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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

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HWS 13

"THE TASK OF FORT HARE IN TERMS OF THE TRANSKEI AND CISKEI": EDUCATIONAL POLICY AT FORT HARE IN THE 1960S(1)

Recent literature on policy-making in the 1950s has departed from the concept that apartheid consisted of a monolithic programme, whose blueprint had been drafted in 1948, and suggests instead that apartheid policy-making was malleable and responsive to practical imperatives.(2) The transformation of policy from the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 to the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 underscores how fundamentally apartheid was reconceptualised during the 1950s. This shift was occasioned by a changing perception of what was needed to enhance the conditions of capital accumulation and stabilise the prospects of white power and privelege - a revision necessitated by the political urban crisis of the 1950s. According to Legassick, "It was the Bantustan concept, which, at the ideological level, constituted the basic framework beneath which the political and economic dynamic reinforced economic growth and black powerlessness together". For Legassick, the "Bantustan concept" of "nationhood of different nations" was designed to provide the ideological legitimacy to undermine the rights of Africans in "white" areas and also to allow for the removal of "surplus", ie. unemployed Africans to the Bantustans, where the cost to the state of reproduction was cheaper.(3)

By the late 1950s, then, apartheid policy-makers considered the the homelands project to be essential for the long-term security of white political and economic control, and it was in the context of this fundamental reappraisal that the role of university apartheid was redrafted.

The concept of university apartheid that had prevailed in the early 1950s was crudely grounded in the principle of segregation: the desire was simply to separate white from black students. But as early as 1951 the Eiselen commission on education linked university apartheid to "development": the report suggested the "eventual founding of an independent Bantu university" in accordance with "the Development Plan and the employment possibilities which evolve from it."(4) By 1959, however, when the Extension of University Education Act and the Fort Hare Transfer Act were finally passed, the concept of university apartheid had been thoroughly integrated into the ethnically divisive homelands project, and a more complex role had been defined for, in particular, the African university colleges.

1.The title of this paper is a translation of a series of radio talks that were broadcast in 1966 and that were later published by SABRA under the title "Fort Hare se taak ten opsigte van die Transkei en die Ciskei".

2.See, for example, doctoral theses by John Lazar and Deborah Posel

3.Legassick, M, "Legislation, ideology and economy in post-1948 South Affrica" in **Journal of Southern African Studies** Volume 1 1974-75

4.**Report of the Eiselen Commission** p151

The three African university colleges - the university colleges of the North (Turfloop), Zululand (Ngoye) and Fort Hare - were to serve separate clusters of ethnic groups. These institutions were expected to perform a dual function which was viewed as central to the success of the homelands: first, they should produce a corps of administrators, skilled in a practical range of disciplines, and second, the institutions should mould intellectuals who would channel their energies into the homelands. If the three university colleges succeeded in these two tasks, the prospects for the success of the Bantustan project would be substantially improved.

In this paper, the implementation of this policy at Fort Hare is examined. It is first necessary to sketch some of the features that were unique to Fort Hare, which make the study of policy implementation there particularly illuminating. While Turfloop and Ngoye were established from the start along government lines, at Fort Hare apartheid strategists were presented with the challenge of transforming an institution which had been established by mission interests in 1916. By the 1950s Fort Hare had developed a political culture that was particularly galling to apartheid policy-makers, that has been described by a former lecturer as "a microcosm of a non-racial society in the heart of apartheid South Africa."(5) The institution fostered political independence: a former student commented that:

> "Fort Hare saw itself as a political crucible. It was concerned with the upliftment of the oppressed and producing critical, analytical students. There were many political lecturers - ZK Matthews was active in the Cape ANC. That was the tone that prevailed."(6)

This tone alarmed government strategists: in 1957 the Minister of Bantu Affairs warned that

> "Control of [black universities] by the government is needed as it is necessary to prevent undesirable ideological elements - such as has disturbed the non-white institutions not directly under the control of the government."(7)

This paper examines government intervention at Fort Hare after 1960. The first part of the paper will examine how the Department of Bantu Education and the new administrators of the college tried to transform Fort Hare into an institution where students were prepared, in terms both of skill and attitude, for a political future in the homelands; the second part of the paper assesses the success of this project, by examining courses of study chosen by students, their pass rates and where graduates were employed.

5.Beard, TVR, "Background to student activity at Fort Hare" in van der Merwe (ed) **Student Perspectives on South Africa**

6.Interview (conducted December 1989) with a former student, who was at Fort Hare from 1959 to 1961. (Hereafter Interview #3)

7.Balintulo, MM "The black universities in South Africa" in Rex, J (ed) **Apartheid and Social Research** Unesco Press p 149

POLICIES AND PLANS

In order to meet these goals, three main practices developed. First, the academic staff was cleared of those hostile to the new administration, and it seems that a policy of recruiting staff trained at Afrikaans-medium universities was embarked upon. Second, the curriculum was adapted and expanded, the main reason being to provide students with the opportunity to acquire a wide range of skills. Third, student enrolment was restricted to Xhosa-speaking students.

STAFFING

University apartheid ideologues had struggled in the 1950s to reconcile their need to maintain control over the direction of the university colleges with the principles of separate development which required that control of the university colleges would eventually be transferred to the ethnic communities they served. Elaborate parallel senates and councils were created for this purpose, and it was explicitly articulated that where possible, African academics should be brought onto the staff. But in the context of the vigorously critical political climate which had been a defining feature at Fort Hare in the 1950s, the new administrators acted to remove "hostile" elements from the staff, replacing them with loyal supporters of its policies. The effect was that the proportion of African staff members declined, while those of academics trained at Afrikaans universities increased.

After the passage of the Fort Hare Transfer Act in 1959 the Department of Bantu Education had assumed practical responsibility for the transfer. The new administrators employed a range of tactics to purge the staff, including direct dismissal, and the introduction of conditions which made remaining on the staff untenable for others. In late 1959 the Department gave notice that from 1960 eight staff members would be dismissed. They were the rector, Professor H R Burrows, the registrar, Sir Fulque Agnew, as well as Lady Agnew, Professor Frank Rand, Mr T V R Beard, Professor D Williams, Mr T Hutton and Mr G F Israelstam, who were on the teaching staff. After the passage of the Fort Hare Transfer Bill in June 1959, the Department announced that under the new regulations, African members of staff would not be allowed to engage in political activity, not even in legal organisations.(8) After considering the implications of this restriction(9) another ten members of the academic staff resigned, including Professors Z K Matthews, C L S Nyebezi, Michael Webb and David de Villiers.(10) The Minister of Bantu Education, Mr S Maree, said:

"I disposed of their services because I will not permit a

8.Balintulo, op. cit.

9.There was a great deal of public interest in the decisions taken by these staff members, especially Professor Matthews, who was close to retirement and who lost all his retirement benefits by resigning a few months short of the deadline. (ZK Matthews collection, UNISA)

10.Rand Daily Mail 12 October 1960

penny of any funds of which I have control to be paid to any persons who are known to be destroying the government's policy of apartheid."(11)

The Minister of Bantu Education also assumed responsibility for the appointment of the rectors of Fort Hare. The rector had been assigned extraordinary powers in the transfer act, and the abilities and attitudes of these individuals wielded a disproportional influence on policy implementation at the university college.

The first rector appointed was Professor JJ Ross, who held the post until his retirement in June 1968. From the perspective of the Department of Bantu Education, Professor Ross was a uniquely qualified candidate. Broadly educated, he had also been closely concerned with the development of government policy. In the late 1950s he served on the editorial board of the Journal of Racial Affairs, the official publication of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs,(12) and throughout his term as rector he published articles reviewing the progress of the university college project, both in general terms and in specific relation to Fort Hare. His academic background was diverse: he held bachelors degrees in administration, education, arts, science and law, as well as a diploma in bantu studies. In 1936 he had been awarded a Carnegie Scholarship, and he had taken the opportunity to study "the educational systems of the American Negro and the Mexican Indian" and he qualified for an MA degree in education and sociology, from Yale University. His work background also provided him with experience that the Department of Bantu Education would have found useful: he was familiar both with the issues of "native education" and university education: from 1928 he was employed as an inspector of native education in the Orange Free State, and in 1942 he was appointed chief inspector of native education for the province. In 1954 he began lecturing in law at the University of the Orange Free State, and he was professor of public law there from 1955 until he left for Fort Hare.(13) Professor Ross was thus an ideologue as well as an experienced administrator and educator.

When Professor Ross retired in 1968, he was succeeded by Professor JM de Wet of Potchefstroom University, who was described in the newspapers as 'a loyal Nationalist'. His father had been a co-leader of the National Party in the Transvaal in the 1930s. Professor de Wet attended both school and university in Potchefstroom, where he obtained his MSc in mathematics and statistics. He studied engineering at Wits, and received his PhD from Imperial College at the University of London. From the mid-1950s he lectured in mathematics at Potchefstroom University, and from 1958 he headed the department

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11.**Rand Daily Mail** 10 November 1959

12.**Journal of Racial Affairs**, published by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, lists of members of the editorial board,

13.Duminy, PA "A tribute to Professor Johan Jurgens Ross" in **Fort Hare Papers** Vol 4 Part 2 June 1968

of statistics there. He served on the Saambou board of directors for many years. From 1960 he had also served on the Fort Hare council.(14)

But the two men were of strikingly different temperament. While Professor Ross has been grudgingly described by a former student as "a diplomat by personality"(15), Professor de Wet seems to have been the opposite. Described as "forthright"(16) and as a clumsy speaker, within weeks of his arrival at Fort Hare he managed to take steps so provocative and misguided that they precipitated the biggest discipline crisis experienced at Fort Hare in the 1960s.(17) Stunned at his reception, Professor de Wet tried to reassure the students of his goodwill by affirming that

> "This is my life work. Within the framework of separate development I want the Bantu to get ahead and succeed. I have promised students that if they behave themselves, I will forgive and forget."(18)

Beyond the appointment of the rectors, over the 1960s a clear trend in staffing policy was the appointment of Afrikaans academics. One commentator has observed that "the new regime's strategy was to appoint their own men, some of them recent graduates, invariably from the Afrikaans-medium universities, and promote them rapidly."(19) This view is supported by the Fort Hare administration's own admissions. After the resignations and dismissals in 1959, there were 23 vacancies to be filled, and Professor Ross said that the reaction of Afrikaans-speaking academic staff to the vacancies advertised at Fort Hare was "almost unbelievable" and "proof of the inherent goodwill of the Afrikaans-speaking person to the Bantu." It was also reported that many of the vacancies were not advertised but were filled by the Department of Bantu Education internally.(20)

A survey of the qualifications of the academic staff at Fort Hare reveals that academics who held at least one degree from an Afrikaans university rapidly came to dominate the staff. In 1962 and 1963, these academics constituted 59% of the staff, and this rose to 72% in 1964. The figures are even more stark if staff teaching in

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14.**Daily Dispatch** 17 April 1968; **Rand Daily Mail** 1 July 1968

15.Interview (conducted at Fort Hare, August 1989), with a staff member at Fort Hare who had studied there in the early 1960s. (Interview #2)

16.Interview (conducted at Fort Hare in August 1989) with a staff member who studied at Fort Hare in the 1930s. (Interview #1)

17.I deal with this crisis in a forthcoming paper on the reponse of students to the new administration in the 1960s.

18.**Sunday Times** 29 September 1968

19.Balintulo, op cit, p150

20.**Rand Daily Mail** 1 July 1968

the pure sciences are excluded: in this case the proportion of Afrikaans and UNISA-trained staff rises from 66% in 1962, to 75% in 1963 and 81% in 1964.(21)

Simultaneously, throughout the 1960s the the proportion of black lecturing staff decreased, falling from 35% in 1960 to 19% in 1969. Very few black staff members held senior positions: in 1963 the membership of the Fort Hare advisory (African) senate was reduced from six to two when a constitutional change limited membership to professors and heads of departments. The two remaining members were Dr M O M Seboni and Mr I G M Mzimane.(22) Dr Seboni, who was a professor of education, was an outspoken supporter of government initiatives at Fort Hare, his doctoral thesis, completed in 1959, wholeheartedly endorsed the transfer.(23)

From the perspective of students who experienced the changing composition of academic staff, the significance of the appointment of Afrikaans-speaking academics was clear. After a NUSAS executive meeting in 1962, students from Fort Hare, Turfloop, Ngoye and the University College of the Western Cape said that the overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking academic staff often tried to influence students in favour of Afrikaans, and a Nationalist interpretation of history, sociology and so on. Many of the lecturers tried to justify apartheid on academic grounds. Students said they were sometimes subjected to political talks during lectures which bore no relation to the subject of the lecture. On one occasion in 1963 a lecturer at Fort Hare had spent an entire period justifying the expulsion of a student.(24)

In his article "State control, student politics and black universities", Nkosinathi Gwala suggests that the intellectual environment of Afrikaans-medium universities and UNISA (which he describes as "Afrikaner-controlled in terms of educational content and reproduction of dominant ideology") was increasingly reproduced at the university colleges:

> "The black universities are as good as extensions of Afri kaans universities in respect of their staff and administra tion ... one can safely regard graduates of UNISA, Afrikaans and black universities as having gone through the same type of education and ideological training ... catering mainly for the production of the governing bureaucratic elite, and adhering to the conservative traditions of white racial

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21.Calculated from Fort Hare Calendars of 1962, 1963 and 1964.

22.**Rand Daily Mail** 1 March 1963

23.Seboni, MOM, **The South African Native College, Fort Hare, 1903-1954; an historical critical survey of its development and an assessment of its influence on the education of the non-European races of South Africa in general, but on that of the Southern Bantu in particular, together with suggestions for future development** UNISA DEd 1959

24.**Rand Daily Mail** 5 January 1963

domination, Calvinism, unrigorous neo-positivism and rote learning, as opposed to critical debate."(25)

Staff members who did not support the new administration were dealt with in a variety of ways. In 1960 Sir Fulque Agnew, the former registrar, said that the transfer of the college had created an atmosphere of fear within the college. Black lecturers, he said, were in constant fear of dismissal, which had a demoralising effect.(26) In October 1960 a geography lecturer, Mr Nicol Childs, resigned because he was being harassed by the security police. He said he had been stopped and searched on the road, and that his post and telephone conversations had been monitored. When he handed his resignation to the Rector, Professor Ross responded that he had known about the investigations, and said that he was under suspicion for his "close association with the students". Mr Childs said he had assisted students by helping to pay their fees or by driving them to Grahamstown to sell their college magazines. He said he could not continue to work at Fort Hare as he no longer agreed with its policy.(27)

Contact with academics from other universities was curtailed. In 1962, when some Fort Hare students were still completing courses examined by Rhodes University, two Rhodes lecturers who went to Fort Hare to give extra lessons were escorted from the campus by the security police. One of the lecturers, Mr Trevor Bell, said that soon after his arrival a security police car, with the Registrar in it, had driven up to them. The Registrar said that no-one had the right to visit a student on campus without his permission. Mr Bell suggested that a notice about the rule should be put up for the benefit of strangers, but he was told that "such a notice would create adverse publicity for Fort Hare".(28).

In 1965, in an incident that a former staff member describes as "the biggest blot on Ross's career"(29), a senior lecturer in Native Administration, Mr Curnick Ndamse, was suspended from teaching at Fort Hare. The circumstances which prompted his dismissal starkly highlight several facets of the academic control that was wielded at Fort Hare in the 1960s. Asked to address a UNISA seminar on "Problems experienced with tuition of Native Administration at Bantu university colleges,"(30) Mr Ndamse took the opportunity to criticise the system of university colleges. Amongst other things, he said that

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25.Gwala, N "State control, student politics and black universities" p170

26.**The Star** 12 January 1960

27.**Eastern Province Herald** October 1960

28.**Sunday Times** 21 October 1962

29.Interview #1

30.**The Star** 4 April 1965

"highly placed persons in the government have, through their pronouncements and utterances, attempted to sell the policy of separate development to the non-whites. They have endeavoured to prove that in African areas, and in African institutions, for the African the sky is the limit. The execution of the same policy by lesser officials has proved just the opposite. Naturally this brings about confusion, especially to those who plan to qualify in the field. For instance, in the field of education the white man has never had a firmer grip on the control of educational affairs of Africans."(31)

Of the university colleges, Mr Ndamse said:

"Here Africans are promised to fear no impediments as long as they possess the required qualifications and have the ability to do the work set for them. In practice this is not the case."

Mr Ndamse was suspended by the Rector for "a serious breach of discipline, insubordination and for having behaved in a manner which was academically and professionally reprehensible."(32) An enquiry, conducted by the chair of the council, said that Mr Ndamse's "misconduct" was that he had not discussed the content of his paper with the head of his department prior to his departure.(33) His dismissal was later confirmed in Parliament by the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr Maree.(34)

This incident is remarkable in that it not only revealed how the academic staff was controlled, and the severe measures that the administration was prepared to use to maintain this control, but also how this manipulation was intertwined with the content of the courses taught. This paper will now examine steps taken to adapt and control the direction of students' courses of study.

CURRICULA

During the 1960s there was a proliferation in the courses offered at Fort Hare. There were two main reasons for this diversification in the curriculum, related to the two main impetuses to university apartheid: to segregate white and black students, and to provide skilled staff for the homeland administrations.

By the time of Professor Ross's retirement in 1968, the range of courses offered had already been extensively developed. New departments in the faculty of Arts included Greek, library science, sociology and social work, with sub-departments of German and industrial psychology. Land surveying, geology and mathematical

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31.**Evening Post** 2 April 1965

32.**Daily Dispatch** 22 April 1965

33.**Evening Post** 2 April 1965

34.**The Star** 4 April 1965. Mr Ndamse was later employed as a lecturer in public administration and law at the Tsolo Jongilizwe College in the Transkei. (**Rand Daily Mail** 11 May 1965).

science had been initiated in the faculty of science. The department of economics and economic history had been expanded into a faculty of commerce, also teaching accountancy and business administration. The departments of education, divinity, agriculture and law had been expanded into faculties.(35) In 1961 it had been announced that Fort Hare would start training students in pharmacy,(36) but this did not commence during the 1960s. In 1968 Professor Ross called for the establishment of an engineering faculty "in view of the crying and increasing need for technologists with the development of the border industries and industries that are bound to be initiated within the homelands."(37)

The political expedient for the creation of many of these courses is clearly not to be found in the simple imperative to train homeland administrators, but rather in the government's concern to remove black students from "white" universities. If a student wished to study a course that was not offered at a black university, the Minister of Education Arts and Science was under pressure to allow the student to enrol at a "white" university where the course was available.

The success of the segregation aspect of university apartheid out-stripped results achieved in terms of skills training. In an early policy statement, Professor Ross had said that:

> "The University College of Fort Hare, intended to serve the Xhosa of the Ciskei and the Transkei, is in a position to adapt more effectively and more adequately both the contents of its curricula and the methods of presentation to the needs and cultural background from which the Bantu student comes and to which he will return."(38)

Despite such proclamations about the need to adapt course content at Fort Hare to meet Xhosa needs, throughout the 1960s Fort Hare taught general UNISA courses that were no in any way adapted specifically for Fort Hare students. UNISA was the external examining body for Fort Hare, determining syllabi, setting examinations and monitoring standards. In 1969, with legislation before Parliament that would grant Fort Hare full university status and free the institution of UNISA's supervision, the administration concluded:

> "Although great progress has been made in the last few years, we believe that the attainment of academic autonomy will enable Fort Hare in the future to adapt at an accelerated pace both the content of its syllabi and the methods of presentation more effectively and more adequately to the needs of the ethnic group it serves, wihtout in any way lowering the high standards of university

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35.Duminy, op cit; **The Star** 2 February 1962; Eastern Province Herald 18 August 1968

36.**The Star** 17 October 1961

37.**Daily Dispatch** 22 April 1968

38.Duminy, op cit.

education."(39)

But this does not detract from the impact of changes to the curriculum. Balintulo gives some examples of how the approach to teaching within certain fields changed:

> "Whereas under Rhodes University, students in the field of administration had been able to register for Public Administration, in the new structure they could only do Native Administration ... moreover, the external examiners ... interpreted the situation from the angle of the White man's mission of spreading Western civilisation and the necessity of discriminatory laws ... in the case of the department of history ... the staff ensured that the teaching was designed to leave the student without any meaningful understanding of the historical processes surrounding the subjugation of the black people."(40)

In 1968 Professor Ross concluded that the government's policies at the university colleges had been "wise and sound", as

> "Certain diploma courses popular with Africans at their university colleges are not offered at white universities. The university colleges are in a position to adapt themselves more adequately to the needs of the African student. The education of African students at their own university colleges has reduced the problems of adaptation and personality difficulties which were very considerable for a Bantu student at a white university."(41)

Ultimately, however, student enrolment was concentrated in a narrow band of fields, (as is discussed below), which undermined some of the plans that had been laid in terms of overall curriculum development. But in terms of the policy to restrict student enrolment at the university college to Xhosa students, the new administrators had more success.

STUDENT ADMISSIONS

The stated aim of the new admissions policy was that Fort Hare should become a university college for Xhosa-speaking students. Before the transfer, in 1959, the student body of Fort Hare was heterogenous. At 38%, Xhosa students constituted the largest ethnic sector of the student population; 14% were Indian, 14% were coloured, 9% were Sotho, 9% Tswana, 6% Zulu and 3% Swazi. The remaining 7% came from outside South Africa, although the numbers of foreign students had been limited by the government earlier in the 1950s.(42) After the transfer, admissions at Fort Hare were affected

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39.1969 **Report** by Fort Hare administration to the Department of Bantu Education, Howard Pim Collection, Fort Hare

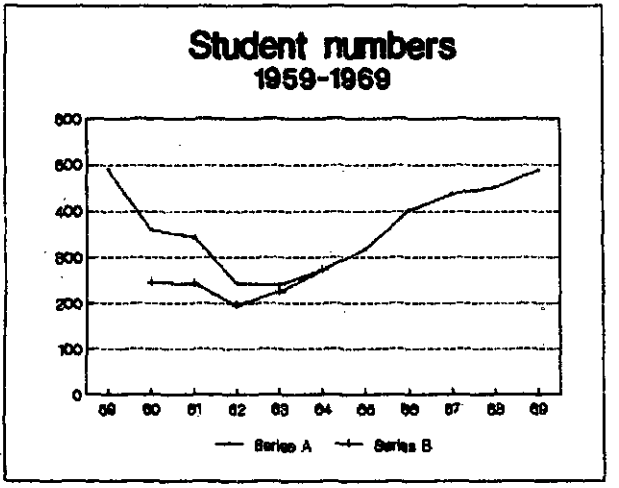
40.Balintulo op cit p.150

41.**Rand Daily Mail** 15 September 1967

42.University College of Fort Hare, **Calendar** 1959, p10.

1950s.(42) After the transfer, admissions at Fort Hare were affected by the establishment of the new university colleges in 1960. Because four new university colleges were established in 1960 and 1961, the new administrators predicted that student numbers at Fort Hare would drop as non-Xhosa students were channeled to the new institutions. However, they failed to predict, and were considerably embarassed by, the accompanying drop in the number of Xhosa students, which saw student registrations dwindling to very low complements.

For the first half of the 1960s student enrolment at Fort Hare dropped, but in the latter half of the 1960s student numbers increased steadily, as is indicated in the graph below. Official enrolment figures for the early 1960s are of questionable reliability and vary substantially - the figures given here, for example, are taken from different tables of the same report.(43)



In 1962 Professor Ross explained the drop in student numbers by referring to the Xhosa-only admissions policy, but the simultaneous decrease in the registration of Xhosa students was marked: there were 188 Xhosa-speaking students in 1959, 177 in 1960, 179 in 1961 and 167 in 1962. Dr Ross ascribed this decrease to poor matric standards: he said that "the number of first-year students that high schools in the Ciskei and the Transkei can produce will have to increase appreciably before a gradual rise in the number of students can be expected." More specifically, he ascribed the decrease in the

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42.University College of Fort Hare, Calendar 1959, p10.

43.1969 Report of the Department of Bantu Education, Tables 1B and 1C.

registration of Xhosa-speakers to a reaction against the transfer of Fort Hare to the government, and the 1962 drop was linked to unrest at Healdtown and Lovedale schools.(44) This proved to be only a temporary setback to the plan to create a Xhosa student body. Throughout the 1960s there was only one indication of deviation from this policy, when in 1967 Fort Hare turned away over 100 students because of limited accomodation and overcrowding at the campus. The administration said that although Fort Hare was a university college for Xhosas, they were not being given preference in admission over other ethnic groups, and that admission was based on merit.(45) Nevertheless, the policy was generally strictly applied, so that by 1969, 83% of students listed Xhosa as their home language,(46) compared with 38% a decade earlier.(47)

Thus by the late 1960s, there had been significant progress in structurally changing Fort Hare's staffing complement, curricula, and in creating an ethnically-homogenous student body. But these changes could not ensure either student receptivity or the production of qualified labour power. The brief examination that follows indicates that the results of these structural transformations were disappointing to those who had vested interest in the success of university apartheid.

COURSES OF STUDY CHOSEN BY STUDENTS

Despite the proliferation of faculties engineered during the 1960s, about 75% of students each year enrolled for degrees in arts (including social science) and science, and diplomas in education.(48) In the table that follws, "Series A" indicates the total percentage of students registered for bachelors degrees in arts and science and for diplomas in education. "Series B" to "D" indicate registrations in each of these fields respectively.(49)

44.Cape Times 25 September 1962

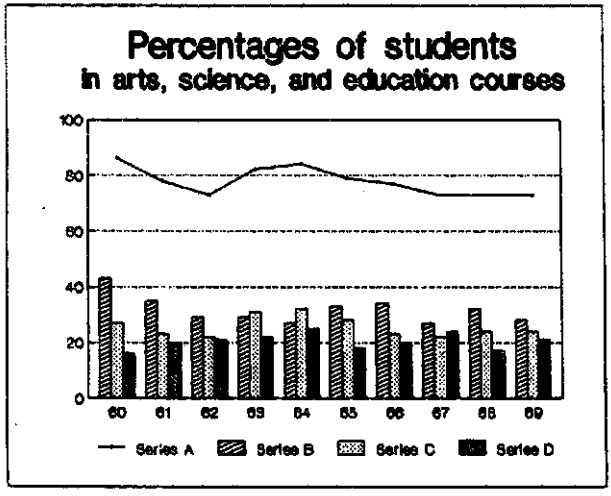
45.Rand Daily Mail 7 March 1967

46.1969 Report of the Department of Bantu Education, Table 2B

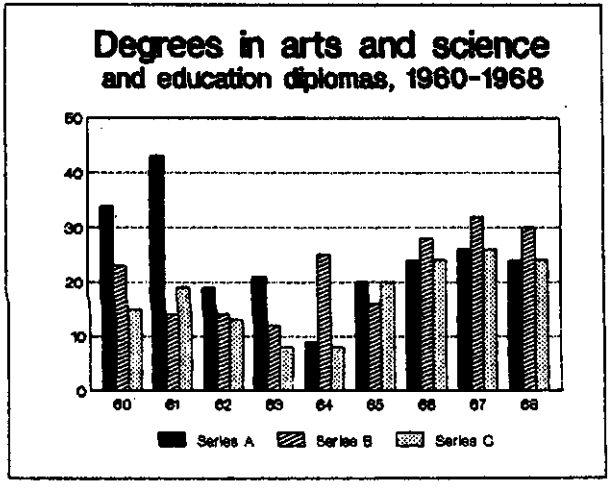
47.University College of Fort Hare Calendar 1959, p10.

48.In 1969, the most popular first year courses in Arts were English (28% of all students registered in 1969), History (16%) and Xhosa (15%); and in science, maths (17%), physics (15%) and chemistry (14%). (1969 Report of the Department of Bantu Education)

49.This information taken from Table 2B of the 1969 Bantu Education Report



The predominance of student registrations in these three subjects was reflected in the numbers of degrees and diplomas awarded in these fields ("Series A" represents BAs, "Series B" represents BScs and "Series C" education diplomas):



In other fields the numbers of students who successfully completed courses was extremely small: over the entire decade, for example, only two law degrees were awarded, and only five degrees in commerce and administration. Another five students obtained divinity degrees.

In 1962 the Minister of Bantu Education said the decrease in the number of African students who obtained degrees at Fort Hare should be ascribed to a "propaganda campaign" against the transfer of Fort Hare and Bantu Education in general. He said the campaign "had been particularly violent in the eastern Cape province" and "had an injurious effect upon the Bantu Educational institutions in that area."(50)

EMPLOYMENT

It is important to extend the analysis of the relative failure of Fort Hare to produce graduates to an assessment of the extent to which Fort Hare in fact provided the Xhosa homelands with skilled personnel. Fort Hare students were constantly encouraged to seek employment in the homelands: both by means of study loans that were linked to service,(51) as well as through exhortations of the type given by Dr SM Naude, the president of the CSIR, in the main address at the 1966 graduation ceremony:

> "the university has a great role to play in the development of the Transkei and other African homelands. 500 administrative posts in the Transkei presently held by whites are intended for Africans. More than 50 new African towns are in various stages of development throughout the country. Skilled Africans are required to man the new towns in the homelands, but there is a shortage of skilled manpower. There are 650 white-owned trading stations in the Transkei, of which a large number are available to African traders as rapidly as they can be trained. There are only 130 registered African doctors in the whole of the Republic. 20 of them practice in African areas. There are no qualified dentists or pharmacists. Immediate needs in the new African towns being constructed all over South Africa are 67 medical practitioners, 38 dentists and 9 pharmacists ..."(52)

Although very little concrete and systematic information is available on this matter, in 1969 the Fort Hare administration conducted an investigation into "employment opportunities for graduates in the Transkei and occupational expectations of Fort Hare students."

In terms of "employment opportunities", the Secretary of the Public

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50.Hansard, 18 February 1964, cols 1509-10. See statistics.

51.This strategy sometimes backfired: Fort Hare students told a NUSAS conference in 1962 that students who had loans to train for Bantustan employment often left the country instead, or refused to work in a Bantustan because of the lack of opportunity offered. (**Rand Daily Mail** 5 January 1963)

52.**Daily Dispatch** 25 April 1966

Service Commission in Umtata supplied the following information: In 1969 49 graduates were already in the service of the government, and a further 129 were employed by the government as teachers.(53) The Commission said that over the following two to three years, government departments would require the services of six land surveyors, two architects, two quantity surveyors, three engineers, six veterinarians, nine agricultural extension officers, twelve advocates, "numerous" attorneys and prosecutors, three welfare workers, nine personnel officers and 32 "government bureau officers" to "assist management with the extension of developmental laws". Besides these positions, the Xhosa Development Corporation was listed as "a constant employer of graduates", and the report recommended, and presumably the irony was unintentional, the "great challenges" which "naturally present themselves to those in the Transkei who are prepared to tackle a business undertaking".

These "employment opportunities" have been listed in such detail because they underline the role that Fort Hare **should** have been playing in meeting these needs. What is immediately obvious is that it was simply not possible to train students in many of these areas at Fort Hare in the 1960s, and also that where courses were offered, very few students enrolled for them, as has been outlined above. But it is also overwhelmingly apparent that very few students wanted to seek employment in the homelands. In the "occupational expectations" aspect of the same survey,(54) it is revealed that only "60% of the sample declared themselves prepared to work in the homelands" which, taking into account the bias inherent in the sample, was interpreted by those conducting the investigation to mean that "one third of the student population of Fort Hare wish to work in the Transkei or Ciskei". Teaching emerged as the profession most likely to attract students to work in the homelands, followed by social work. Very few science students were considering work in the homelands because of the limited industrial and research posts.

Two thirds of Fort Hare students were not contemplating working in the homelands. Based on the reasons given by the sample, the survey found that "the most evident reason for candidates not wishing to work in the homelands was that they did not come from either the Transkei or the Ciskei". However, given that it is not known how this question was phrased, and given the likelihood that those students who refused to participate were politically motivated, it is probable that political rejection of homeland structures was also

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53.These were not necessarily graduates of Fort Hare: the commission was trying to indicate the extent to which skilled manpower was needed by the homelands, and the prospects for employment of Fort Hare graduates.

54.While this part of the survey provides some perspective on these issues, it must be observed that only 55% of the students were, as the administration report phrases it, "prepared to participate in the investigation". The findings of the investigation therefore need to be interpreted with the knowledge that the students who did participate were not a random sample.

a significant factor in this result.(55)

CONCLUSION

The results achieved by the new administration in the 1960s in terms of numbers of graduates that Fort Hare produced, the fields they had trained in, and where they intended working, have been outlined above. It is illuminating to compare the educational output of the 1960s with that of the era before the transfer.

By 1957, since the establishment of the college, among other degrees over 600 students had graduated with BAs, and 364 with BScs. The diploma in education had been awarded to 649 students, 55 had received the diploma in Theology, and 58 the diploma in Agriculture.(56) The qualitative results attained by the university college before the transfer were also impressive. Assessing the quality of the graduates of the university college until the transfer, Professors Burrows, Kerr and Matthews (who had each headed the university college a some time) listed among the Fort Hare alumni six chiefs, six "education officers, inspectors or sub-inspectors of schools", two "governors of institutions", 21 "university teachers", four advocates, 18 attorneys, 12 "scientific workers", eleven people working in government and administration, eight ministers of religion, five "authors in Bantu languages", "graduate staff in every secondary, high or training school for bantu" as well as 22 school principals. More than 80 students who began their training at Fort Hare later qualified as doctors, and over 70 had proceeded to take higher degrees at other institutions.(57)

In assuming control of an institution with such an impressive record, what did the new administration achieve in educational terms in the first ten years of apartheid planning at Fort Hare? In 1968 Professor Ross had described the transformed Fort Hare as "a powerful factor in the whole development programme of the Bantu".(58) But after ten years of government intervention Fort Hare had failed in both its assigned tasks: the institution had neither produced skilled manpower, nor fostered intellectuals prepared to channel their energies into the homelands. The focus of this paper has been on overt educational policy. It has not dealt with the extraordinary political control wielded by the new administration over the students, which provided the students of the university college with a unique set of apartheid experiences, and which reinforced their abhorrence of apartheid creations, whether the bantustan university college or the bantustan itself.

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55. **1969 Fort Hare Report** op cit, pp59-63

56. The University College of Fort Hare, **Calendar**, 1959, pp10-11.

57. Kerr, A and Matthews, ZK, (eds) **A short pictorial history of the University College of Fort Hare 1916 - 1959** The Lovedale Press 1961; pp67-73.

58. **Rand Daily Mail** 1 July 1968

This paper has been concerned to demonstrate that the politically-defined educational policy at Fort Hare did not fulfil its political task: it trained the majority of students in only a narrow band of disciplines and subjected them to an uncritical and unrigorous academic process.

But the relationship between "politics" and "education" is interactive: and the effect of the new educational regime was actively to handicap, rather than to enhance, the intellectual grounding of its students. As a Fort Hare staff member, who had studied at Fort Hare years before the transfer and who has a particularly long view of developments at the institution, said:

> "In terms of educational policy they succeeded in lowering the standard of education. They deliberately created a kind of education which would not be worth it. It was mentally empty - they were trying to enslave the minds of people, to create spineless men. It's terribly degrading when you really think of it."(59)

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59. Interview #1