in the language. The lecture room became the battleground for ideological conflicts between lecturer and student and it was no longer the arena for the common pursuit of knowledge. Students were concerned about discrepancies in salaries and authority between White and Black lecturing staff. No Black lecturer could be senior to a White one, however highly qualified he might be in comparison with his White colleague. All these sentiments were expressed by the students in the only manner that was open to them.

What exacerbated student feelings was the appearance on the campus of one Blaar Coetzee<sup>48</sup> till then Deputy Minister of Bantu Education. He became notorious for his avowal that he would be able to stem and later reverse the flow of Bantu to the urban areas by 1978. Students duly demonstrated against his presence on the campus and that of the new rector who was to be instituted. This was a great embarrassment to the Nationalist establishment at Fort Hare.

The Fort Hare episode provided various lessons for Black students. It hastened the most pressing need for an organization that would not only demonstrate the solidarity of the Black students, but which would also formulate Black student opinion on the education they were receiving and the institutions at which they were learning. There was minimal contact between the students at Turfloop<sup>49</sup> and Ngoye<sup>50</sup> let alone at the Western Cape<sup>51</sup> and Durban-Westville.<sup>52</sup> The first meeting of Black students held at Marianhill in December 1968 expressed itself purely in terms which sought to promote solidarity between Black students. In time SASO was to move from student power to Black power.

In remote Turfloop in the Transvaal Highveld, Onkgopotse R. Tiro<sup>53</sup> was to shock the gathering of academics and White patrons of Bantu education. Tiro was a gifted orator. He devoted his speech to an attack on discrimination even within Bantu education. He attacked the government for failing to abide by its own policies of giving control of Black universities to the Blacks. All opportunity and privilege was still reserved for Whites. 'My dear people,' he said, 'shall we ever get a fair deal in this land? The land of our fathers.'<sup>54</sup> He noted:

The system is failing because even those who recommend it strongly, as the only solution to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and spirit of the policy . . .<sup>55</sup>

The fault of all wrongful actions in South Africa . . . rests on all those who do not actively dissociate themselves from and work for the eradication of the system breeding such evils.<sup>56</sup>

The reaction of the university authorities to Tiro's speech was swift. During that same week-end Tiro was summoned before the disciplinary committee and summarily dismissed from the university. He was given no opportunity to defend himself. The SRC quickly responded by calling upon all students to boycott the lectures and demanded the reinstatement of their fellow student. The authorities suspended the SRC and the entire student body was suspended, lectures terminated and police called in 'to restore order'.

Even before SASO could issue a directive, various campuses staged protests against the expulsion of the students of Turfloop. By then, in addition to Tiro, the entire SRC and the campus leadership of SASO were expelled. The University of the Western Cape in Bellville was immersed in very determined student action that defied both the rector and the police. Again SASO was blamed. Stiffer regulations on student activities were formulated. The South African Students' Organization assembled student leaders at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice where a Declaration was passed whereby all Black students were called upon not only to boycott classes, but to work actively for the eradication of Bantu education. The following weeks were to see a massive demonstration of student power and Black solidarity. All Black campuses were declared battlegrounds against racist education. The parents were also involved in all activities in support of the students. Commenting on the May/June strikes the pamphlet *SASO on the Attack* commented:

Basically, Tiro's speech constructively opened the eyes of the people to the flaws and evils of the racist educational structure. But this Black truth was turned into a white lie by the authorities at [the university of] 'the North'.

The occasion of the strikes provided Black students with the opportunity to examine their own theories of education. The question constantly on the lips of students was that 'We shall close down these universities permanently and what do we put in their place?' The result was a complete re-evaluation of all the hallowed notions about the universal, liberal education leading to education as an expression of a people's quest for liberation and a grappling with their common destiny.

Dr D. G. S. Mtimkulu represents the conception of education in the mind of the African as a quest

for integration into the democratic structure and institutions of the country. To them one of the most effective ways of achieving this is by education—an education essentially in no way different from or inferior to that of other sections of the community.<sup>58</sup>

I find it very difficult to accept this thesis. It seems to me that he fails to understand, in the first place, that there are no democratic institutions in South Africa. An awareness of that fact on the part of Blacks will lead

them to the political aspirations to which education must lead them. In whatever way one looks at it, education is a tool in the hands of the user. For the ruling class, it is an institution that must be captured in order to control the minds of the subjects and to lead them to an understanding and acceptance of their place in society. For the oppressed, it must open horizons to an understanding of the truth about the world and to the search for a means of breaking through the mental and physical stranglehold of the oppressor. One seeks to use education to ensure perpetual domination and the other is determined to use it for liberation within the shortest possible time. Dr Mtimkulu's understanding of education is exactly what leads to élitism in the Black community and those who have the means and manage to reach the mountain-top seek only individual salvation and ignore their wider commitment to the oppressed community.

Richard Shaull states this view very clearly when he writes:

In fact those who, in learning to read and write, come to a new awareness of selfhood and begin to look critically at the social situation in which they find themselves, often take the initiative in acting to transform the society that has denied them this opportunity of participation. Education is once again a subversive force.<sup>59</sup>

Shaull here obviously talks about the training of illiterates but the same principle applies to any who are deprived of an education that is fulfilling and ensures human dignity. Paulo Freire makes the valid point that the oppressed must indeed take charge of their own education:

Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressed society? Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation? It will not be defined by chance but through the praxis of their quest for it, through recognizing the necessity to fight for it.<sup>60</sup>

The danger in Dr Mtimkulu's idea is that those educated in that colourless world of the oppressor fall into the trap of the structure of their thought, becoming conditioned by the 'contradictions of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped'.<sup>61</sup> Their model of humanity is the White man, who is privileged, educated, does not work hard and lives in luxury and comfort. He becomes divorced from the concerns of his people and is so many removes from them as to become a pale reflection of the oppressor himself.

Their vision of the new man is individualistic; because of their identification with the oppressor they have no consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of the oppressed class.<sup>62</sup> (Freire)

Such people merely want to mimic the oppressive class, in fact, to become better oppressors of the less privileged.

On this understanding of education, therefore, men are brought to a critical recognition of the causes of their oppression so that through

revolutionary action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of full humanity. Paulo Freire defines the pedagogy of the oppressed as an instrument for their critical discovery that both they and their oppressors are manifestations of dehumanization. In his introduction Richard Shaull sums up the position of the radical in this way:

The radical committed to a human liberation, does not become the prisoner of a 'circle of certainty' within which he also imprisons reality. On the contrary the more radical he is, the more fully he enters into reality so that, knowing it better, he can better transform it.<sup>63</sup>

This understanding of education for liberation eschews notions that Blacks want the same education that is provided for Whites by the same government that oppresses them. The fundamental objection of the new radicals of the Black Consciousness movement was the realization that even if Blacks went to the same schools and were taught by the same teachers as those who teach Whites, while the entire system of oppression and White privilege existed, they would still be obliged to agitate for total control of the education of the Black child. Yet one understands quite well that it would be impossible to have this control as long as the instruments of power were still in the hands of the oppressor.

Another aspect of education is one which the emergent African states have been articulating. H. F. Makulu documents the development of the aims of education in Africa from the spreading of European civilization during the colonial era to that of preparing the African child to use the best elements of his tribal environment and to transform it by bringing into it what he had received from Western education. This may sound dangerously close to Dr Verwoerd's policy but Makulu points out that 'there was a definite shift from the idea of mere assimilation of western ideas to that of development from within'.<sup>64</sup> Though education was to broaden one's horizons, it had to be rooted in one's life experience, history and customs, if it was to be translated into a means for development and advancement. As an instrument for power, education was the key to privilege. It was seen as the door to the European's technological mysteries.

In the new Africa, education stands at the very centre of nation-building 'in its economic development, in the business of social planning and in the development of political institutions'<sup>65</sup>. According to this view, therefore, instead of education being seen as for the good of the individual so that he can make a contribution to the community, it is seen as a means to enable the individual to develop for the good of the community. Another aspect in which philosophy of education in independent Africa approximated that of the gurus of Bantu education was in the role of culture. Makulu states that the African leaders wished to give proper stress in education at all levels and by all possible means to their own culture. 'As the students of Africa are exposed to the scientific and cultural influences of the outside world', he says, 'they need to be grounded in the knowledge of their own cultural heritage.'<sup>66</sup> He diagnoses the defect of colonial education as caused by the fact that 'people from outside their culture have been judges of what is good and what is bad in African culture. This may

well be the root of the prevalent misunderstanding and disrespect for the cultures of Africa.'<sup>67</sup> If nation-building is to be one of the most important objectives of educational policy in Africa, it not only needs to recognize the discordant elements in the various peoples but has to weld the various groups together by cultural, social and political linkages and bring them to an appreciation of their common destiny. However, Makulu again warns that the renewed call by Africans themselves for the establishment of a cultural basis to education is different from that of previous decades of educational non-development. Africans are not interested in a 'mere adaptation of a few elements from African life', he says, 'but in the whole orientation of education in relation to intrinsic African values to make it African and not merely a useful instrument of power borrowed from Europeans'.<sup>68</sup> Steve Biko also echoed these sentiments when he stated that the government's obsession with culture is to project an arrested image of culture.<sup>69</sup> The culture of the oppressed in South Africa is the one that brings together the tribal past of the various oppressed people into their present life-style under an oppressive system that enriches their human experience. In this way the oppressed are bonded by a national consciousness and a common aspiration. A syllabus designed by the oppressor merely presents the oppressor's view of our culture. His view is, of course, coloured by the oppressor's dominant self-interest. What the Whites call 'culture' in South Africa is a mere preservation of the species or specimen of the African past in the zoo of Afrikaner ideology.

'Education fails when it does not make the child understand himself and his social and cultural past and the life of the society of which he is a member.'<sup>70</sup> This leads one to the ideas of African personality which have done so much in instilling true patriotism. It was felt that the content and methods of education in Africa must be in line with the political will of the nation, must relate to the realities of the technological coming-of-age of the new African industrial societies as well as the imperative process of economic development. There must be a clear understanding of the common national goals in any effective educational system in Africa today.

Indeed these and similar views were debated by the South African Parliament which consists of only White people, when the controversial education measures of the Nationalists were being piloted through Parliament: the Bantu Education Bill, the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Bill and the Separate Universities Bill. The Minister of Bantu Education, W. A. Maree, went on to state that Fort Hare was nothing more than an English university for non-Whites.<sup>71</sup>

He promised that Fort Hare would be given a Xhosa character. He also spoke of the importance of preserving the culture of the Xhosa. The minister in charge of White education emphasized during the same debate that one of the purposes of the Bill was to induce non-Whites to be bearers of their own culture, which they must transmit to their own group. He went on to affirm that:

They [the non-Whites] must get the opportunity to develop to the full on the basis of their identity as a people.<sup>72</sup>

In his Stellenbosch speech Dr Verwoerd said the following:

They [the universities] not only train people for the professions, they also train leaders of the people, safeguard and spread knowledge, and lead the search for further knowledge.<sup>73</sup>

This speech led the Native Representative for Transkei, W. P. Stanford, to state that it would lead to a development of anti-European African leaders.

It is necessary at this point to stress that though Verwoerd and his ministers were putting forward ideas that were in principle in keeping with a great deal of progressive thinking in education, Verwoerd still maintained a stranglehold on education of the Blacks to ensure political control. His words about culture and the nations must be seen against the background of the divide and rule policies of his government. What was good for the Bantu, according to the Nationalists, was less than what was good for the Whites. The rationale behind this attitude is well captured by Makulu when he says:

The fear of competition for jobs and demands for equal rights pushed some White settlers to extremes and they asserted that education of the native should not be of the kind that would make him forsake his place in the tribal community. If he must be educated, his education should not encourage him to be anything beyond a good servant.<sup>74</sup>

The demands of the student activists of May/June 1972 imposed upon SASO the duty to convene a National Formation School. This was a method of training whereby a group of students would stay in a residential centre where they discuss matters of common interest in a seminar or in groups. At the end of it, findings are presented as the common idea of the seminar on a matter of topical interest. This event took place at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in December 1972. Prominent Black educationists, representatives from a variety of Black community organizations and students attended. The theme was 'Towards Black Education'. This was in recognition of the fact that Bantu education was not Black education. It was designed by the oppressor according to his oppressive, prejudicial and discriminatory policies. Any Blacks who were involved in that system were merely carrying out government policy. There was now a demand by Black students for a truly Black system of education that took decisive account of the needs and aspirations of Black people. The priorities of political self-determination, national consciousness and nation-building, a design to help Blacks break out of the confines of psychological enslavement imposed by the system and that education should reflect the spirit of the community in all ways, were all set out clearly in the discussions that followed. SASO's policy on education was based on:

- (i) the rejection of the concept of Black universities according to the model of government policy. It asserts that the aims of the establishment of ethnic institutions was to control the education of Blacks in South Africa.

- (ii) the belief that the education provided by the state for Blacks was irrelevant to the pressing needs of the Black Community as it is derived 'from a model that is not in keeping with the cultural and historical ethos of Black people'.<sup>75</sup>

A Charter for a Black University adopted by the Formation School was seen as laying the foundation of 'education for liberation, self-reliance and development aimed at a communalistic and egalitarian society'.<sup>76</sup> The charter further sets out the aims and objectives of Black education.

- (a) Black education must be aimed at actualizing our aspirations for an egalitarian and communalistic society;
- (b) Black education must act as a catalyst for political, social and economic change;
- (c) Black education shall serve to unite Black people and promote community endeavour and foster a spirit of Black communalism;
- (d) Black education should at all times inculcate into the Blackman <sup>sic</sup> a sense of initiative enquiry, creativity and self-reliance that will equip him with the tools to make him a meaningful member of his society.<sup>77</sup>

The charter ends by stating that:

an aspect of the above endeavour would be to discourage élitism and intellectual arrogance which promotes alienation, acquisitiveness and class structure.<sup>78</sup>

According to SASO, therefore, Black students had to involve themselves in the community and subject their own egos to the needs of society. The alienation referred to may not be one of classical socialism, but it is a warning against the development of a mentality among the students that drove them to set themselves apart from those forces that nurtured them. Again Black Consciousness, though founded on the assumption of identity of aspirations by all Black people, still had to guard against the development within the Black community of a *petite bourgeoisie* alienated from the grass-roots of the suffering people.

But who are the Black students? Black students felt it was necessary to ask themselves this question, if they were not to drift away into a malaise of intellectualism and irrelevance.

They were first and foremost Black people—oppressed, enslaved by the strictures of the White minority regime, mentally and physically. This first realization was to help students reject an apparently privileged position in the community and the lure of being sucked into a position of relative privilege.

The students asserted that 'education in South Africa was unashamedly political'<sup>79</sup> and therefore believed that Black education was tied to the liberation of the Black people.

These were clear definitions that Black students were examining in South Africa through SASO and other Black Consciousness organizations. This enabled Black students in Soweto, the Cape Flats and Chatsworth to realize that the ideal of a true and meaningful education was difficult if not



impossible to conceive as long as the social forces that hampered intellectual development were at play. Indeed, how can a student in Soweto see it otherwise. The school is understaffed and under-equipped with educational material. Homes are overcrowded. There is nowhere to read, and no incentive for schooling. These are the *prima facie* issues that made the students realize that they had 'a moral obligation to articulate the needs of the Black Community'.<sup>(80)</sup> Those needs could be summed up by the word 'liberation'. It was liberation that went to the root of the problems in South Africa. A wholesale removal of the status quo by revolutionary means. That was the call Black students made to the Black community. This is the message Henry Isaacs as Vice President of SASO addressed to his constituency: 'To be creators of history implies being masters of your circumstances'.<sup>(81)</sup> He went on to assert that: 'We cannot shirk the responsibility to transform this society for fear of offending the entrenched White racist political interests. Now is the time to stand up and be counted.'<sup>(82)</sup>

As a result of the demands imposed upon it by the mass exodus of students from Black university campuses between May/June 1972 and June 1973, SASO initiated the Free University Scheme. This was a partnership programme that was designed to put into practice the philosophy for Black education set out in the Charter for a Black University. Students would enrol with the University of South Africa or the University of London which offered tuition by correspondence. Seminars would be arranged to help students with their studies and also to relate these to the ideas that were enshrined in the charter. Students were also expected to take part in community development projects. Expert lecturers from among Black academics and practitioners were recruited and the scheme was launched with great hope in 1973.

A circular issued by SASO on the scheme in 1973 stated:

Our aim is to make students become part of their oppressed communities and work meaningfully towards changing the status quo, and thereby ridding the community of the many ills that afflict it . . . Therefore, the students that will be in the Free University Scheme will be required to contribute and make available their skills for the benefit [of] and use by the Black community. . .

This shows a great concern by SASO not only to provide an alternative means of education to students but to stem the tide towards élitism and involve the student in the concerns of the community. It was necessary for students to be made to see that they were 'part of their oppressed community' because very often, after acquiring education, the élite seek to identify with the oppressor against their lessfortunate compatriots.

However, the Free University Scheme was never a great success. Financial considerations meant that no full-time staff could be found for it. It continued to be administered by SASO full-time staff who were involved in crisis after crisis after 1973. Many SASO leaders were banned during this time which meant that new personnel took over a project with which they were not familiar. There was no incentive for science students in the scheme because facilities for laboratory work were very difficult to

organize. Besides, many of the initial intake of students had to find full-time employment. As a result, they were not able to attend seminars and to devote themselves to community development as initially envisaged. What the scheme did establish, however, was that Blacks could organize themselves to carry out their own political programme.

SASO, which was the first organization to popularize the philosophy of Black Consciousness in South Africa, soon spread these ideas through the length and breadth of Black South Africa. Its reports were widely circulated and discussion groups were formed on many campuses and schools and in the ghettos. The SASO Newsletter was widely read. Very soon many other organizations were founded which based themselves on the philosophy of Black Consciousness. The South Africa Students' Movement was founded in Soweto in 1970. It saw itself as a sister-organization of SASO with schools as its operational base. It published a newsletter *Thrust* which, according to *Black Review* reflected SASM's 'vigour, enthusiasm and determination'.<sup>87</sup> SASM soon established branches in Indian and Coloured schools in Johannesburg, the rest of the Transvaal and the Cape. In 1973, the National Youth Organization was formed. It committed itself to 'project the Black consciousness image . . .' and to work for the elimination of psychological and physical oppression of Black people.<sup>88</sup> These organizations were at the forefront of the activities of 1973. On the face of it the reason behind the Soweto uprisings in 1976 was the language question. Though it remains government policy that mother-tongue instruction be extended to post-primary schools, the government has decreed that 'in all secondary schools half the subjects be taught through the medium of Afrikaans and half through the medium of English'.<sup>89</sup> Many teachers have always resisted this on the basis that there are no suitably qualified teachers to teach in the medium of Afrikaans. This, in fact, was not a new instruction in 1976.

The Afrikaner Nationalist Government enforced the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in order to assert its political supremacy. It was part of their stock-in-trade designed to conquer the minds of the Blacks and to ensure their total subjugation. Blacks did not reject Afrikaans because the Afrikaners were allies of the English. They reject Afrikaans because it represents all that Blacks over the years have been struggling against. For the Afrikaner believes that 'his adherence to and insistence upon the use of Afrikaans wherever possible have been the chief means by which Afrikaner national self-realization has been achieved and maintained'.<sup>90</sup> A widespread use of Afrikaans would demonstrate the Afrikaner's unchallenged dominance of the country. One can read this in Dr Andries Treurnicht's statement after the riots had erupted:

In the white area of South Africa where the government provides the buildings, gives subsidies and pays the teachers, it is surely our right to determine the language divisions. Why are pupils sent to schools if they don't like the language divisions?<sup>91</sup>

To this simple mind the issue was cut and dried. Afrikaans was congruent with the government and therefore there had to be a *quid pro quo* from

While recognising the economic and class exploitation in South Africa, it is submitted that the structural features of the system in which race assumes a cardinal importance cannot be ignored as some dogmatic "class only" theorists would have it. Race and class coincide: racialism is the form that national oppression takes. Conflict must out of necessity work itself out along racial lines because of the racially structured system. This is well argued by Ben Turok in his brilliant critical analysis:

"It must be recognised that there is a deep and peculiar significance in the lot of Black workers. Indeed Blacks are exploited in a three-fold manner - on the basis of race, as workers and as people. In the South African case, therefore, the national question must be central both in our analysis and in the realm of praxis:...."

"Many socialists fear that emphasising the national aspect of the struggle will somehow admit a Black bourgeois solution or that the struggle will become so contaminated with racism that it will lose its direction, leading only to a race war. It cannot be denied that these dangers exist .... Here we are looking at the formation of Black consciousness, in particular among Black workers.

"Since most Africans and most Blacks are proletarians, and since almost all employers are white, conflict over wages, general conditions of work, as well as overt political activity takes on a colour aspect. That the African proletariat, being the most exploited and oppressed of all, should play the most prominent role in this struggle ought to be clear from the preceding argument. But their role will be played out in national (race) rather than in class terms since this is how the contradictions manifest themselves.

"But even outside the framework of industrial relations, Black and white earnings and prospects, and therefore loyalties, are wholly different. Black petty traders, professionals, businessmen and civil servants, are all clearly marked out by the stamp of colour which acts with rigorous consistency in determining the place of people in the system. The polarity of race ensures that the difference of income and status within the Black communities themselves tends to become diminished within a broader solidarity embracing a wider range of strata.

court recently: 'Black children were aware of the differences in education and did not need inciting.'<sup>93</sup>

The Right Reverend Desmond Tutu, now General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, puts it even more clearly when he says:

I do not need agitators to tell me that this system is oppressive and unjust. I don't have to be told by agitators that I am getting a raw deal in my own country.<sup>94</sup>

He speaks for many in Soweto when he speaks thus. Trial upon trial took place with indecent haste. The leaders of Black Consciousness were the prime targets of detention, arrest and banning.

Soweto presents a microcosm of the feelings of revolutionary zeal in the hearts of many young Blacks. Black Consciousness was soon noticed as the driving force behind much of the thinking that is going on in the townships. Judge Snyman, who was appointed Commissioner on the [1974] strikes at Turfloop, blamed SASO largely for spreading subversive ideas. He said that

it is not a true student's organization, and membership is not limited to students. Its policy cannot be distinguished from that of a political party. The organization has a comprehensive political policy embracing virtually every facet of South Africa and South Africa's international politics . . . So, the aim of Black consciousness, and therefore, of SASO is the overthrow of the present system in South Africa.<sup>95</sup>

In his reply the then SASO president, Diliza Mji, was very emphatic:

Because these ills are anchored in the whole apartheid structure it is not possible to separate the educational system from apartheid, not possible to hit at the educational system without hitting at apartheid.<sup>96</sup>

Kruger blamed the Black Consciousness movement, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress for the student uprisings. The Black Peoples' Convention chose to observe ruefully:

It is high time that the government accepted once and for all that what they regard as being good for Blacks is often rightly seen as poison by Blacks.<sup>97</sup>

Soweto, therefore, saw the emergence of the new brand of the Black man. The *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976*, comments as follows:

The authentic student leaders appeared to be dedicated, intelligent, militant young activists, fearless people with no family responsibilities owning no property . . .<sup>98</sup>

Though the South African Institute of Race Relations in this view is expressing the opinion of the Progressive Reform Party in prescribing bourgeois capitalist solutions, they accurately portray the calibre of the

student militants. South Africa was to see the appearance of unashamedly independent people dedicated to the restoration of their birthright. Fear was banished for ever in the minds of the people. Passive resistance was a thing of the past.

*The Times of India* commenting on the Soweto revolts observed: 'This psychological revolution cannot be undone, whatever else happens in South Africa in the short run.'<sup>99</sup>

The young Black people have altered the face of apartheid in South Africa. Though many suffered, are in gaol or are harrassed and victimized, yet their sense of self-respect has been buoyed. Bantu Education has undergone cosmetic changes. Soweto shook the moral foundations of Afrikaner ideology. The greatest impact of the student uprisings was in the radicalization of the Black community. There is now a renewed invigorated community spirit. Black solidarity has become a fact and is here to stay. The students established their right to intellectual independence as a prelude to social and political emancipation.

But what are the implications for social research in South Africa? In the last decade or so, South Africa has been bombarded with a huge volume of critical thinking on the ordering of its society. The mind of man was to break through all artificial strictures that imprison the mind. South Africa is a state whose totalitarian nature is complete. Through the student initiative the veil was lifted and the state laid bare to a critical evaluation. The claims to peace and democracy could no longer be sustained as the people themselves exposed the lie.

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## Notes

1. The South African Students' Organization was inaugurated at a conference of representatives from Black universities, colleges and seminaries at the University of the North, Turfloop, near Pietersburg, Transvaal, in July 1969. Steve Biko, who died in the custody of the security police on 12 September 1977, was elected President. Membership of SASO was open only to African, Coloured and Indian students.
2. *SASO Policy Manifesto*, Article 4(b)(i).
3. *Ibid.*, Article 4(b)(iv).
4. *Ibid.*, Article 2.
5. *Ibid.*
6. 'Aims and Objects', *SASO Constitution*.
7. G. W. Sneesby, *The Education of the Bantu in South Africa*, Britain and South Africa Forum, 1974. Mr Sneesby was an Inspector of Schools in the Bantu Education Department.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 3. In saying this Sneesby seeks to justify Bantu education in the eyes of his British readers by alleging that it was a continuation of British colonial policy.
9. *Ibid.*
10. M. D. C. de Wet Nel was a member of the Nationalist (Opposition) Party during General Smuts' post-war government. He later became minister responsible for the application of Nationalist race policies. When he retired from that position he became Commissioner-General of the Venda National Unit.
11. Quoted in *Apartheid: Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information*, p. 33, Paris, Unesco, 1972.
12. J. N. le Roux later became a prominent member of successive Nationalist Governments.

14. Freda Troup, *Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1976. This book, published in April, a few months before the outbreak in Soweto, could not have been more timely. It focuses on a matter that was topical after Soweto.
15. Dr W. M. M. Eiselen was Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry that led to the Bantu education system. He later became Commissioner-General of the North Sotho ethnic group and first Chancellor of the University of the North.
16. Quoted in Troup, op. cit., p. 18.
17. Ibid.
18. Quoted in Troup, op. cit., p. 21. On the significance of Christian National Education and the Institute of Christian National Education see Troup, op. cit., pp. 18-21 and *Apartheid . . .* op. cit., pp. 33-5.
19. Quoted in Troup, op. cit., p. 20.
20. Quoted in Troup, op. cit., p. 21. G. W. Sneesby does not mention that this is the motivation for the teaching of official languages. He writes: 'There has been a great deal of misrepresentation of the present situation regarding medium of instruction in schools . . . it has been stated that English is forbidden as a medium of instruction. . . . Such a statement gives a distorted picture of the actual position.' One immediately notices Sneesby's own distortion when he does not state that only as much English was to be taught as would enable the child to be a good servant.
21. Ibid.
22. Quoted in *Apartheid . . .*, op. cit., p. 37.
23. Black danger or menace.
24. Quoted in Troup, op. cit., p. 22.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Founded in 1916 as a college for higher learning for Africans. However, by 1959 there were also Coloured and Indian students. During the debate on the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Bill, the Opposition constantly referred to this institution as one of the last vestiges of the English heritage left in South Africa.
28. Hunt Davis Jr is First Vice-President in the Centre for African Studies in the University of Florida.
29. *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, 30 May to 6 June 1959, p. 16843.
30. *Eastern Province Herald*, 6 April 1959.
31. Ibid.
32. *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, op. cit., p. 16843.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, op. cit., p. 16844.
38. *Eastern Province Herald*, 26 February 1959.
39. Quoted in *Apartheid . . .*, op. cit., p. 30, and Leslie Rubin, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights in South Africa*, p. 43, South Africa Information Programme of the International University Exchange Fund.
40. Ibid.
41. *Eastern Province Herald*, 14 February 1959.
42. Ibid.
43. *Eastern Province Herald*, 29 October 1959.
44. Ibid.
45. *Eastern Province Herald*, 6 April 1959.
46. Bishop Ambrose Reeves was deported from South Africa after the Sharpeville massacres of 1961.
47. The writer was a student at the University College of Fort Hare from 1966 to 1968. He was expelled with twenty-one others after the strikes in September 1968.
48. He was appointed Minister for Community Development, a portfolio that carries out the Group Areas Act.
49. The University College of the North, later the University of the North, is located at Turfloop near Pietersburg. It is set aside only for the Sotho-, Tswana-, Pedi-, Venda- and Shangaan-speaking students.
50. Ngoye, the University College of Zululand, later called the University of Zululand, located at Empangeni, accepts only Zulu- and Swazi-speaking students.

51. The University College of the Western Cape was later called the University of the Western Cape. It is at Bellville, Cape, and is open only to Coloured students.
52. The University College of Durban-Westville became the University of Durban-Westville for Indians only.
53. O. R. Tiro was immediate past President of the Students' Representative Council at Turfloop. In 1973, he escaped to Botswana where he was killed by a parcel bomb in 1974.
54. Quoted from Denis Herbstein, *White Man We Want to Talk to You*, pp. 72-73, London, Penguin Books, 1978.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. SASO on the Attack: An Introduction to the South African Students' Organisation, p. 6, 1973.
58. Quoted in *Apartheid . . .*, op. cit., p. 35.
59. Introduction by Richard Shaull in Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 9, Penguin Books, 1972. Paulo Freire's works, particularly the psycho-social method of literacy training, were widely used by Black Consciousness groups.
60. Freire, op. cit., p. 22.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. H. F. Makulu, *Education, Development and Nationbuilding in Independent Africa*, p. 18, London, SCM Press, 1971. In his Foreword to this work President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia says of the role of education in confronting the problems facing Africa: 'This is the collective challenge facing today's young Africans, and posterity stands to condemn them if they fail to live up to their responsibilities by assuming an insular approach to the role of education, and failing to take up as their mission the educational upgrading of all those capable of this in the societies in which they live. . . .'
65. Makulu, op. cit., p. 31.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 34.
69. Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, pp. 40-7, London, Bowerdean Press, 1978.
70. Makulu, op. cit., p. 35.
71. *Eastern Province Herald*, 23 April 1959.
72. *Eastern Province Herald*, 9 April 1959. The minister went on to say: 'We want to make provision for them in separate institutions so that they can develop autonomy on their own basis.' The United [Opposition] Party spokesman, M. P. Bowker retorted: 'The government is demonstrating to the world its incapability and immaturity to govern the Native people of this country. You [the Minister] talk of Xhosa culture. I wonder what a Bushman university would look like? Bushmen would probably not be allowed to paint on white canvas. You would keep them in the rocks—and that is just where you are putting Fort Hare.'
73. *Eastern Province Herald*, 26 February 1959. The Nationalists made effective use of overseas authorities to establish the validity of their course of action. For instance, the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, J. J. Serfontein quoted Ortega Y. Gasset, the Spanish philosopher-statesman and Thomas Hodgkin. All parties in that Parliament were committed to the suppression of Black people but they differed in the methods to be used.
74. Makulu, op. cit., p. 18.
75. SASO on the Attack. . . op. cit., p. 6.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. P. M. Gwala (ed.), *Black Review, 1973*, p. 63, Durban, Black Community Programmes, 1974.
84. Gwala (ed.), op. cit., p. 64.
85. Sneesby, op. cit., p. 9.
86. Ibid., p. 11.

87. *The Star* (Johannesburg).
88. Rubin, op. cit., p. 44.
89. From transcripts of the matter, State V. Twala and ten others (unreported), popularly known as the 'trial of the Sowetoll'.
90. The defence at the trial denied that the Action Committee was the predecessor or had anything to do with SASM.
91. *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 November 1978.
92. *Post*, 27 February 1979.
93. *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 November 1978.
94. *The Star* (Johannesburg).
95. Thoko Mbanjwa (ed.), *Black Review*, 1975/6, p. 155.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
98. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976*, p. 69, Johannesburg, Institute of Race Relations, 1976.
99. Mbanjwa, op. cit., p. 104.
100. *Post*, 9 June 1979.