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HUMAN C

EDUCATION 92

Bewysstuk No. ....  
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M.A. 4.

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OUR IDEAS .....

"Compulsory, Free and Uniform education for all children upto the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy".

Ten Point Programme, Point 2.

..... AGAINST THEIRS.

"Practically considered the aim in the two cases (white and black education) is not the same, because the two social orders for which education is preparing white and black are not identical... It is not merely a question of method. The ends themselves are different in the two cases. 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."

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, (1935 - 1936).

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Second edition issued June 1954.

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HUMAN CULTURE AND BANTU EDUCATION.

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"Man has the seeing eye, the understanding ear  
and the skillful hands to shape his own  
destinies"

Elliot Smith.

Mankind stands today at the end of half a million years of evolution from brute nature. We have achieved our state of supremacy over nature by a gradual accumulation of techniques which permit us to exert an ever increasing control over our environment and so to control our own destiny. The animals, even the highest apes, have no choice but to accept the environment in which they find themselves, and to make do with the strengths and weaknesses which nature has placed in their limbs. Man does not. By conquering fire and inventing clothes he has made warmth where the natural environment is cold. By taming horses, by the invention of the wheel and the ship Man, in effect, has changed the very size of the earth, making long distances short. By the manufacture of tools and weapons Man has overcome the weakness of his arms and the slowness of his feet. Truly it can be said: Nature makes the animal; Man makes himself.

This process of the development of Mans' means of controlling nature has resulted in diverse forms of organisation of society. There were times when the social unit was a promiscuous family, which huddled together in caves guarded by fires against predatory animals. Then there were times when men found themselves organised into tribes - the most efficient organisation for the tending of herds of cattle. The growth of cities in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in India came because men had been forced to come together into larger, more centralised groups in order to make use of

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more developed means of conquering space and nature. The tribal unit was insufficient to build ships and use them for trade, or to dam the Nile, or drain the swamps of Mesopotamia. And most recently of all, came the modern state, a form of society made possible and necessary by the evolution of machine production and modern transport.

This history of society has not gone forward in a straight line. In no one place do we find all the stages represented. There is no group or nation or race which has undergone a continuous development on its own from primitive savagery to highest civilisation. Indeed Man has developed because he has been able to communicate his discoveries to other men and to learn from the experience of others. Human culture has been the product of all humanity widely scattered in time and in space. The civilisation of ancient Greece could not have existed without the earlier civilisations of Africa and Asia; nor could Rome have grown without its Greek heritage, nor modern Europe without the inheritance it received from the entire ancient world.

Man, in short, is Man because he is educable. Each generation of the apes begins where the last one began. In a million years the apes will live as they live now. But each generation of Man hands on to the next the fruits of its experience; each civilisation in history has handed its gains to another. And so Man's culture and his intellect itself has grown through the transmission of knowledge via our most precious creation, language.

But not only do we gain what our predecessors have passed on. The very process of conquering nature has given us the ability to plan new conquests. By looking back over the track which we have followed we are able to open new vistas

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in thought. We see that man has come so far and we inevitably strive to go further. We see that man has been able to overcome the most difficult obstacles in his path of development and we therefore acquire confidence that we will overcome the barriers in front of us. We see that all things in the past have changed and by seeing this we are liberated from the parochial inertia of believing that what we see around us is permanent and unchangeable. He who has not glimpsed Mankind's past will easily believe that his beliefs are eternal truths. And if all men do this progress is necessarily slow and fumbling.

It falls largely on the shoulders of the teachers to transmit to the young this strength and self-confidence which comes from a knowledge of Man's history of struggle. The whole of human culture is the product of struggle. Science is the outcome of Man's struggle against nature; social history is the story of the struggles between different sections of society; art, literature, music are at once the product of single minded individuals fighting to express ideas, and the reflection of the social period in which these determined men lived. The study of all these branches of human culture can give unlimited inspiration and determination to the youth, as well as equipping young people with the knowledge they need to play their role in furthering progress.

However this attitude towards education has very seldom been adopted by those who control schools and universities. Because these institutions are usually controlled by members of a ruling class, their official educational policies have been to encourage conservatism and submissiveness. In South Africa particularly we know all too well how the school syllabus is specially designed to starve the young of knowledge of human history.

Arithmetic is taught as a collection of lifeless rules for addition and division. No mention is made of how these rules emerged from the life and death struggle for

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existence waged by Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Greeks, Arabs and others. To do so would be dangerous, especially in Non-European schools. The Black child must be made to see all knowledge as the gift of the unique civilisation of Western Europe, while the White child must have his sense of superiority boosted up by the myth that his "race" alone is capable of great intellectual feats. Music, art literature are taught as if no poems, songs or pictures were ever produced by people who lived further East than Greece or further South than Italy. Nor is any mention made of how composers, writers and painters had to struggle against society. Social history is presented as the biographies of Kings and Emperors. Never, never is there any mention of the role of the common man - except for lurid stories of atrocities committed by the "mob" in the French Revolution.

These deliberate deficiencies in the educational system apply almost equally to White and Black, and stifle the intellectual development of the one with a harrenvolk mentality as much as they stifle the other with a slave mentality. But when we turn to African schools particularly we find even greater atrocities. The Eiselen Commission on "Bantu Education" for example, specifically declares that the aim of teaching in African schools must be to prevent the child from feeling himself part of the traditions and the development of human civilisation. Instead his mind must be turned back to tribalism, which is presented to him not as a stage in human progress but as the natural state of the Africans. Says the commission: "The march of events and the staggering power and glitter of Western culture have tended to make the Bantu despise their own culture". It goes on to assert: "education must be co-ordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of Bantu societies."

The aim of "Bantu Education" is to put blinkers of the eyes of the Non-Whites so that they will not be able to see what is happening around them; to

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close their ears so that they should be deaf to the voice of progress; and to give their hands only the skill necessary to serve their masters. A neat term has been coined to describe this state of semi-consciousness in which the Harrenvolk want the oppressed people to remain forever - the slave mentality.

THE SLAVE MENTALITY : FEAR.

"The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity for submitting again: and a nation is not governed which has perpetually to be conquered."  
Edmund Burke.

The way in which men perceive the world depends on their experience and degree of understanding. Thus three people might look at a policeman. The one sees him as a terrifying ogre; the second as a symbol of security; while the third sees as pitiful a man who has been degraded to the level of a brute. These reactions might be strongly conditioned. Thus if the policeman questions the first of the three men he may be so overcome by fear that he is unable to give the cool and collected answers which might avoid arrest. He is so conditioned to fear policemen that his fear reaction overwhelms his rational judgement.

When man first appeared on the earth he was a fear ridden creature. He was

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weaker and slower than the animals who hunted and preyed on him: He lived a precarious existence in constant danger of disaster from ferocious animals, forest fires, storms, floods and lightning. As society developed these fears were overcome. By struggling against nature and by conquering her bit by bit Man lost the need for such terror. Fire was changed from a source of fear to a source of protection, comfort and power. The floods and storms were harnessed and Man learnt to predict and use the weather for his own ends.

However this freedom from fear which the growth of society and the conquest of nature could bring about has not been transmitted to the majority of men. On the contrary ruling groups have always done their best to keep the "lower classes" in a state of perpetual fear. Even in the twentieth century people are not given the scientific knowledge which would dispel fears of supernatural forces, fears of punishment after death, and other terrifying superstitions. And against this background new fears are built up so that the population will remain submissive without the daily use of open force by the rulers. The pomp and pageantry with which Kings have always surrounded themselves is aimed at conditioning the young to see the government as powerful and invincible. A small show of force can make a big impression on a young mind, and once the fear reaction is established it will often persist. A man who is once conditioned to fear dogs will continue to tremble when he sees one, even though he may understand that the dog is not dangerous. Of course a man can cure himself of a fear of dogs and similarly people rid themselves of a slave mentality, but they do this despite every effort of the rulers. The importance which ruling classes have always attached to the process of enslaving the mind is brought out by the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. I.B. Tabata at the first conference of the Society of Young Africa.

"The Importance of Ideas."

Let us look a little further into this question of the importance of ideas. In any given society the current ideas are those of the ruling class. Up to now,

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throughout successive historical stages in the development of mankind, the ruling class has always been the minority ruling over and imposing its will on the majority. How has it done this? Obviously the use of mere physical force is not enough. It has employed other weapons at once more subtle and more powerful - the power over the mind. From the earliest times, when man began to make it his business to exploit man, he devised cunning, crafty and Machiavellian methods to shackle and enslave the mind. The rulers have their systems of education, their myths and superstitions, all of which are calculated to prop up the particular system of society. Rulers have always recognised the importance of controlling the mind by capturing it young. The Jesuits of old had a saying: 'Give me the young mind up to the age of seven and I don't care what you do after that. I have him.'

As far back as the 5th century, B.C., Kritias, an uncle of Plato's and one of the 30 Tyrants who instituted a reign of terror in Athens, once cynically demonstrated how to capture the minds of the people. He said:

"There was a time when human life was ruled  
By force, being brutal and disorderly,  
When there was no reward for righteousness,  
And wickedness went unpunished. Then I think,  
Men laid down laws a penalties to make  
Justice supreme and insolence her slave.  
But even then, although the laws restrained  
Mankind from deeds of open violence,  
They still did wrong in secret, until some  
Shrewd and far-sighted thinker had the wit  
To invent gods, that all who did or said,  
Or even imagined evil, might be afraid;

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And so he introduced the Deity,  
Teaching men faith in an eternal spirit,  
Who sees and hears with his intelligence,  
And pays close heed to all men say and do."

The nephew of Kritias, the notorious philosopher Plato, made it his life's work to couch myth and superstition in grandiloquent terms and elevate them to a rounded philosophy. Let it be said that Plato drew his inspiration for his philosophy from Sparta, which he regarded as the ideal State. Now the Sparta of Plato's time was an autocracy where every man knew his place and was trained to occupy that place. Its system of education became famous, the essence of it being the training for endurance and complete obedience. Of the young Spartan mind it could be said that it was "undisturbed by ideas". The result was that at a time when other Greek states, including the city of Athens, were convulsed with democratic revolutions, Plato could point to Sparta and say: "That is the ideal Greek State. The Spartan constitution alone has remained unchanged for centuries." How precious it is to the rulers to be able to boast that their totalitarian State has remained unchanged for 300 years -- and more."

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### III

#### SLAVE MENTALITY : THE NATURAL ORDER OF THINGS.

"By education most have been misled,  
So they believe because they so were bred.  
The priest continues where the nurse began,  
And thus the child imposes on the man."  
John Dryden.

A vital aspect of the slave mentality is pin-pointed by Nosiho Majeke who writes:  
"Now the rulers have always known the paramount importance of training the young, of moulding the young mind to the pattern most suited to the interests of the State. This is where the special usefulness of missionary controlled education comes in. The African child has to be trained to accept his subordinate position in society; the idea of inferiority has to appear natural to him."

"The mission-school then, feeds the Black child on inferiority and starves him educationally. But the training does not end there. The missionary institution intensifies the process on the growing youth. The mind of the young man or woman has to be moulded even more rigorously than that of the child. For the mind of youth wants to expand; it has hopes, ambitions, dreams, no matter <sup>what</sup> conditions of poverty it has lived in. And this is a quality that must be controlled. Yet the very impressionability of the mind of youth can be turned by the educator to his purpose, making it easier for him to divert that energy along circumscribed channels. It is possible to indoctrinate the

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the youth with the desired ideas, to insinuate into his mind all the habits of thought that will make him accept inferiority. To enlist obedience to a super-natural censor of all one's actions and all one's secret thoughts, is to reinforce obedience to authority in whatever form or shape it may subsequently appear. Thus, locked in the narrow confines of the segregated missionary institution, the youth has been steadily conditioned into accepting, unquestioningly, the place assigned to him in the social system. In most cases he has not even been aware of what was happening, but accepted his position as the natural order of things.

The donkey who has spent his whole life hauling coal in the dark pits of the mines is contented with his lot because he knows no other existence. He might kick his overseer in a fit of temper, but he will not try to escape from the pits in search of green, sunny pastures. To him hauling coal-trucks through pitch dark tunnels is the natural order of things. And it has been the objective of all ruling classes to instil a similar attitude in the minds of the oppressed. The status quo must appear to the oppressed to be as inevitable as the summer hailstorms. People complain about hail and they try to minimise the damage it does but they do not take action to abolish it.

The existence of racial discrimination has been similarly accepted by the Non-Europeans in this country, and it is only very recently that this has begun to change. In 1912 the African National Congress was formed to act as a mouth-piece for the Africans, not to destroy discriminations. The Indian Congress constitution speaks of safeguarding the interests of the Indians, not of doing away with the political system which is responsible for the existence of special "racial" groups with special interests. The most striking manifestation of the acceptance of racial discrimination is the fact that the Non-Europeans themselves

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practice racial discrimination amongst themselves and thereby retard beyond measure their own struggles for freedom. The political disunity, the disillusioning pogroms and faction fights and the prevailing atmosphere of hatred and suspicion speaks eloquently of the disastrous effects of the slave mentality.

### III

#### SLAVE MENTALITY: PSYCHOLOGY OR POLITICS.

"For who would bear the whip and scorns of time,  
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely."

Shakespeare: "Hamlet".

It is necessary to pause at this point to examine the arguments of those who accuse us of making too much of "psychological factors".

The most naive of these gentlemen maintain that there is no such thing as a "slave mentality". No Non-European, they say, considers himself to be inferior to the Whites. The more sophisticated ones take the line that it is economic forces and not ideas or "mentalities" which determine political events. While these arguments may contain some truth they entirely and hopelessly miss the point. No-one in his senses would deny that a concerted action of all the oppressed would destroy the whole of the structure of White Supremacy almost overnight. Why has there been no such a concerted action? Why have the oppressed people not arisen against their



tyrants? The answers are obvious: because they are not sufficiently conscious of their own power; because they are under the influence of chiefs and collaborators; because there is mistrust between racial and tribal groups. It is because the intellectuals are still largely chained to the herrenvolk, the liberals and the missionaries. In a word it is because there is a slave mentality. The question is not whether we consider ourselves to be morally or intellectually inferior. It is whether the people are prepared to accept inferiority; whether they have the necessary political consciousness to rise up against the oppressive system. The question is whether the people's awakening spirit of rebellion and their rising political consciousness is yet sufficient for more sustained and widespread struggles than the sporadic and localised outbreaks of militancy in the past.

It is when we recognise this point that we realise the role the intellectuals have played in maintaining oppression in South Africa, and the role which they can and will play in the struggle against it. Their duty is to paralyse the herrenvolk's machinery of enslavement by adopting the policy of non-collaboration. Their special knowledge and training which has been used to retard the people must now be turned against the herrenvolk. The effect which this could have is brought out by a parable which we quote from "The Soyak" of September 1952:

"THE MEN ON THE WAGON."

Imagine before you a powerful team of horses harnessed to a wagon. Let your mind's eye see them straining to pull the wagon forward. The driver is urging them to ever greater effort. Now he shouts, now he coaxes and now he beats them with a whip. But, though the sinews and muscles strain and though the horses are strong and willing, the wagon moves not an inch. It creaks and groans as if in torture. Yet it remains stationary.

The wagon cannot move, for under each wheel is placed a brick. These four small obstacles are placed so strategically that the mighty animals cannot shift their load no matter how they try, no matter how they are whipped, or coaxed, or threatened. Nor will it ever move until those bricks are removed.

On the wagon are some men who see the bricks and wish to remove them. But the other men refuse to hear what they have to say, and the bricks cannot be shifted while the horses are straining forward.

Like this wagon in some ways is our country. The forces are present which can move it forward to freedom and greatness. These forces are the might of the oppressed and exploited people. But this huge force remains purely potential and fails to carry us to our goal, because, like the bricks, there are obstacles, which, though very small, are so strategically placed that the might of the people is unable to pull South Africa out of its present tyranny and take it forward to freedom.

There are the 'leaders' who try to beat and stampede the people into greater efforts to move forward. But they fail just as the wagon could not move while the bricks remained in front of its wheels.

We know what the obstacles are. They are the quislings and the liberals, the policemen-chiefs, the opportunists and the racials, they are the influence of tribal ideas and the slave mentality which is increased daily by the enemies of the struggle. And if we know the obstacles, we know then how to remove them and we know what our first tasks are. Let us remove them and organise ourselves in such a way that they can never again block our mighty forces. Then will we move forward. Then the forces which are already here will become effective, and a people long straining to break its bonds and chains will at last be able to carry its country forward to the new, free society.

THE INTELLECTUALS.

"And still they gazed and still the wonder grew,  
That one small head could carry all he knew."  
Oliver Goldsmith.

It was the missionaries who laid the foundations for the slave mentality Nos'ipho Majeke has lucidly exposed the way in which they achieved their purpose. Even before the conquest of the country by the Europeans, the missionaries had infiltrated amongst the tribes. Backed up by the advanced capitalist civilisation of Europe, they had little difficulty in winning converts to the religion of the powerful invaders. They soon wielded a powerful influence which they used first to break the resistance of the Africans and then to consolidate the victory of the new rulers.

At first their main influence was personal. But they realised at the outset that they needed well trained Non-European lieutenants to implant and maintain the all important slave mentality and to frustrate any new resistance movement which might come about.

The plan was to create a class of intellectuals who would be carefully indoctrinated with the "right" ideas and who would transmit to the rest of the people an attitude of slavishly accepting the existence of White supremacy. These intellectuals would be made teachers, priests and assistants of the Native Commissioner and other officials. In this way they would be able to corrupt the young in the classroom, perpetuate the corruption from the pulpit and act as "bridge personalities" between the government and the people. In addition to this the intellectuals would have another even more insidious functions. As people who had drunk at the fountain of European knowledge they would naturally be looked to for guidance by the rest of

the community. This function of the intellectuals is emphasised by Mr. Tabata in "The Boycott as Weapon of Struggle":

"The effect of the so-called 'Native Education' is not limited to creating a pre-disposition in the minds of those who have attended school. It is more far reaching than this. It produces a section of intellectuals who become the human agency for the dissemination of those ideas of inferiority amongst the people - a section from which the leadership is drawn.

As the position of the Whites in this country was becoming stronger, that of the Non-Whites was deteriorating. The pattern of S.A. society had fully emerged and segregation was being rigidly enforced in all spheres. Politically the Non-Whites were being reduced to a voiceless people; economically they were in a state of destitution and were by law relegated to the performance of unskilled labour; residentially they were being crowded into Reserves and locations. The cleavage between Black and White was complete. The breach was open. It was a situation which might well stir the people to revolt, and in fact there were sporadic disturbances. It was at this point that the intellectuals demonstrated their usefulness to the rulers. It was necessary to embark on a scheme for disarming the people intellectually. This was the more easily done because the mantle of leadership had fallen on the new generation of intellectuals who, as we said were still trading on the prestige of their predecessors. The people looked up to them to lead them in the struggle.

The intellectuals were faced with a grave decision to make. They had the choice of two things; to place themselves at the head of their people and launch a struggle against the Government, or to side with the rulers against their own people. If they went with the people, they would be denounced as radicals and unreasonable. They would earn the frown of their masters and lose their little rewards for services rendered, those marks of approbation and all those intangible favours that are so comforting to a "good boy". If on the other hand they openly joined the rulers they would lose their position as leaders of their people."

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TRAINING THE POLICE - INTELLECTUALS.

"A teacher can no more teach without a pupil  
that learns than a seller can sell without a  
buyer that buys".

John Dewey.

The first steps in the creation of this class of quisling-intellectuals were easy. It was only natural that the imaginations of the youth of a hundred years ago should have been fired by the prospect of being allowed to become part of the resplendant civilisation represented by the missionaries. How could they know that what they were offered was merely an enticing bait? They could not, and so we find them entering willingly into the service of the missionaries. And, of course, their willingness was fortified by the material advantages they were to get: a position of prestige in their communities; salaries which are slightly higher than the rest of the people could obtain; exemption from some aspects of the pass laws;.....

Thus the intellectuals became an arm of the monster of Herrenvolkism. Yet this was not enough. The whole purpose of creating a Black arm was to be able to velvet the mailed fist. The whole scheme would crumble if the quisling intellectuals openly appeared as the agents of the Herrenvolk. Besides it was necessary to protect the intellectuals from recognising their own role. They had to be provided with some way of convincing themselves as well as the rest of the people that they deserved their position of prestige, and that they were the natural leaders of the people. To satisfy this need the herrenvolk has created a vast and ramified collaborationist machinery. And any deficiencies in the Government's structure of collaborationist channels has been made good by the

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Liberals, missionaries, charitable and welfare organisations, and organisations created by the Non-Europeans themselves.

The effect of all this was to channellise the energies of the intellectuals into working literally thousands of advisory boards, councils, committees, bungas and other talking shops. Moreover the intellectuals were able to drag the people as a whole into supporting these institutions.

This state of affairs could only come about on the basis of a population firmly clamped down by the slave mentality. Who else would accept a Native Representative Council or a Coloured Advisory Council? Who else would become enthusiastic about elections to a location advisory board which has absolutely no power, which is in fact a toy, a dummy? Who else would listen to the Black election touts of White "Native" Representatives? But not only do these things depend on the slave mentality, they constantly increase and reinforce it. Thus the activities of the intellectuals in the public life of their community works harmoniously with the efforts of the quisling-teachers and missionaries to produce, increase and maintain the slave mentality.

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF OPPRESSION.

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men  
Gang aft a -gley."

Robert Burns.

The statement that man makes his own history must be qualified by the fact that men very often fail to understand the nature and the consequences of their actions. When a bull mates with a cow he sets in motion an inexorable chain of events which he can neither understand nor control. The fertilisation of the ovum, the wonderful and intricate growth of the embryo and the eventual birth of a calf are completely beyond his ken. And just as little did the trekboers understand the nature of the historical process which was set into motion by their purely selfish, utterly petty flight from society. The more sophisticated British and the wily missionaries who followed understood a little better what they were about. But even they failed to realise that the deeds which men do often bear consequences quite beyond the ken of the doers.

The process of industrialisation of the country could not fail to give rise to forces which threaten the position of the herrenvolk. The labour requirements of 50 years ago could be satisfied by Rhodes' Glen Grey Act which planned to keep the majority of the Africans in the labour reservoirs known as reserves. But once industry has started it must keep expanding and as it does so it needs more and more labour. The rational answer to these increasing demands of industry is to employ machinery under the care of skilled men. But the policy of keeping the oppressed in a backward state discourages this, and forces the herrenvolk to make desperate attempts to squeeze more unskilled labour out of the people.

The result has been a whole succession of new oppressive laws at regular intervals. The amount of land and the number of cattle owned by Africans has to be reduced in order to increase the number of migratory labourers for mines and industries. Opportunities to settle in towns and to enter skilled trades or professions have to be closed. The serfs of Medieval Europe could be kept docile for centuries on end because they lived in a static society. But the process of ever increasing oppression in S.A. has had the effect of driving sections of the people to a state of desperation which has already resulted in outbreaks of serious resistance and militant struggle.

At the same time other contradictions in the herrenvolk's blue-print for government have been showing themselves. The creation of a slave mentality for the Non-Whites and a herrenvolk mentality for the Whites demands the existence not only of separate schools, but also of separate newspapers, radio services, films and all other means through which ideas, news, and attitudes can be transmitted. This of course the herrenvolk has tried to do by setting up papers such as the Bantu Press newspapers (Ilanga Lase Natal, Bantu World etc.) and magazines such as "The Drum" (owned by the "Sunday Express") which pose as papers of the people. The censorship of films, the Bantu radio programmes, the Orlando Re-diffusion service etc., serve the same end. But all this can be only partly effective as long as people are able to read English. Despite the distortions in the herrenvolk press, the people never the less get to know something of events in Asia and other parts of Africa, and this knowledge has a tremendous impact on their consciousness. Thus the schools which the herrenvolk set up for the sole purpose of enslaving the minds of the people and making them docile and efficient servants, have had a boomerang effect. The short term need of the industrialists for literate workers is in contradiction to the long term needs of the herrenvolk as a whole to perpetuate ignorance. In addition the bait which the herrenvolk put out to attract its quisling intellectuals, has, by now, drawn more people than the collaborationist machinery can absorb with the result

that a class of disgruntled intellectuals has come into being. In these and a thousand other ways the herrenvolk's attempt to work against the laws of history is failing and the slave mentality is slowly but surely giving way to increasing political consciousness.

## VII

### THE AWAKENING.

"And the State of man  
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then  
The nature of an insurrection"  
Shakespeare.. Julius Caesar.

Against this background we can understand the new developments which have taken place in the Non-European teachers organisations during the past ten years. The hold of the herrenvolk on the intellectuals is still large enough to be one of the most powerful factors in retarding the development of the democratic movement. However the hold is slipping and already large sections of the teachers have broken free and have taken up a slogan which comes from the needs and struggles of the people : "NON - COLLABORATION".

The increasing blatancy of oppression and the increasing demands made by the people for militant leadership have caused these teachers to examine their position in society and to declare that, come what may, they will not allow themselves to be made the instruments of their own oppression. Such teachers are to be found

everywhere, but it is in the Cape that this new tendency has reached its highest development. Both the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLISA) and the Cape African Teachers' Association (C.A.T.A.) have declared themselves to be with the people and so against herrenvolkism. They have both affiliated to federal political organisations side by side with peasants organisations which are fighting a life and death struggle against the Rehabilitation Scheme, Civic bodies, trade unions and other organisations of the people. They have formed parent-teachers' associations which bring the teacher and the rest of the people into close contact. They have recognised that the whole structure of Non-European education - from teachers' salaries to the content of the syllabus - is part and parcel of the system of oppression. They have therefore declared that the problems of education can be solved in only one way - by the struggle against oppression as a whole. They have relentlessly exposed teachers and others who continue to collaborate with the Government - whether in the running of schools, or by serving on advisory boards, or by supporting chiefs, or by propagating racialism.

These events have an inevitable effect in the classroom. The teacher who has entered the struggle of the people and who has made "non-collaboration" his slogan is incapable, literally incapable of propagating the slave mentality. His very bearing, his manner of addressing his class and his language all reflect his new position and these changes have an inestimable effect on the impressionable young minds under his care. The imaginative and well informed teacher finds a thousand ways to guide his pupils towards a healthy outlook. Through branch meetings of teachers' associations these methods and experiences are shared with his colleagues. A new force is afoot.

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VIII  
THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT.

"We will not be the instruments of our own oppression."

Faced with this situation the Government appointed the Eiselen Commission to investigate "native education" and the De Vos Malan Commission for "coloured education." The Eiselen Commission has already made its report and the recommendations have been incorporated in the Bantu Education Act which is summarised at the end of this pamphlet.

This Act is clearly a desperate attempt to re-establish and intensify slave education. In brief its effect is:

- (1) To bring African education under the Native Affairs Department so that the schools can be co-ordinated with the control of African labour. The number of schools and the number of pupils is to be controlled, to prevent education being given to more people than is necessary for the purposes of the herrenvolk. The teachers will have to pick out any pupils who show signs of "bad influences" and these will be drafted from schools into labour camps. Except for the few who are picked for "higher education" the schools will teach as little English or Afrikaans as possible in an attempt to check the acquisition of dangerous ideas by the oppressed people. So far this applies only to Africans, but the Prime Minister has stated that Coloured education will also be removed from the control of the Provincial Education departments.
- (2) Education will be tribalised. The syllabuses will be designed and the teachers instructed to propagate tribal ideas and traditions. To achieve this, schools will be split into Zulu schools, Xhosa schools, etc, and each will have its own special syllabus. Schools will even be placed under the control of tribal councils and chiefs.

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- (3) The propagation of the slave mentality will be intensified by the tribalisation and by other modifications to the syllabus

- (4) The Government has given itself tighter control of schools and teachers. The Act makes it a crime for anyone to run a school which has not been registered and approved by the Government.

These are desperate measures, but they cannot succeed without the cooperation of the teachers. This fatal defect in the governments' plans is increased by the fact that the Act itself is having the effect of arousing teachers to an awareness of the role they have played, and so bringing large numbers of them into the struggles of the people. Once more the very attempt of the herrenvolk to save itself sets up a chain of events which boomerangs back. Thus the duty of the teachers in the face of the Act is clear. They can frustrate the purposes of the Act by counteracting slavish and tribalistic ideas; they can join hands with the parents and the people generally; they can destroy the influence of those teachers who continue to serve the herrenvolk; they must realise that their fight cannot be directed against the one Act alone, or regarded as a special concern of the teachers. We will obtain free education by fighting for a free and democratic society. It will be a sure sign of progress in this direction when the teachers organisations representing the majority of teachers in all the provinces have taken their place, as C.A.T.A. and the T.L.S.A. have already done, in the struggle for full democracy, and have purged their ranks of quislings and collaborators.

There can be no doubt that this will happen. The response of teachers to a Conference called by C.A.T.A. last December assures this. Despite and order from Eiselen himself, which was broadcast and published in the press 300 teachers met and passed a comprehensive resolution which ended as follows:

- (4) This conference addresses itself, not only to the Non-European teachers throughout the Union, but to all the Non-White people of South Africa, in order
- (a) to impress upon them the necessity of a principled, unified, unceasing struggle against the educational system devised under the Bantu Education Act as an integral part of the whole system of oppression in South Africa;
  - (b) to warn them that the herrenvolk seeks in particular to use, not only the quislings working the Bantu Authorities Act, but also the teachers themselves in order to school African children for perpetual slavery;
  - (c) to exhort both teachers and the people not to operate the machinery of their own enslavement, of which this Bantu Education Act is the most recent enactment;
  - (d) to urge upon all the oppressed people their national duty to pursue and co-ordinate the struggle, not only against the invidious provisions of the Act, but also against those who betray their people by accepting the positions and offices especially created for quislings under the Act;
  - (e) to enjoin upon the teachers in particular their responsibility to the nation and the children of the nation, a responsibility which demands of them that they should strengthen, co-ordinate and unify their own organisations and that they should work in the closest cooperation with the people struggling, not only against the Bantu Education Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, and the whole system of oppression, but also for full citizenship rights.

IX

NEW ADVENTURISM.

"The owl thought he was a wise bird and decided to set the sea on fire".

In conclusion it is necessary to discuss a "stunt" which has been proposed as a means of fighting the Bantu Education Act and which has been exploited by unscrupulous elements of very different kinds. Both openly reactionary and irresponsibly ultra-left individuals have been peddling the idea that the only way to fight the Act is to withdraw all pupils and teachers from the existing schools and start a chain of "national schools" on the model of those run by Kenyatta in Kenya.

Coming from the youth this idea is a sign of a healthy spirit of militancy, combined with an impatience which will naturally disappear as they understand their true political tasks of building up a national movement. But in the mouths of unscrupulous "leaders" and would be "leaders" it is sheer poison. These people know perfectly well that no such boycott will come about; nor do they really want it. The function of their arguments is simply to sneer at the policy of non-collaboration and at our programme of building up a politically conscious and principled national movement. It is simply another form of the old, old story that non-collaboration is 'negative'. And, as we have seen happen a hundred times in the past, this story is used as a smokescreen for collaborationist activities.

A teacher who has no intention of risking his skin by fighting slave education has nothing to lose by mouthing support for the "national schools" plan. He knows that there is no danger of this plan coming into operation at this stage because he is aware that the majority of teachers are not even ready yet to support far less

radical ideas, and that the really militant teachers are engaged in the more serious work of building up the peoples organisations. In the meantime he has a good excuse for collaboration with the Bantu Education Act, for he has been assured that anything he does, short of a boycott of all schools will be 'childish, negative and ineffective'.

The "national schools" plans is given a melodramatic flavour which is very attractive to ultra-revolutionary intellectuals by the clause in the Bantu Education Act, which makes any such schools illegal. So presumably they would have to be "underground" schools - unless the whole scheme is simply a neo-Gandhi-ist way of courting arrest.

Like the herrenvolk these ultra-left gentlemen remind us of the owl who thought he was a very wise man and decided to set the sea on fire. No doubt their next proposal will be "it's childish and negative to organise strikes or bus boycotts. Let the people start their own factories and their own bus services!!" Let us not be diverted by these fantastic slogans. Let us continue on our road of building a principled movement on the basis of the ten-point programme.

Our aim is full democracy.

Our weapon is non-collaboration.

Our strength is Non-European Unity.

SUMMARY OF THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT.

The following is not a complete reprint of the Act. It is however a summary of the crucial provisions. Some sections have received comment, most are self-explanatory.

DEFINITIONS:-

Section 1 contains definitions of certain terms used in the Act. The most significant of these is the following:-

" 'native school' or 'Bantu school' means any school, class, college or institution for the education of Bantu children or persons, or for the instruction and training of Bantu persons who desire to become teachers or to improve their qualifications as teachers." (Sec. 1 (vi))

Practically every avenue of African education is caught in the net of the Act. The only exception at the moment is "higher education" for the Act defines education as "education other than higher education" (Sec. 1(iii)) The field of higher education is, of course, very limited, for it only covers education given by Universities, Technical colleges approved by the Minister of Education, and education provided for the training of Secondary teachers. And the Government is already making plans to bring University education etc for Africans into the "Bantu Education" framework; and the Holloway Commission on separate universities is working in this direction.

TRANSFER OF EDUCATION TO THE NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

Section 2 provides for the transfer of "native education" to the Government, stating that:

"the control of native education shall vest in the Government of the Union subject to the provisions of this Act."

Section 3 runs as follows:-

"(1) It shall be the function of the Department under the direction and



control of the Minister, to perform all the work necessary for or incidental to the general administration of native education.'

"(2) The Minister may, subject to the laws governing the public service, from time to time appoint such officers as he may deem necessary for the proper performance by the Department of its functions under this Act."

Note carefully that everywhere in the Act "Department" means Dept. of Native Affairs and "Minister" means Minister of Native Affairs - under Section 1.

The transfer of African education from the hands of the provincial education departments into the hands of the N.A.D. shows very clearly that :-

- a the education of Africans is regarded as serving a completely different function from the education of the Europeans. So much so that the same State Dept. can not administer both.
- b the Government wants African education to be controlled by the Department which is responsible for the control of African labour, pass laws, etc.

Sections 4 and 5 provide for the transfer of officers and employees other than teachers employed by the provinces "mainly in connection with native education" to the Department of Native Affairs. These sections deal therefore with Inspectors and other public servants. It is noteworthy that the salaries and pension rights of such people are fully protected and that in terms of the section they can avoid coming under the N.A.D., if they so wish.

CONTROL OF THE SCHOOLS.

Section 6 deals with the financing of so-called "Bantu community schools". It runs:

"(1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Minister may, on such special conditions as he may stipulate and in accordance with such general principles as he may determine in consultation with the Minister of Finance, out of monies appropriated or set aside by Parliament for native education:

- (a) subsidize any Bantu school established or maintained by any Bantu authority, or any native council, tribe or community (hereinafter called a community school); OR
- (b) assist in the maintenance or establishment of any such school.

"(2) The Minister may, in his discretion, at any time suspend, reduce, or withdraw any subsidy or assistance granted to any such school under this section"

Section 7 deals with schools to be run directly by the N.A.D. and is as follows:-

"(1) The Minister may, out of monies appropriated or set aside by Parliament for native education -

- a establish and maintain Bantu schools which shall be known as Government Bantu schools;
- b establish and maintain any hostel, teachers' quarters, school clinic, or any other accessory to a Government Bantu School

"(2) Every native school or accessory thereto which was established and maintained by a provincial administration and which is in existence on the date of commencement of this Act, shall, as from that date, be deemed to have been established in terms of sub-section (1) as a Government Bantu School, or as an accessory to a Government Bantu school.

"(3) The Minister may at any time whenever he considers it expedient to do so, close or disestablish any such Government Bantu school, hostel, teachers

quarters, school clinic or other accessory to a Government Bantu School."

Section 8 deals with grants to state-aided schools other than "Bantu community schools" or "Government Bantu schools", and gives the Minister similar autocratic powers to the ones just set out. This section brings Mission schools, for example, into line with the Act. Already the powers given in these sections have been used to freeze the amount spent by the Government on African education.

No-one can run an independent African school, for section 9 lays down that:

"as from a date to be fixed by the Minister by notice in the Gazette, no person shall establish, conduct or maintain any Bantu or native school unless it is registered as prescribed."

The section goes on to say that the Minister can refuse or cancel registration if "he is of the opinion" that it is not in the interests of the "Bantu people" or "is likely to be detrimental to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the pupils attending or likely to attend such school".

The last part of Section 9 makes it a criminal offence for anyone to run or establish an unregistered school and provides for a fine of £50 or, in default of payment, imprisonment for up to 6 months.

POSITION OF THE TEACHER.

Section 10 deals with teachers in "Government Bantu Schools" and, as we saw, in terms of Section 7 z(2), provincial schools automatically become Government Bantu Schools. Section 10 therefore provides that all teachers employed by the provinces become employees of the N.A.D. Further it lays down that the Minister shall determine the

teaching establishment, and shall have "the power of appointment, promotion, transfer, or discharge of teachers in Government Bantu Schools." This Section also states that the conditions of service, pay and pension, shall remain the same as under the Provinces "unless and until the Minister prescribes otherwise." Compare this with the protection given to Inspectors etc under Sections 4 and 5.

Sub-section (7) of Section 10 is significant. It states

"Any disciplinary proceedings in respect of misconduct committed by any teacher ..... "(transferred from the province to the N.A.D. )"..... before the date of commencement of the Act may be continued or instituted by the Department as if such misconduct had been committed after the said date."

Section 11 provides for the transfer of the administration of that part of the Natal Non-European teachers fund which affects African teachers, to the N.A.D.

QUISLING COUNCILS

Section 12 provides for the establishment of Boards, Councils or other such bodies, by the Minister, in order to allow for the 'active participation' by the "Bantu people" in the control and management of "Bantu Schools". The Minister will also prescribe the functions, powers, constitution etc of such bodies, i.e. he can keep a tight check on his agents.

SCHOOL PROPERTY.

Sections 13 and 14 deal with the transfer of school property from the provinces to the Government, and give the Minister power to appropriate property for the purposes of Bantu education.

THE POWERS OF THE MINISTER.

In Section 15 the powers of the Minister to make regulations are listed. There are no fewer than NINETEEN paragraphs giving dictatorial powers to frame rules, codes

of discipline for teachers and students and to introduce special syllabuses for more intensive slave education. In particular he has the power to exert rigid control over the number of pupils allowed into schools. We quote paragraphs b and c as examples of the type of power he is given under this Section:

"The Minister may from time to time make regulations -

- .... b prescribing the conditions of appointment and service, including the rights, duties and privileges, of teachers in Government Bantu Schools;
- c prescribing a code of discipline for teachers in Government Bantu Schools, the punishments which may be imposed for and the procedure to be followed in connection with, any contravention of or failure to comply with the provisions of such code, and the circumstances in which the services of any such teacher may be terminated".

Section 15 (2) says:

"Different regulations may be made in respect of different teachers, groups, races or classes of teachers, or different schools or areas."

In this short, innocent looking sub-section is packed one of the most ferocious of the many stings in the Act. Different regulations for different groups and areas means tribal education; it means creating in each young African mind the idea that his tribal traditions make him superior to "members" of other tribes; it means fostering traditions of the past and so turning the eyes of the youth from the future.

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June 1954.

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**RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961**

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

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