

White persons only.

These will not be the last demands in the cause of apartheid. If the unions were unable to resist interference in their affairs in the past, they will be less able to do so in the future. Their solidarity has been shattered by racialism and their power reduced by law. Many old established unions may end up as nothing better than friendly or benefit societies.

There was a time when the unions could have asserted themselves through political action. That right has now been taken away. Henceforth, it will be illegal for any trade union to affiliate to a political party, or to give financial aid to political parties or candidates.

Apartheid will begin to crumble first in the economic sphere. Workers, whatever their colour, will have to bear the brunt of that event. It is essential that they should be seeking ways to unite their forces in order to withstand the upheavals of the future. That unity is possible only if enough White trade unionists adopt a more enlightened attitude towards Non-White workers. So far, there is little sign of it.

## THE NEW ORDER IN BANTU EDUCATION

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THE European and the Bantu inhabitants of South Africa first met, on any general scale, in the late eighteenth century. Trade and evangelization were the main reasons for contact and, to the missionaries, the education of the heathen was secondary only to his conversion. Thus, in 1799, the first Bantu school in South Africa was established in the Eastern Cape and other schools rapidly followed, the chief churches or missionary bodies being then, as now, the Methodists, the Scottish Presbyterians, and the Anglicans. In its aloofness towards Bantu education, the chief Afrikaner church, the Dutch Reformed Church may or may not have failed in its spiritual duty, but it has certainly committed a colossal strategic blunder. For a century and a half it has made almost no attempt to win the Bantu people, the mass of its fellow inhabitants of this land, to its ideals or even to its language.

The development of Bantu education differs greatly in detail in all four Provinces of the Union, but in each Province schools for Native people, usually made available to all comers by their colour-blind promoters, were established, maintained and financed for many years purely by the missionaries. Then followed, in the Cape and Natal, a period of Governmental support, limited at first to minute financial grants in aid of teachers' salaries and with or without the right of inspection. Between 1865 and 1921, the annual State expenditure at the Cape increased from £3,571 to £297,853 and in Natal from 1865 to 1920, from £2,009 to £36,195.

In the Transvaal and Orange Free State no State provision of any kind was made for Native education until "Milner's Kindergarten", the representatives of the conquering power, took control after the Anglo-Boer War. By 1920, Governmental expenditure in these two Provinces had risen to £39,054 and £4,000 respectively. The Cape has no special grounds for complacency in respect of its provision for Bantu education, but it will be observed that, in 1865, when its authority over the Bantu was limited to a chain of military posts on the outskirts of Kaffirland and a few mission stations inside and outside, its contribution to Bantu education was just a trifle lower than that of the settled twentieth century Free State almost sixty years later. In these present days too, when Transvaal Nationalism has triumphed over Cape Liberalism, the relative contributions in 1920-21 are not without significance.

In 1921 the Transvaal Provincial Council, faced with a financial commitment foisted upon it by an alien power, attempted to impose a direct tax upon the Native people for their education, in addition, it should be noted, to an existing Poll Tax of £2. The Union Government, under Smuts, intervened. Provincial Councils were prohibited from imposing direct taxation upon Natives and were required to provide "funds for Native education, not less proportionately to the whole sum spent on all education than was spent in the financial year 1921-1922". This amounted to a total of £340,000. The operative phrase was "not less" but it was also interpreted as "not more". In 1925, to meet the needs of the expanding system, the Union Government took over complete control of financing from the Provinces, gave them the block grant of £340,000 and two-fifths of the proceeds of the Native General Tax, commonly known as the Poll Tax, a tax of £1 per head on each adult Native male irrespective of income.

This general provision for Bantu education, meagre as it was, was significant in two respects. It marked the recognition, first by the

Provincial Administration and then by the Central Government that they had at least some responsibility for the education of the African and it provided a certain amount of relief and assistance, as regards teachers' salaries, etc., to the overburdened Missions.

Until the second World War, however, the history of Native education is that of a struggle between a growing demand by the people for education as evinced by an increasing enrolment, and a Development Account that could not develop. From 1935 onwards, larger and larger fractions of the General Tax were devoted to Native Education until, in 1943, four-fifths of this tax was allocated to education and the remaining one-fifth to other Native services.

In 1945, the liberally-minded Minister of Finance and Education, J. H. Hofmeyr, was able to break completely with the past. He placed the financing of Native Education upon the only truly satisfactory foundation by making it a charge on the general revenue of the country. The quickening of the country's economic life as a result of the war followed by Hofmeyr's financial provisions ensured that, from 1941 to 1954 when the Bantu Education Act came into operation, Bantu education surged forward, both quantitatively and qualitatively, at possibly the maximum rate consonant with healthy expansion.

Despite increasing Governmental assistance, the main responsibility for erecting and maintaining schools fell, until 1954, upon the churches. In 1953, for example, the Missions controlled 4,827 and the Government 992 schools, and the bulk of the latter had come under Governmental control only during the past decade.

By 1953, on a purely voluntary basis, Missionary effort and parental solicitude, aided by Government to the extent indicated above, had built up a school system of just under 900,000 children, accommodated in approximately 5,819 schools built almost wholly by voluntary effort, and staffed by over 21,000 teachers, almost all trained at Missionary Institutions.

The achievement in Secondary and Higher Education is particularly noteworthy. In 1924 there were two recognized Secondary Schools in the Union, at Lovedale and Adams College, each with not more than 70 pupils, and presenting less than a third of these yearly for the Junior Certificate Examination. There might be said to be one High School, for the main work of the University College at Fort Hare in these days was to prepare students for the Senior Certificate or Matriculation Examination. By 1949 there were approximately 19,000 pupils in at least 92 Secondary and

High Schools and to-day there are over 1,000 internal and another 1,000 external Bantu students enrolled in South African Universities.

When the Nationalist Government came into power in 1948, one of its first acts was to appoint a Commission, the Eiselen Commission, to inquire into Native education. Though it did not explore the historical background as fully as the Welsh Committee of 1935-36, this Commission produced an extremely full and comprehensive report, which became the blue print for the Government's subsequent Bantu educational legislation. The Government, indeed, has accepted the report in almost all important respects save the major one—the financial recommendations.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 is short and restricts itself to a few fundamental principles, delegating to the responsible Minister very wide powers over the whole field of Bantu education. It is a signal example of the modern trend towards the delegation of power from the legislature to the executive.

Firstly, the Act transfers the control of Bantu Education from the Provinces to the Union Government. None of the Provincial Education Departments has welcomed this change as each has worked out a system more or less in harmony with its own attitudes and traditions. But, as three of them have had separate Departments of Native Education and as, since 1922, the Union Government has had increasing control of Bantu Educational policy, this transfer, in itself, need not mean for them a radical break with the past. The transfer, however, has meant the final uprooting of the old Cape liberal tradition in education whereby the education of all races came under the control of the same officials in the same Education Department. The value of this oneness of organization may easily be over-estimated, but it is only necessary to compare, for example, the conditions of service of teachers in the four Provinces, the relative enrolments, or the relative expansion of secondary education, to gauge to some small extent the very real value of this inter-racial educational organization with more or less common codes of education, and a common set of officials including inspectors.

Secondly, in order, it is stated, to secure greater integration of Governmental services for the Bantu people, education is transferred, not to the Union Department of Education, where it could be handled by officials experienced in, and dealing with, the educational policy of the country as a whole, but to the Department of Native Affairs. It may be, as the Secretary for Native Affairs has suggested, that, provided the necessary trained and experienced

educational officials are drafted to it, the Native Affairs Department is perfectly capable of handling this additional service, but, on the same argument, so is any other State department, including the Department of Prisons. It is surely strange that South Africa should require over a dozen Departments of State to handle the affairs of under three million Europeans but only one Department to control, and to control so minutely, the destinies of just under nine million Africans. Even on the grounds of mere administrative efficiency there is little to be said for the transfer. It is also unfortunate that Bantu education has passed from Departments honoured and trusted by the African people to one that is increasingly associated in their minds with irksome taxes, humiliating regulations, and repressive legislation.

Thirdly, three types of school are explicitly recognized: (a) Bantu Community Schools under the control of a Bantu Authority of some kind, (b) Government Bantu Schools either taken over from the Provinces or brought into existence by the Government, and (c) State-aided Bantu Schools. Further, after a date to be fixed by the Minister, no school may be established or conducted unless it is registered, and registration is at the discretion of the Minister acting on the recommendation of the Government's Native Affairs Commission.

The significance of these measures can only be realized in conjunction with the voluminous regulations which followed the passing of the Act and which served to implement it. Government Bantu Schools have been placed, naturally, under the complete control of the Government. Until the passing of the Act, thirty-three of the thirty-seven Teacher Training Institutions were State-aided Missionary establishments; all have now become entirely State Institutions. Practically all other Missionary controlled schools have been transferred to the ostensible control of the Bantu people as Community schools. For each community school there has been constituted a School Committee consisting purely of Bantu members, some nominated by Departmental officials and, except in urban areas, the rest by chiefs or headmen. Similarly, for each group of schools, the size of the group depending on a variety of factors, chiefly administrative convenience, a School Board is constituted partly from Departmental nominees and except in urban areas, by nominees of the chiefs or headmen concerned.

It should be borne in mind that chiefs and headmen hold office solely at the discretion of the Department, and that, as an additional safeguard, all nominations to Committees and Boards are

subject to the approval of the Department. Only in urban areas are a few direct representatives of the parents, chosen by popular vote, nominated for office, in place of tribal nominees.

Bantu School Committees, and, in some cases Boards, have been in existence for many years, and some have taken much interest in the schools, but most have been merely advisory. It is therefore praiseworthy, as the Minister himself has pointed out, to accord to the community official recognition and to delegate to it control of its own schools.

From the composition of the Committees and Boards, however, it will be seen that the Bantu people control their own schools only in so far as they conform to the wishes of the Department of Native Affairs. Even more open to question is the removal in one drastic sweep of a whole host of experienced and devoted European Missionaries from all official connection with the schools, especially in rural areas where, apart from teachers who, from their office, are excluded from such bodies, there are so few educated Bantu people.

The creation of a whole apparatus of offices and office equipment, salaries and allowances to the newly appointed School Board Secretaries, and attendance fees and travelling expenses to School Board members, have no doubt helped to "sell" the new deal to a section of the African people which might otherwise have actively opposed it. Probably, even with the expense of European organizers and other overheads incidental to the new system, the additional cost does not amount to a very large sum. But it does constitute an additional burden upon Bantu educational finance for which no extra funds are earmarked, and it is by no means certain that the increased cost will result in greater efficiency than was rendered by the unpaid missionary managers of the past.

Practically all the churches except the Catholic Church and certain Anglican organizations handed over their schools, mainly to the community. The alternatives were to retain the schools as private schools, as the Catholics did, in which case no Government subsidy was available, or to retain them as State-aided schools with a subsidy reduced from a 100% of the salaries and allowances of teachers to 75% in 1955 and by rapid stages to no subsidy in 1958. As most churches found it sufficiently hard to make ends meet on full subsidy, there was no real alternative to transfer, particularly as the charging of fees to the pupils was not permitted.

The attitude in regard to private schools is still obscure but it is clear that the Government does not favour such institutions and

it is possible that the registration of such schools may become progressively more difficult.

The section of this new Bantu legislation which inspires the greatest foreboding is the financial provision. The new deal is founded on the Eiselen Report and Dr. Eiselen is not only the architect but the builder, and a builder whose estimates have been drastically cut. The report envisages an initial ten years' plan with financial provision expanding at the average rate of about 7% per annum compound interest. Yet the Ministers of Finance and of Native Affairs have declared that the contribution from General Revenue towards Bantu education will be pegged at its 1954 level, viz. £6,500,000. In addition, of the Native General Tax, four-fifths, at present amounting to £2,000,000, will be devoted to Bantu education. As the receipts from Native taxation increase so will the educational system expand. In other words, to bring about Dr. Eiselen's 7% annual expansion, the yields of the Poll Tax must expand by 30% per annum compound interest. There is no sign that the Tax can possibly reach this goal, but there are signs that fresh Native taxation is contemplated.

The Minister of Native Affairs and his party, and also, regrettably, a large section of White South Africa clings stubbornly to two beliefs in regard to Native development. Firstly, they believe that the African paying, as he does, only £2,500,000 in Direct Taxation, makes an insignificant contribution to the expenses of Government. They forget the mass of indirect taxes, such as custom duties, etc., and the patent fact that the wheels of South African industry including farming, are turned by the great masses of underpaid African workers. Secondly, they assume that African social services must be directly self-supporting but can point to no other country in the world, nor to any other sphere in their own land, where the poor are expected to pay for their own social services.

Financial stringency has led to a number of economies, one of which is paraded as a positive improvement. The devastation of large European cities, the expansion of African education in the post-war decade, and the world-wide shortage of school buildings, have made everyone conscious of the double session experiment, i.e. the use of the same classrooms by two relays of pupils. The Native Affairs Department, aware of the strain of long school hours on the Bantu children in the sub-standards, has decreed that, in these classes, each pupil will attend for only two-and-a-half hours daily, and that the same classroom will be used by a second group

of pupils. The only significant variation from the established practice of double sessions is that there is no change of teacher. The same teacher caters for two successive waves, each of fifty children, and is exhorted to make her work more practical and give them more individual attention than in the past. It is by this subterfuge that enrolment is not only being maintained but actually increased. It remains now for the Minister to discover that, through quadruple sessions, every Bantu child could make a nodding acquaintance with education, without requiring the Government to find a single extra penny.

A second and most far-reaching economy concerns the qualifications and remuneration of teachers. In education, quality is more important than quantity. By an arduous evolutionary process, the professional quality of Bantu teachers has gradually improved. Since the 1890's, when little more than a Standard IV certificate was required, the level has gradually risen until in the post-war years the Cape was able to make the Junior Certificate plus two years professional training the minimum requirement for male teachers and was well on the way to demanding the same requirement for females. Following on the Eiselen Report, the Bantu Education Department has dismissed this as an expensive luxury, has lowered the minimum to a Standard VI education plus a three years course of training, and has taken energetic steps to make this the normal qualification, particularly for female teachers. European education demands, as a minimum qualification, the Senior Certificate plus two years of professional training; no one has the temerity to suggest a shortening and cheapening of the process.

The School Feeding Grant is being continued for the present but the Government does not like it, ostensibly because, unlike subsidies and social services to the European community, it is sapping the independence of the people and the sense of responsibility of the parent. The Government is, therefore, encouraging the Bantu School Boards to divert such funds to other school services, such as the extension and improvement of accommodation, on the plea that it is unfair that some children should receive not only education but food, while others go without either.

At least three features of the new syllabuses must be mentioned. The pattern of life in the world to-day, Western industrialism, postulates universal education. The late nineteenth century was content with Primary education for the masses, the twentieth century demands general Secondary education. The Native Affairs Department is satisfied with less than either of these wild ambitions.



Primary education, hitherto regarded as an indivisible, as an integrated course giving little more than general mastery of the three R's, has been split into two separate courses, each of four years duration, and each claimed to be self-contained. The Lower Course aims, as Nationalist politicians have stated, at satisfying the legitimate educational aspirations of the Bantu people. If it does, they are easily satisfied. The straitness or otherwise, of the gate leading from the Lower to the Higher Course is still veiled in the mist of the future. Meanwhile the anxious Bantu parent perceives that a barrier has been erected across the old Primary School Course, and realizes that barriers are erected for specific purposes.

The main accusation levelled against Bantu education in the past has been that it was too bookish and insufficiently practical. There is much truth in this criticism and for a century administrators, missionaries, and teachers—we need mention only Sir George Grey and Stewart of Lovedale—have laboured to meet it. But practical education demands smaller classes, a certain minimum of equipment, and greater accommodation. In short, it entails far more money per head than has ever been available for Bantu education. Nevertheless, with the increasing grants of post-war years, Bantu education to a slight but appreciable degree, has become more practical and less bookish.

The Minister, however, has pledged himself, within the financial limits set by his Government, to make education more practical and less literary. As a first step he has doubled the roll in the sub-standards and added to the curriculum a third compulsory language.

The introduction of a third language may well prove to be the most calamitous blow struck at Bantu education. The pre-1954 language policy, at least in the Cape, seemed reasonable and satisfactory and, indeed, is the policy advocated by the Eiselen Report. The child started off with instruction through the medium of his own Bantu language. He also learned one of the official languages (English and Afrikaans), gradually improving his mastery of this language until in the highest Primary classes he could use it as a medium of expression. By thorough mastery of this tongue pupils who passed on to higher education followed the same Secondary and University courses as their European fellow students. Over the past three decades they proved, in ever-increasing numbers and beyond any shadow of doubt, their powers to assimilate the same education as their White fellow citizens, and demonstrated, through their part in South Africa's industrial revolution, the benefits to the whole Union of their education on these lines.

It is unfortunate that, through the indifference of the Afrikaner church, and with great and notable exceptions, of the Afrikaans-speaking population, the official language chosen in the Cape and Natal was almost invariably English, but this was balanced to some extent by the frequent choice of Afrikaans in the Free State and Transvaal. In any case, the African people have wanted for many years to learn Afrikaans, and in all Provinces some provision has been made for teaching the other official language, whichever it might be, as a language in the later years of the Primary School Course.

The new Bantu education syllabuses, with an apparently meticulous sense of fair play, decree that both official languages shall be taught from the beginning of the second school year. The time hitherto devoted to one official language is, with a very small increment taken from practical work, neatly divided between the two official languages. Lack of mastery of one official language has been in the past the main stumbling block experienced by Bantu pupils in their progress to higher education. With only half the time in future devoted to this medium, the outlook for Bantu higher education looks black indeed.

It will be seen, in brief, that the language provisions minister to the twin gods of apartheid and tribalization. They aim at producing an African tolerably fluent in his own language, if he stays long enough at school, and able to communicate to a strictly limited degree in the two official languages with officials and other casual contacts. It will further be noted that the educated Bantu of the future will be ring-fenced in his own tribal group, because, without the lingua franca of the present, viz. English, contact between the six or seven major Bantu language groups will be narrowly circumscribed. Further to prevent tribal intermingling, training schools for teachers and Institutions in general are required to take pupils only from their own immediate area. It is even envisaged that, for university education, separate colleges will be set up in each of the half-dozen main regions and each will be attended only by students domiciled in that area. Doubtless, a Cabinet several of whose members have been exposed, fortunately without defilement, to the noxious influences of foreign universities, is, in this matter solicitous for the welfare of more impressionable mortals.

Many, perhaps most, of the missionaries who have perforce relinquished their control of Bantu education, and many Bantu parents and leaders, appear to derive comfort from the fact that

in the main the new Bantu Education is being administered by the same humane, experienced, and trusted officials who handled education under the Provinces. It is largely the purpose of this article to suggest that this is false comfort.

Under any State, officials are or ought to be without politics. Their duty is, honestly and faithfully, to put into practice the policy of the existing Government, or to resign. It is true that, in regard to details and procedures, the officials of the Bantu Education Department may and often will soften asperities, and apply Governmental policy with all possible tact and consideration. In matters of policy, however, they are the servants of the Government and have no authority in regard to almost any of the changes referred to in this article.

Nationalist South Africa which, in the Transvaal, ignored its obligations to Bantu education until forced to assume them by an alien power, which again tried in 1922, without success, to evade its obligations and throw the full financial onus on the people themselves, has returned to the attack. It can no longer evade all responsibility, nor can it make the Bantu assume total financial responsibility, but it appears to hope, with no great confidence and no very clearly defined goal, if not to sweep back, then at least to channel and to direct into more placid backwaters this great tidal wave which, for over a century has gradually but surely been gathering momentum.

It is a measure of the advance made by Bantu education that fifty years ago, the Nationalists and their forerunners regarded the educated African as an impossibility. Twenty years ago, with a ponderous apparatus of so-called intelligence tests which proved his general ineducability, they looked upon him as a freak. To-day they honour his ability by seeing in him a menace. Perhaps, in the next generation they will try to make him a partner and a friend—if it is not too late.

## BANTU EDUCATION AND THE AFRICAN TEACHER

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IN dealing with a subject of this nature there is always present the temptation to enunciate a number of theories on education and,