

**IN A CLASS OF THEIR OWN:
THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT (1953) REVISITED.**

by

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Abstract

Various political parties, civil rights groups, ministerial spokespeople and columnists support the view that one of South Africa's leading challenges is overcoming the scarring legacy that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 left on the face of the country. In the light of this a need arises to revisit the position and place of Bantu Education in the current contested interpretation of its legacy.

It is apparent from the vast literature on this topic that academics are not in agreement about whether or not the 1953 education legislation was the watershed moment for ensuring a cheap labour force. On the one hand it would seem that the general consensus is that 1953 was indeed a turning point in this regard – thus a largely traditional view. However, on the other hand, another school of thought becomes apparent, which states that securing a cheap, unskilled labour force was already on the agenda of the white electorate preceding the formalisation of the Bantu Education Act. This latter school of academics propose that their theory be coined as a “Marxist” one.

In examining these two platforms of understanding, traditional and Marxist, regarding Bantu Education and the presumption that it was used as a tool to ensure a cheap, unskilled labour force, the aim of this study is two-fold. First, to contextualise these two stances historically; and second to examine the varying approaches regarding the rationalisation behind Bantu Education respectively by testing these against the rationale apparent in the architects of the Bantu Education system. This includes analysing primary sources in the form of parliamentary debates and contemporary newspaper articles.

List of abbreviations

ANC – African National Congress

HNP – Herenigde Nasionale Party (Reformed National Party)

MP – Member of parliament

NP – National Party

PRP – Progressive Reform Party

SABRA – South African Bureau of Racial Affairs

SAIRR – South African Institute of Race Relations

SAP – South African Party

UP – United Party

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*Dedicated to my precious boys, Elliot and James,
Without whom this dissertation would have been completed much sooner.*

*It is also dedicated to my darling Alex,
Without whom this dissertation would never have been completed at all.*

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Chapter 1: Introducing differing discourses

The World Economic Forum's Africa Competitiveness Report of 2015 rated South Africa as one of the worst educational performers in the world, which is a statistical tendency that has plagued South Africa's recent past.¹ Together with this, ongoing reports of failures in the national education system, such as the textbook delivery crisis that plagued Limpopo in 2012, threats of strike-action by teachers' unions, over-crowded classrooms and educators who lack pedagogic and content knowledge point towards decay in the current educational sphere of South Africa. As a result, numerous individuals have damningly compared the current South African education system to that under apartheid – known as Bantu Education. Others have taken this further, including the former vice-chancellor at the University of Cape Town, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, who recently voiced her concerns regarding education in South Africa since the advent of democracy in 1994. She stated that “the students of 1976 died fighting against inferior education, and it [education] is worse today I never thought I would ever say that, but it is worse.”² Academic Rabelani Dagada, lecturer at the Business School of the University of the Witwatersrand, shares similar sentiments, claiming “After twenty years of democracy, the education levels have plunged. It's worse than the so-called Bantu Education”.³ Furthermore, various political parties, civil rights groups, ministerial spokespeople and columnists support the view that one of the leading challenges facing South Africa is overcoming the scarring legacy that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 left on the face of the country. In the light of this, a need arises to revisit the position and place of Bantu Education in the current contested interpretation of its legacy.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 would essentially put the educational development of all black South Africans under the firm grip of the National Party (NP) government. This meant that the government had complete control of what was being taught at schools, endorsing and perpetuating the ethos of apartheid. It ensured that

¹ Out of 143 African countries included in the African Competitiveness Index, South Africa was rated last for its quality of mathematics and science education, in addition to being placed 139th out of 143 for the quality of its education system overall.

² *City Press*, 2013-10-04.

³ *Mail & Guardian*, 2013-08-26.

graduating black learners would have skills that would aid the economy, notably in terms of their cheap, exploitable labour. The Minister of Native Affairs in 1953, Hendrik Verwoerd, noted that there would be “no place for Africans above the level of certain forms of labour”.⁴ Bantu Education was made compulsory for all young black pupils, and although literacy rates did improve, the quality of education provided to these learners was sub-standard in comparison to the educational programmes that their white counterparts enjoyed.⁵

In the light of the ever-changing landscape of education and fluctuating trends in South Africa where Bantu Education is being heralded as “better” than the current education system by some individuals, there is a need to revisit the texts regarding Bantu Education in greater depth, in order to contextualise the educational milieu that South Africa faces today. Marnie Hughes-Warrington affirms the importance of revisionist histories, by arguing that the “neglect in revision in historiography is a neglect of ethics” and that there are rewards for shifting “from the assumption that revision in history should simply 'go without saying'”.⁶

Questions arise, such as whether or not the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was in fact deliberately used as a way of ensuring a stable, cheap and exploitable labour force for the apartheid regime. It is apparent from the vast literature on this topic that academics are not in agreement as to whether or not 1953 was the watershed moment for ensuring a cheap labour force. On the one hand, it would seem that the general consensus is that 1953 was indeed a turning point in this regard – thus a largely traditional view. However, on the other hand, another school of thought becomes apparent, which states that securing a cheap, unskilled labour force was already on the agenda of the white electorate preceding the formalisation of the Bantu Education Act in the mid twentieth century. This latter school of academics propose that their theory be coined as a “Marxist” one, as “Marxists argue that the system can be fully comprehended only if analysis is situated within the broad set of

⁴ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*. 2007. p. 320.

⁵ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*. 2008. p. 131.

⁶ M. Hughes-Warrington, *Revisionist Histories*. 2013. pp. 3 and 6.

economic interests underlying the present structure, ie [sic] class analysis.”⁷ While juxtaposing these two interpretations, insight can also be gained into this crucial element of South Africa's past and present by studying *Hansards* of parliamentary debates at the time of the implementation of Bantu Education. By focusing on these verbatim parliamentary transcripts, an understanding of what the so-called “official” stance was regarding the ultimate rationale of the Bantu Education Act can be ascertained. Another dimension can be gauged from the media and how this was presented to the white electoral public and represented within the alternate press. In addition, the *Christian Recorder* provides a primary contemporary voice of the missionaries and their respective reaction to the Bantu Education Act at that time.

The aim of the study

As far as could be ascertained, no study has attempted to analyse these two schools - the traditional and Marxist school - of interpretation side-by-side. While both schools used the *Hansards* as primary source material, they arrived at different conclusions. In examining these platforms of understanding regarding Bantu Education under the presumption that it was used as a tool to ensure a cheap, unskilled labour force, the aim of this study is two-fold. Firstly, to contextualise these stances historically; and secondly to examine the differing approaches regarding the rationalisation behind Bantu Education respectively and to test these against the rationale apparent in the architects of the Bantu Education system, in the form of *Hansards* and contemporary newspaper articles.

In order to contextualise the historical interpretations, the so-called Marxist school of explanation will be examined by studying the manner in which the broad economic interests in South Africa at that time indicate the real contradictions of its society.⁸ As the Marxist historians argue that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was merely a continuation and a formalisation of a system already in place, issues such as colonialism, paternalism, the “white man's burden” and imperialism will be explained in order to shed light on the historical context of their interpretation. This school also

⁷ P. Christie & C. Collins, “Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*, 1984. p. 162.

⁸ P. Christie & C. Collins, “Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*, 1984. p.163.

argues that missionary schools were guilty of undermining the black learner due to the spirit of the time, long before Bantu Education was signed into law. As this group defines their view as Marxist in nature, Marxism will also briefly be examined.

The so-called traditional view will be contextualised by studying Bantu Education as implemented by the ruling NP and what the consequences of the NP apartheid government's policies were on the South African labour force through education. Here concepts like apartheid, influx control, homelands and Bantu Education will be contextualised.

It should be noted that the Marxist school will be studied before the traditional school in this study, for the purposes of conforming to historical chronology. Missionary educational institutions heralded before the state-funded schools under Bantu Education. Due to the fact that missionary education forms the foundation of Marxist hypotheses, this group of historians are discussed first. Thereafter, traditional historians will be analysed in their approach to the Bantu Education system.

The second aim of this study is subsequently to build on what will be contextualised historically as stated above and to examine the motivation behind what the different schools are claiming. In first contextualising these schools, one can examine their rationalisation about Bantu Education in greater depth.

This study will begin by looking at the origins of missionary education in South Africa in order to provide the necessary background. However, in terms of the periodisation of this study, the focus lies on the shift in the country's economic climate with the discovery of diamonds and gold in the late nineteenth century. This period was selected as that was the time in which it became obvious that economic growth depended on a cheap, unskilled and exploitable workforce. The delimitation of the period extends to an apartheid South Africa, as it needs to be ascertained whether or not the ruling NP-controlled Bantu Education was specifically designed to fuel its need for cheap labour.

It should also be noted that for the purposes of this study, the focus will only be placed on the black population of the country. The Eiselen Commission (1951) and

subsequent legislation place their main focus on the so-called “Bantu” or “Native” who in accordance with the Native Administration Act of 1927⁹ is defined as “any person who is a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa”.¹⁰ The Commission specifically identifies Bantu-speaking linguistic groups such as the Nguni, Sotho, Venda, Tsonga and the Transvaal Ndebele.¹¹ This then excludes the coloured and Indian population of South Africa.

Methodology and sources

The historiographical school of the German historian, Leopold von Ranke, placed emphasis on the importance of “scientific historical writing”, where an “objective” approach to sources is imperative in the historian's process of research.¹² Ranke's approach suggests, if often criticised by the modern historical community, that the extent to what a historian can achieve this is determined by the extent of the sources that are at the historian's disposal. By utilising a variety of sources, an attempt must be made to ensure that the interpretation of the past is consistent with all the available evidence, as one of history's main values lies in its ability to reassess the past by means of primary sources, such as the Eiselen Commission, which is in the public domain.¹³ In doing so, this study will attempt to stay true to the methodological approach of surveying contemporary, primary sources. However, this study will also rely on secondary sources, some of which may even extend beyond the historical realm and into other disciplines such as anthropology. This approach resonates with the French Annales School's inter-disciplinary approach.¹⁴

The specific methodology used for the purposes of this study is identified by John Tosh as the problem-orientated approach.¹⁵ This constitutes the formulation of a specific historic question and concluding with an answer to the question after thorough consultation of a variety of sources. This falls in line with what this research attempts to do. This study's question focuses on why varying approaches regarding

⁹ *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*. The Black Administration Act No 38 of 1927.

¹⁰ *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*, p. 193.

¹¹ *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*, p. 10.

¹² J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010. p. 123.

¹³ J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010. p. 91.

¹⁴ B. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution. The Annales School 1929–89*, 1990. p. 116

¹⁵ J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010. p. 120.

the rationalisation behind Bantu Education exist. Further, more in-depth consultation will ultimately lead to a concluding hypothesis. R.J. Shafer states that this is not a simple process, but that ultimately a careful collection of evidence will merge into a synthesised analysis.¹⁶

In the process of consultation with a variety of sources, internal criticism will be exercised. This includes the historian applying the so-called 'rule of context', which guides the historian in interpreting evidence in line with what precedes and follows it.¹⁷ This is particularly important for the scope of this study, as each stance regarding Bantu Education needs to be grasped and contextualised – one of the aims of the study – in order to understand the rationale behind it. In terms of internal criticism, it is also important to keep in mind that a large part of the primary sources consulted for this study are not very representative of the demographics of South Africa. They were commissioned by the government for a specific purpose. This does not, however, detract from their historical significance, as several of the recommendations adopted by these various Commissions would forever change the political, economic and social landscape of South Africa.

Statistical evidence will also be used to illustrate the nature of the social and economic landscape in South Africa during the period studied. A large variety of statistical evidence regarding unskilled labour in South Africa, for example, is set out in Bill Nasson and John Samuel's *Education. From poverty to liberty*. Here the same quality of judgement will be used as with other evidence, placing particular focus on the comparability of these statistics.¹⁸

Newspapers also present imperative, primary insight into the opinions of the mainstream, conservative press, as well as the alternative press in the form of the more liberally-inclined *Rand Daily Mail*. In gauging the media's perspective of parliamentary development with regards to the formalisation of Bantu Education, a quantitative dimension will be given to this study.

¹⁶ R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*, 1980. p. 95.

¹⁷ R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*. 1980. pp. 151 – 152.

¹⁸ J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010. p. 138.

Historian G. M. Young once stated that it was his aim “to read in a period until he could hear its people speak”.¹⁹ Thus ultimately the methodology of this study will aim to submerge itself in a number and range of sources, in order to form an as balanced as possible account of the period in question. The aforementioned primary sources that were mentioned above provide the scope to do so. It will thus in essence be a comparative and analytical literature study. Thus from a methodical point of view, this study will aim to contextualise the traditional and so-called Marxist stances historically, while testing these differing rationales against primary sources that both these schools utilised in the forming of their arguments.

In order to understand whether or not 1953 was the turning point in marginalised education, the history preceding the Bantu Education Act needs to be examined. Recent general secondary sources such as Robert Ross's *A concise history of South Africa*, Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga's *New history of South Africa* as well as Frank Welsh's *A history of South Africa* provide succinct overviews of South African history and provide a sufficient account of the establishment and subsequent growth of missionary schools in South Africa, in what is often coined “the scramble for African souls”.²⁰ These sources also serve as valuable points of reference in establishing a broader understanding of general historical concepts.

Most notably, a number of key pieces of legislation and commissions prior to 1953 form the primary source material. For the purpose of this study, the economic circumstances preceding 1953 and South Africa's need for a cheap and unskilled labour force must be considered. This includes addressing the poor white question as investigated by the Carnegie Commission of 1932; the increasing migration to cities by the black population and the subsequent reaction of whites, as illustrated by the Fagan and Sauer Commissions of 1946 and 1947 respectively; and lastly the Eiselen Commission and resultant report of 1951, which would form the blueprint of apartheid Bantu Education. All of these Commissions' reports are primary sources, but are in the public domain.

¹⁹ J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010. p. 142.

²⁰ *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*, p. 22.

The Carnegie Commission was established in the light of the poor white problem, which Christopher Saunders defines as a term used for whites without skills and education who were unable to obtain employment in competition with blacks. He further states that by 1930 about one-fifth of the Afrikaner population could be loosely classified as poor white.²¹ The Commission, funded by the Carnegie Corporation, travelled the country between 1929 and 1932 interviewing a selection of poor white society. It is notable that the Commission focused specifically on the phenomenon of poor white South Africans, without heeding the plight of the poor black South Africans. This omission in itself is already indicative of the *zeitgeist*, as the government at that time were more focused on addressing issues affecting whites than blacks. The Commissioners concluded their efforts in a five volume report on economic conditions, the psychology of the poor whites, education, health and sociological aspects.²² The report serves as a valuable source as it quantifies the “official” demographics of poor whites and provides insight into why the poor white question posed such a threat to Afrikaner-people’s psyche in the 1930s.

The Carnegie Commission only dealt with other races on a superficial level and it mentioned, for example, in passing how the rural population of whites and coloureds were decreasing at that time, while the black population was increasing by over twenty percent.²³ This provides insight into the trends of urbanisation of different race groups by quantifying it and indicates how an increasing black population could have been seen as a “threat” to the white constituency on both rural and urban strata.²⁴

Similarly, the Native Laws Commission of 1946 (also known as the Fagan Commission) would provide interesting insight into the white psyche at the time, pertaining specifically to the large numbers of blacks who were increasingly urbanising in search of jobs during World War Two. The report was published in 1948 under the chairmanship of judge Henry Fagan and suggested three possibilities: the territorial separation between whites and blacks; a policy of non-discrimination; and finally a policy that would accept that whites and blacks had to co-exist. The

²¹ C.C. Saunders, *An Illustrated Dictionary of South African History*, 1994. p. 194.

²² *The Poor White Problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission*, 1932.

²³ *The Poor White Problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission*, 1932, p. 18.

²⁴ C.C. Saunders, *An Illustrated Dictionary of South African History*, 1994. p. 194.

Commission concluded that black urbanisation was an inevitable aspect of a growing economy and suggested that influx control – measures that controlled the number of black people allowed to reside in urban areas – be relaxed and that a more *laissez-faire* attitude be adopted²⁵ This would mean that black private individuals could enjoy an economic environment free from certain government restrictions. The Commission's findings were not adopted by the ruling NP and the recommendations were not adhered to. The Fagan Commission will be studied with respect to its findings regarding the education of the children of black urbanised families, what its findings are about missionary schools and to see to what extent its recommendations are based on the desire to secure a so-called “stable” labour force. A “stable” workforce would be one that is controllable, manipulatable and exploitable.²⁶

The fact that the Sauer Commission was appointed only a year after the Fagan Commission by the Herenigde National Party (HNP), indicates that whites were at odds about segregation and notably the “threat” that the number of black labourers would impose on job opportunities.²⁷ The Sauer Commission was led by Paul Sauer, who was a close associate of the leader of the HNP, D.F. Malan, with the aim of turning apartheid into a comprehensive racial policy.²⁸ This Commission proposed separate development as a way of ensuring the security of white South Africans. The Sauer Commission also ultimately enunciated the desire of the NP to afford black South Africans opportunities exclusively within their own territories and most notably for the purposes of this study, that blacks should receive state-controlled Christian National Education.²⁹ On the other end of the spectrum, the Sauer Commission also highlighted the economy's dependence on black labour.³⁰ As a result, the Sauer Commission was studied in depth as it provides an insight into the psyche of a large group of white South Africans, particularly regarding labour and missionary and state-controlled education.

²⁵ *The Native Affairs Commission*, 1946.

²⁶ In order to draw this conclusion, the The Native Affairs Commission, 1946 was referred to.

²⁷ *Verslag van die Kleurvraagstuk-Kommissie van die Herenigde Nasionale Party* (Sauer Commission), 1947.

²⁸ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 309.

²⁹ *Verslag van die Kleurvraagstuk-Kommissie van die Herenigde Nasionale Party* (Sauer Commission), 1947.

³⁰ *Verslag van die Kleurvraagstuk-Kommissie van die Herenigde Nasionale Party* (Sauer Commission), 1947.

It should also be noted that historian Lindie Koorts recently brought to light new evidence regarding the Sauer Commission, particularly regarding the NP's initial position on coloureds. Her research will also be studied in an effort to form a holistic picture of the Sauer Commission and the process surrounding its conception.³¹

These two Commissions thus provide valuable insight into the divided views of the white population on black urbanisation and segregation. They also provide insight regarding the so-called “Native Question” ahead of the historic 1948 elections.

Perhaps the most important primary source for this study is the Report of the Commission in Native Education of 1949–1951 (also more informally known as the Eiselen Commission).³² The report is divided into three parts: “The Bantu world and the present system of education”; “Critical appraisal of the present system of Bantu Education”; and finally “Proposals and recommendations”.³³ The first two parts of the Commission's report shed essential light on understanding their ultimate recommendations. These two parts include discussion on a variety of factors such as the missionary schools; the threat of the rising black population in both rural and urban areas in South Africa, which in 1946 was already outnumbering the so-called European population by almost 50 percent; as well as the employment possibilities presented to the black population of South Africa.³⁴

The Eiselen Commission also focused on contributions to the national income (both directly and indirectly) by blacks, as this would also form an integral part of the Bantu Education system being aligned to the economy and the workforce requirements. Previous studies, as done by the South African Native Affairs Commission,³⁵ are also highlighted, notably the recommendation that a higher standard of education among blacks should be encouraged, as it would increase efficiency and wants of the affected pupils. It was argued then that this would aid the country's economic expansion.

³¹ L. Koorts, *D.F. Malan and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism*, 2014.

³² *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*.

³³ *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*, p. 19.

³⁴ *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*, p. 13.

³⁵ *South African Native Affairs Commission*, 1905.

Regarding Bantu Education prior to 1953, it can be gathered from the Eiselen Commission that a vast number of different types of schools could be found in the Union, all of which followed a different curriculum, depending on their funding (examples provided include private schools, subsidised mission schools, government schools and community or tribal schools).³⁶ Another problem highlighted by the Commission is that the black community was not involved actively enough in the education sphere and that it was financed in such a way that it achieved a minimum of educational effect.³⁷

The Eiselen Commission also gave the opportunity for testimony by both black and white witnesses, pertaining to Bantu Education preceding 1953. The report however did not include much critique presented by black witnesses. The one, unanimous critique expressed was their desire for education of all kinds, which they felt was not provided to them at that time. This supports the so-called Marxist schools' hypothesis that missionary schools also cultivated a cheap labour force by means of paternalistic education.³⁸ Meanwhile, in stark contrast, whites felt that black education was not focused enough on practical skills development and that too much schooling was provided to blacks, as the education system was modelled on that which white learners received. Other critics bemoaned the high salaries of teachers and the need for "more and better technical or industrial education" as a means of securing employment for blacks after their matriculation.³⁹

One of the most valuable contributions of the Commission's report, however, lies in its third part – "Proposals and recommendations".⁴⁰ This is where the plan for Bantu Education is proposed in terms of its development, co-ordination, effective use of funds and perhaps most importantly, the extent of government control. Some notable recommendations that the Commission makes include that mother-tongue education should be vital to the whole system; that agricultural (referred to under the heading of "gardening") and handwork be included in the syllabus; that the curriculum includes a Christian foundation; and that blacks would have to find a direct way to pay a large

³⁶ *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*, p. 44.

³⁷ *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 129.

³⁸ *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 102.

³⁹ *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 102.

⁴⁰ *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 919.

part of their own education.⁴¹ All these factors were subsequently adopted by the apartheid government and form the basis of the traditional historical view that Bantu Education shaped a labour force.

The third part of the Eiselen Commission's Report needs to be studied in conjunction with the Bantu Education Act of 1953, in order to see which recommendations were adhered to and which were discarded. The first provision enacted by the Bantu Education Act was to shift the control and administration of black education from provincial administrators to the Union Government.⁴² In essence the legislation gave complete power to the Minister of Native Affairs and the Department of Native Affairs.⁴³

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) was established as an initiative by the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1948. The establishment of SABRA was to provide an alternative viewpoint to the more liberal South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). Its aim included academic justification of the apartheid ideology.⁴⁴ In 1955, SABRA published a booklet entitled *Bantu Education – oppression or opportunity?*⁴⁵ This pamphlet illustrates the reaction to the implementation of the Act by various institutions such as churches, missionary schools and the international media. However, rather than focusing on the actual legislation, it focuses on the Eiselen Commission's recommendations and vehemently denies that Bantu Education would become a form of oppression. In turn, it argues instead that Bantu Education would provide an opportunity for blacks to enrich themselves in subjects of more practical value and be trained as leaders of their own communities, ensuring that blacks would develop separately.⁴⁶ Despite the Eiselen Commission stressing the importance of mother-tongue education, this booklet already indicates that English was accepted as the *lingua franca* in black government schools, with the exception of schools whose main language of tuition was Afrikaans.

⁴¹ *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 145.

⁴² *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*. The Bantu Education Act Number 47 of 1953.

⁴³ *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*. The Bantu Education Act Number 47 of 1953.

⁴⁴ D.J. Potgieter, et al. (eds) *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, volume 10*, p. 91.

⁴⁵ SABRA, *Bantu Education: oppression or opportunity?* 1955.

⁴⁶ SABRA, *Bantu Education: oppression or opportunity?* 1955, p. 32.

During the time of the booklet's publication in 1955 no syllabus under the new Act had yet been published. However, several churches already pre-emptively postulated what the Act would mean for the country's black population. The Methodist Church is quoted as criticising the system, stating that the policy “in effect aims at conditioning the African people to a predetermined position of subordination in the State”, a sentiment echoed by various other religious institutions.⁴⁷

Hansards of parliamentary debates for the period 1953 to 1955 are also utilised in order to gain information regarding formal discussions about Bantu Education by the politicians of the time. It should be noted, however, that these debates serve only as a discussion by the ruling white government. They are valuable, however, as these parliamentarians were in charge of the decisions that would shape the course that Bantu Education would take. They thus provide an “official” government stance regarding Bantu Education. As both the traditional and the so-called Marxist groups of historians studied *Hansards*, it will aid in ascertaining how their stances were reached regarding the ultimate rationale behind Bantu Education. The debates preceding decision-making regarding Bantu Education will also add valuable insight, especially regarding the voices of those opposing its implementation.

Ultimately, the above-mentioned primary sources, as well as secondary sources, are all studied in conjunction in order to contextualise the two stances historically, as well as in examining the varying approaches regarding the rationalisation behind Bantu Education.

Literature review

In the light of the primary sources and their strengths and weaknesses that are discussed above, this section will focus on secondary sources.

P. A. Duminy served as the editor of *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*.⁴⁸ The contributors in this 1967 publication include writings of H.L. Krige and J. J. Ross on the educational situation in the country at that time. This book provides insight into how academia viewed the educational climate in the 1960s

⁴⁷ SABRA, *Bantu Education – oppression or opportunity?* 1970. p. 36.

⁴⁸ P.A. Duminy, *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967.

when Bantu Education was just beginning to take form. However, due to the time of its publication, the contributors to the book were not yet able to grasp the full scale of the consequences of Bantu Education in South Africa as its impact was not yet fully apparent.

Nearly two decades later, Peter Kallaway edited a similar book entitled *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*.⁴⁹ This book provides a variety of chapters on a spectrum of aspects relating to the education of black South Africans under the NP government towards the end of its rule, and it enjoys the advantage of wisdom in hindsight. This book overcomes the immediacy of P. A. Duminy's work, as a much more holistic view is presented in terms of the later effects of Bantu Education. Studied in conjunction, these two books provide valuable insight in academia's opinions of Bantu Education – both during and after its implementation. This publication falls within the traditional perspective of this study.

In 1984, Pam Christie and Colin Collins' article views Bantu Education from what they state to be a Marxist point of view, writing that the "argument of the class approach is that whites are oppressing blacks not merely because they are racists [...] but because they need them as non-competitive cheap labour".⁵⁰ Most importantly, they stress that schools would serve as a method of ideological orientation in terms of a positive work attitude once the pupil left school. Christie and Collins also refer to the Eiselen Commission's recommendations and discuss how that would ultimately further perpetuate an unskilled labour force, notably by shifting all the educational institutions to the reserves, despite the high rates of urbanisation. Harold Wolpe had also aligned his views with the "Marxist" argument in his paper entitled "Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid".⁵¹ Marvin Hartwig and Rachel Sharp⁵² echo some of Christie and Collins' sentiments in their paper titled "The state and the reproduction of labour power in

⁴⁹ P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*, 1984.

⁵⁰ P. Christie & C. Collins, "Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*, 1984. p. 163.

⁵¹ Found in the journal *Economy and Society* 1(4), 1972.

⁵² M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984.

South Africa”, by specifically analysing South African capitalism and its trajectory within education, rather than within a racist ideological framework.⁵³

The more recent publication by Bill Nasson and John Samuel again provides the reader with a historical account of the educational spectrum of South Africa.⁵⁴ The difference in the focus of the time period in which these various historians wrote compared to the previously-mentioned secondary sources, however, is vastly varied, as the Second Carnegie Report on Poverty (1984) in South Africa had already been published. This report painted a bleak picture, pertaining specifically to the educational disadvantages that the black population of the country had been exposed to. This source will thus be an important factor in evaluating the extent of each of these historical points of view.

As regards to other literature, Cynthia Kros has provided much insight into the traditional view of the topic in her 1996 PhD thesis titled “Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education 1926-1951” as well as *The seeds of separate development. Origins of Bantu Education* (2010), which is a revised, published version of the former. She argues that the recommendations for Bantu Education made in the Eiselen Report were intended to be a central part of the foundation for the whole apartheid structure, as it formulated an answer to the “Native Question” during a time when the NP government was still finding its feet.⁵⁵ Kros takes note of, if hesitantly, the so-called Marxist school regarding the assumption that segregationist education started prior to 1953 and asserts instead that 1953 served as the watershed moment in South African history. Kros focuses specifically on the intellectual development of Bantu Education under the leadership of W. W. M. Eiselen. Other historians, such as Nasson and Samuel mentioned above, uphold similar views.

⁵³ P. Christie & C. Collins, “Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*, 1984. p. 163.

⁵⁴ B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990.

⁵⁵ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education 1926 – 1951*, 1996. pp. 4-5 and pp. 30-31.

Structure of the proposed study

The first chapter has prescribed a brief introduction as to what the aims of the study are. Here relevant concepts are explained in terms of the study as well as providing a literature review regarding the primary and secondary sources that were consulted.

The second chapter, entitled “Slave schools to Soweto Riots”, provides a brief historical background to the educational context both preceding the 1953 Bantu Education Act and shortly thereafter. This chapter also includes a historical overview of the economic, political and social circumstances of the period stretching from the late nineteenth century to 1953. Various commission reports mentioned in the sections on methodology and sources are analysed, in an attempt to paint the picture of the prevailing mind-set at that time, regarding both the educational and the labour spheres. In addition, the changing landscape from 1953 onwards under the NP's leadership are discussed. Attention is given to the transforming labour structures in the 1970s and how this affected black South Africans, as well as the development of Bantu Education, culminating in the 1976 Soweto Riots. This chapter also utilises statistics that were released in 1984 by the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty, as it focused specifically on the black population of South Africa and how they were influenced by in particular, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and labour restrictions. It can thus be said that chapter two addresses the first aim of the study: to contextualise historically the stances of the two schools of thought.

The next chapter, “Full Marx: Marxist interpretations of the black schooling” focuses on the school of thought that argues that the Bantu Education Act (1953) was merely a continuation of a system that the missionary schools had already implemented. This chapter also examines Marxist terminology and why these historians classified their school of thought regarding Bantu Education as such. The chapter is divided into specific sections, dealing with each historian and their view of how this occurred. This includes historians mentioned in the literature review, such as Pam Christie, Colin Collins, Marvin Hartwig, Rachel Sharp and Harold Wolpe. In addition, the historians' historical context is studied, in order to ascertain why this Marxist approach has been accepted by them.

Chapter four considers the traditional approach to the Bantu Education Act of 1953. It aims to discuss the historiographical view that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was a watershed moment in securing a cheap, unskilled labour force for South Africa's economy. Historians who share this sentiment are in the majority and thus classified as the “traditional” school. A selection of the most prominent historians such as Peter Kallaway, P. A. Duminy, Bill Nasson, John Samuel and Cynthia Kros are considered. The historical context in which they wrote their research will also be studied, in order to provide insight into the reasoning behind their points of view.

The penultimate chapter, “From Parliament and print: historical interpretations vs. primary sources” will be dedicated to the second aim of the study: to examine the differing Marxist and traditional approaches regarding the rationalisation behind Bantu Education, in the light of the background provided in the previous four chapters. The merits of the contrasting viewpoints are tested against the apparent rationale in the architects of apartheid, as conveyed by “official” sources studied, such as commission reports and parliamentary *Hansards*. Thus, in essence, the second aim is to determine why these two schools (the traditional and Marxist schools) have different rationales regarding the watershed moment of the implementation of marginalising education, despite using the same source material.

The concluding chapter summarises the interpretations and deductions made in the study. The aim and purpose of the study will again be highlighted, with an evaluation of the two schools of thought.

This dissertation thus ultimately sets out to assess the pursuit of reliable knowledge, in studying the wider use of historical ideas in the academic discipline pertaining to Bantu Education. It is only through the recognition of all the differing approaches, including the traditional and Marxist approach, that one can hope to achieve a semblance of a relatively unbiased account of this history.

Chapter 2: Slave schools to Soweto Riots

As indicated in the previous chapter, this study is concerned with the historical contextualisation of various interpretations of the origins of segregated education. In examining the two key platforms of understanding regarding Bantu Education, the so-called Marxist school of explanation will be examined by studying the manner in which the broad economic interests in South Africa at that time indicate the real contradictions of its society.⁵⁶ The Marxists group of historians argue that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was merely a continuation and a formalisation of a system already in place. The other so-called traditional view will also be contextualised by studying Bantu Education as implemented by the ruling NP. It will consider what the consequences of the apartheid government's education policies were on the South African labour force.

Thus this chapter will in essence consist of two parts. Firstly, it will provide a historical background to the educational and the labour context preceding the 1953 Bantu Education Act. This historical overview will focus on missionary education, as well as economic, political and social circumstances, with specific reference to the period 1886, with the discovery of gold, to 1953 with the introduction of the Act. Secondly, this chapter will also examine how the educational and labour landscape changed from 1953 onwards. A brief history will also be given of the development of the Bantu Education system in its implementation, culminating in the 1976 Soweto Riots and the Second Carnegie Commission, which details the long-term impact of Bantu Education in South Africa.

Colonial Control

South Africa, as with the majority of colonial African countries, saw the early development of black educational systems in the hands of the missionaries. The Dutch East India Company settled in the Cape with the sole intention of establishing a refreshment station in 1652. As their prerogative was to maximise profits as their maritime and trading industries expanded to the East, educating the local population

⁵⁶ P. Christie & C. Collins, "Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*, 1984. p. 163.

of the country was not on their agenda. This precedent of prioritising education as relatively unimportant would continue into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It would only be in the nineteenth century that a shift would be seen to missionary education. Most of the initial missionaries who settled in South Africa were Protestants and notably English-speaking missionaries from Scotland and America.⁵⁷ Frank Welsh argues that some missionaries did work in conjunction with authorities, specifically to control blacks, as the church and the government shared the same stance regarding “the link between salvation, virtue, monogamy and trousers”.⁵⁸ More insight into the American missionaries’ approach is provided in D.J. Kotze’s *Letters of the American missionaries, 1835 – 1838*. One such example is illustrated by the missionaries, B.B. Wisner, R. Anderson and D. Greene, who were secretaries to the American Board Mission Collection. In a letter, which was signed by all three parties, it was related how it was their responsibility to educate the “heathen”, so that they “may be very useful in the the church.”⁵⁹

The very first school in South Africa was opened on the 17th of April 1658 in the Cape, a mere six years after the arrival of the Commander of the Dutch East India Company, Jan van Riebeeck. However, the arrival of the first slaves in the Cape from Angola in 1658, brought with them consternation, as van Riebeeck was concerned with the Dutch East India Company's slaves' moral and intellectual welfare. In addition, given the diversity of the slaves' origins (from various regions of Africa and the East)⁶⁰ and the wide array of languages spoken by them, van Riebeeck saw the need to establish an educational institution to rectify the situation. This school would teach slaves sufficient linguistic skills, in order to promote a greater understanding of their masters' orders – thus improving the quality of the labour that these slaves would provide to the Cape. In addition, these slaves would also be indoctrinated by their masters' religion, which would teach them the values of servitude, discipline and

⁵⁷ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 108.

⁵⁸ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 108.

⁵⁹ B.B. Wisner, R. Anderson and D. Greene in D.J. Kotze, *Letters of the American missionaries, 1835 – 1838*, 1950. p. 45.

⁶⁰ R. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*, 1994.

obedience.⁶¹ Apparently the initial reluctance to attend school was met with attempts at bribery. Van Riebeeck's diary details how "a tot of rum and two inches of tobacco each" could encourage slaves to attend their educational institution with greater diligence.⁶²

However, the origin of the first segregated school can already be found in 1676, where a recommendation was made to separate European children from slave and Khoikhoi pupils. This suggestion was made by the church, although the first official building for separate pupils was only opened almost a decade later, in 1685.⁶³ The schooling system for pupils of colour would face tremendous obstacles in its early years, as slave masters were not fond of the notion of losing slave child-labour by sending these pupils to school. Subsequently, the development of schools in the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made relatively little headway, with the exception of some schools associated with the DEIC and a select few schools reserved for colonialists' children.

Robert Ross states that concomitant with the religious expansion and cultural change among the colonial population in South Africa, over time schooling was made more available to the local Cape population.⁶⁴ These schools carried particular appeal to manumitted and emancipated slaves' children, as they saw them as an opportunity to effectuate their freedom.⁶⁵ This point is enforced when studying statistics of the demand for education in Cape Town. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were "six Dutch schools with a total of 515 pupils against two slave schools with a total of 1162 pupils,"⁶⁶ which also demonstrates the population ratio and unequal provision of education.

Perhaps one of the most famous mission stations in the Cape in the early years was that of Baviaanskloof, which would later become Genadendal, under the control of

⁶¹ F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 45.

⁶² F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 46.

⁶³ F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 46.

⁶⁴ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008. p. 48.

⁶⁵ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008. p. 48.

⁶⁶ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 95.

the Moravian Missionary Society's school. Here “the Hottentots were persuaded to forego their nomadic way of life, and made to realise the need for discipline and regular habits”.⁶⁷ A paternalistic attitude was thus present in the missionary education that black South Africans would receive. King William's Town saw the first school specifically for Africans open in 1799, as indigenous people were becoming increasingly dispossessed in the wake of several wars between the colonisers and the Nguni-speaking peoples of South Africa. As time progressed, Frank Molteno argues, schooling became part of the conquest itself – albeit a relatively minor one – as it contributed to the social consolidation of the colonisers' conquests.⁶⁸

As the Dutch and English settlers moved further into the interior of South Africa, schools followed suit. One such an example is the regimental school which was founded in 1814 in Grahamstown. Sir John Cradock intended to educate the native Khoisan population in the area, in an attempt to strengthen their military forces. Lord Charles Somerset was in support of this endeavour, claiming that it was one of the “advances ... from forming [the ‘Hottentot Community’] into a Military Corps”.⁶⁹ Schools such as this, in conjunction with missionary schools, focused on the importance of being ‘civilised’ in order to be a functionary in a colonial order.

By the 1830s, the breakaway trekboer communities (farmers who moved into the interior of South Africa from the late seventeenth century) made their first move against missionary schools, by placing a total ban on missionary activities in the Eastern Cape.⁷⁰ Frank Welsh argues that this step, which resonated with later attitudes towards black education, would guarantee not to “disseminate unsettling ideas of human equality” as taught in missionary schools.⁷¹ However, the desire for educational advantages soon spread from former slaves to a larger demographic of black South Africans during the course of the nineteenth century. This was largely due to the fact that African parents realised, from their own personal experience, that missionary-based education could aid their children in developing in a way that was

⁶⁷ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 48.

⁶⁸ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 49.

⁶⁹ R. Elphick and H. Giliomee, *The shaping of South African society, 1652 – 1840*, 1988. p. 38.

⁷⁰ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 109.

⁷¹ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 109.

perceived to be more “positive” within their society in terms of vocational growth and employment opportunities, as opposed to developing without the educational advantages that the missionaries provided.⁷²

An important turning point in black education occurred in 1854, when the colonial government started developing an interest in this branch of education in the Cape. Sir George Grey used his appointment as Governor of the Cape Colony to further his belief that education could be used as a prime weapon in the subjugation of the indigenous population. This tied in with the Cape Colony's policy of border pacification at that time, which could aid the political security and social progress of the Colony.⁷³ To Grey, education was imperative in ensuring that the Colony's economy grew by utilising the indigenous population as “useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short, a source of strength and wealth to the colony”.⁷⁴ Again, the missionary schools in the Cape Colony, which were aided by the government, were encouraged to teach black pupils the mere basics of their masters' language that would enforce the idea of limiting these individuals to their predetermined role in the colonial order.⁷⁵

One of the most notable missionary educational establishments was Lovedale, which was founded in 1841.⁷⁶ This missionary school provided education to mixed races until 1878, whereafter it focused on educating black South Africans. It would certainly appear that this school enjoyed relative success, as by 1887 more than two thousand black students had passed through its doors.⁷⁷ Lovedale and other missionary schools shared principles of discussion, accommodation and compromise, which would influence the manner in which black intellectuals would argue for economic and political emancipation during the course of South Africa's history.⁷⁸ The missionaries adopted English as their *lingua franca*, which would ultimately lead to an educated black population speaking English and utilising this language for their

⁷² H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 101.

⁷³ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. pp. 50 – 51.

⁷⁴ Sir George Grey, as quoted in N. Majeka, *The role of missionaries in conquest*, p. 66.

⁷⁵ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 51.

⁷⁶ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*. 2000. p. 217.

⁷⁷ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 191.

⁷⁸ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 357.

political discourse. It is hardly surprising that eventually several prominent black political leaders in South Africa's history were English-speaking, missionary-educated individuals, such as Tiyo Soga, Sol Plaatje, Z. K. Matthews and perhaps most famously, Nelson Mandela.⁷⁹

As time progressed, the missionaries became more rigid in the implementation of their paternalism in schools, as the amount of pupils attending these schools increased. One such example is where the Cape government started extending their control in these academic institutions by limiting funds for mission schools to those which met set criteria including the condition that students perform manual labour.⁸⁰ By 1879, the first syllabi for elementary black schools would ensure that a fifth of school time was spent doing manual work, such as carpentry for the male pupils and dress-making and cooking for female students. The Superintendent of Education at that time, Langham Dale, did not have much sympathy for black education, stating that it was his main priority to “see that the sons and daughters of the [European] colonists ... have at least such an education ... as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority on this land”.⁸¹ This attitude would ultimately spread into the educational sphere that missionaries found themselves in, due to the fact that they were reliant to a certain degree on government funding.⁸²

Overall, missionary education was of a paternalistic nature, irrespective of which official body funded the education of black students or who was responsible for teaching it. The *Christian Express*, a newspaper that served as a mouthpiece for Christian missionaries in Lovedale, provides profound proof of this paternalistic attitude. The extract is rich in revelations:

⁷⁹ Examples as mentioned in F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 108. Tiyo Soga had close ties to missionaries and was responsible for translating the bible into isiXhosa in the late nineteenth century. Sol Plaatje and Z.K. Matthews were both esteemed intellectuals in their respective communities. Plaatje served as the first general secretary of the South African Native National Congress (which would later become the ANC), while Matthews lectured at what is now the University of Fort Hare. Matthews eventually resigned from the institution in the mid-twentieth century as a statement against contemporary discriminating apartheid legislation. Similarly, Nelson Mandela devoted his life to the resistance against the apartheid regime, famously serving as one of the leading figures in the struggle against apartheid before becoming South Africa's first democratically elected president.

⁸⁰ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*. 2000. p. 293.

⁸¹ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 293.

⁸² F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 53.

The subject of work is burning in this country. No complaint is more common We want to see the natives become workers how this ... comes is twofold. Christianity creates needs. Generally speaking, every man will work just as much as he requires to do and not more. There will be constant relation between the time a man works and his necessities

If you want men to work, then, you must get them to need. Create need and you supply stimulus for work; you enlist the worker's own will on the side of labour. Few men, anywhere, and certainly no heathen men, ever work for the mere pleasure of working.

Now the speediest way of creating needs among these people is to Christianize them. As they become Christianized, they will want more clothing, better houses, furniture, books, education for the children and a hundred other things they can get by working, and only by working.

But Christianity also teaches the duty of working, and denounces idleness as a sin.

So to Christianize a Kaffir is the shortest way, and the surest, to make him put his hand steadily and willingly to work that is waiting to be done. This will make it both his interest and his duty to work, will enlist, besides his bodily appetites, his home affections, his mental powers, and his conscience, on the side of industrious habits.⁸³

The purpose of education was thus solely, in the eyes of many missionaries, to transform black pupils from "heathens" to what was perceived as useful citizens. Subsequently, black pupils and their communities were at this stage not entirely satisfied with the quality of education that they were receiving, in addition to not perceiving the point of attending such a schooling environment. For example, the Natal Native Commission stated in 1882 that they did not foresee that ordinary "Natives" would have the desire for schooling, while *The Kaffir Express* noted in 1872

⁸³ *Christian Express* VIII (95) 1878-08-01. pp. 1-2.

that students at Lovedale actively rejected the principle of engaging in two hours compulsory work in the afternoons, labelling it “the bane of their lives” and “an utter abhorrence”.⁸⁴ A black pupil who was subjected to this manual labour, D.D.T. Jabavu, conceded that these jobs consisted of sweeping yards, repairing roads and cracking stones – work which would be of very little educational value to the pupils.⁸⁵ However, a missionary-educated minority was responsible for spreading ideas associated with the missionaries' attitudes regarding the “Christianising” of black pupils, as they encouraged the ideas of wanting goods that were only attainable through purchase.⁸⁶ Religious instruction also focused on teaching pupils values of passivity, fear, contentment in adversity, obedience and patience.⁸⁷

A missionary educator, Rev. J. Mountain, wrote in 1884 that the education that they were providing to black students would prepare them for a life, where at best they would be assimilated into society as “telegraph messengers ... railway porters, interpreters, school teachers and ministers of the gospel”.⁸⁸ It however added that opportunities, even in these fields, would also be very limited for black individuals, perpetuating the argument of the missionaries' paternalistic attitudes.⁸⁹ There appears thus little evidence to relate the missionary view.

Mining manipulation

South Africa's labour platform was set to change irrevocably from the 1870s with the discovery of diamonds and gold. The mineral revolution required a large amount of labourers to initially work on claims on the diamond fields of Kimberley as unskilled labourers, and later as unskilled miners of gold on the Witwatersrand. The wealthy Randlords who were in charge of the vast majority of mines preferred employing

⁸⁴ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. p. 53.

⁸⁵ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. p. 67.

⁸⁶ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. p. 60.

⁸⁷ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. p. 67.

⁸⁸ Rev. J Mountain quoted in the *Christian Express XIV*, 1 April 1884, in F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 45.

⁸⁹ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 45.

black labourers for reasons relating to profit, since black labourers received significantly lower wages than their white counterparts.⁹⁰ The mining magnate, Sir Lionel Phillips, during a presidential address to the Chamber of Mines' annual general meeting in 1893 said: "The less he is paid, the longer he remains, and the more efficient he becomes."⁹¹ In addition, the large population of black migrant workers would serve as a proverbial gold mine for mine owners, as their numbers met the need for a large, cheap and sustainable labour force. Deep-level gold mining in South Africa was reliant on unskilled labour, as a vast quantity of gold ore needs to be extracted from the ground in order to be profitable.⁹² The notorious compound systems were subsequently implemented to control mine workers and to provide mine owners with a sustainable and reliable work force.⁹³ In addition, the subsequently devastating impact on tribal communities due to this migration of large groups of young men, further increased the massive scale of urbanisation, as the need for black labour in the mines grew. This process is detailed in Luli Callinicos' "Circle of Poverty in the Reserves", which indicates how the large-scale migration of males perpetuated poverty, as inexperienced women were left behind to cultivate land, which created, with its failure, a reliance on commerce that was previously not necessary. The dependence on money and on the convenience of shops would again encourage men to continue returning to work on the mines and ultimately to urbanise.⁹⁴ By the 1920s, families would start following men to cities due to the aforementioned circle of poverty, droughts, cattle diseases and the consequences of the 1913 Native's Land Act and its related taxes.⁹⁵ This would add a new dimension to the development of South Africa's history at an economic, politic and social level.⁹⁶

These developments would in turn and inevitably also affect education. By 1905, however, the South African Native Affairs Commission found that black pupils and their communities were becoming increasingly disgruntled at the quality of education

⁹⁰ L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980. p. 16.

⁹¹ L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980. p. 57.

⁹² L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980. p. 14.

⁹³ R. Turrell, "Rhodes, De Beers and monopoly" in *The Journal of Commonwealth History*. 10(3), pp. 311 – 343.

⁹⁴ L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980. p. 30.

⁹⁵ The Native's Land Act was implemented in 1913, and saw only a small percentage of South Africa's land reserved for black ownership.

⁹⁶ L. Callinicos, *Working life, 1886 – 1940*, 1987. p. 194.

that they were receiving. The twentieth century would see a tremendously important shift in this regard, but not for the better.

By 1911, a year after the creation of the Union of South Africa, it was estimated that “almost a third of million [sic] Africans, Indians and Coloureds were communicants (not just adherents) of Christian churches, while 176 000 pupils of colour were studying in mission schools”.⁹⁷ Missionary education would permeate black society to such a degree that by 1914, every single African school but one was associated to some degree with missionaries in the Natal province.⁹⁸ Natal, as a former British colony, was home to several missionaries who originated from English-speaking countries and their presence was certainly reflected in the majority of Africans educated by their hand. In Natal in particular, for example, the most influential missionary group was the American Zulu Mission.⁹⁹ The American Zulu Mission’s work, amongst several others, are detailed in Charles Loram’s book, where he not only explored contemporary schools’ history, but also proposed new methods with which to improve the missionary education system.¹⁰⁰ As will be discussed later in this dissertation, Loram’s approach to education would serve as a baseline for educational reformists who followed after him.

The steady increase in the number of schools for black pupils in the mid-twentieth century can be directly correlated to the development of a capitalist mode of production.¹⁰¹ From the early days of South Africa’s industrialist capitalism, black South Africans were constantly reprimanded and encouraged to accept their place of inferiority, oppression and exploitation. This is made blatantly apparent in the report of an Interdepartmental Committee which acknowledged that capitalists were in

⁹⁷ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 101.

⁹⁸ Province of Natal, Department of Education, *Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1914*.

⁹⁹ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.110.

¹⁰⁰ C. Loram, *The education of the South African native*, 1917. pp. 53 – 73 and pp. 163 – 233.

¹⁰¹ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 59.

agreement that they “must give the Native an education which will keep him in his place”.¹⁰²

One of the pivotally important aspects of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, is the fact that the education of black pupils was placed solely in the hands of the state, taking the educational power out of the hands of the missionaries. However, in order to understand this implementation, one needs to be aware of what the funding and administration of black education comprised of prior to the 1953 legislation. The first important legislative change that saw the formalisation of a nation-wide finance policy regarding education came with the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Act of Union¹⁰³ stipulated that education was a provincial matter for the period of five years. Concurrently, however, “native affairs” were classified as national concerns, which meant that the administration of black education was the responsibility of the Union's policy. The Union Government established a Union Native Affairs Commission in 1920, which would seek to advise on matters pertaining to black education.¹⁰⁴ Subsequently, there was an incremental shift from each of the four provinces, which used to fund black education from their own tax revenues, to vesting the responsibility solely in the Union Government twelve years later.¹⁰⁵

However, no consistency was enjoyed on an administrative level with regards to black education. Each of the four provinces had their own approach to education in their respective areas, whilst the only real conformity existed in the sense that all four provinces practised segregational education during this period. To serve as an example, in 1937 in Natal, government-aided schools, which were almost exclusively run by missionaries, numbered 627 which constituted 67 897 students.¹⁰⁶ The Cape Province, with its colonial and missionary legacy, accounted for 76.5 percent of government support for African education, while the Transvaal only expended 11.6

¹⁰² F. Moltano, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 62.

¹⁰³ Statutes of Great Britain. *The South African Act*, 1909.

¹⁰⁴ *Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1927-1947*.

¹⁰⁵ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.129.

¹⁰⁶ Province of Natal, *Report of the Education Commission*, 1937, p. 92.

percent of government aid on its black schools.¹⁰⁷ Black schools in the Cape were even scrutinised under the same auspices by inspectors of “European” and coloured schools, whilst schools for black pupils in the Transvaal were exempt from inspections by the educational department.¹⁰⁸ There were thus widespread inconsistencies between different schools in their different provinces.

As urbanisation rapidly took place by black migrant populations of the country, the Fagan and Sauer Commissions aimed at addressing what was perceived as being a “worrying” number of black labourers moving into close proximity to whites in cities.¹⁰⁹ The Fagan Commission of 1946, also known as the Native Laws Commission, would provide interesting insight into the white psyche at the time. This pertained specifically to the large numbers of blacks who were increasingly urbanising in search of jobs during World War Two as South Africa's economy was booming. The report suggested three possibilities: the territorial separation between whites and blacks; a policy of non-discrimination; and finally a policy that would accept that whites and blacks had to co-exist.¹¹⁰ The Commission concluded that black urbanisation was an inevitable aspect of a growing economy and suggested that influx control, measures that controlled the number of black people allowed to reside in urban areas, be relaxed and that a more *laissez-faire* attitude be adopted. The Sauer Commission, appointed in 1947, however, would be the one that would ultimately be accepted by the government. The Sauer Commission which was led by Paul Sauer, one of D.F. Malan's closest associates, recommended turning apartheid into a comprehensive racial policy.¹¹¹ This Commission developed the origins of separate development as a way of ensuring the security of white South Africans.¹¹² The Sauer Commission also ultimately enunciated the NP's desire to afford black South Africans all opportunities within their own territories and most notably for the

¹⁰⁷ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. pp. 130 – 131.

¹⁰⁸ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.132.

¹⁰⁹ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*. 2000. p. 309.

¹¹⁰ *The Native Affairs Commission*, 1946.

¹¹¹ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 309.

¹¹² *Verslag van die Kleurvraagstuk-Kommissie van die Herenigde Nasionale Party (Sauer Commission)*, 1947.

purposes of this study, that blacks should receive state-controlled Christian National Education.¹¹³

At the turn of the twentieth century, with significant political, economic and social changes occurring in black communities, English and Afrikaans missionaries started differing about the methods they were adopting. English missionaries saw it as imperative that black South Africans be taught the habits of Western culture and a strong command of the English language as a method of ensuring that black South Africans could adapt successfully in the transforming economic and political landscape.¹¹⁴ Conversely, Afrikaans missionaries continued to stress the importance of mother-tongue and cultural education for blacks, which would ultimately be part and parcel of the recommendations that the Eiselen Commission of 1951 would make. Despite these differences, however, these two groups of missionaries would only officially part ways in the 1950s with the advent of Bantu Education.¹¹⁵

Educational statistics became bleaker as the century progressed.¹¹⁶ In due course, black intellectuals started challenging what they perceived to be the under-funded missionary education system and the government's hand therein. Dr A. B. Xuma, who was elected president of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1940, lambasted the government's discrimination against blacks in the educational sphere. In his argument he stated that while the government had spent "over £8 million on the education of the children of one and a half million whites, it committed only £500,000 for the education of children of five million blacks".¹¹⁷ By 1949 mission and black schools were in dire straits due to lack of funding. The government's policy regarding black education was not "a non-racial vision of education and [it] was not prepared to move spending on white and black education towards parity".¹¹⁸ Only approximately thirty percent of black children between the ages of seven and sixteen

¹¹³ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 309.

¹¹⁴ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 256.

¹¹⁵ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008. p. 130.

¹¹⁶ R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 129.

¹¹⁷ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 261.

¹¹⁸ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 261.

attended school.¹¹⁹ Sadly, their attendance did not guarantee that they would eventually conclude their studies successfully.

In addition, this period also witnessed how education in South Africa and other English-ruled areas on the African continent was influenced significantly by the model of education adopted in a segregated America. In an article, R. Hunt Davies Junior analyses the impact that key individuals would have in the formalisation of the American schooling model in South Africa. He focuses on Charles T. Loram, who would serve on the aforementioned Union Native Affairs Commission until 1930. Loram was often regarded as South Africa's leading “expert” on African education.¹²⁰ His influence in his official capacity is very telling of missionary education in South Africa preceding the Bantu Education Act of 1953. He believed that black South Africans would serve a role in society and that there “should be a reasonable outlet for the educated Native to earn an honest living, to dwell under decent conditions and to have some voice in the management of his affairs”.¹²¹ This statement is indicative of a paternalistic attitude towards the education of black pupils in South Africa, an attitude which would reverberate in Loram's approach and implementation of education. These observations are of importance, as Loram was not merely an individual that found himself within a certain *zeitgeist* of missionary education, but was actively involved in the development of curricula for black South Africans.

Loram's attitude can further be examined in his statement that black South Africans could at best aspire to be “junior partners in the firm”, a sentiment of white superiority which was supported by other South Africans at that time.¹²² In his official capacity, Loram was in favour of black education being based on “adaption”, “education for life” and the relevance of black American education in African schooling”.¹²³ He was of the opinion that missionaries were educating black pupils in a way which was too academic and “bookish” and should instead be more practical and vocational in

¹¹⁹ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008. p. 130.

¹²⁰ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.128.

¹²¹ Charles T Loram quoted in R. Hunt Davis Junior, “Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.111.

¹²² R. Hunt Davis Junior, “Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 113.

¹²³ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 113.

nature. This sentiment was echoed by other like-minded critics at that time. The American schooling model that influenced Loram and his subsequent curriculum development is indicative of the fact that Loram felt that the traditional, missionary-based system of education needed to be altered to be more practical – a sentiment shared and endorsed by the apartheid government. Loram believed that it was natural for white individuals to be in the position to decide the type of life that black pupils should lead. The schooling curriculum, in accordance with his view, should also focus on teaching the black pupil “practical” values, such as health and hygiene, agriculture, nature studies and woodworking, as well as allowing women to attend special schools which would train them as “home demonstrators” by teaching them needlework and domestic science.¹²⁴ Loram, however, was not the only individual to share this view. An earlier report of the Interdepartmental Committee in 1936 stated that the “education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the black child for a subordinate society”.¹²⁵

In accordance with this point of view, Loram also saw no point in teaching black pupils subjects such as algebra, geometry and translation. Concomitant to this view was the importance of the community in the schooling environment. This shows the systematic move away from a purely missionary-based education, which focused on a model that resonates more with the one implemented by the Bantu Education Act. R Hunt Davis Junior surmises Loram's approach to education and his subsequent educational legacy accurately, when stating that Loram “found it much easier to work for the African than with him”.¹²⁶ In the mid-1930s, in the wake of Loram's legacy, as well as broader segregationist thinking at that time, the government was spending forty times more on education of a white student than his or her black counterpart.¹²⁷

By 1945, an active attempt was made in black schools' syllabi to imbue black pupils with the notion that the “correct attitude” would be imperative to their successful

¹²⁴ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. pp. 113 - 114.

¹²⁵ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 64.

¹²⁶ R. Hunt Davis Junior, “Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.121.

¹²⁷ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 69.

future. One such syllabus in the Orange Free State detailed that “the ultimate aim of all education and the purpose for which our school exists, is to provide boys and girls with a training such as will enable them to take their proper place in life when they leave school.”¹²⁸ Similarly in the same year, J.N. Le Roux, who was at that stage not yet representing official state policy in his capacity as a member of parliament for the opposition, enunciated this point when he stated that schools:

should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? ... I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer of the country.¹²⁹

Further policies, such as the Christian National Policy of 1948, would have a far-reaching affect on the quality education that black students would receive in South Africa. This policy made several recommendations of a paternalistic nature, which included the importance of mother-tongue education (a sentiment echoed by the Eiselen Commission); that it should not be funded at the expense of white education; black pupils should not be prepared for a life of equal opportunities with whites; the preservation of cultural identity should be maintained; and this policy should be administered and organised by whites.¹³⁰ However, this view was not readily accepted by the black community. This is evident in, for example, the black newspaper in parts of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, *Inkundla ya Bantu*, which asserted in the 1940s that it is “the eternal right of the African parent to say what form of education shall be given to his child”.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Quoted in F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 62.

¹²⁹ J.N. Le Roux, as quoted in F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 66.

¹³⁰ P. Enslin., “The role of fundamental pedagogics in the formulation of educational policy in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.140.

¹³¹ *Ikundla ya Bantu* 6 (71) 1944-01-31. p. 3.

Irrespective of black parents' views pertaining to the education that black pupils should receive, the apartheid government's Dr H. F. Verwoerd would make his intentions regarding black education crystal clear – which was to preserve the general *status quo* and to prevent black agitation. Verwoerd had mentioned in Parliament that they had studied and taken note of the social environment of black South Africans as being unskilled, rural and tribal, and stated “and so it shall remain”.¹³² In the apartheid government's mind, missionary schools were providing black pupils with a confidence that could be used to further their own political and labour demands – a situation which Verwoerd and his colleagues wanted to avoid at all costs.¹³³

Perhaps most notoriously, Verwoerd stated during a speech in the Senate in 1954, with regards to Bantu Education that

There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. for that reason it is of no avail for him to receive training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.¹³⁴

By 1953 when the Bantu Education Act was signed into law, ninety percent of all black schools were state-aided missionary schools.¹³⁵ The English missionary schools were seen as responsible for producing “worryingly” capable, well-spoken and intelligent black political leaders who had permeated South African society.¹³⁶ As the apartheid government was intent on protecting its constituency, this did not bode well with them, as it could pose a possible threat in terms of job security to white

¹³² L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.149.

¹³³ L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.148.

¹³⁴ L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.149.

¹³⁵ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 447.

¹³⁶ P. Enslin., “The role of fundamental pedagogics in the formulation of educational policy in South Africa” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.140.

labourers who were not as educated as their black counterparts. In accordance with the Bantu Education Act, the existing missionary schools had the option of handing over the control of their educational institutions to the government or to face the possibility of permanent closure as their government funding would imminently be cut off.¹³⁷

R Hunt Davis Junior argues that the debate surrounding the implementation of the Bantu Education Act was rooted in the differences of opinion regarding assimilation and segregation. Despite these divergent views, the general sentiment that government and some missionaries appeared to have shared was similar: that their current state of education for black pupils could not be perpetuated much longer. The Eiselen Commission's findings made it clear that the black individuals who were interviewed, echoed this statement. This view was, surprisingly, also shared by a large percentage of white individuals.

The watershed moment in 1953 which saw the formal implementation of Bantu Education promised a new and perceivably improved approach to black education in South Africa.¹³⁸ However, as Martin Legassick postulates, the new curriculum would serve two purposes: to provide the large majority of black South Africans with the bare minimum in terms of the education needed for labour; as well as to ensure that black South Africans would further their political and economic interests in the 'homelands', separated from the central, white-controlled state.¹³⁹ The nature of black schooling under Bantu Education obscured the power of the institution of schooling itself, for social control and hegemony under capitalism.¹⁴⁰

Black resistance

By 1956, primary school syllabuses already contained values that stressed ethnic and national diversity, identification with rural culture, obedience, communal loyalty,

¹³⁷ F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000. p. 447.

¹³⁸ *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 145.

¹³⁹ M. Legassick, "Gold, agriculture and secondary industry in South Africa 1885 – 1970" in R. Palmer & N. Parsons, *The roots of rural poverty in central and southern Africa*, 1980. p. 192.

¹⁴⁰ L. Maree, "The hearts and minds of the people" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.159.

acceptance of common social roles *et al.*¹⁴¹ This is arguably a mere continuum of the missionary-based values in a more formalised environment. Schools were also largely “tribalised”, in an attempt to revitalise “Bantu Culture”.¹⁴²

As capital accumulation accelerated, a steady influx of black workers started permeating urban societies. Thus as the twentieth century progressed, the apartheid government would attempt to place more focus on building strong communities in the apartheid Bantustans by instilling values of ethnic pride in its pupils. The apartheid government encouraged the feminisation of the educational sector, freeing male labour for other purposes in the economy. In addition, with increased state control playing a large role, a significant number of pupils were registered to attend school. As a result, educators had to adopt a system of double-sessions, in order to accommodate all the pupils. With pupils being encouraged to attend schooling in segregated areas, Bantustans would serve the purpose of putting young black pupils in their physical and political place. However, as more black families urbanised, schools in townships like Soweto would become of increasing importance.

Lynn Maree, a lecturer in Education in London, followed the daily lives of pupils in a school in Soweto, preceding the Soweto Riots of 1976. Her observations were recorded in the article *The hearts and minds of the people*, and provides detail interesting accounts of what schooling consisted of. However, one should bear in mind that her study was done in isolation, as it was the observations of one woman in one school. There is, however, some value to her insight. Maree details how black individuals are depicted as “useful labourers, dishonest bargainers, foolish farmers and homeland citizens” in the textbooks that they were given by the state to study from.¹⁴³ The history taught to these young minds in the townships made no mention of black resistance, black political activity or leadership, but instead chose to focus much more on nation-building. Despite this, Maree noted how the need existed for both the teachers and the pupils to forge links to the real world in the history classes

¹⁴¹ F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 89.

¹⁴² F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 89.

¹⁴³ L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.152.

– as no such opportunity was provided within the syllabus.¹⁴⁴ Maree draws attention to Ezekiel Mphahlele's view that the world is experienced through one's blackness – a sentiment that she picked up numerous times in her observations of the teaching at the school. Thus, she concluded, that Bantu Education had failed to turn the pupils and their educators' attention away from the so-called “forbidden green pastures”, as their general experiences with their immediate surroundings in Soweto at that time was significantly more formative and informative in their development than the textbooks preaching segregation in schools.¹⁴⁵ The widespread discrimination that was associated with apartheid permeated the pupils' lives on a daily basis and they were very much aware of their exploited position in society. These pupils did not experience emotions of gratitude and fairness for receiving state-funded education. It is thus that these pupils would be the very ones to turn to the streets in 1976 to announce their discontent with the Bantu Education system to the world.

At this stage, many young South Africans sprang to action, which included the South African Student Movement, an organisation which would play a pivotal role in the Soweto Riots. On the 16th of June, an estimated fifteen thousand pupils¹⁴⁶ revolted in Soweto in an attempt to make their dissatisfaction known with Bantu Education's language policy which enshrined Afrikaans as one of the compulsory languages of instruction in secondary schools.¹⁴⁷ The government's reaction to the riots, which soon spread nationally, was met brutally. Thousands of protesting youths were assaulted with tear gas and arrested, while several others were killed.¹⁴⁸ This was most famously immortalised by the photograph of a mortally wounded, thirteen-year-old Hector Petersen, which would become an international symbol of the apartheid government's brutality.¹⁴⁹

Despite the government eventually relaxing its decree pertaining to Afrikaans, revolts would persist in the months to come against the discriminating education that black

¹⁴⁴ L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.153.

¹⁴⁵ L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.157.

¹⁴⁶ Other sources, such as Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga, state that up to twenty thousand students participated.

¹⁴⁷ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 153.

¹⁴⁸ *Rand Daily Mail and Die Vaderland*, 1976-06-17, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 153.

pupils were receiving.¹⁵⁰ These revolts were no longer restricted to Soweto. The Transvaal, northern Free State, Natal and KwaZulu all saw an increase in protests, with townships in Cape Town, like Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa becoming important centres of discontent.¹⁵¹ The youth had come to the realisation that they had a voice, and they were becoming increasingly proficient at ensuring that it would be heard.

The 1980s would see a shift in Bantu Education, which focused more on the development of technical and vocational education. This was an attempt to deal with the “skills shortages” discourse used by various initiatives aimed at reforming black education.¹⁵² This initiative may have been spurred on by the recent onset of strikes on a large scale that South Africa was facing at that time. Public discontent among workers grew rapidly: in 1970, South Africa experienced 76 formal strikes which involved 4 146 workers, to 394 strikes in 1982 where 141 571 workers participated.¹⁵³ Despite these reforms, which included the Human Sciences Research Council's Commission of Inquiry (which aimed to recommend reforms to streamline and rationalise the education system in 1980), the majority of black pupils in South Africa still received inadequate education.¹⁵⁴ The postulation of “skill shortages” by officials attempting to subdue the discontent associated with poor education did not, however, find its origins in the 1980s when South Africa's political and economic system found itself in a particularly tumultuous time. Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp have argued that this shortage started already in the 1960s, but that the shortages were exacerbated over time due to a shortage of white skilled labour and the Bantu Education system which stunted the development of skilled black labourers.¹⁵⁵

In the light of this, the 1980s saw an influx of corporations becoming involved in subsidising education for black South Africans and the black education system

¹⁵⁰ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 364.

¹⁵¹ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 365.

¹⁵² L. Chisholm, “Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.387.

¹⁵³ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Annual Survey*. 1982. pp. 73 – 74.

¹⁵⁴ L. Chisholm, “Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p.389.

¹⁵⁵ M. Hartwig & R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. p. 310.

became, in many instances, a major private sector undertaking. Linda Chisholm, who is currently a faculty member at the Education Department of the University of Johannesburg, refers specifically to the Anglo American Chairman's Fund. This Fund "considers that shortcomings in black education strain South Africa's social fabric more than any other factor".¹⁵⁶ Private sector involvement in education in South Africa in the 1980s saw three forms: the establishment of independent trusts to administer these projects; joint ventures with the Department of Educational Training; as well as in-service training.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, in 1982, even newspapers were becoming involved in the funding of black education, as is evident in the *Star's* endeavour entitled "Adopt-A-School" which it defended as being a caring concern - "it is not paternalism, but vital partnership" - as a *Star* editorial noted.¹⁵⁸ Chisholm argues that the skills shortage postulation played a very powerful part in negotiating the discourse of legitimation and that it serves as a metaphor through which consent to reconstruction was won. In her view, this was crucially necessary in the 1980s, when it became increasingly apparent that the failure of Bantu Education could no longer be denied, to make way for the ideological incorporation of sectors of the black population of South Africa.¹⁵⁹

In conclusion, Edgar Brooks summarised this chapter's historical sentiment succinctly claiming that the history of black education in South Africa had, in the past, been "too humane to prohibit it ... too human to encourage it."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. p.397.

¹⁵⁷ L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. pp. 297 – 298.

¹⁵⁸ *The Star*, 1982-09-02.

¹⁵⁹ L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*. 1984. pp. 405 – 406.

¹⁶⁰ Edgar Brookes as quotes in F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 73.

Chapter 3: Full Marx: Marxist interpretations of black schooling

Introduction

This chapter will seek to analyse why exactly the so-called Marxist historians argue that the history of marginalising the black community through education finds its roots in the years preceding the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This is in contrast to the liberal point of view that the 1953 Bantu Education Act served as a pivotal, watershed moment in ensuring a cheap, exploitable labour force for the country, a view which is to be considered in the next chapter.

In order to fully understand the extent of what these Marxist historians allude to, it is necessary to provide a brief Marxist theoretical overview. As Marxism is an incredibly vast and complex ideology, only a very succinct analysis will be attempted, specifically focusing on terms and ideas that are of particular relevance to this study. This includes, notably, the process of capital accumulation, labour reproduction and the importance of the class structure within a capitalist society. Thereafter, this chapter will analyse a variety of articles, written by historians who fall within this Marxist framework.

Academics in this category who have been identified as being relevant as explained below, include most notably Pam Christie and Colin Collins, for their work based specifically on the educational situation preceding apartheid, as well as the Marxist historian Martin Legassick, who has written a vast body of work that approaches South African history from a Marxist interpretation. Although his focus is not predominantly on education, but rather on the capitalist accumulation and labour reproduction process as a whole, it provides insight into the Marxist approach. He does, however, often allude to the contentious issue of education. Furthermore, the work of Marvin Hartwig and Rachel Sharp will be examined as they study the role of the state in the accumulation process in South Africa. In addition, Harold Wolpe, the South African sociologist and political activist whose array of work focuses on the role of capital distribution in notably rural areas and the historian John Davies' stance on capital accumulation will also be considered. It should also be noted that a historian who has made significant headway in the endeavour of studying South

African history is Peter Kallaway, who served as the editor of two key publications consulted in this dissertation. Kallaway can be categorised within the Marxist trajectory of this study, as he identifies with the view pertaining to capital accumulation, which will be explained later in this chapter. However, due to his editorial role in these publications and his articles not being entirely relevant for the purposes of this study, Kallaway has been omitted from this chapter. Once the individual historians have been examined, an attempt will be made to place their historical stances into context to understand the rationale behind their reasoning.

Marxist theory

In order to fully understand the implications of what it is that the Marxist historians in this dissertation allude to, one needs to have a grasp of Marxist theory. Historians, like other academics, are selective in their usage of Marxism. This raises the question of whether or not a study can still constitute as being Marxist in its nature, when several elements of Marxism are omitted, and whether it should rather be rephrased as merely constituting Marxist elements as opposed to being Marxist in its entirety. Furthermore, M. Perry argues that Marxist history is informed by a plenitude of concepts, such as social relations of production, class struggle, mode of production and hegemony. As a result, one experiences an eclectic array of interpretations, where historians borrow certain Marxist categories to aid them in formulating their own historical ideas and explanations.¹⁶¹

It would appear that when the historians that this study focuses on define themselves as Marxist, or borrowing Marxist elements, it is for a very uncomplicated reason: their focus on class. The element of class also has a discernible amount of depth and complexity, but in simplest form they appear to focus on the class struggle that Karl Marx postulated in his writings, such as the *Communist Manifesto* and *Das Capital*.¹⁶²

Adversely, one needs to bear in mind that some critique of Marxism includes its economic “reductionism, determinism, schematism, and even . . . empiricism”.¹⁶³ Historians often take cognisance of these elements while expanding others.

¹⁶¹ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 18.

¹⁶² Karl Marx quoted in K. Löwith, *Meaning in history*, 1949. p. 33.

¹⁶³ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 21.

According to Bruce Mazlish, Marxism places emphasis on not only the “plight of the working class”, but it also focuses on the “interests of the capitalists”, thus not a narrow focus on merely one single class.¹⁶⁴

A key Marxist notion is that “all history has been a history of class struggles”.¹⁶⁵ Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels themselves wrote that:

as in private life one differentiates between what a man thinks and says of himself and what he really is and does, so in historical struggles one must distinguish still more the phrases and fancies of parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves from their reality.¹⁶⁶

When stating that all history is “the history of class struggles”, Marx alludes to the feudal system, however, this hypothesis extends to mercantilism and later capitalism.¹⁶⁷ In terms of capitalistic society, Marx argues that the use-value of materialised labour is its utility, as labour has been materialised.¹⁶⁸

Huw Beynon, a Marxist sociologist, suggests that class serves as a double-edged sword which is both a useful and a problematic concept for historians.¹⁶⁹ Perry also further supports this stance when referring to the nature of exploitation.¹⁷⁰ Due to the structure of exploitation, where the employer, lord or master is responsible for exploiting those who work for them, we find a clash of interests and a subsequent class struggle.¹⁷¹ This also falls within the explanation that societies are shaped by a multiplicity of layers, ranging from the most to the least powerful.¹⁷² Thus Marxist historians in this regard would have to focus on more than just the class struggle, by identifying the discrepancy between the so-called “phrases of fancies” and real interests of both the missionary educators and the apartheid government. In the

¹⁶⁴ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 222.

¹⁶⁵ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 231.

¹⁶⁶ Marx, K and Engels, F., in B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 238.

¹⁶⁷ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 269.

¹⁶⁸ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 269.

¹⁶⁹ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 44.

¹⁷⁰ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 3.

¹⁷¹ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 3.

¹⁷² M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 44.

hypothesis that Bantu Education was implemented as a legislative manner in which to maintain control of a cheap and deliberately ill-educated work force, one finds great resonance with Marxist theory that “the only wheels that set political economy in motion are greed”.¹⁷³ The conflict thus has always and will always be between the oppressor and the oppressed.¹⁷⁴ Within a capitalist system the oppressor would be the capitalists and the oppressed would be the workers.¹⁷⁵ This can be related back to education in the state's approach to curriculum development and the implementation in South Africa of Bantu Education.

Karl Marx defined labour as:

a process going on between man and nature, a process in which man, through his own activity, institutes, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and nature . . . What happens is, not merely that the worker brings about a change of form in natural objects, at the same time, in the nature that exists apart from himself, he realizes his own purpose, the purpose which gives the law to his activities the purpose to which he has to subordinate his own will.¹⁷⁶

In line with this, Mazlish purports that labour is the materialistic basis of history.¹⁷⁷ K. Löwith agrees that the pivotal characteristic of Marx and Engels' work lies in its absorption of the class struggle and the relation of labour and capital into “a comprehensive historical pattern”.¹⁷⁸

The Marxist historians who are studied in this dissertation all emphasise the economic relations of production and aspects thereof, an aspect which Marx described as the “real foundation” of the class struggle.¹⁷⁹ The friction within this struggle is heightened when a certain stage of material growth comes into conflict

¹⁷³ Karl Marx quoted in B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 243.

¹⁷⁴ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 284.

¹⁷⁵ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 284.

¹⁷⁶ Karl Marx quoted in B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 255.

¹⁷⁷ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 255.

¹⁷⁸ K. Löwith, *Meaning in history*, 1949. p. 33.

¹⁷⁹ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 251.

with the existing methods of production.¹⁸⁰ These economic factors are also of immense importance, as they are “basic to the development of society”.¹⁸¹ This also resonates with Löwith's opinion that the mode of material production determines all processes of life.¹⁸²

Thus in every class society (such as South Africa) the social relations of production entail some level of exploitation, whereby the ruling class serves a special function, and while living off the fruits of the labour of the classes that are classified below them.¹⁸³ Human relations are also formed, according to Marx, by their explicit relationship with natural resources. In the South African context this relates to the expropriation of natural resources, such as gold. The deep-level mining that needs to be facilitated in South Africa to be profitable requires an exploitable labour force. Due to this relationship, the class struggle has become a more frank and open one.¹⁸⁴ This is echoed in the fact that states are fashioned in the image of the economic base.¹⁸⁵

Thus while “class” is often a primary objective for Marxist historians, one needs to bear in mind that it can always be interpreted subjectively, in terms of when a class becomes aware of its own interest and consciously struggles to achieve those interests.¹⁸⁶ This is where Marx made a distinction between a class-in-itself, which is a class in the objective sense of the word, and a class-for-itself, which is a class in the subjective.¹⁸⁷ J.E. Sullivan also alludes to the importance of this consciousness, where he contends that the consciousness of the working class is of particular importance in developing the division of labour.¹⁸⁸ In the South African context, this process of consciousness is notable, as one can see a class-for-itself forming when studying, for example, the Soweto Riots of 1976. Here students were no longer content with accepting, amongst many other grievances, the sub-standard education that they received in line with what was implemented under the Bantu Education Act.

¹⁸⁰ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 253.

¹⁸¹ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 299.

¹⁸² K. Löwith, *Meaning in history*, 1949. p. 42.

¹⁸³ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 37.

¹⁸⁴ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 37.

¹⁸⁵ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 40.

¹⁸⁶ J.E. Sullivan, *Prophets of the west*, 1970. p. 47.

¹⁸⁷ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 45.

¹⁸⁸ J.E. Sullivan, *Prophets of the west*, 1970. p. 47.

The evolution of the forces of production within a given society also correspond to a particular stage of economic development, which Marx then labelled as the mode of production. This historically includes primitive communism; the ancient mode of production; the Asiatic mode of production; feudalism and finally capitalism – which this dissertation focuses on. Marxists argue that different economic systems (such as feudalism, mercantilism and capitalism) all contain certain elements that will eventually lead to their downfall. Marxism thus focuses significantly on the working class' uprisings and the different stages through which these uprisings will manifest themselves, which will eventually lead to a “Marxist utopia”.¹⁸⁹

In criticism against Marx in this regard, Mazlish states that Marx stresses economic factors too blindly, and omits other factors that also affect the course of history. This critique is notable for the context of this dissertation as one cannot dispense of these factors when studying the development of either the missionary education system or the apartheid ideology.¹⁹⁰ Marx also excludes the importance of political leaders. Mazlish argues that these individuals exert significant influence in the course of history, and within the context under scrutiny in this study, this is certainly the case when studying W. W. M. Eiselen and his commission report that would form the foundations of the Bantu Education Act under the leadership of Verwoerd.¹⁹¹

Mazlish also provides a concise summary of the concept of “primary accumulation”, which has some relevance to the historical context of the missionary education systems and the Bantu Education Act (1953). Most notably, the notion that force is “the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power.”¹⁹² The paternalistic force and attitudes of missionary educators, and the more obvious force of apartheid legislation such as embodied in the Bantu Education Act, are of particular consequence here. Primary accumulation is the taproot of capitalism according to Marx, with exploitation of labour serving as its essence.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 39.

¹⁹⁰ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 301.

¹⁹¹ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 302.

¹⁹² M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 46.

¹⁹³ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 278.

In short, Marx attempted to show in his work how capitalism was steadily heading toward a fundamental, inevitable change.¹⁹⁴ In addition, Marxism also argues that the class struggle in itself is a product that comes directly from social relations of production. This in turn, plays a pivotal role, according to Marx, in determining the historical outcome of human history – most notably in relation to revolutionary crises.¹⁹⁵

Pam Christie and Colin Collins

In 1984, Pam Christie and Colin Collins published an article entitled *Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction*.¹⁹⁶ In examining the title, one can already infer that their stance is Marxist, as they refer to “labour reproduction”, which is key to the theory to which Marxists subscribe, particularly in a South African context. This article focuses very specifically on the educational milieu of the country, both preceding and after the apartheid government came to power in 1948. Christie and Collins argue that although the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was pivotal, the groundwork for it had been laid many years before by the missionary educators. Furthermore, Christie and Collins state explicitly how they will attempt to “outline a Marxist framework for considering Bantu Education”.¹⁹⁷

In order to understand the far-reaching affects of Bantu Education, one needs to be able to compare it to education before 1953. According to Christie and Collins, five thousand of the nine thousand schools designated for the black population were missionary schools prior to this legislation.¹⁹⁸ With Bantu Education, the central control of education shifted to the state. What is interesting about this statistic, however, is the extent of missionary control over education before apartheid. At this stage, nearly two thirds of all schools were missionary-run schools. Although that is a far cry from the complete state control over education under apartheid, it remained a resounding number of schools to exercise specifically Christian influence that

¹⁹⁴ B. Mazlish, *The riddles of history. The great speculators from Vico to Freud*, 1966. p. 305.

¹⁹⁵ M. Perry, *Marxism and history*, 2002. p. 46.

¹⁹⁶ In Peter Kallaway's *Apartheid and education*, 1984. pp. 160 – 183.

¹⁹⁷ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

¹⁹⁸ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 162.

extended to the black population who wished to educate themselves. This also indicates that the education of black South Africans can be seen as relatively inclusive and not entirely neglected by the white population of the country, at least in terms of numbers. The missionary schools did not all follow a clear syllabus, but they would have followed Christian values¹⁹⁹ and only provided a certain level of professionalism in terms of education, as several educators served a dual-purpose of a pastoral role and educator. However, despite these pitfalls, the missionary educators had the advantage of numbers and could exercise great influence over a large part of the black population. In essence, they did not exercise complete state control as with apartheid, but instead control over the intellectual and spiritual development of thousands of black learners. This they postulate was a very powerful tool in capitalist accumulation and labour reproduction.²⁰⁰

In analysing the development of the educational policy under the apartheid government, Christie and Collins state that the evolution of the blueprint of apartheid cannot be viewed in isolation and that the presence of the underlying class system is of vital importance.²⁰¹ This echoes Legassick's stance of the importance of context in comparing segregation and apartheid.²⁰² Christie and Collins thus focus predominantly on the broader economic interests as an indication of the "real contradictions in South African society."²⁰³ Thus they chose to focus not on the contradiction between the white racists and the black oppressed, but rather on the contradiction that the black proletariat posed to the white capitalists.²⁰⁴ They also reiterate Legassick's view of extra-economic coercion, which is discussed in much greater detail later in this chapter, in what they label a "coercive labour-repressive

¹⁹⁹ It is not unheard of in history for religious texts to be misconstrued to justify the oppression of one person by another. This phenomenon can be noted in the justification of slavery, the perceived "civilisation" of Africans in colonies by colonisers, segregation in America and apartheid in South Africa, to name but a few.

²⁰⁰ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 162.

²⁰¹ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 162.

²⁰² M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, p. 287.

²⁰³ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

²⁰⁴ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

form of economy”.²⁰⁵ In short, this Marxist ideology, in Christie and Collins' opinions, is not one of merely examining whether legislation was developed because of the prevailing racist attitudes at that time, but rather because of an essential need for a cheap, non-competitive labour force by the white capitalists.²⁰⁶ Subsequently, Christie and Collins' approach to education is one which is reliant on a relationship between the economic realities of South Africa at that time and state policy.²⁰⁷ They state clearly that central “to the consideration of schooling in a capitalist state is a theory of the reproduction of labour”.²⁰⁸ However, Christie and Collins argue that they do not focus on a theory of economic reductionism. This is because it would disregard the notion of capital as a social relation, as well as its part (in addition to the part of the class struggle) in ideological and political processes and capital accumulation and labour reproduction.²⁰⁹

Christie and Collins emphasise the correlation that the capitalist accumulation process is reliant on the success of a secure, functioning labour force.²¹⁰ Thus schools were to fill an important void in preparing the labour force for the life awaiting them. This included “the appropriate work ethic, attitudes, and willingness to participate in capitalist exchange relations”.²¹¹ What Christie and Collins note explicitly, which other Marxist historians are more prone to omit, is a specific focus on where exactly this labour reproduction is most effective at taking place. They do caution, however, against a “mechanistic approach” to the reproduction of labour through the state, as one of the state's functions is to ensure a general functioning of

²⁰⁵ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

²⁰⁶ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

²⁰⁷ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

²⁰⁸ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

²⁰⁹ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

²¹⁰ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 163.

²¹¹ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 164.

capitalist class relations, as opposed to the specific labour needs of capitalists interests.²¹²

Subsequently, one of the main arguments that Christie and Collins provide is contrary to what they coined the “liberals” to argue, which is that 1948 was a pivotal turning point in the approach on all domains of life to the black population of the country, and furthermore to 1953 specifically being a watershed moment in education. They argue that unequal educational structures were already firmly ensconced well before 1948. Moreover, segregationist schooling was already entrenched throughout the 1930s and 1940s, in an attempt to reproduce racial inequality by missionary schools.²¹³

Christie and Collins discuss the vast array of different schooling available to black learners, which resonates the findings of the Eiselen Commission of 1951. According to the Commission, these included private schools, subsidised mission schools, government schools and community or tribal schools – all of which followed their own curriculum.²¹⁴ Despite all these differences, Christie and Collins highlight the most striking similarity that all of these schools were subjected to and that was a lack of adequate funding.²¹⁵ In 1930, the *per capita* expenditure on schooling for a white student was £22.12.10, in comparison to £2.02.08 for a black student. This translates to black learners receiving just over nine percent of the funding of their white counterparts. In the years 1935 to 1940 the funding that black learners received was further decreased to just over eight percent in comparison to a white learner. In 1945, it would increase again to marginally above ten percent.²¹⁶ Already in these years, one can note a distinct attitude of neglect towards black education in terms of the funding that was allocated to black learners. To further illustrate the point of neglect, Christie and Collins highlight that in 1945, only 3,4 percent of black learners were

²¹² P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 164.

²¹³ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 165.

²¹⁴ Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951, p. 44.

²¹⁵ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 165.

²¹⁶ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 165.

attending post-primary classes.²¹⁷ This is indicative of the fact that schooling in the years before Bantu Education merely prepared black learners for a vocation in a structured, cheap and exploitable labour force.

Furthermore, Christie and Collins argue that the Natives Land Act (1913) also served as an important extra-economic coercive factor, which aided structures like schools in labour reproduction.²¹⁸ From an ideological point of view, they argue that segregated schools also served as a powerful tool in instilling the acceptance of colour castes in the minds of young learners. This separation, which occurred under the guise of missionary education for black learners, affirmed the division of different races, with the different systems preparing varying races for their respective roles in society, what they term the “sub- and super-ordinate positions”.²¹⁹ Thus Christie and Collins highlight how different schooling systems were utilised to reproduce social relations, specifically as black learners were receiving basic schooling, which in turn would ensure their position in the working class.²²⁰

This leads to the most significant observation of Christie and Collins in terms of education's role in a pre-apartheid society from a Marxist interpretation. In viewing education in terms of social relations, they state that the schooling of black learners was aimed specifically at the “reproduction of the sort of workers demanded by a capitalist system”.²²¹ The values that these black learners attained would equip them for a life in the working class. Core values such as “courtesy, honesty, cleanliness, punctuality and respect”²²² received great emphasis, as well as a certain familiarity with one of the two official languages: Afrikaans or English, as these were the languages these learners would speak to their employers once they entered the

²¹⁷ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 166.

²¹⁸ . Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 166.

²¹⁹ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 166.

²²⁰ Molteno, F., quoted in P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 165.

It should also be noted that in 1945, 76 percent of black learners at school were in the first four years of their schooling.

²²¹ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 167.

²²² P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 167.

workforce.²²³ Although several factors, such as missionary control and funding deficiencies, do indicate that black schools were not exclusively administered to mould workers for capitalist exploitation, the general functioning of these schools they believe points to the reproductive needs of capital being met by the schooling system.²²⁴

The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education of 1936, also more informally known as the Welsh Commission, highlights white attitudes towards the education of black learners as:

(a) it makes [black learners] lazy and unfit for manual work; (b) it makes him 'cheeky' and less docile as a servant; and (c) it estranges him from his own people and often leads him to despise his own culture The education of a white child prepares him for a life in a dominant society and the education of the black child for a subordinate society.²²⁵

This indicates the paternalistic attitudes prevalent in the period before apartheid and earlier where white opinion was one of justifying why, on both an intellectual and cultural level, the black community did not deserve a certain level of education. This argument of cultural estrangement that education would bring about to a black learner was further perpetuated in the rationale behind the Bantu Education Act and why education was predominantly to be funded in reserves. This can be seen in H.F. Verwoerd's speech in Senate in 1954 in his capacity as the Minister of Native Affairs, where he stated:

Deliberate attempts will be made to keep institutions for *advanced* education away from the urban environment and to establish them as far as possible in the Native reserves There is no place for him

²²³ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 167.

²²⁴ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 167.

²²⁵ B. Rose and R. Tunmer,(eds), *Documents in South African education*, 1975. p. 232.

in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.²²⁶

However, what is interesting to note in the two quotations above, is that this attitude was perpetuated already in the attitudes of the 1930s, as Christie and Collins argue. According to them, these provisions for unequal schooling were already the taproot of South Africa's social and economic structure for a substantial period before the apartheid government formalised the Bantu Education policy.²²⁷ They also focus on the changes that large-scale urbanisation brought about to the schooling of black communities in the 1940s. With urbanisation, black communities were now no longer participating in forms of social control, such as their tribal structures, which meant that they needed to be incorporated into the capitalist mode in other ways, with education being the most obvious one.²²⁸ Due to the rapid increase of black labourers and their families in urban areas, however, schooling systems were initially insufficiently geared towards the formation of a working class, in terms of the skills, values and ideologies acquired. As mentioned, these included punctuality and diligence.²²⁹ Pertaining to this, the evolution of the educational system is clear. Initially (as indicated in the Welsh Commission's quotation above), education was viewed as a negative force, which would hinder the development of a labour force. Once large-scale urbanisation took place, however, attitudes started shifting as it became apparent that education could in fact be used as a “method of control”. This notion was supported by the state in its attempts at coping with the demands of labour unrest and changing social conditions in 1945, by expanding funding to black education.²³⁰

All of these instances indicate that the Marxist views have substance, in that there was a definite sense of undermining the education of black learners before 1953. To Christie and Collins, specifically, these examples serve as a reminder that the Bantu

²²⁶ A.N. Pelzer, (ed.), *Verwoerd Speaks*. 1966. p.83.

²²⁷ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 168.

²²⁸ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 169.

²²⁹ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 169.

²³⁰ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 170.

Education Act was merely an expansion of attitudes that were already in place in the decades preceding it. Furthermore, they do note that Bantu Education and its emphasis on vocational training was indeed developed in terms of greater skill requirements as necessitated for capitalist accumulation, which is in line with their Marxist approach. However, they do not see the development of this legislation in isolation, but instead look at the economic and ideological perspectives in historical context, specifically in terms of labour reproduction and capitalist accumulation, thus essentially acted as a continuum of a system that was already in place.

Above all, Christie and Collins focus on the fact that education for black learners falls very much within a main purpose of reproducing “a certain kind of labour, as required by the particular form taken by the accumulation process at a particular time”.²³¹ They discard both the liberal and the so-called “Nationalist” notions, which focus on ideological struggles between liberalism and racialism, and inferior education for an inferior, non-threatening “African” respectively.²³² For Christie and Collins there is a “continuing thread” in black education in South Africa, which is related to certain capitalistic needs at the time. They note that this capitalist need for labour reproduction will constantly be changing, which means that approaches to black education will not remain stagnant either. They use the Welsh Commission (1936), as well as the Eiselen Commission (1951) to highlight this point, but take it even further when stating that the “historically changing reproduction of labour is the thread which holds together African schooling policies in South Africa where from the beginning the early white settlers set up a labour-exploitative state.”²³³

Martin Legassick

One of the most prominent South Africanist historians in terms of Marxist historiography is arguably Martin Legassick, specifically within the context of South African historiography. Christopher Saunders hails Legassick as “the single most

²³¹ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 182.

²³² P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 182.

²³³ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 183.

important figure in the radical challenge of the 1970s”.²³⁴ Saunders provides insight into the development of Legassick’s ideologies in his work *The making of the South African past*, detailing various aspects of his academic oeuvre. In examining Legassick’s various publications, Saunders details several of his Marxist hypotheses: how a capitalist system integrated people in South Africa to aid industrialisation in Europe; how segregation has its origins in the early twentieth century, and not earlier, because of the policy’s importance in the development of the modern economy; as well as demonstrating how certain key economic adaptations saw the birth of new class systems. Legassick also studied how these class systems affected the development of a racially segregated policy, in what he coined the “development of underdevelopment” in South Africa.²³⁵

Legassick does not frequently refer explicitly to education, both preceding the formalisation of the apartheid ideology in 1948 and in the years thereafter. He does, however, indirectly allude to education in what he terms “extra-economic coercion”.²³⁶ This phrase refers to various social aspects of the black populations’ lives, which they had very little control over in South Africa in the years before 1948. This coercion discernibly takes place on an economic level, as is implied semantically, but goes above and beyond what is usually expected of economic activities. Thus, the black population was under duress to develop in a certain way, for economic reasons and beyond. An example of extra-economic coercion would be a black person, in the years prior to apartheid, who would have preferred to receive greater skills training. However, due to that person’s skin colour and the prevailing ideology of segregation, that person would only have received basic education at the hands of his local missionary educators. This education, according to the Marxists, would only equip this individual with the bare necessities, such as a basic command of the English language and elementary literacy.²³⁷ These skills would in turn all benefit the capital accumulation process, by preparing this black South African for a life of “following their employers’ instructions” and to be able to do basic tasks such

²³⁴ C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past*, 1988. p. 167.

²³⁵ M. Legassick in C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past*, 1988. p. 169.

²³⁶ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 253.

²³⁷ M. Hartwig, & R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 304.

as “filling out forms for themselves”²³⁸. Consequently, an unskilled labour force was deliberately bred for economic purposes, by excluding blacks from education and skills development, hence the extra-economic coercion argument. This is in line with Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp's view that educators used their vocation to “safeguard the reproduction of labour power consistent with the continuation of the capital class rule.”²³⁹

Legassick focuses on these uncompromising forms of extra-economic coercion that the black labour force in South Africa was exposed to. One can work on the assumption that education is indeed a factor which is used by capitalists to hegemonise their black labour force, due to the lasting impact that education, or indeed the lack thereof, can have. Understandably, the term “extra-economic coercion” can be interpreted in various different contexts. However, it must thus be said that in the specific context of this dissertation and because of the nature of this study, extra-economic coercion is approached from an educational milieu.

In Legassick's *South Africa: capital accumulation and violence*²⁴⁰ it becomes apparent that he is very much in favour of the argument that the ideals of both segregation and apartheid developed in conjunction with the development of industrial powers and the subsequent process of capital accumulation in South Africa. This most notably originates from the discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa in 1867 and 1886 respectively.²⁴¹ He briefly frames a history of South Africa in this specific article, from a Marxist perspective. It is imperative to discuss this history, albeit succinctly, in order to grasp the depth of his opinion regarding extra-economic coercion.

Legassick proposes a mandate that South Africa is a unique case in terms of its capitalist development, due to what he coins “the pervasiveness of its system of

²³⁸ M. Hartwig & R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 315.

²³⁹ M. Hartwig & Sharp, R., 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 323.

²⁴⁰ In *Economy and society*, 3(3), pp. 253 – 291.

²⁴¹ As inferred from M. Legassick's article, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. pp. 253 – 291.

racial differentiation”.²⁴² According to him, the twentieth-century mode of production for South Africa was capitalist, which falls within the historical context of this study. Unlike Europe's capitalist evolution, South Africa managed in its capitalist development, to steer clear of the general assumption that a so-called bourgeois democracy is obligatory. Rather, the South African capitalist model developed with relation to its internal and international trajectory.²⁴³ In this differentiation in terms of the country's development, Legassick's argument is that in South Africa, as the labour commodities and the need thereof developed, so too did oppressive measures. Legassick further affirms this point when referring to dominant modes of production. He shuns slavery in South Africa as a dominant mode of production, as there is no “ownership” over the exploited people in South Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in contrast to other parts of the world at that time.²⁴⁴ Similarly, he repudiates feudalism in South Africa, as “the workforce has been separated from ownership of the dominant means of production.”²⁴⁵ Crucially, Legassick yet again refers to the characteristic extreme extra-economic coercion of the greater part of the work force in South Africa's capitalistic system. Within this system, extra-economic coercion increases the volume of surplus appropriation, which carries a high volume.²⁴⁶ In essence, history is an entirely unique process for individual states, which means that the development of South African capitalism is duly unlike capitalism in any other part of the world.

This system of the evolution of the capitalist class in South Africa finds its genesis, according to Legassick, in the changes in surplus extraction, a process that would unfold at the hands of colonial powers. This includes the Dutch East India Company, Britain and other European powers.²⁴⁷ The so-called “indigenous peasantry” started

²⁴² M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 253.

²⁴³ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 255.

²⁴⁴ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 255.

²⁴⁵ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 255.

²⁴⁶ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 256.

²⁴⁷ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 257.

producing surplus because of new modes of production introduced by colonial forces. However, this surplus was redistributed, which Legassick argues led in turn to the underdevelopment of the areas of the country that still remained under black “ownership”.²⁴⁸ Consequently, one can argue that capital accumulation, labour production and surplus products and its subsequent redistribution can all be linked to disadvantaged communities, as far back as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cultural differences between the colonisers and the local population, as well as the natural hierarchies that accompanied these new modes of production, all lend a hand to the expansion of institutions and ideologies that would be based on discrimination, both racially and culturally.²⁴⁹ Ultimately, however, capital accumulation was the order of the day for these colonisers. All ideologies and institutions that would follow were mere continuations of their capitalist ventures.

Legassick further explains the process of the development of capitalism, in relation to historical events such as the discovery of minerals in the nineteenth century, consequent industrialisation and deep-level mining (1890); the South African War (1899 - 1902); as well as the First and Second World Wars (1914 – 1918 and 1939 – 1945 respectively) that would see South Africa experience a manufacturing boom.²⁵⁰ Legassick ultimately uses the economic consequences of these historical events to indicate the role that they played in labour-relations and notably how they initially created and later perpetuated the need for a cheap, unskilled labour force. The institutions and ideologies of the capitalist state generated a marked division in the working class.²⁵¹ Legassick argues that white privilege was used to justify the lack of privilege for the black community during this phase in history. In relation to this lack of privilege, extra-economic coercion and its associated ultra-exploitation was for the first time given an explanation in terms of race, as opposed to class. However, Marxist historians, and their class-related hypotheses, contend that it was not about race, but always about class, despite appearances and rationale apparent at that

²⁴⁸ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 258.

²⁴⁹ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 259.

²⁵⁰ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. pp. 260 – 264.

²⁵¹ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 265.

time.²⁵² This was because South Africa could only compete economically on an international level because of its cheap, black labour force, which it secured so decisively through the long-term consequences of extra-economic coercion.²⁵³

In an attempt to further keep their labour force “uneducated”, capitalists came to the realisation that they would need to install barriers against free black urbanisation, that is an encroachment on the white population and their privileges and jobs in the cities. One of the many ways the capitalists would perpetuate their control would be through schools in black reserves, by endorsing the idea to pupils in their formative years that only the patriarchs should urbanise, leaving their families behind.²⁵⁴ The capitalists also strengthened their hold in the reserves by gaining a firm grip on social control through salaried African chiefs who would serve as a mouthpiece for their intentions, in addition to taxes.²⁵⁵ One can infer that these intentions would have included encouraging young learners to attend school in an effort to improve themselves, whereas these pliable young minds were merely being shaped to suit the desired mould of the capitalists.

Notably, Legassick also highlights the argument that the development of this apartheid sphere is a completely natural one, given the requirements of the capitalists. He further highlights that these “stringent” forms of extra-economic coercion became harsher as time passed, despite some arguments that the instruments of this extra-economic coercion would erode as the urban industrial economy grew in South Africa.²⁵⁶ According to him, this phenomenon took place due to the interest of capital growth.

All of these factors, although largely economic, have a direct correlation to the development, or rather, the underdevelopment of the labour force. In an attempt to

²⁵² M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 265.

²⁵³ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 265.

²⁵⁴ M. Hartwig & R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 320.

²⁵⁵ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 259.

²⁵⁶ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 269.

reproduce a labour force consistent with the needs of the country's economy, it was necessary to coerce the workers in being “deliberately unskilled”.²⁵⁷ As the Marxist theorists argue that apartheid is simply a continuation of the ideologies and institutions associated with segregation, which the capitalists set in motion to support accumulation, so too can one argue that Bantu Education correlates with the theory of labour reproduction and extra-economic coercion. This indicates that Bantu Education had a formidable predecessor in the years preceding the 1953 legislation, that lay the foundations for this educational policy. Thus, because of the need for a cheap labour force, the Marxists argue that education, specifically as a tool of undermining the development of a certain group of people had been in place long before Bantu Education. Legassick does argue that the extra-economic coercion tactics were notably strengthened as urbanisation grew, but that notion indicates that the tactics were secured in place before the large-scale urbanisation that South Africa experienced, notably from the 1930s onwards.²⁵⁸ With the advent of apartheid, education was approached in a new way, according to Legassick, where tools (such as education) would be diverted to reserves, due to the lower costs associated with it.²⁵⁹ Ultimately, he states that context is of immense value when studying this period of resounding duality in terms of its development of different races and that context is entirely based on the economic interests and subsequent labour reproduction of capitalists.²⁶⁰

Other historians

Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp specifically look at the role of the state in the accumulation process in South Africa, specifically from the 1960s.²⁶¹ It would appear that their article does not fall within the Marxist framework that this dissertation specifically focuses on, which is that the marginalisation of black education in South

²⁵⁷ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 269.

²⁵⁸ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 276.

²⁵⁹ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 276.

²⁶⁰ M. Legassick, 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence' in *Economy and society*, 1977. p. 287.

²⁶¹ M. Hartwig, and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 296.

Africa preceded apartheid policy. However, this article is of value in this instance, insofar as the fact that it provides an umbrella history of South Africa from a Marxist point of view, thus touching briefly on education preceding apartheid; and for its Marxist tendencies in terms of capital accumulation and labour reproduction – two aspects that are crucial to Marxist historiography pertaining to South Africa.

Hartwig and Sharp discuss in great detail the genesis of the capital accumulation process in South Africa, and how different modes of production were developed in the course of history. They focus on initially capitalism reaching the shores of South Africa at the hands of the Dutch East India Company and the British colonisers and how that started instilling notions of both subservience and dominance for the indigenous populations and colonisers respectively.²⁶² They also note the watershed moment in South African history, when diamonds and gold were discovered, as this brought a new face to capital accumulation, that of productive or finance capital.²⁶³ This is important, as it creates a need for a low-wage proletariat, which met the requirements of maximum capital accumulation in the process of deep-level mining, specifically. In the light of this development, we see the development of a racially exclusive bourgeois democracy that came to the foreground of the country's economic and political playing fields.²⁶⁴ This would extend not only to all major sectors of the economy, but also to the small manufacturing sector and agriculture in white-owned rural areas.²⁶⁵

In Hartwig and Sharp's opinion, all the developments in South Africa's economy were led by economic traits that Marx described as “capital accumulation” and “labour reproduction”.²⁶⁶ This specifically relates to the state's attempts to guarantee a cheap, black labour force and by entrusting power only to those classes that would

²⁶² M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. pp. 298 – 299.

²⁶³ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 303.

²⁶⁴ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 305.

²⁶⁵ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 305.

²⁶⁶ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 305.

ensure the continuation of capital's hegemony.²⁶⁷ It is here that Hertwig and Sharp also dismiss the “liberal” view of apartheid's origins lying in the 1948 elections, while they rather purport that the context of capitalism and its resultant accumulation is of the utmost importance.²⁶⁸ According to them, black individuals' rights were marginalised because any “thorough going incorporation of the black working class was not a viable option for capital in 1948”.²⁶⁹

The manner in which Hartwig and Sharp deal with education is much like that of Legassick. They do not concentrate on education specifically, but rather as extra-economic coercion. Hartwig and Sharp note how increasingly draconian measures were being followed in the years preceding apartheid in an attempt to control the class struggle.²⁷⁰ They consider legislation such as the Apprentices Acts of 1922 and 1944 amongst others, legislation that attempted to undermine the development of skilled black labourers.²⁷¹ This meant that by the 1940s and 1950s, South Africa was experiencing acute shortages of skilled construction workers. It can subsequently be argued that the reason that skills development ensued under state control in 1953 was because of labour reproduction for capitalist accumulation, as well as to rectify the legacy of these two Acts. This is in contrast to the opinions of apartheid's architects that it was about cultural differences, as indicated earlier in Verwoerd's 1954 Senate speech. Verwoerd's ideals succeeded, as can be seen in the fact that 54 percent of black schools in South Africa were located in the homelands in 1972, as opposed to a mere 28 percent three years earlier.²⁷² These statistics point towards the “success” that the NP government's policies were able to achieve in a short space of time.

²⁶⁷ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 306.

²⁶⁸ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 311.

²⁶⁹ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 312.

²⁷⁰ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 317.

²⁷¹ M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 320.

²⁷² M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 324.

Another Marxist historian to take note of is Harold Wolpe. In his article *Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid*, Wolpe identifies key differences between apartheid and segregation, which he explains in reference to various modes of production.²⁷³ Wolpe's work attempts to find certain gaps in the approach that Legassick has towards Marxist views of the development of segregation and apartheid. However, it appears that these two intellectuals are in agreement about a variety of issues, such as “social services” being provided to the black community as a means of control and how this would form the basis of maintaining a cheap labour force.²⁷⁴

Wolpe argues that the black population of South Africa has historically been undermined by Europeans establishing economic dominance, first by British imperialists and later by capitalism and its subsequent development.²⁷⁵ Wolpe also discusses in great detail the evolution of the accumulation process, from an initial dual economy to the reproduction of a labour force and the maintenance of the rate of surplus value.²⁷⁶

Wolpe argues that local economies were deliberately underdeveloped by the capitalist sector by the 1920s, so that they could not present a threat to white farmers.²⁷⁷ He also states the importance of the reserves for capitalist accumulation, as the burden of responsibility regarding education would fall to the hands of the black community or missionary stations, as opposed to the state. Families would “relieve the capitalist sector and its State from the need to expend resources on these necessary functions”²⁷⁸ which in turn would cost the state less money, while

²⁷³ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), pp. 425 – 456.

²⁷⁴ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 427.

²⁷⁵ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 431.

²⁷⁶ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 430 – 432.

²⁷⁷ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 433.

²⁷⁸ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 435.

black labourers could also not compete with their white counterparts.²⁷⁹ Wolpe contends that the policy of segregation was specifically to maintain productive capacities of the black communities, through various avenues such as education, as a means of securing the reproduction of the migrant working class.²⁸⁰ It was also on the capitalist agenda to use whatever means they could find to ensure that the black population was controlled and to safeguard what Wolpe called “labour aristocracy” for white workers.²⁸¹

Thus, while also not explicitly stating that education was used as a tool to undermine the black population of the country, Wolpe does allude to an ideology which “sustains and reproduces capitalist relations of production” at virtually any cost.²⁸² This then has relevance to this dissertation, as education is indeed an extension of control exercised by capitalists and their accumulation process.

John Davies also falls within the Marxist category of writing, which places the impetus of establishing a cheap, exploitable labour force on capital accumulation. Davies is unique in that he focuses on educational reform in South Africa from a point of view of the role of capital and the state. Most of his research in *Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa* is focused on the years after the Soweto uprisings of 1976 where the apartheid government espoused what it coined a “total strategy” in reaction to a “total onslaught”.²⁸³ However, part of his research also aims to establish the roots of the motivation behind educational reform, which will be of particular interest in this study.

Davies places emphasis on the benefit that capital gained from its relationship with both segregation and apartheid. He argues that the key protest of the Soweto riots was not one exclusively against Afrikaans as a language of tuition, or even of Bantu

²⁷⁹ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 435.

²⁸⁰ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 439.

²⁸¹ H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 446.

²⁸² H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid' in *Economy and Society*, 1(4), p. 454.

²⁸³ J. Davies, 'Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 341.

Education, but also a protest against capitalism.²⁸⁴ One can then deduce that the students protesting in 1976 were speaking out against a system that had been in place long before Bantu Education, or even the apartheid system. This, according to Davies, is because capital accumulation goes hand-in-hand with its aspirations to “moderate the most obviously repressive features of the racial hierarchy”.²⁸⁵

The contentious issue of Bantu Education is also brought to light by Davies. He concedes that the legislation of 1953 was established to enable black learners to slot into the cheap labour “machine” that the apartheid state was ensuring for capitalists. White South Africans also relied on Bantu Education to limit the opportunities for black labourers, thus creating a more stable workforce for themselves.²⁸⁶ However, Davies also recognises that repressive educational measures precede apartheid due to the capitalist need for labour reproduction.²⁸⁷ He also alludes to “education for economic growth” which he implies has always been on the agenda of reform in the country when considering education, both preceding and towards the end of apartheid. In summary, although Davies pays little attention to missionary or state education before 1948, he places a great deal of emphasis on capital and how it served as a driving force in “educating” the black population in South Africa.²⁸⁸

Marxist writings in historical context

In the light of the analyses above, it is imperative to note both the economic and the social contexts from which these historians wrote. Of the historians Harold Wolpe and Martin Legassick it is interesting to note that their writings date 1974 and 1975 respectively. This was during a period in South African history immediately before the Soweto uprisings of 1976. It can thus be said that there were rising, almost tangible tensions in the country, specifically after the State of Emergency that had been declared after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, in 83 districts in the country.

²⁸⁴ J. Davies, 'Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 343.

²⁸⁵ J. Davies, 'Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 344.

²⁸⁶ J. Davies, 'Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 350.

²⁸⁷ J. Davies, 'Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 347.

²⁸⁸ J. Davies, 'Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 366.

Legassick was also an anti-apartheid activist, who at that time was experiencing the turmoil in South Africa vicariously, as he was based in London at the time of his publication.²⁸⁹ In the light of this, Legassick became involved in trying to ascertain the origins of the differentiating class systems in South Africa at that time. It can thus be said that his article is a direct reaction to the South African *zeitgeist* through the eyes of a former student of the University of Cape Town.²⁹⁰

Similarly, Harold Wolpe wrote his article as a spectator from abroad, after moving to the United Kingdom in exile. This followed his arrest in 1963, due to his involvement in his legal capacity with political detainees. Thus Wolpe approaches Marxist South African history in an attempt to understand the situation in South Africa, in which he was personally embroiled.²⁹¹

Interestingly, Christie and Collins, Hartwig and Sharp and Wolpe all contribute to Peter Kallaway's *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*. This book provides a variety of chapters on a spectrum of aspects relating to the education of black South Africans under the National Party government towards the end of its political dominance. Subsequently one can argue that the publication enjoys the advantage of wisdom in hindsight. Only select chapters of Kallaway's book were studied for this aspect of this dissertation. What is remarkable to note is the number of historians that fall within a Marxist framework that Kallaway included in his book in comparison to historians that fall within the more "liberal" mould, as Christie and Collins termed them. There could be a variety of reasons for this, though most notably for the purposes of this study, is the context of their writings. South Africa in 1984, during the time of publication, was a country facing profound challenges. The country was on the eve of a State of Emergency that would be declared in 1985 and 1986 respectively, due to enormous resistance and violence aimed at the apartheid system. Robert Ross states that the violence was so intense that over a quarter of black deaths in some larger cities in the country were not natural and a half of those

²⁸⁹ C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past*, 1988. p. 165.

²⁹⁰ C. Saunders, *The making of the South African past*, 1988. p. 163.

²⁹¹ Dan O'Meara's address at the inaugural conference of the Harold Wolpe memorial trust, titled *The engaged intellectual and the struggle for a democratic South Africa*.

deaths were the result of homicides.²⁹² This violence was caused by social degradation of life on both reserves and townships for the black population of the country, as the last extremes of apartheid were implemented.²⁹³ Township revolt became commonplace and it became increasingly difficult to distinguish between criminality and political resistance.²⁹⁴ It was becoming blatantly apparent that the apartheid system was failing.

It is thus unsurprising, that historians would be inclined to reflect back to recent history (relatively speaking) in an attempt to understand the way forward. Notably, the historians in this chapter point the finger of blame to capitalist accumulation and labour reproduction, singling out these economic factors as the guilty culprit in the development of the apartheid ideology. Although this assumption can be criticised for being overly-simplistic as it is not in depth, it attempts merely to categorise the historians' approaches for the purposes of this study. All the historians, as indicated in the main body of this chapter, follow finely nuanced and well-researched narratives as to why they rationalise capitalist accumulation to have had lasting and damaging effects on the country. A variety of analyses of South Africa's history, as approached from a Marxist point of view exist. These historians attempt to ascertain how the development of an economic system, such as capitalism, could lead to the crisis that South Africa faced in 1984. Certainly, it seems to be the case that economically, capital was a colossal force in the development and justification of ideology. However, other aspects, such as racist ideology and social engineering and its purposes, should not be disregarded.

Thus, in conclusion, the views that these historians ascribe to are arguably a reaction to the immediate economic and social circumstances in which they found themselves in 1984. One cannot discount their viewpoints, based on wisdom in hindsight, as we approach their work from a liberated South Africa that has overcome some seemingly impossible obstacles. However, as we analyse the educational legacy that so many South Africans are affected by today, it does not seem disproportionate to consider

²⁹² R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008. p. 161.

²⁹³ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008. p. 162.

²⁹⁴ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008. p. 163.

that the scarring legacy of deliberately marginalising education reaches far beyond the initial legislation of Bantu Education of 1953.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter attempted to analyse why exactly the so-called Marxist historians argue that the history of marginalising the black community through education finds its roots in the years preceding the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This view is in sharp contrast with the liberal stance which sees the 1953 Bantu Education Act as watershed.

All of these historians wrote during a period where South Africa's prospects and the security of the apartheid state appeared to be tenuous. This uncertain and increasingly violent period in South Africa's history could have led them to revise the reason for the state of affairs in the 1970s and 1980s, most notably focusing on the economic implications and legacy of capitalism, its associated accumulation and labour reproduction. The violent, tumultuous period in history, as the apartheid system was being resisted in a violent armed struggle, clearly played a role in the development of the arguments by these historians.

Thus is apparent that the context in which these historians write is of resounding importance, as it appears to have profoundly impacted their views on South Africa at that time, notably from a Marxist perspective.

Chapter 4: Old-school: traditional Bantu Education historiography

Introduction

This chapter will analyse the so-called traditional historiography with regards to Bantu Education. As indicated, this is the second school of thought to be explored in this dissertation. In contrast to the Marxist historians discussed in the previous chapter, these historians postulate that 1953 was a seminal moment in marginalising, segregated education for black pupils. They have been termed the “traditional” historians, based on the reference made to them by Christie and Collins in their article discussed above.²⁹⁵

An array of historians will be examined, whose writings stretch over a vast period of time. The historians can roughly be divided into four chronological groups. The first group of historians serve as commentators in the period directly succeeding the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and include R.H.W. Shepherd and N. Blamires. The second group of historical commentators on Bantu Education were writing in the proverbial “thick of it” during the 1960s and 1970s, including P.A. Duminy, J.J. Ross, W.M. Kgware, J.J de Wet, J. van S. Bruwer, Brian W. Rose and W.G. McConkey. The third group of historians wrote their analyses of Bantu Education during the critical period in the late 1980s and early 1990s when an inevitable post-apartheid society was becoming a reality in the minds of most South Africans. These historians include Bill Nasson, John Samuel and Jonathan Hyslop. The last group of traditional historians wrote their discussions after the advent of the new South Africa, including the work of Cynthia Kros, Scott Couper and Bekisizwe S. Ndimande.

It should be noted from a semantic point of view that ‘traditional’ does not refer to being conservative or indicate that these historians belong to a group more aligned to the political right. On the contrary, many of the historians in this chapter write from a liberal, post-apartheid point of view. This term was selected on the basis that Marxist historians, who were discussed earlier in the dissertation, often refer to the view

²⁹⁵ P. Christie and C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 182.

enunciated in this particular chapter (that 1953 was a pivotal moment in educational history) as the 'traditional' view.²⁹⁶ Thus this term was selected as an umbrella concept to denote all historians who believed that Bantu Education was a watershed in marginalising education, irrespective of their alignment to being apartheid apologists or active opponents.

It should be noted that for the purposes of this dissertation that these historians will not be discussed in this chronological order. Rather, due consideration will be given to the historical merit and substance of their writings. It is unsurprising that the historians who wrote with the truism of wisdom in hindsight had greater historical sources at their disposal, and as a result their research is more elaborate than those academics who commented on the Bantu Education Act immediately after its promulgation.

Thereafter, these historians will be placed within their respective historical contexts, in order to gauge whether their opinions are formed as a result of their immediate political climates. In this particular section of the chapter, the historians will be discussed within the aforementioned, four chronological groups.

Cynthia Kros

One contemporary local historian in the field of Bantu Education is Cynthia Kros. Her substantial doctoral thesis, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, explores the genesis of the oppressive Bantu Education Act (1953) by investigating the seminal role that W.W.M. Eiselen played in the formulation of the policy. Kros researched Eiselen's life and personal history, which enabled and shaped his world-view. This includes an anthropological²⁹⁷ and linguistic overview of Eiselen, who interestingly was the offspring of a missionary himself, and thus no stranger to the role that missionaries played in the colonial education system. All of these factors had a profound impact on his approach to what he regarded as appropriate educational measures regarding the education of black South Africans. Kros approached her thesis with a resoundingly traditional approach and it is

²⁹⁶ P. Christie & C. Collins, "Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education. The education of black South Africans*, 1984. p. 162.

²⁹⁷ Kros refers to the anthropologists Junod and Malinowski in her thesis.

apparent that she is in full support of the fact that Bantu Education was a milestone in the development (or in this case, rather the under-development) of black education. Her thesis would later be condensed into a more succinct, published work entitled, *The seeds of separate development*.²⁹⁸ In addition, Kros contributed to Peter Kallaway's *The history of education under apartheid, 1948 – 1994*, in a chapter which related to Eiselen.

Kros's thesis argues that the eventual development of the Bantu Education policy strayed from the Eiselen Commission's original recommendations. She points out the paternalistic nature of what Bantu Education would become, insofar as that the black population would receive some financial assistance from the state, but would be encouraged to participate actively in the financing of their own education through taxes.²⁹⁹ Kros is highly critical of the apartheid government's limited focus on key recommendations by the Eiselen Commission, highlighting discrepancies in the limited resources eventually reserved for funding the education of black pupils, in addition to the restricted focus of the implantation of the system. Kros, as with most other historians who fall within this dissertation's traditional discourse, argues that Bantu Education would merely become an extension of the apartheid government's agenda.³⁰⁰ Marginalising education was thus a form of social engineering that the NP government was so adept at applying to all spheres of life.

According to Kros, the Bantu Education Act can subsequently be regarded as a seminal moment in which black education would become formally separated from white education, and intrinsically linked to the state. This is a formative moment in the development of South African education and would lay the foundations of decades of irrefutable damage to the fabric of the country's society. H.F. Verwoerd, who at that stage was the Minister of Native Affairs, on various occasions made the intentions of Bantu Education clear. He stated that it prepared the black population of the country for the position that was reserved for them in society. Kros highlights the devastating impact that this Act would have, by focusing on the inclusion in black curricula of

²⁹⁸ C. Kros, *Seeds of separate development: Origin of Bantu Education*, 2010.

²⁹⁹ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p. 2.

³⁰⁰ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. pp. 2 - 3.

subjects such as “agriculture and handwork”.³⁰¹ In addition, the impact of unmanageable teacher to pupil ratios in black schools contributed, Kros argues, to the disintegration of the quality of black education.³⁰² The aforementioned all point towards the direct impact that Bantu Education had on the decay of quality education and thus indicates that the Act was indeed a pivotal moment in South Africa’s history. Kros lays the blame at the feet of Eiselen, as his recommendations directly implicated the government in its attempts to perpetuate its ideologies at a grass-root level of South African societies.³⁰³

The traditional mould of Bantu Education historiography relies on the realisation that Bantu Education cannot be studied in isolation, and that it is inherently part of the broader apartheid framework.³⁰⁴ Kros is no stranger to the fact that Bantu Education had one “success” – in that it enabled more black pupils to attend school – however, the quantity of pupils is certainly not correlated to quality schooling in the case of Bantu Education.

The implementation of Bantu Education also brought with it tremendous struggles pertaining to conflicts regarding, *inter alia* local and central governments, financing, and language. Kros’s analysis of the course that Bantu Education followed is very much in conflict to the premise of a Marxist historiographical view. Although she has praise for the work of Peter Kallaway’s *Apartheid and education*, which has been analysed in chapter three, she is hesitant to concur with the Marxist hypothesis as set out by Christie and Collins in this volume. She states that one of the major downfalls of their theory lies in its representation of both “the ‘state’ and ‘capital’ as more or less synonymous, and their relationship to one another as complementary and unproblematic”.³⁰⁵ Kros further labelled their hypothesis as narrow and “functionalist”.³⁰⁶

However, Kros is not entirely oblivious to the merit of some of the Marxist interpretations. She lauds J. Hyslop for his argument pertaining to the various forms

³⁰¹ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p.3.

³⁰² C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p. 3.

³⁰³ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p. 4.

³⁰⁴ Kros refers here to the work of Muriel Horrell in *A decade of Bantu Education*, 1964.

³⁰⁵ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p.16.

³⁰⁶ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p.17.

of resistance on state policies, in addition to Wolpe's warning against ascribing education to an omnipotent role in social reproduction.³⁰⁷ In Kros's mind, however, despite the merit of some Marxist theories, one cannot understand the role of Bantu Education without comprehending how it would assist in the development of the NP's approach and reformulation of the so-called 'Native Question'.³⁰⁸ Kros does not lay the blame of the formulation of Bantu Education as a legacy of the paternalism instilled by colonial missionaries, but rather links it to intellectual discourses which first became apparent in the 1920s. These relate to segregation, which was the predecessor of apartheid.³⁰⁹

As mentioned above with regards to the traditional view of approaching Bantu Education in terms of a larger apartheid framework, Kros states that the NP government's policies wholly revolved around the economic needs of sectors. Bantu Education would thus, in essence, assist in entrenching the ideals that enabled the NP to emerge victorious from the 1948 elections.³¹⁰ By 1953, when the Bantu Education Act was passed, the apartheid government was still finding its feet. Kros argues that the Eiselen Commission assisted the new government in "expressing a plan to reconstitute the state".³¹¹ In particular, the Act would have far-reaching effects, not only in the educational realm, but in defining a solution for the Native Question that the NP's constituency was so enamoured of.³¹²

Kros's thesis eloquently presents the traditional view of Bantu Education's historiography, focusing predominantly on the importance of the Eiselen Commission's role in the development of not only educational policy in the country, but also on the development of the apartheid ideology in its formative years. There is no doubt that Kros is very much of the opinion that the Bantu Education Act was a formative moment in South Africa's history. The movement away from missionary education would see a new era in marginalisation of black students, finding its foundations in the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission.

³⁰⁷ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p.19.

³⁰⁸ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p.27.

³⁰⁹ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p. 29.

³¹⁰ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p. 29.

³¹¹ C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p. 30.

³¹² C. Kros, *Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education, 1926 – 1951*, 1996. p. 31.

Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu

P.A. Duminy served as the editor for *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, which was compiled after a conference with the same name, held in 1966 at the University College of Fort Hare's Faculty of Education. The publication appeared in 1967, a year after the conference. At this stage of South Africa's history, Fort Hare had a peculiar position as being an educational institution that had traditionally been very much in favour of its black students' advancement, but had come under the apartheid government's funding in its capacity as a black tertiary institution. It is unsurprising that the speakers at the conference, whose papers are contained in this volume, are not overtly critical of Bantu Education, as their employment at various state institutions could be endangered by lashing out against the system publicly. Irrespective of the academics' apparent bias, the majority of them still believed that the implementation of Bantu Education was a formative moment in South Africa's political, economic and social development. The aim of this dissertation is not to analyse the bias in terms of Bantu Education historiography, but rather to explore why it is that some historians believe 1953 to be a turning point in the country's history, whilst others argue that missionary education's characteristic paternalism was merely perpetuated by the apartheid government.

Thus the following historians and commentators, despite their apparent support of Bantu Education in 1966, fall within the traditional trajectory of this dissertation. This section can be considered somewhat of an anomaly, as most traditional historians in this dissertation are openly critical of Bantu Education, whereas the historians below are in support of it. However, the context in which they wrote needs to be taken into account. Furthermore, they are whole-heartedly in support of the view that Bantu Education was a watershed moment, and it is for this reason that they are included in this chapter.

J.J. Ross, who was the rector of the University College of Fort Hare, started his chapter by acknowledging that the matter of black education in South Africa had always been a contentious issue, as the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1936 illustrated. Ross argues that prior to the Eiselen Commission

of 1951, the aims pertaining to the education of the country's black population had always been vague and indecisive. This was particularly true with regards to equipping the black population with the necessary skills to occupy their rightful political and socio-economic structures within the Union of South Africa, as well as working around the problems arising from their different cultural backgrounds.³¹³

Despite Ross's support of Bantu Education, he does give credit where it is due, as he focuses on the pioneering role that missionaries had on laying the foundations of black education in the country. However, he concedes that the missionaries were ill-equipped at preparing black pupils for the role that they would have in society as labourers. In addition, in his opinion, missionaries failed to acknowledge the importance of cultural heritage to the black population. This does not fall within an apartheid trajectory of separate development and an emphasis on cultural identity which the NP's hegemony placed so much stress on.³¹⁴ Ross is further critical of missionary schools as he discusses their development and growing enrolment rates, which they were no longer able to cope with on a financial level. Thus Bantu Education would be a logical and imperative progression in the education of the black South African. Ross also explores the failure of both the Native Economic Commission of 1932 and of the Welsh Commission of 1935-1936, stating that although their initial intention had the correct focus, the outbreak of the Second World War adversely impacted on the implementation of the Commissions' recommendations.³¹⁵ Bantu Education would subsequently amalgamate both of these points of view, to create a more comprehensive and focused policy. Ross also explored the critique by black South Africans to the education system prior to the Bantu Education Act (1953), drawing comparisons between their dissatisfaction and the system's failure.³¹⁶

³¹³ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 3.

³¹⁴ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 4.

³¹⁵ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 6.

³¹⁶ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 8.

The fact that control of black education was so widely dispersed before the NP took control further perpetuated the perceived problem of unclear aims with regards to black education. It is subsequently unsurprising, that with this problem at hand, that Ross indicated a strong support for the formalisation of control of Bantu Education under the apartheid government. Finally a solution presented itself where the Department of Native Affairs could properly co-ordinate its services and the development of the black pupil on a national level.³¹⁷ This places Ross within the traditional historiographical framework, as he argues that Bantu Education was a watershed moment in educational history. The aims that Ross focuses on, specifically in terms of the Bantu Education Act, all relate to the emphasis that the black pupil should be able to easily adapt within an exploitable labour system at the conclusion of their studies. Ross is apparently very much in support of the system, as he elaborates on its successes in detail, indicating that it was on course to achieve great things.³¹⁸

In Ross's mind, Bantu Education was also seminal, as it addressed the state's policies pertaining to tertiary institutions for black students. The ability to attend a black university would further prepare the black youth on a cultural level, encouraging them to hone certain skills that would aid in the development of their respective communities. Despite criticism in the Institute of Race Relations Report soon after the implementation of the Act,³¹⁹ Ross is in denial that the NP government would use the Bantu Education Act as a tool for developing its ideas of separate development. In his view, education would be a tool that would make the acculturation process a constructive one.³²⁰ In addition, the educational trend associated with Bantu

³¹⁷ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 5.

³¹⁸ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 9.

³¹⁹ The Institute of Race Relations criticised the Bantu Education Act of viewing the South African black population as unrelated to the rest of South Africa, despite their cultural, political and economic independence.

³²⁰ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 18.

Education is towards the Africanisation of the education, by placing emphasis on the needs of the black community and maintaining black cultural heritage.³²¹

Ross thus appears to be in denial about the fact that Bantu Education was merely a cog in a well-oiled apartheid machine, which would enable ideas of separate development in Bantustans to evolve. Alternatively, it could be that Ross was not in denial, but rather aware of Bantu Education's role in the apartheid system, and in support thereof. Irrespective of what his stance was, it is clear that he falls within the traditional historiographical point of view that Bantu Education was a seminal moment in the black schooling system in South Africa.

W.M. Kgware, a professor in Didactics and Administration at the University College of the North, presented a paper, entitled: "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future". He starts by underlining missionary education's aims in South Africa. In his view, although missionaries had good intentions, the implementation of the system was found to be lacking, notably in comparison to the perceived "superior" Bantu Education system which was in the process of being implemented at the time of his paper. One of the problems associated with missionary education, in Kgware's view, is that missionary education not only instilled a Christian ethos in its pupils, but it also contained a Western outlook, which was "completely divorced from the institutional life of the people".³²² It concurs, however, that the implementation of the Bantu Education Act brought with it watershed changes.³²³

Above and beyond changes in the secularisation of former missionary schools, the compulsory registration of private schools, and the introduction of uniform measures, Kgware states that Bantu Education's biggest success was administration changes that addressed the failures of missionary education.³²⁴ In his opinion, this administrative success is evident in the downfall of missionary schools, which by

³²¹ J.J. Ross, "Bantu Education in historical perspective" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 21.

³²² W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 60.

³²³ W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 54.

³²⁴ W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 55.

1958 were completely withdrawn from receiving state subsidies. He argues that the new classification of schooling systems, as well as grading systems, ensured a complete overhaul of the education system. In addition, steps that were perceived as positive, filling the void that the missionaries failed to, include active community participation, the establishment of an advisory board for Bantu Education, the existence of Bantu Inspectors, and mother-tongue instruction.³²⁵ Kgware also states that the establishment of double-sessions had a direct impact on education, as a much larger number of black pupils could now be educated.³²⁶ Double sessions entailed educators teaching two extended sessions of class, often up to three hours at a time. As a result, a large number of pupils attended the lesson. This did not come without its pitfalls, as learners in younger grades often struggled to maintain focus during these extended lessons.³²⁷ However, Kgware fails to explore how these double sessions negatively impacted the quality of education, as educators struggled with teaching ever-growing classroom sizes at length.

Kgware's chapter is not entirely devoid of criticism. It claims that one of the negative impacts of the increasing number of pupils in black schools under Bantu Education is the chronic lack of sufficiently trained educators to cope with the large influx of pupils.³²⁸ In addition, insufficient provision for technical education, inadequate financial provision, and the co-ordination of education are some aspects where Bantu Education falls short.³²⁹ However, despite his concern with some points, Kgware brings across his optimism that the system could succeed if these matters were addressed. He stressed the need to decolonise education and to throw off the shackles that the missionaries and colonisers had restricted them with, despite it often being endorsed by Africans. He expressed the sincere belief that Bantu

³²⁵ W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. pp. 57 – 58.

³²⁶ W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 58.

³²⁷ W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 61.

³²⁸ W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 61.

³²⁹ W.M. Kgware, "The present revolution in Bantu Education and its implications for the future" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. pp. 60 – 62.

Education could be the avenue from which to achieve this, on the condition that it was administered effectively. This view thus places Kgwane in the traditional school of thought in terms of this dissertation.

J.J. de Wet focuses on how Bantu Education as a formal policy was keeping track with contemporary international standards in his chapter entitled “Aspects of education in Africa”.³³⁰ He also discusses the failures of the past in terms of the colonial legacy on black education, which places him within the traditional framework of this dissertation. In his capacity as a senior lecturer in Didactics and Administration at the University College of Fort Hare, de Wet points out three problematic areas within the broader African context of education. These include natural factors, religious factors, and secular factors.³³¹ He elaborates by stating that the differential racial demographic composition of the continent, 800 different languages, economic and geographical discrepancies and the plurality of religion all impact the quality of education.³³² These problems were all addressed in various ways in Africa, specifically with regards to the respective colonisers that occupied an array of areas. In the South African context, most missionary schools would be established in a British dominium, after the British Empire expanded its influence in southern Africa in 1806. De Wet argues that British policy-makers already had the intention in the early years of adapting education to the “mentality, aptitudes, occupations and the traditions” of the various people who fell under their control.³³³ However, de Wet argues that these British attempts failed at adapting their curricula to their immediate environment. It is thereafter that de Wet praises Bantu Education, stating that unlike its colonial predecessor and other examples of education elsewhere in colonial Africa, the Bantu Education Act takes positive steps in taking the black pupil into consideration and providing the learners with the best education possible.³³⁴

³³⁰ J.J. de Wet, “Aspects of education in Africa” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 41.

³³¹ J.J. de Wet, “Aspects of education in Africa” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 41.

³³² J.J. de Wet, “Aspects of education in Africa” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 41.

³³³ J.J. de Wet, “Aspects of education in Africa” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 42.

³³⁴ J.J. de Wet, “Aspects of education in Africa” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 43.

J.P. van S. Bruwer, a professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Port Elizabeth, shared his insights in his contribution entitled, “Education and political development”. As an anthropologist, van S. Bruwer had hands-on experience with the education system in the years prior to Bantu Education. In his chapter, he states that from the 1930s, he became aware of the flaws in the basic approach regarding African peoples as missionaries were instilling ideas of equality in the minds of the African population.³³⁵ In his opinion, education should rather have focused on preparing the black youth for the life in a society where they would be culturally at home. To van S. Bruwer, Bantu Education would fulfil the role of ensuring that the black population of South Africa would be content developing separately in their communities, thus serving as an extension of the apartheid government’s policies and intentions.³³⁶ He states the magnitude of the responsibility being laid at the feet of Bantu Education, but that it is necessary in ensuring black political development.³³⁷ He states that:

... such a climate begs for a new way of thinking and a new way of feeling which should in fact drench all educational agencies busy preparing peoples for a new political destiny. We must believe in that destiny and we must believe in the people when we put ourselves at task to train and prepare them for that destiny.³³⁸

This odious task was subsequently the responsibility of Bantu Education, which van S. Bruwer argues could not exist without its political context. This statement reflects that he is of the opinion that missionary education had failed to achieve this, and that Bantu Education would serve as the system that would realise this ideal of the apartheid government. S. Bruwer believed that Bantu Education was “magnificent”, but that the government should do more in the realm of administrative training, combatting illiteracy, and encouraging adults to become involved to a greater extent

³³⁵ J.P. van S. Bruwer, “Education and political development” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 68.

³³⁶ J.P. van S. Bruwer, “Education and political development” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 69.

³³⁷ J.P. van S. Bruwer, “Education and political development” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 70.

³³⁸ J.P. van S. Bruwer, “Education and political development” in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 70.

in these changes. Van S. Bruwer further perpetuates his paternalistic discourse by indicating that the black population can only gain successful political autonomy and maturity through Bantu Education, which will equip them with the lives that they are destined to lead.³³⁹ Thus he is of the view that black pupils should receive an education which will be to the benefit of Bantustans, ultimately ensuring that education becomes a political tool.³⁴⁰ Van S. Bruwer's fervent paper is laced with paternalism and strong promotion of apartheid system's ideologies, supporting the idea that the black communities should separately find their own worth, with the assistance of the NP government. This support of the political system, as well as his disdain of missionary education, places J.P. van S. Bruwer firmly within the traditional trajectory of this study.

Another contributor to P.A. Duminy's publication is an inspector of schools for the Department of Bantu Education, R. Cingo. His chapter focused on "Aspects of mother tongue instruction". Cingo lauds the missionaries for implementing a policy of mother-tongue education in the lower strata of primary schools, but states that there was an abysmal failure in implementing Afrikaans as a second official language into the school curriculum.³⁴¹ Initially, the official colonial languages (Dutch and English) gained preference, whilst there was a great reluctance to place any substantial focus on African languages.³⁴² It is thus only subsequent to the implementation of Bantu Education as an aggressive state policy, that the standard and equal recognition of languages made headway.³⁴³ An African language would be regarded as the *nervum rerum* for the young black pupil – 'the soul of things', which he could use to construe meaning of his surroundings.³⁴⁴ Bantu Education would make mother-tongue education imperative throughout primary school, which, according to Cingo, allowed

³³⁹ J.P. van S. Bruwer, "Education and political development" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 72.

³⁴⁰ J.P. van S. Bruwer, "Education and political development" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 73.

³⁴¹ R. Cingo, "Aspects of mother tongue instruction" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 136.

³⁴² R. Cingo, "Aspects of mother tongue instruction" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 139.

³⁴³ R. Cingo, "Aspects of mother tongue instruction" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 136.

³⁴⁴ R. Cingo, "Aspects of mother tongue instruction" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 141.

the black community to find expression and self-realisation.³⁴⁵ Cingo further postulates that this was a vital step in preserving a nation's identity and posterity. This system perpetuated the apartheid government's desire to allow the black population to develop separately, and to do so, cultural and linguistic pride was a necessity. Cingo purports that mother-tongue education is of essential importance, as it forms the "basis on which the educational edifice will be built".³⁴⁶ As a state employee of the apartheid government, Cingo is in favour of the state exerting as much control as possible in the minds of young, impressionable black pupils. In this instance, in the form of preparing them for their lives by providing them with mother-tongue education. Cingo's critique of the missionary system, as well as the fact that he believed that Bantu Education and state policy was improving education, positions him within the traditional school of Bantu Education historiography.

P.A. Duminy's provides an interesting insight into the *zeitgeist* of the 1960s, specifically pertaining to Bantu Education. His contributors, although extremely prejudiced in favour of the system, believe that Bantu Education was a turning point in ensuring that black pupils receive the education that they were perceived to "deserve" to prepare them for their role in society. This very much goes hand in hand with the ultimate aims of apartheid South Africa. It is thus unsurprising that these contributors are not too optimistic about the positive role that missionaries played in educating black pupils, as they found it at variance with what their personal and political aims were. These views place all of the contributors within the traditional mould of thinking relating to Bantu Education.

Education: From poverty to liberty

Bill Nasson and John Samuel edited the book *Education: From poverty to liberty* as part of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern

³⁴⁵ R. Cingo, "Aspects of mother tongue instruction" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 137.

³⁴⁶ R. Cingo, "Aspects of mother tongue instruction" in P.A. Duminy (ed.), *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, 1967. p. 144.

Africa.³⁴⁷ First published in 1980, it boasts contributions by several influential academics.

John Samuel, who at that time was director of Sached Trust in Johannesburg, examined the state of education in South Africa. In a society that for the first time started looking ahead to what a post-apartheid South Africa could look like, Samuel lays the blame of marginalised education squarely on the shoulders of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.³⁴⁸ Inferior education for the black population was ensured by the state, as one of many of the draconian measures that it followed to keep that demographic of the country marginalised.³⁴⁹ Samuel highlights the mantra adopted by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, who “rejected the schooling structure set up by missions on the ground that it produced the ‘wrong type’ of black person.”³⁵⁰ Samuel argues that Bantu Education assisted Verwoerd and the apartheid government to realise this ideal, by ensuring that the vast majority of black pupils had contact with Bantu Education during their formative years.³⁵¹

Another characteristic of Bantu Education that Samuel focuses on is the fact that black education became characterised by a large number of school “drop-outs”. Samuel attributes this to the growing numbers of pupils that passed through the doors of black schools.³⁵² Although the apartheid government would have argued that the increased numbers of individuals attending school is indicative of their success, the reality was far removed from this. Large classes meant that educators had to deal with over-crowded and under-funded classrooms. To Samuel, this was an extension of brutal apartheid policy, where a schooling system was designed in such a way that the black pupil would not be equipped with skills for anything other

³⁴⁷ *Uprooting poverty in South Africa: Report for the 2nd Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South*, 1984.

³⁴⁸ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 17.

³⁴⁹ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 17.

³⁵⁰ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 18.

³⁵¹ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 18.

³⁵² J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 18.

than unskilled labour.³⁵³ Adversely, the white pupils enjoyed tremendous support at school, which prepared them for “an almost complete monopoly of the dominant positions in society”.³⁵⁴ This is illustrated by the fact that in 1975 there were 44 white pupils for every single black pupil at matriculation level.³⁵⁵ This serves as proof of the “success” of Bantu Education, as set out by its architects.

Samuel further explores the implications of Bantustans as a way of ensuring that secondary education be restricted to a minority of the black population. The state secured this ideal by placing black high schools in the allocated homelands.³⁵⁶ In addition, the curriculum that was followed stuck to strictly paternalistic and racist undertones. The final nail in Bantu Education’s coffin, however, would be the introduction of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for half of all secondary school subjects. This would act as a catalyst for the Soweto Riots of 1976, which Samuel states started a new phase of history for South Africa, as it was proof that Bantu Education in its most organic form had failed.³⁵⁷ Afrikaans as medium of instruction was dropped and state expenditure increased with regards to black education in the aftermath of the Soweto Riots, but the government remained adamant that its educational policy could be accounted for and would not change.³⁵⁸

However, by 1980, the Education and Training Act³⁵⁹ replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The Department attempted to engage and improve historically inferior black education, but it found that communities often rejected its new regulations for a variety of reasons. However, these attempts were superficial and below the surface it remained of a discriminating nature. The Department kept rationalising different curriculums, as it argued that black pupils came from a different world-view and

³⁵³ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 19.

³⁵⁴ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 19.

³⁵⁵ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 19.

³⁵⁶ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 19.

³⁵⁷ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 21.

³⁵⁸ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 23.

³⁵⁹ Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, *Education and Training Act No 9 of 1979*.

cultural framework.³⁶⁰ Samuel further details mass revolts, protests and stay-aways in the 1980s, all of which would instil an important so-called “culture of liberation” in the youth, which would ultimately enable them to resist the apartheid system more effectively.³⁶¹ Samuel hardly makes any mention of missionary education in his chapter and is clearly of the opinion that the most damaging factor in black schooling is the implementation of the Bantu Education Act.

Bill Nasson also weighs in on the nature of marginalising education in his chapter, entitled “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”. Nasson starts by describing the revolutionary and combative public mood of pupils who had taken to redefining and reformulating their views on schooling in the 1970s and 1980s.³⁶² Nasson refers to Peter Kallaway’s analogy that education became a Trojan horse within the apartheid state, an apt description of the contemporary public sentiment.³⁶³ Nasson focuses largely on the findings of the De Lange Commission of 1981 and measures the challenges of that time to the deficiencies highlighted in this report. He describes the report as “unquestionably the most thorough national education inquiry ever to have been held in South Africa”, despite some key omissions and flaws.³⁶⁴ The report detailed eleven principles for educational provision, which range from equal opportunities for education to the professional status of the teacher.³⁶⁵ Nasson explores these principles in detail, as the nature of these principles indicate where the apartheid state had been lacking in terms of their approach to black schooling. The 1950s to the 1970s are highlighted by

³⁶⁰ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 26.

³⁶¹ J. Samuel, “The state of education in South Africa” in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 29.

³⁶² B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 48.

³⁶³ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 48.

³⁶⁴ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 50.

³⁶⁵ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. pp. 51 – 52.

Nasson as a period where the core educational policy of South Africa was explicitly discriminating, as the state played a dominant role in undermining schools.³⁶⁶

By the late 1980s, however, the state finally conceded that equality of access to resources should become the yardstick with which to measure equal education.³⁶⁷

Nasson mentions the grossly sub-standard education which black pupils received during the formative years of Bantu Education, where the number of schools did not corroborate at all with the large quantity of pupils.³⁶⁸ He postulates that three decades later, however, the De Lange Commission attempted to make a certain margin of amends. This Commission pointed to separate but equal education, where the NP dream of a segregated state was perpetuated. Nasson links the apartheid system, and by default Bantu Education, to the prevailing inequalities in society at the time, as the outlook for desegregated education remained bleak.³⁶⁹ The problems that South Africa was experiencing in the 1980s related directly to the events of the past, when the NP decided to go ahead with Bantu Education. In addition, from an economic point of view, South Africa was necessitated to review the black schooling system, as it no longer only required a large, unskilled and exploitable work force as it did at the advent of Bantu Education. Nasson argues that South Africa needed to respond to the “burgeoning demand for new quotas of reskilled and upskilled black labour, with traits which would facilitate smooth integration into a rationalising marketplace”.³⁷⁰

Irrespective of the economic needs of South Africa at that time, Nasson postulates that above everything else, the legacy of Bantu Education was scarring and deeply felt in the fabric of society. He lists the major shortcomings of the system, including high levels of black illiteracy, low matriculation pass rates, ill-equipped schools, and

³⁶⁶ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 52.

³⁶⁷ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 56.

³⁶⁸ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 58.

³⁶⁹ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 58.

³⁷⁰ B. Nasson, “Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa”, in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 66.

badly trained teachers, to name but a few.³⁷¹ This was all done by the NP in the name of its apartheid ideologies of racial privilege.

In Nasson's attempt to construe a future narrative for South Africa's educational domain, he does not once take missionary education to task. He is however, highly critical of the apartheid system and its stubborn resolve to resist meaningful educational reform. To Nasson, Bantu Education and apartheid are synonymous with deeply-rooted discrimination and it is for this reason that Nasson is placed within the traditional school of Bantu Education historiography.

Nasson also contributes to the traditional historiography of Bantu Education in another chapter of this publication, entitled "Education and poverty". Here, Nasson explores the correlation between poverty and education, and whether or not the truism that an education can uplift an individual from poverty has any practical value in South Africa. According to him, this particular idea rang true from the 1950s when Bantu Education was implemented, through to the 1970s, when the unemployed and dissatisfied youth started finally resisting this traditional outlook. Nasson's research portrays a very different picture, where he explores whether or not higher levels of education relate to lower income disparities and a more egalitarian income dispensation. He states that it is "difficult to draw very optimistic conclusions" in this regard.³⁷² According to Nasson, this statement only rings true in an economic utopia, where education provides a young, skilled workforce to a society that has ample job opportunities. In South Africa's case, by the 1970s and 1980s, economic sanctions and a global recession would severely inhibit the ability for even unskilled workers to find job security.³⁷³ Nasson uses America, with a history of segregated education, as an example, and states that even in the instance where educational opportunities became more equally distributed, the benefits for the poor were slight.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ B. Nasson, "Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 73.

³⁷² B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 89.

³⁷³ B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 90.

³⁷⁴ B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 97.

Nasson assumes a somewhat Marxist stance in his proposition to combat the problem by suggesting that the best way to combat these inequalities is to restructure class relations and the unequal distribution of power. In doing so, the schooling system would also be affected in a way benefitting the disadvantaged.³⁷⁵ However, the poor demographic of a country being uplifted merely has a knock-on effect on the labour market, as the relative value of their positions devalue.³⁷⁶ He argues that traditionally, education will always remain the system that most successfully reproduces a labour force that a country's economy requires. In a South African context, the black population are marginalised through Bantu Education for their perceived role in society, whilst white schooling prepared pupils for an elitist section of society reserved for them by apartheid's draconian legislation.³⁷⁷ In essence, Nasson highlights research that the unemployed population's ability to secure a job does not directly correlate to their education.³⁷⁸ Bantu Education has imposed a severe handicap on black prospective job seekers' ability to secure a stable financial future, a task which, according to Nasson, will not be overcome without liberty or freedom.³⁷⁹

In his chapter, Jonathan Hyslop explores the evolution of Bantu Education, by discussing how its discourse was redefined and refined with time. Entitled "Schools, unemployment and youth: origins and significance of student and youth movements, 1976 – 1979", Hyslop focuses on how the discriminating legislation had a direct and long-lasting impact on South Africa.³⁸⁰ He alludes to the fact that the development of the black pupil in South Africa directly corroborates to the labour needs of the apartheid government. Bantu Education was implemented in the 1950s as a form of labour reproduction, and by the 1970s when the South African economy's needs

³⁷⁵ B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 98.

³⁷⁶ B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 101.

³⁷⁷ B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 99.

³⁷⁸ B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 103.

³⁷⁹ B. Nasson, "Education and poverty", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 103.

³⁸⁰ J. Hyslop, "Schools, unemployment and youth: origins and significance of student youth movements, 1976 – 1979", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 79.

evolved, so too was Bantu Education refined to focus more on a technocratic approach. Hyslop attributes this not to the state displaying greater political flexibility, but rather to greater centralisation in policy making.³⁸¹ The 1970s saw the state adopt a more pragmatic approach to apartheid as new labour requirements led to a further expansionist policy.³⁸² In addition, there were far fewer job opportunities available to black graduates during this time. Subsequently schools would become the stage for major unrest, serving to illuminate black pupils' concerns with their social welfare. Hyslop hypothesises that the collapse of the classical apartheid system by the mid-1970s was precipitated by economic malaise and political turbulence and that this filtered through to the educational sphere in many regards too.³⁸³ The most obvious indication of this deteriorating educational structures is the Soweto Riots of 1976, where large-scale discontent with apartheid education was becoming apparent and educational reform became imminent thereafter.

Other historians

W.G. McConkey published "Schools, unemployment and youth: origins and significance of student youth movements, 1976 – 1979" in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory* in 1982, and falls within the traditional historiography pertaining to Bantu Education. This article is extremely critical of the Bantu Education system, especially with regards to the development of the state policy. He focuses on the devastating impact the Bantu Education Act of 1953 had on the black demographic of South Africa's society. According to McConkey, the NP had always been very critical of missionary education, as it had projected key Western values on black pupils, which was problematic for the apartheid government with regards to its attitude of the black population being inferior.³⁸⁴ McConkey explores the recommendations made by the Eiselen Commission and proceeded to relate these initial recommendations to

³⁸¹ J. Hyslop, "Schools, unemployment and youth: origins and significance of student youth movements, 1976 – 1979", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 79.

³⁸² J. Hyslop, "Schools, unemployment and youth: origins and significance of student youth movements, 1976 – 1979", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 83.

³⁸³ J. Hyslop, "Schools, unemployment and youth: origins and significance of student youth movements, 1976 – 1979", in B. Nasson & J. Samuel (eds.), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, 1990. p. 85.

³⁸⁴ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 1.

the manner in which the legislation would develop, to pave the way for future black pupils.³⁸⁵ The Commission ensured that missionary education's time had come to "stand aside", which would have devastating long-term consequences.³⁸⁶ As with most historians in this section, McConkey is critical of the severe handicap that black schools were subjected to as a result of the debilitating lack of funding that the apartheid government was guilty of. He recommends that the apartheid government address the matter with grave concern, as it was directly correlated to the high drop-out rates of black learners.³⁸⁷ In his view, missionary education provided a positive contribution to South African society, as it equipped black pupils with a European model of schooling. However, the apartheid government regarded this as problematic, as black learners were being prepared for jobs that were not reserved for them in society.³⁸⁸ McConkey further elaborates on the practical changes implemented in black schools under apartheid, such as the previously mentioned notorious double-sessions that educators were obliged to implement as a direct result of the rising learner enrolment and dire financial deficiencies.³⁸⁹ McConkey continues to lambast the apartheid government's education system, highlighting issues such as continued wastage, the deterioration in teacher-pupil ratios, qualitative deterioration, accommodation, the end of school feeding programmes, lack of funding to missionaries, the increasing cost of education to black parents, and maintenance costs, to name but a few.³⁹⁰ McConkey discusses each of these problems systematically, with several illustrations to illuminate the severity of these problems. He is very much aware that:

Bantu Education is a direct impact of the political climate of the country, stating that, "Bantu Education is as good as the

³⁸⁵ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 2.

³⁸⁶ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 2.

³⁸⁷ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 3.

³⁸⁸ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 4.

³⁸⁹ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 4.

³⁹⁰ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), pp. 4 – 35.

circumstances permit, the overriding circumstance being the allocation, for the education of 70 per cent of our population, of about one half per cent of the Gross National Product.³⁹¹

Furthermore, McConkey attacks the apartheid government's apparent satisfaction with the progression of Bantu Education, criticising the Department of Native Affairs' 1969 report in this regard. He indicates that if the NP revised its funding structure and took the education of the black population seriously, South Africa could enjoy enormous long-term economic benefits. McConkey highlights the heterogeneous population needs of South Africa, and states that a more homogeneous approach to education and a more generous spirit is required if the country wants to make any significant economic progress in the future.³⁹² In essence, his highly critical stance against Bantu Education and the apartheid government, in addition to his apparent respect for the missionary educators that preceded the Bantu Education Act, point towards McConkey falling within the traditional trajectory of Bantu Education's historiography.

Scott Couper, a missionary of Global Ministries and a development manager at Inanda Seminary, explores the direct impact of Bantu Education and its development on the Inanda Seminary in KwaZulu-Natal.³⁹³ He, in essence, uses this mission school as a case study as one of the few educational centres which was able to keep its doors open despite the state's best intention of closing them down.

Couper is overtly positive about missionary contributions to the black populace in South Africa in the years preceding Bantu Education. It should be noted that there may be a degree of bias present in his writing, as he himself is a missionary. He categorically states that missionaries secured a black and elite "*intelligentsia*". As this went against the apartheid ideology, Bantu Education sought to undermine this

³⁹¹ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 35.

³⁹² W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A critical survey with illustrations", in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p. 41.

³⁹³ S. Couper, "What am I fit for? Negative manifestations of Bantu Education at Inanda Seminary during the 1970s" in *Prism: A Theological Forum for the United Church of Christ*, 25(1), p. 99.

contribution.³⁹⁴ Couper explores the reasons for the school's success and ability to keep afloat during an era when the government was shutting down missionary schools on a large scale. He labels the implementation of the Bantu Education Act as "asphyxiation" which started in 1955, when the state started cutting subsidies to mission schools. As a result, the Inanda Seminary had to adjust as a matter of survival.³⁹⁵

In addition to financial distress, the state also hindered the process of acquiring sufficiently qualified staff to teach at the Seminary, as Bantu Education severely limited the school's ability to attract desirable educators.³⁹⁶ Couper also purports that other apartheid legislation, such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, further complicated matters, as it affected the living arrangements of its staff and made the school an overall unattractive prospective employer.³⁹⁷

Couper details all the negative consequences of Bantu Education on the Inanda Seminary specifically – which can be related directly to the downfall of the majority of other missionary schools in South Africa. In Couper's opinion, the only reason that can be attributed to the Seminary's survival, is the fact that it was largely ignored by the apartheid government.³⁹⁸ Overall, Couper's article lambasts the apartheid government's policy of Bantu Education, by pointing out not only its shortcomings, but also the devastating impact it had on mission schools.

Bekisizwe S. Ndimande explores the transition from Bantu Education to social justice in his 2013 article, "From Bantu Education to the fight for socially just education". Educated under Bantu Education before moving to the United States, Ndimande is currently an associate professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana.

³⁹⁴ S. Couper, "What am I fit for? Negative manifestations of Bantu Education at Inanda Seminary during the 1970s" in *Prism: A Theological Forum for the United Church of Christ*, 25(1), p. 99.

³⁹⁵ S. Couper, "What am I fit for? Negative manifestations of Bantu Education at Inanda Seminary during the 1970s" in *Prism: A Theological Forum for the United Church of Christ*, 25(1), p. 106.

³⁹⁶ S. Couper, "What am I fit for? Negative manifestations of Bantu Education at Inanda Seminary during the 1970s" in *Prism: A Theological Forum for the United Church of Christ*, 25(1), p. 107.

³⁹⁷ S. Couper, "What am I fit for? Negative manifestations of Bantu Education at Inanda Seminary during the 1970s" in *Prism: A Theological Forum for the United Church of Christ*, 25(1), p. 110.

³⁹⁸ S. Couper, "What am I fit for? Negative manifestations of Bantu Education at Inanda Seminary during the 1970s" in *Prism: A Theological Forum for the United Church of Christ*, 25(1), p. 118.

In this article, he contends that Bantu Education was used to coerce both black pupils and their educators into becoming docile supporters of the apartheid state.³⁹⁹ For the purposes of this article, Ndimande refers to Bantu Education in a broader apartheid context, relating how resistance to this schooling system correlated to a resistance to apartheid in general.⁴⁰⁰ The general inequalities which were perpetuated by the apartheid state were done at a grass-roots educational level, which would become one of the most scarring legacies of apartheid.⁴⁰¹ These include black townships, which remain segregated and white schools, which although they are desegregated, do not remain wholly representative. In studying the resistance to these discrepancies by both pupils and parents, Ndimande highlights the importance of the Bantu Education Act and thus also falls within the traditional mould of writing with regards to Bantu Education.

A notable educational historian, Linda Chisholm, has also contributed significant work to the educational history realm. However, due to the focus of Chisholm's contributions to two of Kallaway publications⁴⁰², pertaining to the private sector's involvement in funding schools in the 1980s and policy research, Chisholm is not discussed in detail in this chapter. However, it should be noted that upon reviewing her publications, she falls within the traditional school as a result of her focus on apartheid education. Similarly, Rob Sieborger has made significant contributions to educational history, as is evident in his involvement with the *Turning points in history* school textbooks, as well as other academic articles relating to the teaching of history.⁴⁰³ However, due to the nature of these publications, which focus on a more didactical approach to educational history, he has been omitted from this chapter, despite also falling in the traditional school of historical writing.

³⁹⁹ B.S. Ndimande, "From Bantu Education to the fight to socially just education" in *Education, Equity & Excellence in Education*, 46(1), p. 23.

⁴⁰⁰ B.S. Ndimande, "From Bantu Education to the fight to socially just education" in *Education, Equity & Excellence in Education*, 46(1), p. 24.

⁴⁰¹ B.S. Ndimande, "From Bantu Education to the fight to socially just education" in *Education, Equity & Excellence in Education*, 46(1), p. 25.

⁴⁰² L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education* and "Continuity and change in education policy research and borrowing in South Africa" in P. Kallaway, *The history of education under apartheid, 1948 – 1994*, 2002.

⁴⁰³ R. Sieborger, *Turning Points in History: Grade 10 – 12*, 2004.

Similarly, another historian worth noting is Brahm Fleisch, who also contributed to the 2002 Kallaway publication mentioned above. Fleisch's argument has some Marxist elements, but it is predominantly traditional in its scope. In his view, the Eiselen Commission "signalled a decisive shift in the balance of power from civil society to a new bureaucracy of the apartheid state", a few characteristic of the traditional school.⁴⁰⁴ Similarly, Fleisch focuses on the skills that were focused on by the apartheid state when educating black pupils, such as "punctuality, mannerliness, reliability and neatness".⁴⁰⁵ He also studied the consequences of the administrative changes and the ultimate relocation of power under the apartheid state's control. These aspects all place Fleisch within the traditional trajectory of this study.

Another historian who also wrote from a traditional historiography with regards to Bantu Education include Brian W. Rose, who in 1965 argued that Bantu Education was a necessary extension of state policy, as missionary education was uncoordinated. He relates how the implementation and justification of Bantu Education relied heavily on the exploitation of Afrikaner fears of integration of black and white labourers in the workforce and in urban societies. He notes how Bantu Education led to a quantitative increase in black pupils, despite the black populace remaining negative about the quality of education that they received. Rose further criticises the legislation for placing such a heavy financial burden at the feet of African parents and communities. In his opinion, the mother-tongue education that the apartheid government appeared so in favour of, was in actual fact also just another form of control and part of the so-called "White master plan", as it ensured that the black pupil could only develop within his own personal trajectory. White pupils, who had a command of English, however, had the world's libraries at their disposal. Although Rose highlights the flaws of missionary education, he is also mindful of their contribution to black societies and argues that the Bantu Education Act was a seminal moment in the repression of the black community.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ B. Fleisch, "State formation and the origins of Bantu Education" in P. Kallaway, *The history of education under apartheid, 1948 – 1994*, 2002. p. 39.

⁴⁰⁵ B. Fleisch, "State formation and the origins of Bantu Education" in P. Kallaway, *The history of education under apartheid, 1948 – 1994*, 2002. p. 41.

⁴⁰⁶ B.W. Rose, "Bantu Education as a facet of South African policy" in *Comparative Education Review*, 9(2), pp. 208 - 212.

R.H.W. Shepherd published a paper in 1955, the year in which the Bantu Education Act was being implemented for the first time. Shepherd assumes a critical point of view of the suddenness with which the policy was decided on, and comes to the defence of the missionary educators, who he argues were always acting in the best interests of black society. Shepherd appears biased in his strong support of the missionaries, but he does support the Bantu Education Act in its resolution to increase literacy in black schools. However, in Shepherd's view, the apartheid system was operating on double-standards, placing education in the hands of the very black administrators in Bantustans who were labelled as being 'illiterate' due to their missionary schooling.⁴⁰⁷

Furthermore, N. Blamires discusses the Bantu Education Act in no uncertain terms in 1955 by labelling the Minister of Native Affairs as a "dictator of African education".⁴⁰⁸ In his view, by taking the control of black education from missionaries, the apartheid government ensured that they had a mouthpiece of their ideology, feeding their ideals directly into the minds of black pupils. In Blamires's view of the legislation unfolding, Bantu Education would be used as a tool to keep the black community separate from their white counterparts. He contends that this is deeply discriminating, stating "The African is to be kept a man apart. Is he really to be treated as a man?"⁴⁰⁹ He is thus irrevocably of the view that the implementation of the Bantu Education Act will serve as a watershed moment in the segregation of black South Africans, and it is for this reason that he is included in the traditional school.

Historical context

The first group of academics under discussion included R.H.W. Shepherd and N. Blamires. As stated, these two academics published their discussions pertaining to Bantu Education directly after the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. Both of their articles appeared in 1955, two years after its promulgation and in the first year where the system was implemented actively in the South African schooling system.

⁴⁰⁷ R.H.W. Shepherd, "The South African Bantu Education Act" in *African Affairs*, 54(215), pp. 138 – 142.

⁴⁰⁸ N. Blamires, "South Africa: The Bantu Education Act, 1953" in *International Review of Mission*, 44(173), pp. 99 – 101.

⁴⁰⁹ N. Blamires, "South Africa: The Bantu Education Act, 1953" in *International Review of Mission*, 44(173), p. 101.

Their commentary on the system thus serves a dual purpose: first it provides a critical discussion on Bantu Education within a contemporary context; and secondly serving as primary sources with relation to an immediate reaction to the implementation of Bantu Education. As discussed, Shepherd and Blamires fall within the traditional historiographical framework of this dissertation, as they are highly critical of the development of the apartheid system. Their criticism is likely based on their own personal experiences with their perceived “success” of missionary education, and despite their support in some instances of the apartheid government, their reactions should be seen within the context of themselves being “liberal” English-speaking academics. Their first-hand accounts of both the missionary schooling system and their perceptions of the apartheid ideology clearly had a significant impact on their writing.

The second, more substantial group of historians included P.A. Duminy, J.J. Ross, W.M. Kgwane, J.J. de Wet, J. van S. Bruwer, Brian W. Rose and W.G. McConkey. These historians commented on Bantu Education in the 1960s and 1970s. What is interesting to note with the vast majority of them, is that they are fervent supporters of Bantu Education. This is unsurprising, as Duminy, Ross, Kgwane, de Wet and van S. Bruwer all participated in a conference which was held at the University College of Fort Hare, which at that stage received state-funding in its capacity as a tertiary institute for black students. Educators and academia employed within these institutions were cautious of being too critical of the apartheid government as an exercise in self-preservation. In addition, censorship and subtle propaganda permeated society, which kept the masses from being aware of the extent of the apartheid system’s injustices. One needs to bear in mind that one of the reasons that apartheid was able to enjoy its successful ideological discourse for such an extended period of time, was because it had the support of a large spectrum of white, and in some rare instances such as in the case of Kgwane, black society. In the 1960s, in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre, the apartheid government intensified its control over every aspect of life in South Africa, for both white and black citizens. In addition, South Africa was sitting with an increasingly militant black contingency on its hands, determined to overthrow the apartheid government with the assistance of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and *Poqo*. The armed struggle that South Africa was facing

against the apartheid regime at this stage would signal a new era in violent clashes between authorities and those individuals who resisted the regime. The system subsequently needed articulate champions for its cause, to address critique levelled against them by their opposition and to subdue growing international concern. This by no means insinuates that historians such as Duminy and Ross were puppets acting on the orders of the apartheid regime, but their support for Bantu Education belies a liberal point of view. Their support for the system is apparent as they lash out against critique in a vehement and emotional fashion.

McConkey, however, levels a certain degree of critique against the apartheid regime. It is worth noting that while the above-mentioned historians wrote in the 1960s, McConkey published his article in 1982. At this stage in South African history, the failures of the apartheid system were becoming increasingly apparent, as well as the shortcomings of the Bantu Education Act. McConkey is sarcastic and highly critical of the NP government and its aims with Bantu Education. At this stage, certain South Africans were becoming more outspoken against the atrocities of the apartheid regime which would eventually culminate in the alternative press movement in the 1980s and the government's subsequent censorship thereof. Tensions were also flaring as social engineering on a grand scale was taking place in South Africa and McConkey clearly writes in reaction to this.

Third, Bill Nasson, John Samuels and Jonathan Hyslop wrote in an era during which South Africa was proverbially on fire. It was apparent at this stage that the ideologies of apartheid were failing dismally, that there was large-scale discontent, economic hardships as a result of international sanctions and political dissent. South Africa had at this stage been in a continual State of Emergency since 1985 and several commissions of inquiry pointed towards the decline of the apartheid regime. As a result, these three historians were very much of the opinion that the black schooling system did not survive in a political vacuum – everything was a direct consequence of a detailed plan by the apartheid state. With the unrest permeating a large part of society, Nasson, Samuels and Hyslop were a group of many South African historians postulating what the uncertain future may hold.

The fourth group writes within a relatively more politically stable context of a post-apartheid society. Kros, Couper, Ndimande and Fleisch were able to write without fear of retribution by draconian state legislation and have a plenitude of sources, both primary and secondary, at their disposal. They were able to analyse the effects of Bantu Education from its inception to its demise. However, the context from which they approach Bantu Education is one with its own set of complex issues. The legacy of Bantu Education, to this day, permeates South African society, and as a result remains a contentious historical issue. Dissatisfaction amongst the impoverished black youth remains present, as was illuminated by the recent #FeesMustFall campaign. This is not to say that the recent protests were a direct result of Bantu Education, as the dissatisfaction extended to, amongst many other things, inequalities in economic and social spheres in the aftermath of apartheid. However, this movement saw students disrupt academic activity as they protested against, amongst many other things, exorbitant fee increases at universities around South Africa. At the University of Pretoria, students enjoyed success, after the university's Vice-Chancellor, Cheryl de la Rey, signed an agreement after consultation with student leaders.⁴¹⁰ On a national scale, following a march to the Union Buildings by thousands of students from various tertiary institutions, President Jacob Zuma announced the scrapping of fee increases for 2016.⁴¹¹ Despite this, discontent amongst various youths at, notably, the University of Witwatersrand and the University of the Western Cape remain.

Conclusion

In conclusion, an array of historians has been discussed with regards to the traditional framework that they appear to align with. These historians come from a range of historical periods, so as to provide an inclusive view on the reactions to the Bantu Education Act.

This chapter also attempted to highlight that despite all of the selected historians falling within this dissertation's traditional historiographical trajectory, they do so for different reasons. The majority believe that the Bantu Education Act was a watershed

⁴¹⁰ *Perdeby and Pretoria News*, 2015-10-27, p.1.

⁴¹¹ Eyewitness News website, 2015-10-23.

moment, as state-controlled schools would formally be able to impose their own ideological values on pupils, with devastating consequences. Other historians are in support of Bantu Education, and believe that the state was correct in taking the power from the hands of missionaries, to the betterment of the black population. This falls within the labour reproduction thesis of ensuring that the black population is only equipped with skills that they would need in a segregated society. Nonetheless, both these groups argue that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was a pivotal moment in South Africa's history.

Chapter 5: From Parliament to print: historical interpretations vs. primary sources

Introduction

This chapter's aim is two fold. First, a brief chronological overview of primary sources pertaining to the Bantu Education Act of 1953 will be presented. Second, the Marxist and traditional historians' hypotheses will be measured against this historical evidence, in order to ascertain their historical validity.

With regards to the first aim of this chapter the focus is primarily on parliamentary debates relating to the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. In the years preceding the Act, parliamentarians debated the merit of the Eiselen Commission before eventually sitting through three readings of the Bantu Education Bill until it was formally passed in 1953. Thereafter, the Bantu Education Amendment Act was passed in 1956.⁴¹² An array of different educational concerns were debated in Parliament, including matters such as the dissipating control of missionaries; feeding schemes; funding of Bantu Education; the Fort Hare University College; and implementing apartheid at universities. Due to the fact that the traditional school of writing on Bantu Education often focuses on the Soweto Riots of 1976, because of the particular historical context in which they wrote, this event is also briefly included in this chapter. Thus the parliamentary debates that were analysed stretched from 1950 to 1959, with a succinct evaluation of the events of 1976.⁴¹³

In addition to the *Hansards*, three newspapers were also consulted. This includes the English, perceivably liberal, newspaper, *Rand Daily Mail*;⁴¹⁴ the Afrikaans, relatively conservative daily, *Die Vaderland*; as well as the missionary weekly, *Christian Recorder*. Circulation figures were ascertained by making reference to Morris Broughton's records of South African newspapers in his *Press and politics of South*

⁴¹² Statutes of the Union of South Africa, *Bantu Education Amendment Act. Number 44, 1954.*

⁴¹³ It should also be noted that the majority of *Hansards* consulted are Afrikaans and quotes have subsequently been translated. While every effort has been made to translate the quotes with accuracy, there may be some essence that cannot be conveyed accurately through translation. This is notably in terms of words such as the Afrikaans word, *volk*. While it may be translated as the masses or nation, neither of these words have the emotional connotation of its Afrikaans counterpart.

⁴¹⁴ M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 304.

Africa. These figures were obtained from the Audit Bureau of Circulations booklet for the first six months of 1959.⁴¹⁵ In accordance with these figures, the *Rand Daily Mail* is highlighted as one of the daily newspapers with the highest circulation figures in the Transvaal, with readership extending to 114 142 individuals.⁴¹⁶ The only English newspaper to exceed the *Rand Daily Mail* figures is *The Star*, with a readership of over 170 000 per day.⁴¹⁷ However, due to the *Rand Daily Mail*'s more liberal reputation, this newspaper was selected for the purposes of this dissertation. It should be noted that other newspapers that were perceived as being more liberal existed in other parts of South Africa. One such an example is *The Cape Times*. However, the *Rand Daily Mail* trumped *The Cape Times*' circulation significantly (*The Cape Times* only enjoyed a readership of 66,522),⁴¹⁸ which is why this publication was selected.

Similarly, *Die Vaderland*, a pro-United Party newspaper,⁴¹⁹ would serve as the largest evening daily in the Transvaal during this period, with a readership of 47 571.⁴²⁰ The Cape Province's *Die Burger*, only enjoyed the readership of 42,754 individuals.⁴²¹ The decision was taken to study daily newspapers, as opposed to weekly publications such as *The Sunday Times* and *The Sunday Express* despite their higher circulation figures, as the articles in weekly newspapers are summative in nature, with a distinct purpose to provide an overview of events, as opposed to the immediacy and detail associated with daily newspapers. Thus for the purpose of this dissertation, one of the largest English daily's, as well as the largest Afrikaans daily in the Transvaal, were studied.

Lastly, the *Christian Recorder*, was a weekly publication that included Christian articles contributed by authors from an array of Christian denominations, including Baptist, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Lutheran, Catholic, Anglican and Methodists. This weekly paper focused on matters relating mostly to the personal endeavour of being a good Christian, discussing topics such as church membership, alcoholism, religious

⁴¹⁵ M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 304.

⁴¹⁶ M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 304.

⁴¹⁷ M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 305.

⁴¹⁸ M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 304.

⁴¹⁹ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga (eds.), *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 292.

⁴²⁰ M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 305.

⁴²¹ M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 305.

studies and even communism. The *Christian Recorder* was blatantly opposed to apartheid and its policies and the discrimination and ill-treatment of people was labelled as “un-Christian” by them. This publication was selected, as the majority of missionary newspapers had by this time either become intermittent or had ceased to exist. This includes the *South African Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review* (1850 – 1856); the *South African Christian Watchman* (1846 – 1865); the *Christian Herald* (1838); and the Lovedale Mission Press’s various associated newspapers, which existed from 1870 to 1922. Conversely, some publications would find their origins in the late 1970s, such as the *The Christian Leader* and *The Presbyterian Leader* and would subsequently provide little value in terms of contemporary commentary on the Bantu Education Act. The *Christian Recorder*, however, was published from 1951 to 1971 and thus falls within the scope of this study.

Primary sources: a chronological overview

In the wake of the Eiselen Commission’s report submission in 1949, several debates were held in Parliament about contentious issues relating to the education of the black population. However, the Commission’s recommendations would only be released in parliament in 1951, and even then it was initially released unofficially. Preceding that, however, parliamentarians had debates which related most notably to missionary schools and the funding of black education. An example occurred during a House of Assembly debate on 23 May 1950. W.A. Maree (NP) already entertained the idea which was to be entrenched in both the Bantu Education Act and by H.F. Verwoerd in his ministerial,⁴²² and later prime ministerial capacity that education’s primary function was “to prepare [a pupil] for the life that lies ahead of him”.⁴²³ Maree was critical of the role that missionaries played in the educational sphere of the black pupil’s development, as he believed that the missionaries were preparing the black youth for roles in society which were not reserved for them. Another NP member, J.H. Visser, echoed this sentiment, stating that the “simple teaching scheme of the earlier missionaries is of no use today.”⁴²⁴ He further elaborates on the “God-given task” that was placed on the shoulders of the white demographic to educate black

⁴²² Verwoerd served as the Minister of Native Affairs during the discussion and subsequent implementation of the Bantu Education Act.

⁴²³ *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 1019.

⁴²⁴ *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 7024.

pupils, preparing and guiding a scholar so that he could “practically maintain himself in the community in which he is placed”.⁴²⁵ Two representatives for the black population in the House of Assembly, as legally required in Parliament under the Representation of Natives Act of 1936⁴²⁶, were W.H. Stuart and Margaret Ballinger who would both fiercely contest the Bantu Education Act. In this instance, Stuart discussed the dwindling government funding to missionary schools, as well as his unease with the apparent direction that education was taking. As these were preliminary discussions that pre-dated the release of any official report, these discussions did not occur in any remarkable depth, and were not even reported on by the *Rand Daily Mail* or *Die Vaderland*.

The first mention of the imminent upheaval in black education in newspapers would occur less than a month later, when the Eiselen Commission’s findings were officially discussed in Parliament.⁴²⁷ At this stage, several members of the House of Assembly had not yet had the opportunity to study the Commission’s findings, as it had not been translated.⁴²⁸ However, the Minister of Education, Art and Science, Jan Viljoen, made the most important recommendations known on 7 June 1951, so as to ensure that it could be debated to some extent in that particular session. His announcement focused on two aspects relating to black education: firstly, the school feeding scheme for both white and black students; and secondly, the Native’s Education Commission (also informally known as the Eiselen Commission) recommendations. Viljoen highlighted a variety of the recommendations, *inter alia* the need to establish a general development plan for the black population; that education should be controlled by one, central Union department; that the black communities should be actively involved in their own education; the state’s proposed financial contribution to Bantu Education; that the curriculum correspond with the aforementioned development plan; and the periods allocated to different educational phases of black pupils.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 7024.

⁴²⁶ Statutes of the Union of South Africa. *The Representation of Natives Act No 16 of 1936*.

⁴²⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9131 - 9133.

⁴²⁸ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9131 – 9133.

⁴²⁹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9131 – 9133.

The Native Representative, Margaret Ballinger, was quick to draw the House of Assembly's attention to issues of contention.⁴³⁰ Ballinger discarded the Commission's critique in relation to the missionary schools, stating that missionaries had until this point provided the education that they deemed absolutely necessary for the black populace.⁴³¹ She also cautioned against exclusionist education, as it would be to the detriment of society. This is due to the fact that the majority of the black urban population would be required to function in a Western society, without the benefit of a Western educational background under the recommendations made by the Commission.⁴³² In addition, Ballinger cautioned against placing too much trust in a single expert opinion (in this case, Dr. Eiselen) and that previous government intervention in black education, in terms of the provincial system, had failed abysmally. She also highlighted the failures of the contemporary educational system, but contended that it was not just restricted to black education, but that white pupils were also not achieving the desired results at school.⁴³³

In stark contrast, the HNP's S.M. Loubser reacted that the educated black pupil is generally the "agitator" in modern society, and that this serves as grounds to not educate black pupils in the same way as their white counterparts.⁴³⁴ Again, ideas of separate development permeated his philosophies, as he suggested that the black pupil should only be given a university education if the government can reserve a professional role for the student in their own community after their graduation.⁴³⁵ The NP's J.A.F Nel made it clear that the NP's stance had always been to ensure the best possible education for the black population of the country, but cautioned that education under the missionaries was leading black pupils on a "the road to nowhere".⁴³⁶ In an attempt to prove his point, Nel quoted a Zulu captain, who spoke about the wrongs of "Native Education":

What is wrong with Native Education? Look at our educated Natives.

They tower over the masses like the Eucalyptus tree. But what value

⁴³⁰ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9137.

⁴³¹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9134 – 9136.

⁴³² *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9137.

⁴³³ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9139 – 9142.

⁴³⁴ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9143 – 9144.

⁴³⁵ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9143 – 9144.

⁴³⁶ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9153.

do they have for the nation? For the masses, they have the same value as a Eucalyptus tree has for the soil. He exhausts the soil and beyond that he means nothing.⁴³⁷

Nel obviously did not hold the missionaries in very high regard, as he stated that the black educational sphere of South Africa was in a state of chaos and that education was detached from the development of the black population.⁴³⁸ Nel's view was supported by Dr A.J.R. van Rhyen (HNP) who stated that the practice of looking at a black child through the "white man's glasses" would inevitably be to the detriment of the child. He believed that this had been a practice necessitated by the lack of a black educational policy, and subsequently supported the Eiselen Commission's recommendation of developing such a strategy.⁴³⁹

The *Rand Daily Mail* labelled the day's debates as "what was probably the busiest day of the session For the first time both Houses sat right through from 10.45 a.m. until late at night".⁴⁴⁰ However, the detail of their reporting was limited – focusing predominantly on Ballinger's arguments against the Commission's recommendations. It is worth noting, when they published Loubser's retort, they used phrases such as "said Mr. Loubser with a sniff" and "he said with a shudder", indicative of their bias against the HNP's views in this regard, thus portraying him personally, as well as what he said, in a negative light.⁴⁴¹ Despite this intensive debate, *Die Vaderland* decided to rather focus on the promise of four more technical schools and a state library in Pretoria for white students, making no mention whatsoever of the discussions surrounding the Commission or the education of black pupils.⁴⁴²

Tellingly, *Die Vaderland* would only publish its first in-depth article in this regard two years later, when the issue was raised by the Transvaal Provincial Council's R. Feldman, who was in opposition to the Eiselen's Commission's endorsement of taking control of black education from the Provincial Council's hands, and placing the

⁴³⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9153.

⁴³⁸ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9154.

⁴³⁹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9159.

⁴⁴⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1951-06-09, p. 9.

⁴⁴¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1951-06-09, p. 9.

⁴⁴² *Die Vaderland*, 1951-06-09, p. 2.

responsibility at the feet of the Union Government.⁴⁴³ The Council heard many opinions in this regard, including the United Party's leader, T. Bielski, who asserted that the Broederbond was behind providing the Union Government with the responsibility of controlling black education.⁴⁴⁴ The *Rand Daily Mail* also covered the developments of the day, choosing to focus on the fact that Feldman's motion had been rejected. They focused more on Feldman's reasoning behind the motion against Bantu Education, including that the black community themselves should be able to make a decision regarding the education that they were to receive.⁴⁴⁵ The following day, the *Rand Daily Mail* again reported on the Bantu Education Bill, after it had been read in the House of Assembly. This article clarified what the term "Bantu" entailed, as previously the term "Native" had been used to denote the black population of South Africa.⁴⁴⁶ Furthermore, they provided clarity in terms of centralised power provided to the Union Government, as well as the issue of registration of black schools.⁴⁴⁷ Three days later, the *Rand Daily Mail* provided an in-depth piece, written by a political correspondent, on the perceived impact that the Bill would have on society. The one thing that the correspondent stressed, was the fact that centralised power in the hands of the Minister of Native Affairs would mean there would be little accountability or consultation in decision-making.⁴⁴⁸ The *Rand Daily Mail* would continue to have almost daily analysis of the anticipated consequences of the Bill. They also focused on protests against the Bill, by the South African Liberal Party and the Cape Teachers' Federal Council.⁴⁴⁹ Again, *Die Vaderland* did not report on the first reading of the act or the protests against it.

Less than a month later, the House of Assembly debated the Bantu Education Bill again. Stuart referred to America's tumultuous past, drawing parallels between America and South Africa in terms of their respective educational development. He

⁴⁴³ *Die Vaderland*, 1953-08-13, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁴ *Die Vaderland*, 1953-08-13, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-08-12, p. 9.

⁴⁴⁶ The first time that the term "Bantu" was utilised in Parliament was during the Bantu Education Bill's debates. This is as a result of the findings of the Eiselen Commission and the jargon adopted by the report. It is for this reason that often parliamentarians still refer to the black population as "Natives", as this term had been used to denote the black population preceding the introduction of the word "Bantu". The two words are thus used interchangeably by MP's.

⁴⁴⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-08-14, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-08-17, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-08-18, p. 9.

did this by paraphrasing the American senator, R.C. Winthrop, as stating: “slavery is but half abolished while millions are left without education”.⁴⁵⁰ J.L.V. Liebenberg of the NP lashed back by stating that missionaries had since the beginning of their educational endeavours been providing black pupils with a scholastic replica of that which white pupils were receiving, transforming them into “English copies”.⁴⁵¹ He subsequently accused the missionary schools of acting “wastefully” with their finances, as no black pupil had been educated to “develop their own sense of value”.⁴⁵² *Die Vaderland* chose to focus on this wastefulness of funds, but relating to black schools, as highlighted by Liebenberg, as well as highlighting the NP view that the current educational system was undermining black cultural practices.⁴⁵³

In addition, the issue of the funding of Bantu Education was also discussed in the House of Assembly, as well as the admission of black students to the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand.⁴⁵⁴ The *Rand Daily Mail* approached the day’s events by concentrating specifically on this, labelling it “university apartheid”.⁴⁵⁵ This was a policy in line with an article they had published the day before detailing the account of white and black pupils studying side-by-side at university level, something which was unacceptable in the eyes of the NP. The *Rand Daily Mail* assumed a derisive attitude to the progression of events in the House of Assembly. They stated that Minister Viljoen’s response to Loubser, who had “shouted” out against perceived communism at universities, “did not develop the fire and brimstone theme [and that his reply] sounded almost like an apology to the iron men of the master race”.⁴⁵⁶ They also gave coverage of the Labour Party’s leader Alex Hepple’s stance that the government should cease its interference with the freedom of thought at tertiary institutions.⁴⁵⁷

During the second reading of the Bantu Education Bill, Verwoerd declared that:

⁴⁵⁰ *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2832.

⁴⁵¹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2836.

⁴⁵² *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2838.

⁴⁵³ *Die Vaderland*, 1953-09-02, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁴ *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2856.

⁴⁵⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-09-02, p. 4

⁴⁵⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-09-02, p. 4.

⁴⁵⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-09-02, p. 4.

racial relations could not improve so long as the wrong kind of education was given to Natives by persons who, by instilling into them false expectations, turned them into frustrated people who expected more than their country could provide.⁴⁵⁸

He continued to say that provincial control was ineffective and expensive. In addition, he commented on the “absurdity” associated with teaching an average black pupil general world and academic subjects (such as mathematics and science) and that they should only be taught skills deemed to be useful to their future life. In addition, this debate also saw the missionary school system come under fire by the NP’s Albert Hertzog, who stated that their educational philosophy attempted to “convert the Native into a European”.⁴⁵⁹ Some of the critique against the Bill also came from the UP’s D.L. Smit, who argued that educational development for black pupils could no longer be delayed.⁴⁶⁰

Die Vaderland focused on Verwoerd’s utterances in the House of Assembly by detailing how Bantu Education would be implemented in terms of making it more cost-effective and unified. They also gave details of the three goals of the Department in ensuring that the policy was implemented effectively. Furthermore, *Die Vaderland* quoted Verwoerd as saying that he would not beat around the bush stating that missionary education would be taken over by the government.⁴⁶¹ The double-page feature also focused on the announced support of the legislation by respective provinces, after Eiselen’s thorough report. As appears to be the norm with the *Rand Daily Mail* in this regard, the newspaper focused on the opposition’s reaction to Verwoerd’s speech. They chose to pay attention to the fact that Verwoerd aimed to educate the black population on lines “different from European children”.⁴⁶² In their opinion, Bantu Education was “illogical and undesirable”, quoting the UP’s P.A. Moore of equating the system to the science of education applied by communist Russia and Nazi Germany.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁸ *Keesings record of world events*, 1953. p. 13350.

⁴⁵⁹ *Keesings record of world events*, 1953. p. 13350.

⁴⁶⁰ *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2838.

⁴⁶¹ *Die Vaderland*, 1953-09-18, pp. 2 – 3.

⁴⁶² *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-09-18, p. 9.

⁴⁶³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-09-18, p. 9.

After the Bill's third reading in the House of Assembly, the Act was passed in the Senate, on 1 October 1953 by 21 votes to 14.⁴⁶⁴ The following year would see the first year in South African history where the Bantu Education Act was implemented and the backlash by missionary institutions was significant. The year 1954 was an interesting period for South Africa, as other apartheid legislation that was promulgated eclipsed the coverage of the implementation of Bantu Education, especially since the Bantu Education Act was no longer being actively debated in as much detail in Parliament. As a result, the debate about Bantu Education's budget in the House of Assembly in March and April received a distinct lack of coverage by newspapers. The sentiment in Parliament, however, was that whites should cease to carry the burden of financing education for a sector of the population that they are not part of.⁴⁶⁵ As time progressed, several aspects were debated in a notably more restricted manner than the debates during the second and third readings. Some matters that arose include the Native's Representative, Stuart, expressing his concern about the diminishing power of the mission schools, while the NP's Maree contended that it was high time for the missionaries to put their personal ambitions and agendas to bed.⁴⁶⁶

In a separate session, when the Bantu Education Amendment Act was being read for the second time,⁴⁶⁷ the UP's Smit again highlighted his concern about the imminent closure of missionary institutions, such as at Lovedale, Tiger Kloof and Adams Mission.⁴⁶⁸ Technical aspects of the amended Act were also discussed, such as what could be defined as a "Bantu Community School" and why mission schools could not fall under this category. Stuart also criticised the government's continued eradication of mission schools with Ballinger echoing his sentiments. However, Verwoerd would refute these statements, saying that from an administrative point of view, missionary schools could not be accommodated.⁴⁶⁹ The *Rand Daily Mail* did not cover this debate, and rather focused on Verwoerd's comments regarding South Africa's

⁴⁶⁴ Statutes of the Union of South Africa. *Bantu Education Act No. 47, 1953*.

⁴⁶⁵ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 84, pp. 2853, 3806 and 4007.

⁴⁶⁶ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 86, pp. 6716 – 6724.

⁴⁶⁷ This amended Act was labeled as a short, simple, small and unimportant Bill by Minister Verwoerd.

⁴⁶⁸ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 84, p. 6980.

⁴⁶⁹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 84, p. 6993.

position in South West Africa.⁴⁷⁰ *Die Vaderland*, however, assured its readers that Verwoerd resolved in the House of Assembly to continue the good work of the church. Their report details how, according to Verwoerd, the state would reimburse mission schools for any losses that they would potentially suffer in the process of centralising the control of black schools under the Union Government.⁴⁷¹

These developments would unsurprisingly eventually lead to a public outcry by missionaries. The *Christian Recorder* made its first objections against Bantu Education in a front-page article in August 1954, entitled “Bantu Education may cease to be Christian”.⁴⁷² It lashed out against the Act, stating that it was a “poor reward” for missionaries’ past efforts to educate black South Africans. This article revealed the *Christian Recorder’s* apprehension with unfolding events, stating that the proposed education that black pupils would receive under the apartheid government is “not education at all”.⁴⁷³

The *Christian Recorder* also explored the implications of apartheid and the Bantu Education Act. The Methodist J.B. Webb was quoted as saying that such

far-reaching legislative activity cannot but throw the whole country into a state of turmoil and restlessness ... [and] that the underlying principles of much of this legislation are ethically indefensible and wrong from a Christian point of view.⁴⁷⁴

According to Webb, Christians had to make up their own minds about whether they could cooperate with such morally deplorable legislation, as it did not serve in the best interest of the black population.⁴⁷⁵ As time progressed, the *Christian Recorder* elaborated on their resolution regarding Bantu Education, in the hopes that the system would be reconsidered to become encouraging for black pupils, that the church would be consulted, and that financial provisions to mission schools would be

⁴⁷⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-06-08, p. 9.

⁴⁷¹ *Die Vaderland*, 1954-06-08, p. 3.

⁴⁷² *Christian Recorder*, 1954-08-06, p. 1.

⁴⁷³ *Christian Recorder*, 1954-07-09, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁴ *Christain Recorder*, 1954-10-29, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁵ *Christian Recorder*, 1954-10-29, p. 1.

reconsidered.⁴⁷⁶ As the implementation was still in its early days, the religious bodies also expressed their uncertainty about whether or not the curriculum would provide black pupils with similar training to that which their white counterparts were receiving.⁴⁷⁷

In addition to the *Christian Recorder*, the *Rand Daily Mail* also covered churches' reactions to Bantu Education extensively in this period. This included reporting on the Anglican bishops' meetings to discuss the threat that the state posed to the church;⁴⁷⁸ the state's lack of consultation with missionary schools preceding the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, as detailed by Father Trevor Huddleston; the reckless burdening of the poorest demographic of South Africa's society to pay for their own education;⁴⁷⁹ the Anglican clergy's discontent with the injustices of the Act;⁴⁸⁰ and how the Bantu Education Act was a "blot on South Africa's good name", as expressed by Rev. Robert Selby Taylor.⁴⁸¹ Further critique by the *Rand Daily Mail* included interviews with the clergy stating that churches should desist from accepting the Act;⁴⁸² comments by readers about the evils associated with the Act;⁴⁸³ and even publishing a request by Rev. Ambrose Reeves, imploring churches to not interfere in political issues unless there was violence associated with the issue.⁴⁸⁴

Die Vaderland was not oblivious to the churches' criticism of the system, although their coverage was notably less comprehensive, due to the fact that it was predominantly English-speaking churches which were in opposition to the Bantu Education Act. As with the *Rand Daily Mail*, they covered the Anglican opposition to the Act, elaborating on how the church had no choice in the matter and retained no desire to be associated with the Act. *Die Vaderland* juxtaposed this article with a report, based on a statement by the deputy Minister of Bantu Education, F. de Villiers, claiming that the Bantu Education Act would be to the ultimate advantage of

⁴⁷⁶ *Christian Recorder*, 1954-10-22, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁷ *Christian Recorder*, 1954-08-06, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-10-28, p. 11.

⁴⁷⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-10-27, p. 11.

⁴⁸⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-10-25, p. 9.

⁴⁸¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-10-25, p. 11.

⁴⁸² *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-11-13, p. 6.

⁴⁸³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-11-4, p. 10.

⁴⁸⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-10-4, p. 11

black pupils.⁴⁸⁵ In another report, *Die Vaderland* referred to the increasing international backlash by churches across the world, most notably the Anglicans and their resolution to assist South African churches.⁴⁸⁶ In mentioning Afrikaans-speaking churches, *Die Vaderland* also reported that the Dutch Reformed Church would respect the traditions of different cultural groupings, as stipulated in the Bantu Education Act, on the condition that religious studies were not neglected.⁴⁸⁷

At a later stage, both the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Die Vaderland* reported on Verwoerd's presence at a so-called indaba between him and local chiefs. According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, Verwoerd believed that English churches were opposed to the system of Bantu Education, as the "milk of the cow" would cease, in the form of government subsidies to mission schools, while the Afrikaans churches realised the importance of the legislation and subsequently supported it.⁴⁸⁸ *Die Vaderland* took a different angle, focusing instead on local chiefs' gratitude that Verwoerd had called the indaba, making no mention of the Bantu Education Act and Verwoerd's utterances on the day.⁴⁸⁹ In the interim, the *Christian Recorder* was still speculating on the consequences of the Act, exploring the possible implications of the decision to train more female educators and establish more training colleges.⁴⁹⁰

The House of Assembly would eventually start debating the consequences of the Bantu Education Act again in 1955, when the Finance Amendment Bill was under discussion. During this debate, Verwoerd announced the government's intention to subsidise black education, but pointed out as before that the black community should take greater financial responsibility in funding their own education.⁴⁹¹ During the third reading of this amended Bill a day later, Ballinger raised her concern at the notable lack of funding for black education.⁴⁹² The *Rand Daily Mail* mentioned the day's events in passing, focusing predominantly on the UP Moore's support of educational

⁴⁸⁵ *Die Vaderland*, 1954-10-25, p. 11.

⁴⁸⁶ *Die Vaderland*, 1954-10-28, p. 24.

⁴⁸⁷ *Die Vaderland*, 1954-12-09, p. 2.

⁴⁸⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-11-15, p. 11.

⁴⁸⁹ *Die Vaderland*, 1954-11-15, p. 12.

⁴⁹⁰ *Christian Recorder*, 1954-11-12, pp. 1 and 8.

⁴⁹¹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1955. Volume 87, p. 256.

⁴⁹² *House of Assembly debates*, 1955. Volume 87, p. 628.

freedom.⁴⁹³ *Die Vaderland* rather chose to report on the Minister of Education, Art and Science's ambitions to coordinate educational institutions.⁴⁹⁴ The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported on Verwoerd's promise to Parliament to increase the quality of black education, utilising the same amount of money, with better results.⁴⁹⁵ *Die Vaderland* explored the expansion of 'non-white' universities, most notably to be concentrated in Durban and at Fort Hare.⁴⁹⁶

The debates, in both Parliament and in print, that would follow, all relate to the consequences of the Bantu Education Act. This includes the closure of the Fort Hare University College early in May 1955 by the state after reports of a secret student organisation that reportedly used violence to coerce students into participating in their activities.⁴⁹⁷ The official government response to the closure strongly criticised the attitude of students, but failed to mention or elaborate on the secret "caucus".⁴⁹⁸ *Die Vaderland* reported on the official statement made by Minister Viljoen, elaborating that the University College of Fort Hare would reopen once the necessary steps were taken to restore order.⁴⁹⁹ The *Christian Recorder* also weighed in on the closure, stating that the University College of Fort Hare had strong anti-Christian sentiments present, attributing its closure to elements such as "drunkenness, immorality and political agitation".⁵⁰⁰ The *Rand Daily Mail's* editors decided to rather go for the angle of the student perspective on their front page, interviewing several students claiming that they were never threatened and they wanted to return to the educational institution.⁵⁰¹

Another educational institution which was forced to close its doors by the government in 1956 was the Anglican private school, Christ the King in Sophiatown, Johannesburg. The *Rand Daily Mail* explored Verwoerd's refusal to explain why the school was shut down, quoting Dr Eiselen, who signed the order in his capacity as the Secretary for Native Affairs, as saying that the reasons would only be released "if

⁴⁹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1955-02-02, p. 11.

⁴⁹⁴ *Die Vaderland*, 1955-02-02, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1955-02-03, p. 11.

⁴⁹⁶ *Die Vaderland*, 1955-02-03, p. 4.

⁴⁹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1955-05-05, pp. 1 and 2.

⁴⁹⁸ *Keesings record of world events*, 1955 p. 14455.

⁴⁹⁹ *Die Vaderland*, 1955-05-06, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁰ *Christian Recorder*, 1955-09-09, p. 1.

⁵⁰¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1955-05-06, p. 1.

and when” Verwoerd decided to.⁵⁰² In a follow-up article a month later, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that the UP’s Moore accused Verwoerd of vindictiveness in closing down the Anglican school. This accusation was vehemently denied by Verwoerd in the House of Assembly.⁵⁰³ *Die Vaderland* echoed this, by reporting on the dispute between members of Parliament, Moore (UP) and Verwoerd (NP).⁵⁰⁴ Verwoerd would eventually declare that the school was closed, due to fees being charged and an “undesirable spirit” being present in the institution.⁵⁰⁵ Verwoerd did not explain what this “undesirable spirit” entailed.

The second reading of the Bantu Education Amendment Act took place in 1956, to solve some administrative difficulties that had arisen since the implementation of the original Act three years before. Verwoerd’s motivation of the Amendment Act was indicative of a desire for greater state control of black schools. Verwoerd also specified the increase in school fees that the black parent would have to contribute to the educational development of their child.⁵⁰⁶ In accordance with this Bill, the Minister would also have greater control over the approval, or disapproval, of the registration of black schools, providing him with “no limits” to his power.⁵⁰⁷ The Amendment Act also permitted the Minister of Native Affairs to delegate responsibilities and his power to the Secretary of Native Affairs in the instance where the Minister’s approval was needed to alter school subsidies.⁵⁰⁸ The debate was resumed the following day at the request of opposition MPs, and highlighted an array of issues, such as the reasons behind the closure of Christ the King school the previous year and clearing up confusion regarding the required regularity of registration of schools and increase of school fees.⁵⁰⁹ Neither the *Rand Daily Mail* or *Die Vaderland* reported on these debates. The Bill was eventually passed in Senate on 9 May 1956 by 49 votes to seven.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰² *Rand Daily Mail*, 1956-02-08, p. 1.

⁵⁰³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1956-03-07, p. 11.

⁵⁰⁴ *Die Vaderland*, 1956-03-07, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁵ *Keesings record of world events*, 1956 p. 15109.

⁵⁰⁶ *House of Assembly debates*, 1956. Volume 91, pp. 3870 - 3884.

⁵⁰⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1956. Volume 91, pp. 3870 - 3884.

⁵⁰⁸ *Keesings record of world events*, 1956 p. 15109.

⁵⁰⁹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1956. Volume 91, pp. 4503 – 4518.

⁵¹⁰ *House of Assembly debates*, 1956. Volume 91, pp. 4503 – 4518.

As time progressed, individuals and institutions began resisting Bantu Education and its consequences on a far larger scale. The Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand saw increased protests against what they labelled “academic apartheid”.⁵¹¹ *Die Vaderland* attributed these protests to political agitators.⁵¹² The protests were as a result of the Separate University Education Bill,⁵¹³ which provided for the establishment of apartheid in all universities in the country.⁵¹⁴ The Bill was eventually passed on the 30th of April 1959, after its third reading, by 69 votes to 47.⁵¹⁵ In other displays of resistance, African delegates at a conference at the Bochabela Location in Bloemfontein, sponsored by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, denounced apartheid and the problems associated with its education policies.⁵¹⁶ Of the African tribal representatives from South Africa, the Rhodesias and Central Africa, more than half were missionaries or ministers of religion. These delegates emphasised the importance of the incorporation of Bantu studies and the Bantu language as full subjects in the matriculation curriculum of white schools.⁵¹⁷

The most notable protests against the Bantu Education Act, however, were to come a decade and a half later with the Soweto Riots, which occurred on the 16th of June 1976. This was triggered after the apartheid government resolved to make Afrikaans the *lingua franca* in black schools. Unsurprisingly, the event received extensive coverage in both the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Die Vaderland*, with both newspapers featuring a collection of articles and photographs relating to the day’s events. The *Rand Daily Mail* featured articles with headlines ranging from the army being on stand-by, to the government having been warned of the impending event by a member of parliament before it occurred.⁵¹⁸ The newspaper also focused on black reaction, including commentary by the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu, as well as homeland leaders.⁵¹⁹ *Die Vaderland’s* response to the riots was more emotive, referring to the arson of several buildings and how one of the

⁵¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1956-10-03, p. 9.

⁵¹² *Die Vaderland*, 1956-10-06, p. 2.

⁵¹³ Statutes of the Union of South Africa. Extension of University Education Act, Act No 45 of 1959.

⁵¹⁴ *Keesings record of world events*, 1956 p. 15798.

⁵¹⁵ *Keesings record of world events*, 1959 p. 16842.

⁵¹⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1956-10-06, p. 7.

⁵¹⁷ *Keesings record of world events*, 1956 p. 15159.

⁵¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1976-06-17, p. 1.

⁵¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1976-06-17, p. 2.

murdered white victims had dedicated his life to assisting the black community. It also featured young gangs and anticipated how a “weekend of fear” lay ahead.⁵²⁰ The Minister of Justice and Police, James T. Kruger, would also release an official statement in the House of Assembly the day after the riots, detailing the number of “official” casualties. In addition, he also expressed that it was regrettable that so many buildings were destroyed and that lives were lost.⁵²¹ The blame for the incident was also placed on the shoulders of the “tsotsi” element in Soweto, and not the instruction of black pupils in Afrikaans. Kruger commented that black people were “grateful for what government is doing to uplift them.”⁵²² C.W. Eglin from the Progressive Reform Party stated that although the opposition was deeply shocked they were not surprised, as pupils were given no choice but to revolt.⁵²³ Not surprisingly, the revolts and the subsequent reaction by the police in suppressing them, were met with wide-spread condemnation by the international community.

Marxist school

With the parliamentary discussions and newspaper reports highlighted above in mind, the Marxist historiographical school with regards to Bantu Education will be analysed. It is worth bearing in mind that the Marxist school of thought approached Bantu Education as a mere continuation of missionary education which was essentially paternalistic in nature and also undermined the educational abilities of its black pupils. Beyond believing that the missionaries lay the foundation for marginalised education for the black youth in South Africa, the Marxists, such as Legassick, believe that education was a tool of extra-economic coercion, preparing black students for the life that was predetermined for them by the white minority. The Marxist historians also argue that education was used as a tool for ensuring a steady labour reproduction device.

During a debate in the House of Assembly, NP member of parliament Maree stated that the state could not allow missionary education to continue, as they regarded it as

⁵²⁰ *Die Vaderland*, 1976-06-17, pp. 1 – 4.

⁵²¹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1976. Volume 21, p. 9714.

⁵²² *Keesings record of world events*, 1976 p. 27888.

⁵²³ *House of Assembly debates*, 1976. Volume 21, pp. 9705 – 9714.

a “wrong system”.⁵²⁴ This is indicative of the fact that there was something inherently misguided with missionary education – a stance that the Marxist historians identify with. Another NP member, Visser alleged during the debate that missionary education had failed to educate the black population to the point that they would be able to assume responsibility for their own education and that the apartheid government would attempt to “teach him to stand on his own legs in the distant future”.⁵²⁵ Furthermore, he stressed how missionaries taught black pupils only elementary skills such as to:

read his Bible, to know the catechism and be able to sing psalms and hymns The missionary also taught the Native handicrafts. The Native built his own church; he built his own school; he built his own little hospital and the girls at the missionary stations were taught to be good housewives The simple teaching scheme of earlier missionaries is of no use today.⁵²⁶

This view of Visser is shared by several of the Marxist historians, in that missionaries also had their own personal agenda of spreading Christian principles within their mission stations, teaching black pupils to serve within a predetermined mould in their society. In opposition to Visser’s view, Ballinger discussed the poor attendance figures at schools, stating that only forty percent of black pupils attended school under missionary education, but that the figure had not improved since the government had put education under provincial control. This statistic is used by both the Marxist and traditional historians. The Marxists historians postulate that this is proof that missionary education undermined black pupils, whilst the traditional historians are of the opinion that this is indicative that government intervention in education did not necessarily equate to improved figures of attendance at schools.

Meanwhile, the HNP’s Loubser argued that the reason why black agitators existed in society was as a result of being provided with a tertiary education which could not be applied to a career, as no position would be reserved for that particular pupil.⁵²⁷ This

⁵²⁴ *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 7019.

⁵²⁵ *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 7023.

⁵²⁶ *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 7023.

⁵²⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9144.

resonates with the Marxist view that education was used as a method of securing a form of labour reproduction. In an attempt to further prove their point, Marxist historians referred to the lack of funding provided to black pupils under missionary education as a testimony to black pupils being undermined.⁵²⁸ In addition, they also referred to direct expenses associated to Bantu Education once the system had been implemented.⁵²⁹

The NP's Nel, in his inference that missionary education placed black pupils on a "road to nowhere", indicated that it was the government's intention to provide black pupils with the best possible schooling, especially with the intention of preparing them for their role in a society, which would develop separately. Again, this argument made by the NP supports the Marxist historians' view that missionary education was inferior. Nel quoted a Zulu captain's comparison of education to the black community being like a Eucalyptus tree to illustrate his point (refer to the quote earlier in this chapter), which supported his argument, proverbially from the horse's mouth. Again, this instance serves as proof of an instance which the Marxist school could have referred to in order to illuminate their hypotheses.

The NP's Liebenberg focused on what he labelled the massively wasteful expenditure which he believed missionary schooling entailed, as a large amount of capital was being expended, without the benefit of having black pupils gaining a relevant sense of value.⁵³⁰ In addition, Liebenberg stated that 98 percent of all black children never developed further than standard two.⁵³¹ This point supports the Marxist view that missionary educators were not developing black pupils sufficiently. Liebenberg continues to express his discontent with the fact that no significant progress had been made thus far, and that any further delay would have dire consequences in all spheres of society. The Marxists also do not perceive educational development as an isolated instance, and that development in South

⁵²⁸ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9147.

⁵²⁹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 84, p. 2853.

⁵³⁰ *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2837.

⁵³¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1953-09-01, p. 2.

Africa occurred in line with economic interests and developments, such as urbanisation and the apartheid government's response of a policy of influx control.⁵³²

The Marxist school of historiography, however, were not wholly oblivious to the changes that the apartheid government would implement to black schooling, and as a result Verwoerd's speeches, are often a tantamount primary source to their studies with his explicit statements regarding Bantu Education and apartheid.⁵³³

Verwoerd's sentiments were supported by other members of the NP. Maree, in his capacity as a NP member of parliament, noted that education for black pupils had, under missionary control, been a luxury reserved for a select few pupils, which was not aimed at the overall upliftment of black students.⁵³⁴ Again, this point of view is in accordance with the Marxist argument of paternalistic missionary education reserved only for a select few, choice pupils. The Marxist point of view is further supported by the Eiselen Commission's interview with black individuals, in an attempt to ascertain attitudes towards their educational circumstances. The majority of black individuals indicated their dissatisfaction with missionary education, as they believed that they were being placed at a disadvantage due to the missionary influence in their education and lack of formal certificates that their white counterparts enjoyed.⁵³⁵ Furthermore, missionary education in its endeavour to produce Christian individuals, was contributing to the detribalisation of black pupils, an issue that Maree would stress during a parliamentary debate in 1954.⁵³⁶ The lack of a formal curriculum was also attributed as a sign of weakness by both contemporaries and the Marxist historians.⁵³⁷

While the English religious bodies were struggling against their schools facing dramatically decreased state subsidies, the Dutch Reformed Church pronounced its support of Bantu Education. Verwoerd utilised this support of the Afrikaans church as evidence of the apartheid government's good work in this regard and the English-

⁵³² *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2839.

⁵³³ *Keesings record of world events*, 1954. p. 13351.

⁵³⁴ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 86, p. 6717.

⁵³⁵ *Report of the Commission on Native Education*, 1949 – 1951. UG No. 53/1951, p. 43.

⁵³⁶ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 86, p. 6723.

⁵³⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 86, p. 6768.

speaking churches' failure in educating the black masses.⁵³⁸ The lack of providing quality education to the masses of black pupils further supports the Marxist stance regarding substandard missionary schooling. In addition, the Dutch Reformed Church was of the opinion that missionary institutions were mistaken in thinking that they could successfully educate the masses.⁵³⁹ Furthermore, black tribal leaders at the Olifantsriver indaba, mentioned earlier in this chapter, supported and even expressed their gratitude to the apartheid government for the perceived "good work" that they had done in comparison to their circumstances preceding the apartheid government's successes.⁵⁴⁰

Verwoerd was also highly critical of the wastefulness of the missionaries with regards to the manner in which they funded their endeavours, stating that the Christian institutions had not utilised their funds effectively and that the apartheid government would ensure that they would do "much more with the same money".⁵⁴¹

Traditional school

As stated earlier, the traditional school of thinking believed that the 1953 Bantu Education Act was the pivotal, watershed moment in securing a controlled and cheap labour force for South Africa, specifically by undermining the education of its black population. The consequences of the Act would be long-lasting and devastating, in that the centralised educational system under Bantu Education ensured total control for the state.

The NP's Maree stated during a debate in the House of Assembly in 1950 that the previous educational system, adopted by the previous government, was flawed as it was not preparing black pupils for the lives that lay ahead of them.⁵⁴² The fact that the NP believed this to be true in the wake of the Eiselen Commission (1951) preparing to release its findings, suggests that the NP was already formulating its approach to education once it gained control in 1948. The NP's Visser further elaborated on the government's intentions during this particular debate, stating that it

⁵³⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1954-11-15, p. 11.

⁵³⁹ *Die Vaderland*, 1954-12-09, p. 2.

⁵⁴⁰ *Die Vaderland*, 1954-11-15, p. 12.

⁵⁴¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1955-02-03, pp. 11 – 12.

⁵⁴² *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 7019.

is their “God-given task” to act as guardians in ensuring that black education would guide pupils to be prepared for the role which is reserved for them in society. Visser also explicitly stated that a European educational system should not be applied to black pupils, as it is “totally unsuitable” in the undertaking of preparing the black pupils for their future.⁵⁴³ This argument supports the traditional historiographical approach that the Bantu Education Act would serve as seminal legislation in South Africa.

During a debate in Parliament in 1951, the Minister of Education, Art and Science, Viljoen discussed the core recommendations of the Eiselen Commission ahead of it being released officially.⁵⁴⁴ These recommendations, along with the Commission’s report itself,⁵⁴⁵ served as a foundation for the majority of traditional historians, to serve as primary evidence of the encompassing changes that Bantu Education would bring to the scholastic sphere of black society. In analysing *Hansards*, it becomes apparent that the traditional historians support the view of the liberal members of Parliament of that time, despite using the NP’s legislation as a guide for their stances. This is reinforced by Ballinger’s argument during the same debate in Parliament that missionary education ensured that it released the “intelligence of the community” and that missionary education enabled schooling to be provided to the community which was absolutely necessary for uplifting them.⁵⁴⁶ Similarly, the black population had to, according to Ballinger, receive an education that would assist them in developing Western values, as that is ultimately the circumstances in which they would find employment, casting doubt on whether Eiselen’s recommendations would enable this.⁵⁴⁷ This foresight points towards the educational decay under Bantu Education, which the traditional historians focus on in great depth.

As with the Marxists, the traditional historians also refer to debates in Parliament surrounding the funding of black schools, to further their stance regarding Bantu Education. One such instance is the figures highlighted by the UP’s Smit during a Parliamentary debate about the school feeding scheme, where £5,644,00 was

⁵⁴³ *House of Assembly debates*, 1950. Volume 72, p. 7024.

⁵⁴⁴ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, pp. 9130 – 9133.

⁵⁴⁵ *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949 – 1951*. UG No. 53/1951.

⁵⁴⁶ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9136.

⁵⁴⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9137.

reserved for this purpose.⁵⁴⁸ In addition, funding statistics given in Parliament once the Bantu Education Act was fully operational, also served to provide these historians with “official” statistics.⁵⁴⁹

Statistics, such as those mentioned above, would form a solid foundation of the traditional historians’ hypotheses in analysing the increasing financial burden placed on the shoulders of the black parents under the Bantu Education Act. This ensured that the apartheid policy in essence paid its own expenses. These figures were discussed in great detail during debates in the House of Assembly.⁵⁵⁰

The NP’s Nel’s view pertaining to wasteful missionary expenditure, as discussed above, was used by both the Marxist historians and the traditional historians. The Marxist group interpreted the statement as proof of their argument of substandard education by the missionaries, whilst the traditional historians could use Nel’s view to allude to the dramatic change which was about to occur in black schooling. Nel also referred to the chaos which reigned in black education in the early 1950s, as there was no central authority in command of it.⁵⁵¹ The HNP’s van Rhyen further supported this view, by stating that a central educational authority would be able to successfully relegate the black community to a system that would prepare them for the lives that lay ahead of them as “subordinate members of society”.⁵⁵² Lastly, with reference to this particular Parliamentary debate, the *Rand Daily Mail* quoted the NP member of parliament, Loubser as saying that by providing bursaries, as well as high quality and expensive education to black pupils, the government was “taking the bread out of the mouths of our own children”.⁵⁵³ This view supports numerous traditional historians’ hypotheses, most notably that of Cynthia Kros, in that Bantu Education would serve as a cog in the greater apartheid machine, which was wholly geared towards ensuring the best opportunities for the white demographic of the country’s population, in line with their ideas of self-determination.

⁵⁴⁸ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9147.

⁵⁴⁹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 84, p. 2853.

⁵⁵⁰ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 84, p. 2806.

⁵⁵¹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9153.

⁵⁵² *House of Assembly debates*, 1951. Volume 76, p. 9160.

⁵⁵³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1951-06-09, p.9.

The *Rand Daily Mail's* angle regarding the Eiselen Commission falls within the traditional group, as it reported cautiously about the complete control that the Minister of Native Affairs would be able to exercise, notably in making vital determinations. The consequence of being able to “order mission and other private schools to conform to his ideas and to use official syllabuses” is indicative of foresight at that time, pertaining to the extent of the Bantu Education Act.⁵⁵⁴ Similarly, the South African Liberal Party’s utterances that it would make “serious inroads on personal freedoms” supports the traditional view.⁵⁵⁵

One of the Native Representatives in Parliament in the 1950s, Stuart, enunciated his support to the missionary schools, indicating that they had developed a significantly valuable educational system and that the abolishment of it would be to the detriment of black pupils.⁵⁵⁶ However, the problem with this educational approach, according to Liebenberg (NP), was that this didactic approach to education served as a replica of white education, which in turn transformed black pupils into “mock Englishmen”, a problem when the country was in need of a sustainable labour force.⁵⁵⁷

It is not surprising that the traditional historians would focus in great detail on the utterances of the Minister of Native Affairs at that time. Verwoerd’s commentary was succinct and made the NP government’s intention’s easily discernable. This includes the infamous quote in Parliament that

racial relations could not improve so long as the wrong kind of education was given to Natives by persons who, by instilling into them false expectations, turned them into frustrated people who expected more than their country could provide.⁵⁵⁸

Another utterance made by Verwoerd included that education

should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and the Native community ... The Bantu must be guided

⁵⁵⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1951-08-17, p.1.

⁵⁵⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1951-08-18, p.9.

⁵⁵⁶ *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2831.

⁵⁵⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1953. Volume 82, p. 2836.

⁵⁵⁸ *Keesings record of world events*, 1953. p. 13350.

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.⁵⁵⁹

As a result, traditional historians often refer to these instances to support their view.

The influential South African businessman, Harry F. Oppenheimer, who was a United Party member of parliament as a representative of Kimberley, in 1954 detailed how the Eiselen Commission's recommendations were distorted by the apartheid government to suit their own agenda. In addition, he argued that South Africa was being kept at a disadvantage as a result of its discriminating education system.⁵⁶⁰ This is in line with the traditional view of Bantu Education that the Commission's report would serve as a blueprint not just for subordinate education, but in ensuring large-scale discrimination and affecting the ultimate course that apartheid would take.

The second reading of the Bantu Education Amendment Bill in 1954 also brought to light critique against the government's role in eradicating mission station educational facilities. Stuart again lashed out against the apartheid government, noting that the Amendment Act, if implemented, would give the Minister of Native Affairs total power to do with missionary institutions as he pleased. This warning would eventually come into fruition as the Bill was accepted, and would subsequently provide the traditional historians with tangible consequences of the Bantu Education Act.⁵⁶¹ Verwoerd also gave the assurance during this particular debate, that the black community would be given increased responsibilities in their education.⁵⁶² In addition, Verwoerd provided the explicit reply that it had always been the intention of the Bantu Education Act to remove the educational responsibility from the hands of the missionaries and to place it in the hands of the government, ensuring the complete overhaul of the educational system, as argued by the traditional historians.⁵⁶³

The reaction by various Christian institutions, as detailed earlier in the chronological overview of primary sources, and their apparent disdain for the legislation

⁵⁵⁹ A.N. Pelzer, (ed.), *Verwoerd Speaks*. 1966. p.83.

⁵⁶⁰ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 85, pp. 3718 – 3719.

⁵⁶¹ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 86, p. 6983.

⁵⁶² *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 86, p. 6993.

⁵⁶³ *House of Assembly debates*, 1954. Volume 86, p. 7163.

implemented by the apartheid government, provide primary evidence for the traditional school. This is due to the fact that their discontent stemmed from their educational institutions being shut down and the devastating impact of ending subsidies by the apartheid government. This reaction again supports the traditional view pertaining to Bantu Education, as it serves as proof of its far-reaching implications.

One of the most pivotal moments in supporting the Bantu Education Act as a watershed moment in black schooling came from Verwoerd himself during a debate in the House of Assembly in 1955. In this debate, Verwoerd provided details on the massive overhaul that education would receive. He started by underlining the historical origins of missionary scholarly undertakings and progressed to the apartheid government's ultimate intentions.⁵⁶⁴ The traditional school is in agreement with Verwoerd's stance during this particular Financial Amendment Bill⁵⁶⁵, as this statement, paired with historical evidence, would prove its point. Verwoerd would further detail the extent of the Bantu Education Act in the House of Assembly the following year, indicating that the apartheid government wanted to do "more" with black schooling than had ever historically been provided to the black community.⁵⁶⁶ The Bantu Education Amendment Act would further ensure increased state control of the black schooling system, notably by providing the Minister of Native Affairs with the complete authority to make decisions regarding which schools would be allowed to register.⁵⁶⁷

The fact that it is estimated that five thousand Protestant mission schools had been taken over by the Division of Bantu Education by 1955 is indicative of the traditional school's stance of a complete educational overhaul at the hands of the apartheid government. In accordance with the Bantu Education Act, the number of black pupils attending school increased dramatically as years progressed.⁵⁶⁸ In addition, the autonomy of traditionally "mixed" universities also came into question during debates

⁵⁶⁴ *House of Assembly debates*, 1955. Volume 87, pp. 254 - 258.

⁵⁶⁵ As discussed in parliament during *House of Assembly debates*, 1955. Volume 87, pp. 254 - 258.

⁵⁶⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1955-02-03, pp. 11 – 12.

⁵⁶⁷ *House of Assembly debates*, 1956. Volume 91, pp. 3872 - 3975.

⁵⁶⁸ *Keesings record of world events*, 1956. p. 15156.

surrounding the Separate University Education Bill,⁵⁶⁹ indicative of how Bantu Education and its ideals of separate education would come to permeate all educational facilities.⁵⁷⁰

The final historical evidence that supports the traditional historians' view is that of the Soweto Riots of 1976, in which tensions reached boiling point with regards to the far-reaching and abrasive effects of the Bantu Education Act. Several traditional historians refer to this event in great depth, as it is proof of the rising discontent amongst the youth who had apartheid policies enforced upon them. The dramatic reaction to Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools by pupils, and the ruthless suppression of these revolts by the police, are indicative of the extent of damage that Bantu Education had done to the schooling system.⁵⁷¹ These large-scale revolts, that stretched beyond just Soweto, are used by the traditional school as proof of the extensive impact that Bantu Education would have.

Conclusion

In conclusion, a chronological overview of some select primary sources related to the Bantu Education Act have been discussed. The majority of this chapter's focus was placed on the 1950s, following the conception of the Act through the Eiselen Commission to the implementation of the Act. In addition, due to the fact that the majority of traditional historians also focus on the Soweto Riots of 1976 as a direct consequence of Bantu Education, a succinct discussion was also presented in terms of some of the primary sources.

Thereafter, the Marxist and the traditional schools' historical stances were measured against the selected sources. What was interesting to note is that the Marxist historians' stances were often aligned with the conservative views expressed by members of the HNP and NP in Parliament, which is somewhat of an anomaly with regards to the more radical public perception of Marxism at that time. This, however, by no means suggests that the Marxist historians identify or condone the apartheid government's stance. It rather indicates that these views were in line with the Marxist

⁵⁶⁹ Statutes of the Union of South Africa. *Extension of University Education Act, Act No 45 of 1959.*

⁵⁷⁰ *Keesings record of world events*, 1957. p. 15798.

⁵⁷¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1976-06-17, pp. 1 – 2.

views of labour reproduction and extra-economic coercion, both of which would make sense from the point of view of the apartheid government's intentions with its legislation, specifically pertaining to the black population of the country. Public opinion by members of the NP, with regard to the missionaries and their perceived failure in educating large numbers of black pupils, are also in line with the Marxist views of paternalistic education which entrenched ideas of subordination many years before it would formally become ingrained by the Bantu Education Act. Interestingly, however, one of the main objections that the NP's members had to missionary education was the fact that their scholarly endeavours prepared the black population for a Westernised life – an objective which during that period in history was an incredibly desirable outcome for the black population, as it meant that better employment opportunities could potentially await them after the completion of their schooling. The apartheid government's opposition to missionary schools was that it was preparing black pupils for roles which were not reserved for them in society. This aspect of the NP's approach to mission schools, however, was obviously not embraced by the Marxist interpretations of education preceding apartheid. The Marxist historians, as well as the apartheid government essentially shared critique against missionaries, in that there was: no formalised curriculum that the missionaries followed; subsidies were erratic which led to some missionary institutions were better equipped than others; and that the masses of black pupils did not complete their schooling beyond standard two.

The traditional school also echoes this criticism, but maintain that despite this, the formalisation of the educational system under the apartheid government would see far more far-reaching consequences. In complete contrast to the Marxist historiographical approach to Bantu Education, the traditional group of historians associated themselves to a far greater extent with liberal voices in Parliament. In studying the opposition to the legislation, both in the House of Assembly and in newspapers, the process is facilitated of ascertaining where the difficulties would appear in society once the system was in place and its consequences were beginning to be felt. As so much information exists on the discontent associated with Bantu Education and thus the process of writing about it from a traditional point of view is more logical. Ultimately, when studying the primary sources associated with

Bantu Education, the large-scale overhaul of the educational system on so many levels does point towards the traditional argument that it was indeed a watershed moment.

However, although this dissertation's opinion sways in favour of the traditional school, it is important to note that both sides make valid contributions to the discussion surrounding Bantu Education, and that the system cannot be understood without being mindful of issues such as labour reproduction and economic coercion. Neither of the two schools study or make reference to *Hansards* in an excessive amount of detail, but they do both use the parliamentary debates selectively to provide an overview of the origins and consequences that set in motion a challenge that South Africa still faces to this day. As history is always subjective and a matter of the historian's personal interpretation of their source material, it is quite acceptable that the Marxist and the traditional schools analysed the same sources and came to different conclusions. The information selected by the historians serve to support their arguments and both stances have their merit. Subsequently, in order to grasp a more holistic understanding of Bantu Education with regard to black education's origins at mission stations, legislation and the implementation thereof – these two schools need to be read together.

Chapter 6: School's out: conclusion

This chapter concludes this dissertation by succinctly revisiting the discussions of the previous chapters, relating to the varying discourses about Bantu Education.

Chapter one aimed to introduce the research topic by arguing the circumstances that warranted this dissertation. Certain individuals in the recent past have made utterances that the current educational system is in a state far worse than schooling was under the apartheid government's Bantu Education. Although the reports of decay in the educational sphere persist and are evident in the most recent nationwide #FeesMustFall campaign do point towards an undesirable educational situation for pupils, it is a stretch of imagination to state that Bantu Education was superior to the current education system. Irrespectively, the undeniable fact remains that Bantu Education left a devastating legacy in South Africa, from which it has yet to recover.

In examining historical sources in this regard, it came to light that historians are not in full agreement about the pivotal moment which one can attribute to the contribution of subordinate education to the black population of the country. Christie and Collins placed themselves within a self-imposed "Marxist" trajectory of approaching education, stating that class analysis is imperative in understanding educational development in South Africa.⁵⁷² They further explored the possibility that the missionaries were the first group of white authoritarians who promulgated a paternalistic education system as a form of controlling the black demographic grouping in South Africa. Subsequently, for the purpose of this dissertation, this term was utilised to denote historians whose hypotheses identified with this idea, including Pam Christie and Colin Collins, Martin Legassick, Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp, Harold Wolpe, and John Davies.

On the other hand, a "traditional" group of historians exist, claiming that the Eiselen Commission of 1951, and the subsequent Bantu Education Act (1953), could be approached as the watershed moment in educational history, where a dramatic shift

⁵⁷² P. Christie & C. Collins, 'Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans*, 1984. p. 162.

occurred in formalising a centralised educational system. This group was labelled the traditional school for the purposes of this dissertation. The semantic decision to use the term “traditional” was also clarified, as a term to denote these historians, irrespective of their political world-views. Historians who are classified in this group include apartheid apologists such as J.J. Ross, W.M. Kgware, J.J. de Wet, J.P. van S. Bruwer and John Samuel, as well as historians who wrote from a liberated, largely post-apartheid milieu, such as Cynthia Kros, Bill Nasson, Jonathan Hyslop, Linda Chisholm and Scott Couper. The traditional school thus essentially comprised of two differing groups: one which believed 1953 to be a seminal moment where black South Africans would finally be provided with quality education, in addition to a group which wrote from a post-apartheid point of view, specifically in terms of the devastating impact that Bantu Education would hold.

The aim of this study was two-fold. Firstly, to ascertain why these two schools arrived at different conclusions, despite the same primary source material being at their disposal in the form of *Hansards* and newspapers. Thereafter, the schools were placed in historical context in an attempt to determine the motivation behind their respective views.

Primary sources such as *Hansards* and newspapers were utilised, in addition to various commission reports, such as the Carnegie, Fagan, Sauer and Eiselen Commission, to provide the necessary background for this study. Due to the fact that a large part of this study falls within the trajectory of providing a historiographical overview of various historians, a large part of this dissertation focused on secondary sources. Subsequently, chapter one also detailed a literature review on the various sources consulted.

Chapter two explored the historical origins of black education. The first slave school was initiated by the Dutch East India Company in 1658, in an attempt to educate the ethnically diverse array of slaves in terms of Christianisation and to familiarise them with the Dutch *lingua franca* in the Cape at the time.⁵⁷³ The role that slave schools played in the Cape Colony would become concomitant to the growing slave

⁵⁷³ F. Welsch, *A history of South Africa*, 2002. p. 108.

population, but schools remained relatively poorly equipped and badly managed. It would only be at the turn of the nineteenth century that mission schools would fill the void and actively start educating a large part of the black population in South Africa.⁵⁷⁴ Subsequently, as time progressed, English would become the main language of instruction at these institutions and missionaries made it their goal to Christianise those whom they regarded as 'heathens'.⁵⁷⁵ With urbanisation associated with the mineral revolution in South Africa, the country's labour needs underwent a significant change. Several historians argue that the educational approach by both missionaries and the state would subsequently be revised dramatically. The most significant divergence from missionary schooling would be the Bantu Education Act, implemented by the apartheid government, on the Eiselen Commission's recommendations. This chapter also analysed the role of the contemporary educational 'expert', Charles T. Loram, whose approach to education played a large role in influencing the Eiselen Commission. Thereafter, the chapter discussed the changes that would arise under the new government-controlled schooling system. These changes would eventually see a wave of resistance, including the infamous Soweto Riots of 1976. Ultimately, by the 1980s, education in South Africa would undergo a massive overhaul, in an attempt to quell the growing discontent in a politically volatile climate.

The third chapter analysed the Marxist school of thinking. An overview of Marxist theory, and a definition of the Marxist school of thought related to this study, was provided. Following the theoretical discussion, different Marxist historians were analysed. This included Christie and Collins, Legassick, Hartwig and Sharp, Wolpe, and Davies. Each of these historians' educational interpretation was analysed and discussed within the Marxist trajectory. Following this analysis, the historians were also placed in historical context, in an attempt to determine the reasons behind their respective historical stance. With the majority of these historians, this context is imperative, as the uncertain economic and political circumstances from which they

⁵⁷⁴ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007. p. 101.

⁵⁷⁵ F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984. p. 67.

approached their research would necessitate them to construe an argument which provides an explanation for that time.

Chapter four had a similar approach with the traditional historiographical school of Bantu Education. Structurally, this chapter started by examining historians in terms of their historical merit and contributions to the topic of Bantu Education. Thereafter, the historical context from which these historians wrote was discussed. Historians discussed in this chapter included, but are not limited to, Cynthia Kros, J.J. Ross, W.M. Kgware, Bill Nasson, Jonathan Hyslop and Scott Couper. The majority of these historians believe that Bantu Education would serve as a watershed moment in ensuring state-controlled, marginalised education. Although some of these historians state this opinion more explicitly than others, they all fall within this group, as they allude to the fading control of the missionaries, the poor educational standards under Bantu Education, the lack of funding, and the overall devastating long-term impact that this educational system would have in the country. The focus that these historians place on all of these factors qualify the above-mentioned historians in the traditional group, despite the fact that the group is comprised of historians with largely differing hypotheses.

The penultimate chapter of this dissertation measured the historical perceptions of the Marxist and the traditional school against the primary sources available at the time. The sources consulted in this chapter include parliamentary debates, stretching over the period of 1950 to 1959, and again analysing parliamentary reaction to the 1976 Soweto Riots, due to the fact that various traditional historians include these protests against Bantu Education in their work. In addition to *Hansards*, three newspapers were analysed: *Die Vaderland*; the *Rand Daily Mail*; and the *Christian Recorder*. These publications were selected above other contemporary publications, based on their significant circulation figures at the time, as discussed in chapter five. The parliamentary debates and newspapers painted an interesting picture in terms of the “official” stance regarding Bantu Education. This includes the initial confusion and uncertainty regarding the implementation thereof, opposition to the system in both parliament and in the streets of South Africa; the development of the policy and even the far-reaching impact of Bantu Education, where the ideas of separate education

would eventually permeate tertiary institutions as well in the form of the Separate Universities Act.

Thereafter, the primary sources were weighed against the varying historiographical approaches to Bantu Education. This was achieved by highlighting which primary evidence was selected by different historians. Interestingly, the Marxist historians' views aligned on a large scale with those views of the apartheid government. This, however, does not indicate that the Marxists are in agreement with the conservative stances assumed by the NP, but rather that their historical interpretation is in line with the economic labour reproduction needs of the government at that time. This also revealed that they believed that missionary education was misplaced and not to the ultimate benefit of the black population of South Africa.

In stark contrast, the traditional school utilised debates and opposition in the House of Assembly, as well as the consequences and resistance to Bantu Education as proof that the system would ensure a complete and long-lasting overhaul of the educational system, serving as a watershed moment in South Africa's history. Utterances by members of Parliament are often quoted to illustrate the government's unwavering approach to the implementation of the system.

Both the Marxist and traditional schools use the same primary evidence to support their arguments, and although there are some similarities in the information that they chose to select, such as debates about funding Bantu Education, both these schools select the historical information at their disposal to further their own positions. It is thus unsurprising that the two groups, in approaching similar historical evidence, reach different conclusions. As a result, it is important to grasp the context from which they wrote, as discussed in previous chapters.

This dissertation sought to analyse and provide primary evidence as to why it is that these various historians have a diverse and varying approach to the Bantu Education Act, despite the fact that they perused the same source material. The historians all possess different perspectives pertaining to the Bantu Education Act and this dissertation attempted to ascertain why this is. This was done by providing evidence and analysing how similar information was taken and digested by the respective

historians. Ultimately, the two groupings selected primary evidence and wrote to support their own respective 'agendas'. The Marxist historians, who highlighted the fact that the Bantu Education Act was not the seminal moment in marginalised education, wrote from an economic perspective, an aspect which is inherently entrenched in Marxism. It is subsequently unsurprising that their approach to Bantu Education falls within this mould and that they chose to interpret the primary sources from an economic point of view. Similarly, the traditional historians approach Bantu Education as an important moment in history where education would formally become state-controlled and governed. In approaching the primary sources from this perspective, they selected evidence to align with their views. It is only in assessing both these schools critically, and considering both sides of the argument, that one can hope to gauge and engage in the pursuit of a reliable knowledge pertaining to Bantu Education.

The final chapter of this dissertation concludes the discussion. Peter Kallaway, in his 2002 publication, *The History of education under apartheid, 1948 – 1994*, states that historians have a limited scope of understanding in the field of comparative education. He asks the question: "Is apartheid education merely a variation of colonial education for indigenous people as practised elsewhere, or is it in some way a distinct or *sui generis* form of education?"⁵⁷⁶ The inability to remove oneself from one's direct ideological surroundings and an individual's interpretations thereof will always make a completely objective history impossible. It is not only the nature of being a historian, but the inherent nature of being human. It is thus my hope that this dissertation illuminated this discussion by illustrating that educational history, like other history, cannot exist in isolation and that it is influenced by a complex array of factors relating to political and economic climates, impetuses, considerations and personal agendas.

⁵⁷⁶ P. Kallaway, *The History of education under apartheid, 1948 – 1994*. 2002. p. 8.

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