

4. COMMISSIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR POLICY CHANGES IN THE EDUCATION FOR BLACKS IN THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1975

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at highlighting policy changes that took place after 1948 as a result of the recommendations of the Commission on Native Education (1949 - 1951) under the chairmanship of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen and the Commission of Inquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities (1953 - 1954) under Mr. J.E. Holloway. The research seeks to make a critical analysis of their membership, terms of reference, findings and recommendations. It will also elaborate on the impact that the commissions had on the policy of the government regarding the education for Blacks as well as the repercussions that the implementation of their recommendations had on society.

In order to put these two commissions of inquiry in their proper historico-cultural context, it will also be necessary to comment briefly on the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisation's (FAK) Institute of Christian National Education that was established in 1938. Since there are some similarities between the "Eiselen principles" and the principles of the above Institute, it is important to make an analysis of the **Beleid**, a policy document produced by the Institute in 1948 to guide national education.

4.2 Historico-cultural background

The Hertzog government was strongly criticised by the Blacks on how it handled Native policy, especially education. Interest in African education was demonstrated when the

Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations (FAK) established its Institute for Christian National Education (ICNE) in 1938. Its aim was to formulate principles for education. In 1948 they published their policy manifesto known as the **Beleid**. They advocated the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction to counter the Anglicisation policy that started after the defeat of the Boers in the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902). Under the influence of the doctrines of Calvinism, they condemned the theory of evolution. They believed that God had given each nation a mission to accomplish on earth. Therefore, it was God's wish that the Afrikaner nation should rule in South Africa. They strongly discouraged the mixing of different racial groups, nations, languages, cultures and religions. This, they argued, was God's Law. In schools, they recommended the censorship of text-books that did not align themselves with these Christian National Education principles. There was therefore a need for text-books to be rewritten. Articles 14 and 15 of the **Beleid** were dedicated to African education and read as follows (Beleid, 1948:27-29):

"ART. 14. KLEURLINGONDERWYS EN OPVOEDING

Ons glo dat die kleurlingonderwys gesien moet word as 'n onderdeel van die roeping en taak van die Afrikaner om die nie-blanke rasse in ons vaderland te kersten. Ons aanvaar die beginsel van voogdyskap van die blanke en by name van die Afrikaner oor die nie-blanke. Hierdie voogdyskap lê die dure verpligting aan die Afrikaner op om toe te sien dat die kleurling volgens Christelike en Nasionale beginsels opgevoed word. Wat die Christelike beginsel betref, is dieselfde opmerkings wat vroeër daaromtrent gemaak is mutatis mutandis van toepassing. Ons glo dat alleen wanneer die kleurling gekersten is, hy waarlik gelukkig kan en sal wees en dat hy bestand sal wees teen sy

die heidense en allerlei vreemde ideologieë wat vir hom 'n skyngeluk beloof, maar hom op die duur onbevredig en ongelukkig laat. Aangaande die nasionale beginsel glo ons dat die vorige opmerking daaromtrent gemaak mutatus mutandis op die kleurling oorgedra kan en moet word. Ons glo dat hy rasbewus gemaak kan word indien die beginsel van apartheid in die onderwys net soos in sy kerklike lewe streng toegepas word. Verder glo ons dat dit noodsaaklik is om die beginsel van die moedertaal as die voertaal in die onderwys in die geval van die kleurling te beklemtoon. Ons glo dat die heil en geluk van die kleurling daarin lê dat hy besef dat hy 'n aparte rassegroep is, daarop trots sal wees en dat hy dienooreenkomstig Christelik en Nasionaal opgevoed sal word. Die finansiering van Kleurlingonderwys moet op so 'n grondslag gestel word dat dit nie ten koste van blanke onderwys geskied nie.

ART. 15. NATURELLE-ONDERWYS EN OPVOEDING

Ons glo dat die roeping en taak van blank Suid-Afrika ten opsigte van die naturel is om hom te kersten en kultureel vooruit te help, en dat hierdie roeping en taak sy nadere toespitsing reeds in die beginsels van voogdyskap geen gelykstelling en segregasie gevind het nie. Ons glo derhalwe dat enige stelsel van onderwys en opvoeding van naturelle op hierdie beginsels gebaseer moet wees. In ooreenstemming met hierdie beginsels glo ons dat die onderwys en opvoeding van die naturel gegrond moet wees in die lewens- en wêreldbeskouing van die blankes, meer bepaaldelik dié van die Boerenasie as die senior blanke voog van die naturel, en dat die naturel gelei moet word tot 'n mutatus mutandis dog selfstandige aanvaarding van die Christelike en Nasionale beginsels in die onderwys, soos hierdie beginsels nader in artikels 1, 2 en 3 hiervan omskrywe is. Ons glo ook dat die moedertaal die basis van naturelle-

onderwys en -opvoeding is, maar dat die twee amptelike landstale as vakke geleer moet word omdat hulle amptelike landstale is en vir die naturel die sleutels vir die kultuur-ontlening wat nodig is vir sy eie kulturele vooruitgang. Op grond van die kulturele onmondigheid van die naturel glo ons dat dit die reg en taak van die staat is om, in samewerking met die Christelik-protestantse kerke, naturelle-onderwys te gee en te beheer. Ons glo egter dat die gee van naturelle-onderwys en -opvoeding en die opleiding van naturelle-leerkragte so spoedig moontlik deur die naturel self onderneem moet word, maar onder beheer en leiding van die staat; met dien verstande egter dat die finansiering van naturelle-onderwys op so 'n grondslag gestel word dat dit nie ten koste van die blanke onderwys geskied nie. Ons glo ten slotte dat naturelle-onderwys en -opvoeding tot die ontwikkeling van 'n selfstandige self-onderhoudende en self-versorgende naturellegemeenskap op Christelik-Nasionale grondslag moet lei."

The report released by the Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS, 1971:89) criticises the doctrines of the CNE policy. SPROCAS believed that there was no religious justification for separating education as claimed in the **Beleid**. This segregation in education could only be effected as a temporary measure resulting from geographic, linguistic and cultural considerations. The restriction of Government contribution in African education and the forcing of Blacks to finance their own education are also criticised in the SPROCAS document. It was considered unfair because Blacks were from the poorest communities. Another principle that is criticised is the Christian-National ideal.

In the SPROCAS report (1971:89) the writers state that: "The major criticisms of CNE from an educational point of view are firstly that it is an authoritarian doctrine, and

secondly that the doctrine is exclusivist and chauvinistic, but has been allowed to permeate the State educational system for all the people of South Africa. It promotes division between the peoples of the country, and enforces acceptance of the doctrine by authoritarian methods."

The **Beleid** was published three months before the Nationalist take-over on 26 May 1948, under the leadership of D.F. Malan. There was a move from the Afrikaner ranks to adopt the **Beleid** as policy. At that time the education for Natives was under the Department of Native Affairs. The Nationalists believed in the policy of apartheid which bore resemblances to CNE. They wanted to: "... ensure the maintenance, protection and consolidation of the white race as the bearer of Christian civilization in South Africa, and to enable it to fulfil its function of responsible trusteeship to guide the other groups towards eventual freedom in a peaceful manner" (De Kock, 1971:43).

Soon after winning the elections, the Malan Government began to implement its policy of apartheid. It introduced residential segregation by passing the Group Areas Act (41/1950) as well as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (55/1949) which prohibited miscegenation. The Population Registration Act (30/1950) enforced racial classification of the entire population of South Africa. Through the Bantu Authorities Act (68/1951), Bantu tribal, regional and territorial authorities were set up in the African Reserves (homelands). The Separate Representation of Voters Act (46/1951) removed Coloured male voters from the common roll and allowed them to elect four White representatives in Parliament.

Later the Natives Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act (67/1952)

was passed whereby Natives were no longer expected to apply for passes but were forced to carry reference books on their persons all the time. This was made compulsory for men in 1958 and for women in 1963. This Law was coupled with the Native Laws Amendment Act (54/1952) which stated that any African who was born in South Africa was allowed only 72 hours to visit an urban area without permission. All Africans belonged to the homelands and they were allowed into White designated areas only as workers.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (49/1953) provided for separate amenities for the different races in public places. The Suppression of Communism Act (50/1951) decreed that the South African Communist Party was illegal, together with any other organisation which was suspected of furthering the aims of Communism. This was followed by the Unlawful Organisations Act (34/1960) which declared the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress banned organisations (Horrell, 1971:43).

In the process of passing all these apartheid laws, the Malan and subsequent National Party Governments also addressed the problem of the education for Natives. They were encouraged by the recommendations of the Sauer Commission (1948) which stated that: "... the education for Africans had to be on a firm Christian-National basis, and must take account of the needs and level of development of the mass of natives. It must build character and anchor the native to his national characteristics. The African would ultimately have to be responsible for the expenditure on and control of his own education under white supervision. He would also be guided to establish his own social, health and welfare services in the reserves" (Troup, 1976:20-21).

4.3 **The Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951 (U.G. 53/1951)**

4.3.1 **Introduction**

The Nationalist Government appointed Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen to chair a commission of inquiry that would look into the education for Natives.

4.3.2 **Membership**

The Commission consisted of:

Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen - Chairman - Secretary for Native Affairs from 1949-1958

Prof. A.H. Murray - Member of Senate - University of Cape Town

P.A.W. Cook - Professional Advisor - Bantu Education Department

G.B. Gerdener - Member of Council and Senate - University of Natal

J. de Wet Keyter - Member of Council and Senate - University of the Orange Free State

M.D.C. De Wet Nel - Member of Native Affairs Commission (MP), and Messrs. W.A.

Hofmeyer and J. Macleod.

The striking feature about the membership of the Commission is that no Black people were appointed on it. There was also no consultation with the Blacks, at least on who they thought might represent their interests. Therefore, the criteria for choosing these Commissioners remain suspect. It is suggested that the Government should seek consensus on membership and the terms of reference from interested parties, is

applicable. It is also striking that almost all the members held a Government position besides serving on a commission. It is likely that they served Government interests.

4.3.3 Terms of reference

The Government instructed the Commissioners to investigate the state of the education for Natives based on the following terms of reference:

- "(a) The formulation of principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past, present, and their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.
 - (b) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational educational system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.
 - (c) The organisation and administration of the various branches of Native education.
 - (d) The basis on which such education should be financed.
 - (e) Such other aspects of Native education as may be related to the preceding"
- (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 1).

A close look at the terms of reference reveals similarities with CNE principles. The clause "the formulation of principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race" (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 1) bears resemblance to the principle

of nationality in CNE. The principle of nationality can be paraphrased as "imbued with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history and culture". It is clear from the terms of reference that the Eiselen Commission started off with a premise that insisted on a distinction between races. The concept of independence referred strictly to the idea of self-government in the African Reserves.

The Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society Report (1971:88) criticises the idea of separate nationalities thus: "The Christian National concept not only claims sole authority for the Reformed creeds, but also often misinterprets these by concluding that Apartheid as taught and practised in South Africa, has to be obeyed as a divine commandment. This misinterpretation arises from the insistence on separate nationalism. The emphasis on one's own group, however, leaves little room for the recognition of other groups.

"This is clearly seen in South Africa in the way in which the world- and life-view of the 'Afrikaner', who at present holds political power, is forced on to the other population groups through the education system whether they concur or not, or whether it agrees with their own Christian convictions or not. The gospel is explicit that the reconciling work of Christ has made differences between people, languages and cultures merely relative and not absolute."

The Eiselen Commission was charged with the duty of formulating principles of education based on "racial qualities and distinctive characteristics and aptitude" (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 1) This certainly seems to justify prejudice against man. People developed constraints, which later became transformed into forms of

oppression, like racism. They justified their actions with the idea of biological determinism. There was a need for each social system to deliberately develop various strategies of maintaining the 'inferior' members in absolute trust, obedience and subservience. In South Africa this was achieved through education.

It is acknowledged that people were not abstract entities but members of a determinate race. Besides race, there were other differences between people of history, culture and identity. These were valid differences. To deny these differences would be denying reality. The problem lies not with these differences, but with the way the ruling class manipulated them into disadvantageous positions in order to oppress other races.

Mill (1980:xiii) contends that: "If the principle (of equality and liberty) is true, we ought to act as if we believed it, and not to ordain that to be born a girl instead of a boy, any more than to be born black instead of white, or a commoner instead of a nobleman, shall decide the person's position through all life." This criticism concurs with the one Eisenberg levels (1957:108) when he writes that: "In its formulation of educational principles the commission shows a greater concern for the social purpose of education than for the development of individual intelligence and talent. Contrary to honoured pedagogical opinion the education of the individual is subordinated to that of the community."

This concern for the community rather than for the individual was in line with apartheid policy which was based on group interests and group rights and their protection, rather than on the protection of individual rights and their interests. Such emphasis on groups would ensure the success of making the Native "race conscious" as propounded by the

ideology of separate nationalities.

For the Commission to formulate education principles that would cater for the aptitudes of the Natives was to assume that the Natives had different, if not inferior, aptitudes in comparison to other racial groups. It was absurd to talk of differences in aptitude before equalising everything else that affected the performance of an individual or a community. Disadvantaged communities passed their disadvantages along to their children. Therefore the field should have been levelled before a comparison between the performance of the different races could be made.

"If a society is competitive and rewards adults unequally, some parents are bound to succeed while others fail. Successful parents (Whites) will then try to pass along their advantages to their children. Unsuccessful parents (Blacks) will inevitably pass along some of their disadvantages. Unless a society completely eliminates ties between parents and children, inequality among parents guarantees some degree of inequality in the opportunities available to children" (Jencks, 1975:4).

Consequently, under such circumstances, tests of aptitude like Intelligence Tests, were reduced to tests of the effects of deprivation and inequality. Unless all else was equalised, one could not compare the aptitude of one race to another and draw conclusions. The fact should be acknowledged that children are different and have different abilities that should be catered for in an education system. But "the ideal is rather that all children should have an equal opportunity to display their inequalities". (Valentine, 1963:145).

If the principles and aims of education for Natives were based on a false and prejudicial premise, then any modification "in respect of the content and form of syllabuses in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations" (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 1) would also be based on a false and prejudicial premise.

It can therefore be expected that education could be modified by the Commissioners in such a way to prepare the Natives to take their 'rightful' place in the African Reserves. It comes as no surprise that Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, the then Minister of Native Affairs, stated in Parliament in 1954 that: "It is the policy of my department that education should have its roots entirely in the Native environment and native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open ..." (Hansard, 1954: col. 2618-2619).

Because the Nationalists believed that education should follow the social order blindly (Eisenberg, 1957:42), it was expected that these "modifications" would be of such a nature that they should align themselves with the laws that had already been passed; like the Group Areas Act (41/1950) the Population Registration Act (30/1950) and other apartheid laws. The climate created in the country at that time, did not leave any occasion for an integrated system of education. Therefore, "modifications" might also be interpreted as meaning segregation.

While the clause referring to "the organisation and administration of the various branches of Native education" (Report: U.G. 53/1951:Par. 1) was pedagogically speaking innocent, it was socially and politically pregnant with meaning. In the light of the socio-political changes that were taking place then, it was important to control the education for Natives in such a way that it conformed to the policies of the National Party. "This is because education is being used to socialise everyone into the values, norms, myths and ideology of the ruling group. Africans and Whites alike are imbued with the same ideas and the same images, and there is some internalisation of the relationships these ideas and images imply" (Johnson, 1982:225).

Now that the education for Natives had to be segregated it was also important to know "the basis on which such education should be financed" (Report: U.G. 53/1951:Par. 1). Segregation facilitated unequal contribution by the Government towards the education of different racial groups. The reason forwarded for this was, according to the CNE doctrine, as stated in the **Beleid** (1948:29): "... die finansiering van naturelle-onderwys op so 'n grondslag gestel word dat dit nie ten koste van die blanke onderwys geskied nie." It was therefore necessary for the terms of reference of the Eiselen Commission to make a clear distinction between White and Black education. The superiority of the former system over the latter dictated the size of financial backing from the Government.

Lastly, in the **Beleid** (1948:29) it is contended that "... naturelle-onderwys en -opvoeding tot die ontwikkeling van 'n selfstandige self-onderhoudende en self-versorgende naturellegemeenskap op Christelik-Nasionale grondslag moet lei." Therefore, whatever financial arrangements were to be made for the education for

Natives, should be geared towards encouraging Blacks to provide for their own education in their own communities. The Commission of Native Education was asked to suggest ways of making it possible for Blacks to achieve this ideal.

4.3.4. Findings

The Eiselen Commission tabled its findings in 1951 and suggested the following as general defects found in the education for Natives.

"(1) Vagueness of objectives.

This vagueness is a reflection of the historical circumstances and the general lack of clarity that exists as to the rightful place of the Bantu in South Africa."

"(2) Uncertainty as to the future development of Bantu culture.

Your Commission feels that while this vagueness and lack of clarity as to the merits and future of Bantu culture remains, there is little hope of schools playing an effective role in the development of Bantu culture and it should be borne in mind that the term culture is here used to embrace all aspects of the life of Bantu society."

"(3) Lack of clear-cut economic policy."

"(4) Absence of co-ordination between Education and other agencies for the development of the Bantu, for example, technical and industrial training as well as agricultural training. It would appear that if the South African Native

Trust were to make the fullest use of its efforts and funds it would have to co-ordinate their use with the schools, and vice versa. There is no machinery to co-ordinate these efforts, and this lack tends inevitably to make educational efforts vague and unparticularised."

"(5) Absence of co-ordination between Training and Provision of Employment of Bantu Youth" (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 562-579)."

To substantiate these points, the Report quoted the recommendations of the Committee on Native Vocational Training of 1949 as follows: "In broad outline the machinery required is one which will conduct regular surveys of matters pertaining to Native training and development such as the following:

- (a) the development of the use of trained native labour;
- (b) the wastage and replacement of such wastage;
- (c) the practicability of the introduction of secondary industries in Native areas;
- (d) the absorption of trained Natives in secondary industries in urban factories;
- (e) the length of the employable life of the trained worker;
- (f) the expansion of the industries calling for particular types of trained workers, or on the other hand, the gradual contraction of certain industries and the relative rate of such contraction;"

(6) Lack of holding power of the schools (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 562-

579).

A serious weakness of the present system of schools is the high rate of elimination of pupils from standard to standard, or the inability of schools to keep children at schools until they have attained a reasonable standard of education" (Report: 53/1951: Par. 577).

The Eiselen Commission felt that there were anomalies in terms of the control, financing and administration of the education system for Natives. It criticised Provincial Administration for not co-ordinating schools with other agencies that had been established by the Union Government so that the Blacks could be aided in socio-economic development. The Provinces could not finance the education for Natives as an "integral part of all social services" rendered by them. There was also a lack of participation by the Natives themselves in their own affairs. The Provinces were further criticised as not being in a position to devise a scheme that would incorporate the education for Natives as part of a development plan for the Blacks in South Africa.

As for the role played by religious bodies, the Commission on Native Education felt that the missionaries had created various administrative bodies that had different educational aims for the Natives. Education under religious bodies was not part of local Government. It was discovered that denominational rivalry resulted in an uneven spread of educational facilities for Natives. This made school organisation difficult and complex. The religious bodies were accused of practising nepotism in their appointment of the teaching corps.

The most serious criticism levelled against the education of Blacks by Eiselen was that there was no provision made for Blacks to participate in the education of their children or communities. The Commission also felt that there was a duplication of services provided by the Union Government and Provincial Administrations.

In connection with the schools, the Commission commented that "the present Bantu schools to a large extent fail in purpose both educationally and socially," (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 630) because the demand for education varied from child to child and the duration of school life was very short. The schools were also characterised by extremely poor attendance, early school leaving and insignificant pupil progress. The high drop-out rate was a great concern. There was a lack of proper school inspection. Because there were different standards of promotion and from Province to Province, and from school to school, there was dissatisfaction with the examinations. The readers and manuals used at schools were either outdated or unsuitable. There was always an insufficient supply of books and materials in the schools. The use of corporal punishment destroyed the initiative of the pupils and caused them to be passive in the classroom. The Commission also felt that there was a need for research to be conducted into the education of the Africans (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 647-750).

The Commission on Native Education (53/1951:129) summarised its criticism of the education for Natives thus:

"(a) Bantu education is not an integral part of a plan of socio-economic development;

- (b) Bantu education in itself has no organic unity; it is split into a bewildering number of different agencies and is not planned;
- (c) Bantu education is conducted without the active participation of the Bantu as people, either locally or on a wider basis;
- (d) Bantu education is financed in such a way that it achieves a minimum of educated effect on the Bantu community and planning is made virtually impossible".

4.3.5 Recommendations

The Eiselen Commission advocated the transfer of control of the education of the Africans from the Provinces and missionary societies to the central Government. It felt that there should be some emphasis on mass education for Blacks. The Government should therefore commit itself to building more schools, especially at primary school level. The education of Africans should be of a Christian character and should form part of the total development policy for Africans.

They further recommended the development of a functional literature in African languages so that they can be used as media of instruction in the first eight years of schooling. The two official languages would have to be introduced as subjects at Higher Primary School Level (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 779-845).

It emphasised the need for parents and communities to be involved in education. This paved the way for the establishment of Bantu Social Authorities, Bantu School Boards and Bantu School Committees. Teacher training was also to fall under the Union Government. Private Schools for Africans, mainly run by missionaries, were considered unnecessary. The Commission felt that the Bantu should finance their own education.

The following types of schools were recommended: pre-school (1-6 years); lower primary school (7-10 years); higher primary school (11-14 years); high school (15-19 years); training schools; vocational schools; polytechnic schools; in-service training centres; continuation classes and adult education centres; special schools; reformatories and institutions under Children's Act, volunteer camp training centres and private schools which would not be subsidised (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 846-887).

In the curriculum religious instruction was to be a compulsory subject. In addition, gardening and hand work were to be done to inculcate the habit of doing manual work in the African child. The schools were to be more articulated and arrangements were to be made for the publication of suitable readers and text-books. The establishment of libraries was important. The Commission recommended the establishment of a Bureau of Literature. The Government had to appoint sub-inspectors whereas the community, parents and teachers were to be given a greater responsibility in the education of a Black child (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 165-180).

Murray, a member of the Commission on Native Education (1949-51), made a few dissentient remarks. These contained a valuable criticism of the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission. He was first and foremost against the use of intelligence or

proficiency tests when selecting candidates to be admitted at Teacher Training Institutions. He objected because the types of tests used were not standardised on the population and they were culturally biased. The tests used were also speed tests that had little or nothing to do with intelligence. The tests were therefore not valid and reliable instruments and could not be used to evaluate potential.

Murray also advocated a simplified primary school course. There was a need for more discipline and a sufficient supply of books. He proposed that skilled workmen should be granted loans so that they could pay for their own education. He supported the idea of a Bureau of Literature (Report: U.G. 53/1951: Par. 177).

He further claimed that the aim of the education for Blacks should not be to make the Native child to fit into some pre-conceived form of society. In other words, there should be a shift from the group to the individual. The Native child should be taught so that he can develop his talent and abilities, with the physical and social environment there only to stimulate him. This was in direct contrast to apartheid policy that believed in developing group rights and protecting group interests (Report: U.G. 53/1951:Par. 170).

Murray also felt that the constitution of the Union Board of Bantu Education should be open to any church participation, and should not be restrictive. He criticised the commission's over-emphasis on religious instruction. He was also against the introduction of a second language at primary school level. He suggested that it should be introduced at standard two and not at Sub-B level, as advocated by the Eiselen Commission. He shifted the focus of the problem in Bantu education from state organisation and control to the classroom, where proficiency in reading and writing had

to be attained. Therefore, there should be more emphasis laid on classroom strategy rather than head-office organisation and planning. The need for discipline could not be over-emphasised. He felt that children should be admitted to school at the age of 8, rather than 7, because they would be more mature and would therefore learn faster and benefit more from schooling (Report: U.G. 53/1951 (pp 165-180)).

On the question of Blacks financing their own education, Murray said that it would be unfair of the Government to expect that of the Natives because the Bantu people:

- "(a) form an integral part of the system producing the national income of the country;
- (b) as a people do not yet directly control the profit-making instruments of production like factories but are dependent on wages as an income, so that differentiated taxation in this case would come to class legislation;
- (c) the increase in the Union's income is by no means reflected - or at the least very gradually and then not proportionately reflected in Bantu income or wealth ... The principle of differentiated taxation can only be introduced when Bantu communities do not exist on a wage economy, but are sufficiently in control of a profit economy and is thus to that extent independent of the economy of the European" (Report: U.G. 53/1951:p 180).

It is noted with criticism that in the Eiselen Report there were only five paragraphs (547-551) that contained African opinion. Those paragraphs, moreover, did not address vital issues surrounding the education for Blacks.

This omission of Black opinion seems to concur with the CNE document, which had entrusted the role of trusteeship to the Whites. The exclusion of Blacks from the decision-making structures of education was unjustifiable. Eisenberg (1957:108) agrees with Murray's dissentient remarks that the aim of the education for Blacks was not to develop the intellect and personality of the people, contrary to the Christian view and to sound time-honoured pedagogical opinion. He asserts that, in education for Blacks as it was then concerned "The education of the individual is subordinate to that of the community."

Eisenberg (1957:109-110) continues with his criticism of the Commission by stating that its recommendations seem aimed at ensuring that Bantu culture should be self-contained and disallowed contact with other cultures. It aimed at transforming Africans into forbearing members of society and into docile followers, rather than at developing self-reliance, ambition and creativity.

This meant that education was highly politicised. Development in education was subordinated to fundamental political considerations. At the same time, there was a capitalist need for labour production that had to be satisfied.

4.3.6 Effects of the recommendations on education policy for Blacks

The main recommendations of this Commission seem to be the centralisation of the education system for Blacks in terms of both financing and administration. There was an emphasis on mass education. The recommendation that the education system for Blacks should assume a Christian-National colour, has homologies to the doctrines contained in the **Beleid** of 1948. This clause was responsible for many serious changes in the structure of the education for Blacks as well as the hiring of personnel.

Two years after the Eiselen Commission had tabled its findings, the Government passed the Bantu Education Act (47/1953). Its main aim was: "To provide for the transfer of the administration and control of native education from the several Provincial Administrations to the Government of the Union, and for matters incidental thereto" (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, Bantu Education Act 47/1953:258).

According to the Act, Provincial Administrations ceased to have powers of making Ordinances in relation to the education for Natives, although they still had powers to administer pension schemes, retirement and provident funds. They could only make ordinances that related to the administration of the above-mentioned funds. All administrative powers were vested with the Minister who could also appoint those officers and employees he deemed fit to help in the execution of his duties.

All personnel that was employed by the provincial administration were transferred to the Department of Native Affairs at the discretion of the Minister. He also had powers to grant subsidies to schools as well as to reduce, suspend or withdraw them. From his

budget he could establish and maintain schools, hostels, teachers' quarters, school clinics and any other accessory to a Government Bantu School. At the same time he could close or disestablish the above facilities. He was also empowered to make decisions on grants-in-aid for State-aided schools. No other person was allowed to establish, conduct or maintain any school for Natives without the permission of the Minister.

The Minister had the powers to appoint, promote, transfer or discharge a teacher in Government Bantu Schools. He could exercise the option of delegating some of his duties to the Secretary or any other officer of the Department (Bantu Education Act 47/1953).

Regarding the management of Government Bantu Schools: "The Minister may, with due regard to the principle of providing for active participation by the Bantu people in the control and management of Government Bantu Schools, establish such regional, local and domestic councils, boards or other bodies as he may deem expedient, or may for this purpose entrust the control and management of any Government Bantu School to any Bantu authority or native council established by or under any other law" (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, Bantu Education Act 47/1953:268).

The Minister must ensure that he prescribes the constitution, duties, powers, privileges and functions of the bodies described above. In addition, certain assets, such as movable and immovable property, and liabilities like allowances due to personnel, were taken over by the central Government. The Minister had powers to expropriate land for purposes of the education of Natives. It was the duty of the Minister to draw up

regulations concerning appointment and service of teachers, their code of conduct, training courses, etc. Finally, the Bantu Education Act (47/1953) repealed the Native Education Finance Act (29/1945). The former Act seems to have given the Minister of Native Affairs extensive and absolute powers in terms of controlling and financing the education system for Blacks. It appears that it further sought to phase out the influence of missionaries and their schools. The powers of the Provinces over education were also greatly curtailed.

4.3.7 Results of the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission on Native Education (1949-1951)

Malherbe (1977:550-551) suggests that the Act resulted in the deterioration of the quality of education, especially with the use of unqualified teachers. The double session and the platoon systems shortened the school day of the African child to three hours at primary school level. The teacher-pupil ratio was increased. The classrooms were over-crowded. The schools, and the facilities and equipment in them, were inadequate. Only a negligible percentage of African children managed to proceed to secondary schools, an even smaller percentage passed std. 10.

The policy of reverting back to financing the education for Blacks from African taxation led to a drop in the per capita expenditure on Black children. This was achieved through the employment of under-qualified teachers, though even qualified teachers were grossly under-paid. Women were encouraged to take up teaching as a profession and received less pay than their male counterparts. The Bantu communities were expected to contribute directly towards the education of their children by means of

school fees. The school feeding schemes were gradually phased out in schools for Blacks. The pupils were given the responsibility of cleaning their schools instead of the Government hiring labourers to do the job (Hirson, 1979:46).

Nobody was allowed to run his/her own school outside the Department of Bantu Education. Missionaries were phased out from the education for Blacks and the State took over. There was a centralised system of revising the syllabi. The principle of ethnic re-grouping of schools was strictly enforced and the mother-tongue was used for longer as a medium of instruction. There was great encouragement for books to be written in the vernacular. This was the duty of the Board of Literature that was set up. Post-primary schools were built as far as possible from the urban areas, while tertiary institutions were built in the homelands. Bantu School Boards and Bantu School Committees were set up. Emphasis was laid on mass education at primary school level. The number of school-going children almost doubled in the five years between 1950 and 1955. There was nevertheless a high drop-out rate. There was also an increase in state schools from 5 800 in 1955 to 10 627 in 1975 (Race Relations Survey, 1950; 1955; 1975).

That schooling for Blacks was deliberately made inferior, can be deduced from Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's remarks in Parliament (June, 1954) when he was Minister of Native Affairs. He said that: "When I have control of the education for Natives I will reform it so that the Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them ... People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for Natives... When my department controls the education for Natives it will know for what class of higher education a Native is fitted, and whether he will have a chance in life to use his

knowledge..." (Hansard: June, 1954).

Many teachers resigned from their jobs while others were forced to resign by the officers of the Department. A great amount of protest action against the Education for Blacks resulted. The Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) was threatened by the Government because they wanted to hold a conference to discuss the education for Blacks. However, the African National Congress and its associated organisations organised the "Resist Apartheid Campaign" which aimed at resisting the Bantu Education Act, the Native Resettlement Act, the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and anti-trade unions measures (Hirson, 1979:47-50).

On 12 April 1954 there was a demonstration, organised by the Youth and Women's Sections of the ANC to resist Bantu Education. The pupils were given an ultimatum by the Government to return to school or face expulsion. This weakened the campaign, though many children still chose not to go back to school, but attended schools at Cultural Clubs whose leaders were detained in the State of Emergency that was proclaimed after the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960. Many schools, mainly under missionary control, were closed down. A great amount of children had to abandon their education in the gross re-organisation of schools. Conditions in the schools deteriorated. Many pupils either sat at home or were determined to defy the authorities. Rebellion became endemic in schools and colleges (Hirson, 1979:47-51).

4.4 The Commission of Inquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities 1953-1954

4.4.1 Introduction

In 1953 the Government appointed a commission of inquiry to look into separate tertiary level facilities for the various racial groups. It tabled its findings in 1954 under the leadership of J.E. Holloway.

4.4.2 Membership

The Commission consisted of:

J.E. Holloway - Chairman - former Secretary of the Treasury and then High Commissioner for South Africa in the UK;

R.W. Willcocks - Former Rector of the University of Stellenbosch;

E.G. Malherbe - Principal of the University of Natal.

The membership of the Commission contained the same flaws as mentioned under the Report of the Commission of Native Education (1949-1951) under Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen viz: there were no Black people appointed on the Commission that sought to decide for them if they were to have separate training facilities at tertiary level.

4.4.3 Terms of reference

The Government asked the commission under the chairmanship of J.E. Holloway: "To investigate and report on the practicability and financial implications of providing separate facilities for non-Europeans at Universities" (Report: U.G./1953: Par. 1).

It is important to note that the desirability of racially segregated facilities was no longer a debated issue but a fact of life. The issue at hand was now the feasibility of establishing such institutions. The terms of reference were therefore mere endorsements of the policy of apartheid since it had been 'successfully' introduced at primary and secondary education levels, when the Eiselen recommendations were implemented. The desirability of a separate institution of learning was an important factor to be considered when re-designing an education system. If it were desirable, the institution would have some legitimacy. This would in turn help to enhance the perceptions that the people would have about it. This desirability of having separate facilities for Blacks is of educational and motivational value. As such, it should never have been assumed in the terms of reference of the said Commission. It should rather have been investigated.

In their memorandum to the Commission on Native Education, the Education League (1949:5) states that: "Principles and objectives of Native education are the same as those of European education ... Racial characteristics have no bearing on the principles and objectives of education. As Mayhew has pointed out: 'For the educator, what is common, actually or potentially, to members of various groups or races is more important than what differentiates them'".

4.4.4 Findings

The Holloway Commission found that the position in South African universities was as follows:

- (a) At Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Orange Free State and Potchefstroom no Blacks were admitted. At Rhodes some Blacks had been admitted but only at post-graduate level.
- (b) In Cape Town and the Witwatersrand no racial segregation was practised. They were open universities.
- (c) At the University of Natal Non-Europeans were admitted at the Durban campus although segregation was practised in that Blacks attended separate lectures offered by the same staff, except for certain post-graduate courses.
- (d) At Fort Hare Blacks only were admitted.
- (e) At the University of South Africa, which was multi-racial, there was no attendance of lectures because it was a correspondence college
(Report:1953-1954: Par. 9a-e).

From the above information it can be concluded that these universities were divided into
"English-speaking and liberal" as well as "Afrikaans-speaking and conservative" .

This resulted in the open universities openly displaying their rejection of the ruling Nationalist Party government and the growing conservatism in the National Party and the corresponding growth of right wing political parties and organisations.

4.4.5 **Recommendations of the commission of inquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities**

In their recommendations on this issue the Commissioners stated: "Your Commission holds that the desirability in general of segregation being assumed, the following scheme is the most feasible, taking financial considerations into account. That it also has its disadvantages cannot be denied. Briefly, the scheme is as follows:

- (a) the concentration in the main of non-European students in Durban and in Fort Hare, such concentration to be effected gradually as the preparatory work ... is completed; and
- (b) the authorisation of exceptions to the segregation thus effected in cases which are dealt with more explicitly below..." (Report: 1953-1954: Par. 95).

"In the event of segregation, university training facilities for non-Europeans should, in principle, be created only in the directions in which, and to the extent to which, prospects of careers with a reasonable income exist for non-Europeans. Assuming that separate provision is made for non-Europeans, your Commission considers that it would be uneconomic use of resources to institute classes in special directions which would be followed by only a few individuals" (Report: 1953-1954: Par. 101).

The Commission declared also that if separate facilities were erected, ethnic differences among the students should be given due attention. Exceptions had to be made for those non-European students who wanted to study in the 'main fields of study' and at

post-graduate level. Such students should be admitted at open universities where there were appropriate facilities and qualified staff. The state would have to subsidise these separate training institutions (Report: 1953-1954: Par. 103).

Included in the Commission's report there was a Minority Report which rejected the separation of training facilities according to race and ethnic grouping. It advocated the establishment of autonomous Councils and Senates that would decide on the policy of the universities.

Despite this apparent inclination towards the separation of training facilities, based not only on race but also on ethnicity, the Commission cautioned that: "The question may well be asked whether, as a result of what the State might spend on providing separate university facilities for non-Europeans, there is not a danger that the amount made available in State subsidy for the Europeans of mainly European universities, may not be seriously prejudiced" (Report: 1953-1954: Par. 109). The main recommendations of this Commission seem to be that universities should not only be segregated according to race but also according to ethnic grouping. It cautioned the government not to overspend on building such segregated facilities to the extent that universities for 'Europeans' find themselves underfunded.

4.4.6. Effects of the recommendations of the Holloway Commission on the policy of the education of Blacks

Because the Holloway Commission (1953-1954) questioned the financial possibility of building separate universities for Blacks, when the Universities Education Bill was

tabled in Parliament in 1957, it was rejected. This caused the government to appoint an Inter-departmental Fact-Finding Committee on the Financial Implications in connection with the Establishment of Separate University Colleges for non-Europeans (Govt. White Paper C of 1957).

The positive findings of the latter-mentioned Commission resulted in the passing of the Extension of University Education Act (45/1959). This Act specified that separate universities were to be erected for Coloureds in the Western Cape and for Indians at Durban-Westville. Two other universities were to be built: for the Sotho-speaking ethnic groupings in Pietersburg, and at Empangeni for the Nguni group. The universities for Blacks were to be under the Minister of Bantu Education. The curricula, examinations and the conferring of degrees and diplomas, including certificates, would be controlled by the University of South Africa. From January 1960, no White university would be allowed to admit a student of colour (Extension of University Education Act 45/1959).

It was necessary for the Government to bring the long-existing university College of Fort Hare under the Minister of Bantu Education as well. This was done through the passing of the University of Fort Hare Transfer Act (64/1959). The Government gave compensation to the churches who owned the hostels on the campus. All 'undesirable' members of staff were given marching orders. They had to relinquish their posts within three months. From January 1960, no White students were to be admitted at Fort Hare. Coloured and Indian students who desired to attend lessons at this institution of learning were to get permission from the Minister of Bantu Education. This College was instructed to admit Xhosa-speaking students only. Dreijmanis (1988:33) quotes the Minister of Administration and Development, De Wet Nel, who asserted that the

establishment of these separate universities: "... was part of the Government's policy of placing each non-White university in the service of its own particular Bantu national group".

The two universities meant for Blacks became independent from the University of South Africa in 1970, while Fort Hare became autonomous in 1977. Since 1979 African students were allowed to enrol at any of the Black universities irrespective of ethnic grouping (The Universities for Blacks Amendment Act 52/1979).

4.4.7 Effects of the implementation of the policy of separate universities for non-Europeans

Dreijmanis (1988:33) summarises the effects of separating universities thus: "Since 1959 all of the black universities, but especially the African ones, have experienced student unrest and closure for extended periods of time. The black consciousness movement gained ground in the 1960s, coinciding with the emergence of many black graduates. These institutions, set up to maintain separate development, seem to provide opportunities for African students to launch opposition against the overall apartheid structure. The result has been that the education system has produced instead, at least for the good portion of the student body, a distinct culture whose thrust and direction are contrary to the expectations of the system".

The universities that were erected specifically for Blacks were situated outside the cosmopolitan towns. The students were socially and academically isolated. At first there was very little social and political activity on the campuses.

Hirson (1979:64) reports that the students had many complaints regarding their tuition and their subjection to a strict code of discipline. They objected to the all-white Senates and University Councils. They also were against the method of teaching in which they were expected simply to regurgitate information they were taught in order to pass. Hirson goes on to say that the students felt that they were given many introductory courses which did not go beyond the preliminaries. There were no channels for articulating such grievances at these universities. They therefore started on boycotts and demonstrations. These modes of action have characterised these institutions since their inception in 1959.

Davenport (1991:379) reports that in 1968 SASO broke away from NUSAS in order to address the concerns of Black students. This organisation adhered to the principles of the Black Consciousness Movement that aimed at the restoration of the pride and identity of the Black person in the country. For example, in their constitution the South African Students Organisation suggests: "Whereas, we the Black students of South Africa, having examined and assessed the role of Black students in the struggle for emancipation of the Black people in South Africa and the betterment of their social, political and economic lot, and having unconditionally declared our lack of faith in the genuineness and capability of multi-racial organisations and individual Whites in the country to effect rapid social changes ... do commit ourselves to the realisation of the worth of the Black man, the assertion of his human dignity and to promoting consciousness and self-reliance of the Black community".

Most of the leaders of this movement (e.g. O.R. Tiro and Steve Biko) were either expelled from the universities or detained by the police. Some fled the country. SASO

was banned in the 1970s from these universities.

In 1972 the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) was launched in order to turn SASO into a national political organisation. Davenport (1991:379) claims that the Black Community Programmes were established to promote health and welfare services among the Black community. BPC and SASO also organised the 'May Revolt' of 1972 where dissatisfaction with the education for Blacks and apartheid was voiced at graduation ceremonies. At the University of the North O.R. Tiro was expelled because of a speech he made at the graduation ceremony criticising the discriminatory policies of the country (Blignaut, 1981:35). His expulsion led to protest action by the students of the university, who were joined by students from the Western Cape, Durban-Westville, Natal, Fort Hare and Zululand. Many of the students were charged with misconduct under the Riotous Assemblies Act (17/1956).

In 1974, when Mozambique gained independence, a number of pro-Frelimo rallies were held, organised by SASO and BPC. These were suppressed by the Government and many leaders were detained. These disturbances at Black universities and their regular sit-ins and continued closure were discussed in Parliament. In a number of these Universities, commissions of inquiry were appointed to investigate the grievances of the students and to make recommendations.

The 1976 riots that started in Soweto soon spread to these universities for Blacks. As a result the University of Zululand was closed down for the year. In the University of Natal 87 students were arrested. Fort Hare was also closed in July while Turfloop only re-opened in mid-August. In Durban-Westville and the Western-Cape Universities there

were sympathy strikes and boycotts. Thereafter there were sporadic incidents of violence and unrest in the universities for Blacks that continued into 1977 (Blignaut, 1981:35-40).

Dreijmanis (1988:36) summarises the effects of the separation of university facilities as follows: "It is thus evident that the Government policy of separate universities for the four main population groups contributed to their politicisation. This was certainly not the intention of the Government. It was a classic case of producing unintended consequences. The Government has attempted to de-politicise the situation by gradually opening the black universities and thus moving towards the pre-1959 situation".

4.4.8 Conclusion

This chapter cites the principle of the CNE policy, as voiced by the FAK, as the historical background to the appointment of the Eiselen and Holloway Commissions of Inquiry into Bantu education in schools and at universities respectively. The membership, terms of reference, recommendations, policy changes and the effects of the implementation of the policy changes on the society and on the country as a whole, is discussed. The Commission on Native Education (1949-1951), under Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen led to the passing of the Bantu Education Act (47/1953), which the Rev. Trevor Huddleston (1956:177) described as an 'education for servitude.' He said that the Act was the most important in the development of the education for Blacks and by far the most deadly in its effect. At the same time he sounded a word of caution: "I am convinced, that the Bantu Education Act and its implementation are the beginning of a

resistance movement amongst the African people: that, however outwardly compliant they may be, there burns beneath the surface a fire of fierce resentment which, one day will get out of control. It cannot be otherwise. 'Bantu Education' is one of the chief instruments of a policy of racialism whose avowed aim is the establishment of an enduring white supremacy. It is, indeed, an education for servitude. But it has come too late. It has come when, after more than a century of Christian education, the door is already open to a wider and freer world of vision. It will take more than Dr. Verwoerd to close that door" (Huddleston, 1956:177-178).

Today we are experiencing the reality of Huddleston's statement. When we look at the commissions of inquiry into the education for Blacks, with the wisdom of hindsight, we must wonder what would have happened if the commissions didn't overlook the aspirations of the Native. What would have happened if these commissions did not have flaws in their membership, terms of reference, findings and recommendations? For it is these flaws that developed into crises in the context of the seething discontent that had been characteristic of Black society even before the passing of the Bantu Education Act (47/1953) and the Extension of University Education Act (45/1959). Since these racially and ethnically based universities were built, they have never experienced any stability. With their desirability assumed by the Holloway Commission (1953-1954), they have turned into breeding grounds for opposition groups aimed at toppling the apartheid Government. It is therefore necessary to conduct an in-depth study of these universities for Blacks, in order to understand the turmoil that characterised them since their establishment.