educating for ignorance

The South African

CONGRESS
OF DEMOCRATS'

view of the

BANTU EDUCATION ACT

INTRODUCTION.

EVERYTHING possible must be done, and done with all possible speed, to convince the public of South Africa that the Bantu Education Act is the most sinister, as it is the most far-reaching piece of "apartheid" legislation so far produced. It is for this reason that I will wholeheartedly welcome this pamphlet and commend it to all people of goodwill in this land. The purpose of the Act is here plainly set out:—

It is the establishment of white supremacy through the denial to the African people of the cultural heritage which is theirs by right. Dr. Verwoerd's statements are here quoted accurately and frequently: they are themselves a sufficient condemnation of the Act for all who have eyes to see.

Here is racialism at its darkest and most damnable — that evil thing which seeks to direct and dominate even the minds of children. *It must* be defeated. Let us see to it that we spare ourselves in no way in combatting this vicious and most arrogant attack on human freedom.

TREVOR HUDDLESTON CR.

FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION

WHEN this pamphlet was first published, the Bantu Education Act was still the subject of widespread controversy in the press.

It had raised acute criticism and opposition from many sections. So strong were feelings about the Act that the Bishop of Pretoria announced the closing of 77 Anglican Mission Schools in the Northern Transvaal from April 1st, 1955, and the Bishop of Johannesburg announced that all the 23 Mission Schools in the Southern Transvaal would close, because of the provisions of the Act, and the inability of the Anglican Church to co-operate in its administration.

In reply to the many criticisms, Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Eiselen and officials of the Department of Native Affairs presented several arguments in favour of the Act. The most important were:—

- Criticism of the Bantu Education Act is unreal until a study has been made of the new syllabus, which in any case will not be put into effect before 1956;
- twice as many children as before will now be educated;
- "Native education is being placed in Native hands." (Dr. Eiselen).

THE SYLLABUS - A RED HERRING.

We still think the really effective reply to all the arguments are Dr. Verwoerd's own statements about the Act, quoted in this pamphlet. He himself has explained the clear purpose of the Act, and some of the ways in which it will work.

However, the question of the new syllabus has been raised, and paraded as an example of how the Act will provide education in no way inferior to that of the past.

This syllabus is, in fact, a red herring, for it is not necessary to wait for 1956 to watch the effects of the Act. Some ways in which its effects have already been felt are mentioned a little further on.

A syllabus is at the best a guide, a framework within which school subjects are planned. According to the Eiselen report (on which the Act was based) BANTU EDUCATION is something different from EDUCATION; its aim is to extend the principle of apartheid historically as well as geographically, by ensuring that Bantu Education fits into the doctrine of white supremacy.

The syllabus is an allocation of time to various subjects within the context of the whole aim and intention of Bantu education. The intention is that there cannot and must not be any kind of connection between European culture and non-European learning. The African must understand that European civilisation in its broadest sense is closed to him, and his learning of culture must be confined to the primitive culture of his life in the reserves.

SOME IMMEDIATE RESULTS.

How have the effects of the Act been felt so far — without waiting for the new syllabus? In many ways. Several instructions have been issued by the Department of Native Affairs.

All African children, for instance, must now write their names on examination papers, instead of a number as in the past. Parents regard this as an indirect means of bringing pressure to bear against them, for what parent would like to see his child suffer the consequence in his schooling of the parent's actions in the political field? A small point, perhaps, but an indication of the shape of things to come.

In many schools pupils are already required to put down the money for school books and materials before being enrolled (see page 7 of this pamphlet). The money demanded ranges from 3/- in sub-standards to as much as £1 in Standard 6. For many parents, particularly those with more than one child at school, this already has presented a most formidable obstacle.

Headmasters have been informed that children who failed the Standard 2 examination must leave school next year if they fail a second time (see page 10).

Farm schools are now in a most precarious position; in at least two cases farmers have given notice that they will not have a school on their land. Under the Act, from April 1st, 1955, all schools situated on mine or farm land can only be run by the mining company or the farmer, into whose control they pass. The farmer becomes the superintendent of the school, and can nominate a manager (subject to the approval of the Native Affairs Dept.) No one except the farmer can carry on a school now on farm land, and the farmer is made the employer of the teachers (though salaries are paid by the Department). No child may be enrolled without the farmer's permission, and if he wishes to have children in his farm school who are not the children of his employees, he must apply for special permission for each child to the Department of Native Affairs.

The Anglican Church has pointed out that in the schools they have been running that are on mines or farms, the great majority of the children attending are not actually children of the mining company or farmer's employees. What is to happen to these children now?

A new circular instructs children and teachers at farm schools to assist farmers in repairing fences and doing other work the farmer may require—this, in addition to building, cleaning and maintaining the school is surely the most vivid example of what Bantu Education means.

We know the Act will not allow African schools in European areas. There is an Anglican school at Riversdale, situated on 40 morgen of land that belongs to the Church itself. This school is being closed because Europeans in the area have objected to the fact that African school children use the same road as European children. There were 500 pupils at Riversdale. The three-man commission appointed by the Government to investigate the school (without the knowledge of the school, its staff, or the church) reported that one thing was certain: they could not allow large concentrations of native children in European areas; 'that is official policy and applies to all areas in the Union.'

Some teachers have already been dismissed because of their open opposition to the Act or to the government's policy (see page 13).

MORE CHILDREN AT SCHOOL.

What of the fact that twice as many children will now go to school?

The important thing here is the manner in which this is being accomplished, the disastrous effect it is having on the type of schooling the child obtains. In any normal place throughout the world to double the number of children going to school the government would increase the number of schools, build new classrooms, educate more teachers, make an increasing sum of money available for books and equipment and education generally. In our country it is accomplished differently: by cutting each child's schooling to less than three hours a day, these hours to include not only the daily cleaning of the school and care of the grounds, but an additional language as well, even for the grades. If this is a good way of increasing the children who obtain schooling, why not cut their schooling to $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day—then four times as many children as previously will be able to enjoy the advantages of Bantu education!

Answering the charge that the Act as explained by Dr. Verwoerd provides education only up to Standard 2 for the vast majority of African children, Mr. de Villiers, Under-Secretary for Bantu Education, declared: "there is no intention of decreasing the number of secondary schools in the ccuntry, of which there are approximately 200 at present." He did not explain how this number would cope with twice as many children from the substandards, nor did he mention that his Department's policy is eventually to move all these institutions to the reserves.

IN 'NATIVE' HANDS.

Finally, the Act does not place 'Native education in Native hands', as Dr. Eiselen declares. It places education for Africans completely and absolutely under the Department of Native Affairs, and so far all changes made and all instructions issued have come directly from the Minister. It is true that Dr. Verwoerd intends to set up a committee for each school with a minority of parents on the committee; but the committee will not have

power to do anything other than administer the Department's instructions and policy — in fact, exercise supervision to see that the instructions of Dr. Verwoerd and his department are carried out!

POISONING A NATION.

But do not take our word for it all. Read for yourself what Dr. Verwoerd has to say, clearly set out in his own words in this pamphlet. Read, and understand that the Bantu Education Act is a poison that is seeping first through the African schools, eventually throughout the whole nation. Read, and understand that this poison will destroy the minds of our children, too, unless we end the terrible source of infection.

EDUCATING FOR IGNORANCE

"FROM the viewpoint of the individual, the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings." (Eiselen Commission).

"My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society... There is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour." (Dr. Verwoerd).

"The Bantu Education Act will make African mothers like fowls who lay eggs for other people to take away and make what they like with them." (Mrs. Ngoyi).

Twenty years ago a well-known English author wrote a book called "Brave New World".

It was a glimpse into the future, and showed a country divided into castes. The lowest caste — the workers — were taught from the moment of birth that they could never be anything but slaves. Such education as they received was for the purpose of making them carry out automatically the menial and lowly tasks set for them, the hard and dirty work. They were taught not to think, but to obey; not to initiate, but to carry out; not to aspire, but to drudge.

People discussed "Brave New World" for years; today it is largely forgotten.

But recently, some people have started to introduce their version of a "Brave New World."

They have taken one part of the population and divided it from the rest. The people are to live separately, to be an entire separate community, and to share nothing with the privileged caste; not even the privilege of labour, for they will be taught only certain kinds of work — manual work, a limited amount of clerical work. Only a few will be selected for education up to the standard where they will be able to teach others of their caste — to work.

They will have separate schools. These will be "austerity schools", built at the lowest possible costs, with the absolute minimum of equipment. There they will learn the rudiments of the three R's. And they will also be taught that they are members of this working community, trained to serve.

Since towns and cities are notorious breeding-grounds of radical and cosmopolitan thought, their schools will be removed from the towns to special areas, so that people of different language, ideas and customs may not influence their thoughts.

So that they will not imbibe dangerous thoughts from the world around them, higher learning will not be for them, academic subjects will be cut. history and geography virtually abolished.

They will be taught to develop "manipulation skills" and an interest in the soil.

They will be trained to be as productive as possible in the only work that will be available to them.

Most of all, their education will ensure that they will never share the privileges nor the culture of the upper class, but will confine their interest to their own narrowed community life, entirely separate and isolated from others, restricted to their limited function and limited futures.

But perhaps you are asking—is this imagined, or is it true? Has it ever happened? Where?

It is true, every word of it. It is happening now, today. The country: South Africa. The upper castes: the white population. The lower castes: the Africans. The instrument through which this policy is being put into effect: The Bantu Education Act.

WHAT THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT SAYS.

In itself, the Bantu Education Act is brief and unrevealing. It takes African education out of the hands of the Provincial Councils and puts it directly under the Minister of Native Affairs and his department; it gives unrestricted powers to the Minister to decide for himself vital matters such as teachers' conditions of service, the content of African education, the registration and establishment of schools, and so on.

And it virtually puts an end to Mission Schools, and to independent night schools and classes.

WHAT DR. VERWOERD SAYS.

But in a lengthy and sinister statement to the Senate in June, 1954, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, explained the meaning of Bantu Education.

He said, first, that "the general aims of the Bantu Education Act are to transform education FOR Natives into BANTU education."*

To accomplish this, he aims to make an entirely separate community of the Bantu people, a Bantu community, which would at no time be considered part of South Africa as a whole.

Mission Schools. The control of all mission training schools for teachers will be transferred immediately to the Department of Native Affairs.

Churches that wish to retain control of primary and secondary schools may apply for permission to do so for the time being; but if support is granted, subsidies will be greatly reduced, with no guarantee of permanency. In any case, the subsidies will be such that Mission Schools really have no choice.

No new schools may be established without the prior approval of the Department, and all present schools must be registered. Applications for registered schools to be recognised for subsidy will be considered and granted "in deserving cases as far as available funds make this possible."

School Books. Parents or communities of parents too poor to afford to supply all equipment for their children other than primary readers, may not send their children to school. "Pupils in post-primary schools will have to buy all the school books they need. All other school requisites, including pens and exercise books, in both primary and secondary schools, must be provided either by the children, the Bantu authority, or the parents' association. Children without these school requisites will not be enrolled."

EDUCATION? DEPENDS WHAT YOU CAN AFFORD.

How will "education for Natives" become "Bantu education"?

African children will receive such "fundamental" educational facilities as can be provided with available funds, which will include "education in Sub-standards A and B, and probably up to Standard II, including reading, writing and arithmetic through mother-tongue instruction, as well as a knowledge of English and Afrikaans, and the cardinal principles of the Christian religion.

^{*}Throughout this pamphlet, all sections appearing in italics are direct quotations from Dr. Verwoerd's statements.

"A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes in the school which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community . . . The School must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him." (Verwoerd's emphasis).

And how will all Bantu children get this "education" up to Standard II without spending any more money? for at present, only one-third of African children from 6 to 16 go to school.

Dr. Verwoerd points out that the amount spent on African education "represents a far larger expenditure per head of the population than for any other Native community in Africa."

But he does not point out that while £7 per year is spent on every African child in school, only £2.66 is spent on every African child of school going age. Or that £43.88 per year is spent on every white child in school, or that this means every white child of school going age.

But where does the money for all education come from? From the wealth of South Africa, which the African helps to produce and to increase by his labours, from the direct taxation of both African and European, and from indirect taxation which affects the African in far greater measure than the European. Yet it is the African who is threatened that not more than £8,500,000 a year is available for the education of his children. Of this amount £2,500,000 already comes from the African taxpayers. And the remaining £6,000,000? It does not come, as Verwoerd claims, only from the European taxpayer; it comes from all taxpayers, from general revenue, to which the African contributes through both direct and indirect taxation. But if the African people want to increase this niggardly meagre education for their children, they will be compelled to do it by heavier taxes on themselves alone.

The State will not increase this amount, yet all African children must have a chance for this Standard II level of education. How? Not by building more schools, or training more teachers. No! "It is intended . . . to tackle this problem in another way."

Children are at school for far too long a period in hours, Dr. Verwoerd considers.

"These children are under the supervision of their teachers for a full school day of four and a half hours. I used the word 'supervision' because naturally during ALL THESE HOURS there cannot be talk of real instruction . . . there cannot even be talk of organised recreation, because the schools are not equipped for this purpose.

"It is, therefore, wrong to utilise expensive teaching staff to supervise large classes of bored pupils while thousands of children . . . are kept out of school.

"For this reason, school hours for pupils in sub-standards will everywhere be shortened to three hours per day. In this way, both the teacher and the class-room will be able to serve two different groups of pupils every day. The same applies to the furniture, school requisites and class reading books."

So the first batch of children must go to school from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m., the second batch from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., and the teacher must duplicate the drastically shortened lessons in two grossly-overcrowded classes daily.

What will children turned out of school so early do? That's nothing to do with us, says Dr. Verwoerd, for "it is not the function of the school to keep children off the streets or the veld by using well-paid teachers to supervise them."

Part at least of these three hours will be spent in "maintaining" the school. Perhaps you can picture these little ones, all from the lower grades, their teaching time limited to three rushed hours a day, spending some of that time in scrubbing floors, polishing desks, sweeping, dusting, working in the grounds — for that is what they will have to do.

"Parents and children must be responsible for the care and cleaning and maintenance of class rooms and school grounds . . . As far as possible all the work in this connection must be carried out by the pupils themselves. The daily cleaning of the school buildings and grounds will naturally be the work of the pupils under the supervision of the teachers."

Obviously, this part of their education will best prepare them for their future life, "equipping them in knowledge, skills and attitudes" with which to meet the demands imposed in factory, mine, farm, and in the kitchen.

THE "STANDARD VI MENTALITY".

"Education in the lower classes is seriously affected by what can be described as 'the Standard VI mentality' of the teachers', comments Verwoerd. This means, he says, that teachers educate as though the pupils are going to complete the primary course. (Apparently a censurable assumption!)

"The primary syllabus will, therefore, be divided into two self-sufficient parts. Only children who have completed their seventh year will be allowed to enrol in the first course, 'the fundamental course', and no urban children older than eleven and no rural children more than twelve years will be enrolled. (For those who want to start learning late in life the usual school system is not available.)"

Since it is never the choice of the child, this means that for those unfortunates who could not get into schools between the ages laid down, whether because the schools were too full or because there were no schools where they were living, "the school system is not available."

Other means will also be used to keep up a rapid turnover of pupils in the schools' lowest grades.

"At the end of the lower primary course (the pupils) will be CARE-FULLY SELECTED for promotion to the higher primary course." To make sure that not too many are so selected, "pupils who fail the final test twice will have to leave school to make place for more able children." And any children who fail to attend regularly will be removed from the register.

EDUCATION FOR IGNORANCE.

Modern psychologists and educationalists tell us that more important than any formal education is the need to open up to a child interests, knowledge and skills derived from the world as a whole and from the society around us.

Verwoerd, on the other hand, will transform education for Africans into "Bantu education", a different thing entirely from "education". Such knowledge and skills as the African child may learn must be confined to his work, and drawn from a new type of society known as the Bantu community. Education will be on a formal, and limited basis.

"The curriculum in the 'fundamental' of lower primary stage cannot go much further than the teaching of the 'three R's' through the medium of the mother-tongue, the beginning of the study of Afrikaans and English, religious education and singing".

"The curriculum in the 'fundamental' or lower primary stage cannot go circumstances of the community and aims to satisfy the needs of that community . . . besides the usual subjects already mentioned, religious instruction, handicrafts, singing and rhythm must come into their own, that is self-evident."

Verwoord remarks that education in other than the "mother-tongue" does not prepare the child for life within a Bantu community, but serevs to create a class of educated and semi-educated persons which has learned to believe that "its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilised community of South Africa", and that the African could share in the development of this country as a whole.

Such ideas can no longer be entertained, and Bantu education will make sure that the African does not entertain them. There must be no idea that the African can share in the life of South Africa as a whole, no idea that he can contribute to the development of his own country other than by under-paid lowly manual labour; no idea that he can have any place among the civilised community of South Africans.

However, while wider learning is not for the African child, Dr. Verwoerd remarks casually, "the economic structure of our country of course, results in large numbers of Natives having to earn their living in the service of Europeans." Therefore "it is essential that Bantu pupils should receive instruction in both official languages from the earliest stages, so that even in the lower primary school they would develop an ability to speak and understand them."

And what is meant by this teaching of the three R's in 'the mother-tongue'? This is not intended as a step towards the principle that a child should be educated in its own mother-tongue. Such an idea, correct though it may be in essense, cannot be made a reality until there are enough good text-books, trained educationists and language academies to ensure that a child is not handicapped by having to learn through a foreign medium.

Dr. Verwoerd has an entirely different conception. Since the idea of Bantu education is to produce not scholars but labourers, learning in 'the mother-tongue' means closing to the African child such paths of understanding as school books and literature in English have opened up to him. Urban populations will be resettled in separate tribal zones, so that each can be divided by the barrier of language from the other.

But while learning in 'the mother-tongue', the African child must also learn enough English and Afrikaans to be able to follow orders about their work.

This is what Willy Werner Max Eiselen, the Secretary for Native Affairs, meant when his Commission spoke of the necessity for the Bantu child to be able to follow oral or written instructions and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work, in English or Afrikaans.

As one writer has already commented: "There you have it. 'Bring daardie sak mielies!' 'Ja baas'. 'Jim, sweep the floor!' 'Yes, Missis'. Teacher, you thought you belonged to the noble company of Socrates in the high profession of drawing forth and leading out the tender souls of the young. You were wrong. You are not there to teach the language of Shakespeare and Langenhoven, but to teach your pupil how to follow instructions and listen to the baas". (Titshale in "Liberation".).

These plans for robbing African children of the right and benefit of real education are outlined by Dr. Verwoerd under the heading "The Internal Reform of Native Education into Bantu Education." The deprivation of proper learning, the reduction of schooling for practically all Africans to the 'fundamental' lower primary course—("it is this course which it is expected will be attended and completed by the great majority of Bantu pupils")— the shortening of teaching time, the plans for children to spend part of their time cleaning classrooms and tending grounds—these are called "The Extension of School Facilities for Bantu Children."

So in this emasculated curriculum, from which history and geography, the teaching of the development of mankind, society and human relations, of the world outside and the cultural riches it may offer will be entirely and completely excluded; taught only with the limited books available in 'the mother-tongue', the African child will be trained to fulfil the economic demands of white South Africa, not the demands of his own personality, which is the fundamental right of every human child.

"Teaching" it will be - but not education.

EXTENSION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES.

Farm Schools. "If 'fundamental' education can also be obtained on the farms, the trek from the farms will be combatted, more especially if the training contributes towards more remunerative employment in farm work, owing to the greater skill and usefulness of labourers."

In the past, one of the difficulties in building country schools was the need to buy expensive farm land to build them.

Now it will not be necessary to undertake the buying of farm land, for "the building of expensive schools will not longer be required. BANTU MOTHERS CAN . . . ERECT WALLS WHERE FARMERS ALLOW IT, and the Department will provide the windows, doors and roof. IF THE FARMER WITHDRAWS HIS PERMISSION, THESE CAN BE REMOVED. FEMALE TEACHERS WILL, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, BE RECRUITED LOCALLY TO COMBAT THE DANGER OF UNSUITABLE TEACHING IN THESE SCHOOLS."

Heaven forbid that teachers from the towns, or other areas, should bring ideas of culture, art, modern civilisation, cities, libraries, higher learning, to these travesties of schools that can be removed at the farmers' whim.

Town Schools. The same principle of "extending" educational facilities will be used in the towns, for "care will now be taken that the Native population in the cities will no longer be privileged in educational matters, and they will have to make equal sacrifices with their brothers elsewhere. The present arrangement in Native areas by which the Department provides the material and the community provides the necessary labour is sound and can continue, both there and in regard to farm schools . . . There is no ground for preferential treatment of the Bantu parent in the urban location over those in the reserves."

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER.

"Up to the present a certain amount of elasticity has been permitted teachers. Now there must be complete uniformity of outlook and teaching . . ."

So spoke Dr. Bernard Rust, Reichminister of Science, Education and Culture in Nazi Germany, in November of 1936.

"The conditions of service to which I have referred will set out in detail the rights and duties of teachers." Because so much depends on the teacher carrying out his duties conscientiously, I wish to express the hope that teachers will not fail in this, because FOR TEACHERS WHO ARE NOT FAITH-FUL IN THIS REGARD THERE IS NO PLACE IN BANTU EDUCATION."

So speaks Dr. Verwoerd, Reichminister of Native Affairs and Bantu Education, in fascist South Africa in June of 1954.

The conditions of service to which he refers? A grossly lowered standard of living. First Dr. Verwoerd explains that "the Bantu teacher serves the Bantu community, and his salary must be fixed accordingly." He is not a teacher, with a certain standard of education and training such as European teachers receive. He is the medium for this new thing called 'Bantu education'—not really a teacher at all.

Not only are the "present teachers' salaries quite sufficient", not only are their demands for an increase quite unrealistic, but "in the new conditions of service for teachers which will be published soon, there will appear new salary scales for newly-appointed teachers and these scales will be possibly less favourable than the existing scales. In future those who wish to choose the teaching profession are, therefore, warned in time, so that they should take this fact into consideration."

These are some of the conditions:

- Teachers will not be allowed to make any unfavourable remarks to the Press about any Government department, school committee, school board or Bantu authority, or any official connected with such bodies.
- Teachers will not be allowed to identify themselves with a political party or body.
- They must obtain the approval of the school board after consultation with the Secretary for Native Affairs in order to be appointed to a Native Advisory board or other local authority.
- A teacher accused of misconduct will be tried by the school board, but will not be allowed legal representation.
 - A board may require any teacher to live in a hostel attached to the school.
- Salary increments may not be claimed as a right, but will depend on the willingness of the Minister of Native Affairs to make available the necessary subsidy. This, in turn, will depend on a satisfactory departmental report on the teacher's industry, discipline, punctuality, efficiency and conduct.

^{*}As we go to press, some of these "rights" are being made known. Regulations for teachers have been Gazetted. The school board will have to enforce them in order to draw subsidies for the teachers' salaries and allowances.

"The salaries which European teachers enjoy are in no way a fit or permissable criterion for the salaries of Bantu teachers.";

"The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu community. He must learn not to feel above his community with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community. He becomes frustrated and rebellious when this does not take place, and he tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such misdirected ambitions which are alien to his people."

The present salaries of African teachers — without Verwoerd's threatened cuts — should be an effective means of ridding them of any misdirected ambitions to become part of the community of South Africa as a whole.

Unqualified teachers (there are about 3,000 of them) earn the sum of £6 10s. a month, *including* cost of living allowance. (Their basic salaries are £4 a month for men, £3 10s. for women).

Trained teachers earn from £6 10s. to £12 10s. (not including C.O.L.), or from £9 to £19 10s., according to qualifications.

University graduates can earn £16 10s, a month to £27 after 13 years (excluding C.O.L.).

All these scales are for men. Women earn less and there are no pensions jor African teachers, who must therefore set aside part of their earnings for old age.

What is more, "a woman is by nature so much better fitted for handling young children and as the great majority of Bantu pupils are to be found in the lower classes of the primary school, it follows that there will be far more female than male teachers in the service. Today about 70% of the teaching force is male: it would be preferable had we that percentage of female teachers.

"This measure in the course of time will bring about a CONSIDER-ABLE SAVING OF FUNDS as male teachers receive higher salaries than females.

"The Department (will) do away entirely with the European teacher in Bantu Primary Schools."

In fact, as one education authority put it, the intention is that the African teacher of the future will be girls with Standard 6 education plus three years' training.

[†]According to Verwoerd, European teachers' salaries are determined by the comparison with the average income of the parents whose children they teach. If this strange principle really did apply, would not teachers in Houghton Schools get paid much more than those teaching in Jeppe?

THE PATTERN OF BANTU EDUCATION.

One of the reasons Dr. Verwoerd gives for placing African education in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs is to ensure that "the control of schools, under the supervision of the State, will be entrusted to Bantu organisations" and thus be under the control of Bantu 'communities'.

How will this be done? In the Reserves, by a Committee "which will exercise supervision IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO IT." This committee will include representatives of parents and representatives "of the Bantu authority or other Bantu organisations. This Committee which must be constituted in consultation with the Inspector of Schools, must be recognised by and must account to the Bantu authority, after consultation with the Native Commissioner".

In urban areas, the system will be similar. "Committees will be established on which will serve representatives of the parents and of the local authority, appointed in consultation with the Inspector, the Native Commissioner, and the urban administration."

These committees, about whose appointment there is nothing at all resembling democratic representation of the parents, will be powerless to do anything but exercise their "supervision in accordance with instructions" given to them.

Nor will education be assured to the children for unless the parents conform to the Government's requirements in all respects, education may be withheld. "A community, for example, will not be able to claim the advantage of education and at the same time ignore or even oppose guidance in regard to the care of the soil." Surely the first time in history that education has been used as a bargaining stick?

HIGHER EDUCATION.

"An increase in the number of institutions for higher education located in urban areas is not desired. Steps will be taken deliberately to keep institutions for higher education, to an increasing extent, away from urban areas, and to establish them as far as possible in the Native reserves.

"MY DEPARTMENT'S POLICY IS THAT EDUCATION SHOULD STAND WITH BOTH FEET IN THE RESERVES AND HAVE ITS ROOTS IN THE SPIRIT AND BEING OF BANTU SOCIETY." (Verwoerd's emphasis).

In the early days of Hitler's regime, Hans Schwemm, Bavarian Minister of Education, made this promise: "We will, Adolf Hitler, so train the German youth that they will grow up in your world of ideas, in your purposes, and in the direction set by your will. That is pledged to you by the whole German system of education from the people's school to the University."

For the thrusting 'back to the reserves', as we have shown with the question of use of 'the mother-tongue' is no progressive step designed to give

African culture a chance to develop and flourish. It is an attempt to force the adult, urbanised African into the child's boots of primitive tribal life.

"There is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour . . . For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community . . . Until now he has been subject 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."

The industrialisation and development of our country depended, and depends, on African labour. As the labourer toiled, so our towns and industries, the wealth from mines and factories, grew.

These are the 'green pastures' in which the African, particularly the educated African, may not graze. There is no place for him in South Africa above the level of certain forms of labour.

THE PATTERN OF BANTU EDUCATION.

So the pattern behind the Bantu Education Act emerges.

As Father Huddleston has said, "Bantu Education is something separate and entirely different from 'education'. Its aim is to extend the principle of apartheid by ensuring that Bantu education fits into the doctrine of White supremacy for all time."

★ Africans of South Africa shall for all time be denied the right to share the culture and richness of society and mankind as a whole, and must be reared, instructed and confined within the circle of something known as 'Bantu' culture.

* At no time can the African people be educated above a certain level, rise above a certain level, or have any place in South African society 'above the level of certain forms of labour'.

★ Ignoring the findings of countless Government Commissions (including that of the Eiselen Commission) on the disintegration of tribal life and the urbanisation of the African people as a whole, the tribal institutions of the reserves must be revived and become the basis for Bantu life and learning. So that the future of education for Africans is set within the already disintegrating culture of the backward Reserves.

What is wrong with this pattern?

Simply this — that if it is brought into full practice, it means the death-knell of cultural advance, educational freedom and social progress, not simply for the African people, but for South Africans as a whole, of all races.

IT IS NOT EDUCATION.

The guiding principles of education are the same the world over. They are not based on nationality or race. They are simple, and 'racially' indivisible.

"The fundamental purpose of education," says a leading South African educationist and former Head Mistress, Miss Mary McLarty, is that "education must lead people to a fuller life, not just earning a livelihood, though that is important, but by developing body, mind and spirit as a harmonious whole, it should supply a vision of what is good and beautiful, and the will to pursue that vision . . . You cannot keep a population of eight million in blinkers. Literacy is the first step, education the second. The third will be co-operation in building true nationhood. For whether we like it or not, the future of South Africa depends on our working towards such a happy and free co-operation."

"The fundamental aim of education," says the Education League, "is the development of the total personality of the individual . . . Education should develop the power to make personal judgements. Basically, education should cultivate the individual's critical faculties. Any system, purporting to be educative, which ignores this does not educate but indoctrinates. Education should put at the disposal of the individual the cultural heritage of Mankind."

Prof. A. H. Murray, a member of the Eiselen Commission, in dissentient remarks published at the end of the Commission's findings, says ". . Edutrary, man is an end in himself. Education is concerned with man, and only in an implied sense with societyó Ia conduces, therefore, to freedom . . . Education is not an agency for making man the instrument of society; on the concation is not there to prepare the individual for some preconceived form of society or other."

How does this affect Europeans in South Africa?

On the reverse side of the 'Bantu Education' coin must be 'European', or 'white' education.

Since Bantu education is designed to perpetuate the lowly position of the African, white education must be designed to perpetuate the elevated position of the white person.

As African children will be taught they have been born to be ruled, to serve, to do menial work, so white children must be taught they are born to rule, to be served, to do only a 'white man's work'.

Since African children must be confined within the orbit of 'Bantu' culture, white children must be confined within the orbit of 'white' culture. This is not 'European' culture, which is based on the broad conception of the culture of mankind, in which each country and each nation has enriched its own culture by drawing on that of other countries and nations. This is Verwoerd's 'white' culture which begins at the school desk of white supremacy — 'herrenvolkism' — and finds its end in the guards at the gates of Buchenwald, and the death factories of Maideneck.

"ALL BANTU EDUCATION MUST HAVE THE SOLE OBJECT OF STAMPING THE CONVICTION INTO THE CHILD THAT HIS OWN PEOPLE AND HIS OWN RACE ARE INFERIOR TO ALL OTHERS."

Does it sound like Verwoerd? The words are actually Hitler's — only he said 'superior' instead of 'inferior', and omitted the word 'Bantu'.

Bantu education is designed for one purpose only: the strengthening and perpetuation of apartheid, the Verwoerdian nightmare, the realisation of which spells the doom of South Africa and the destruction of all its peoples.

Therefore that evil instrument of apartheid — the Bantu Education Act — must be opposed and destroyed by us, before it can destroy us, our children, our future.

If you have been interested in this pamphlet, write for more information about the South African Congress of Democrats.

I should like to receive further information about the SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS.

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