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AN EXAMINATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION ON THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING WHITE AND BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA : 1948 - 1982

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ABSTRACT

This research project examines the influence of the philosophy of Christian National Education (C.N.E.) on the principles underlying South African education, and attempts to determine the general trend of that influence from 1948 to 1982.

To this end the project investigates the nature of C.N.E. by tracing the development of the C.N.E. movement from its origins to the publication of its official policy statement in 1948. This historical overview highlights the fundamental shift in the movement from a religious to a more secular and national outlook, as C.N.E. became associated more closely with Afrikaner Nationalism and the National Party Government.

An examination of its effect on South African education reveals that C.N.E. was a powerful influence on the system of Bantu Education and permeated many aspects of White education. In recent years, however, C.N.E.'s influence has been less noticeable and some of its tenets compromised. No C.N.E. bias was detected in the principles of the de Lange Commission (1981). From these findings it seems that C.N.E. has lost its impetus and appeal for many Afrikaners. Nevertheless, the right-wing Afrikaner reaction, against the de Lange Report and in favour of C.N.E., suggests that this educational philosophy still is subscribed to by a powerful section of Afrikanerdom.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

J M Hofmeyr

13th day of July, 1982.

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PREFACE

Christian National Education (C.N.E.) is an important and familiar theme in the history of South African education. It is also "a bone of contention", in the words of one of its chief spokesmen, Professor J. Chris Coetzee (1968, p.28). Since the publication in 1948 of its manifesto, the *Beleid*, this educational philosophy has attracted considerable comment.

Professor Coetzee (1968) has stated that the *Beleid* was never intended to be more than a clarifying statement written for Afrikaners, and that C.N.E. is a policy for the Afrikaans Calvinistic section of our population. Many non-Afrikaner South Africans fear, however, that through Afrikaner political dominance this philosophy may infuse the entire public school system. C.N.E. is potentially far-reaching in its effect on education in South Africa. The formulators of the *Beleid* wanted the Christian and National principles of C.N.E. to become "the hallmark of the entire school with regard to its spirit, aim, syllabus, method, discipline, personal organization and all its activities" (I.C.N.O., 1948, Article 1). Critics of C.N.E. claim that it has permeated all these areas of South African schooling. They condemn C.N.E. for its "narrow, chauvinistic and sectarian attitudes" (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.131) and regard its influence as generally negative. These conflicting interpretations show that the influence of C.N.E. on South African education is a controversial and problematical issue.

As a student of history and a lecturer in History of Education, I have always been interested in the question of C.N.E.'s influence on South African education. The topic of this research was suggested to me in 1981 during my work as a researcher with the Urban Foundation. I was commissioned by the Urban Foundation to examine the draft principles of the 1980 de Lange Commission against the background of previous educational legislation. In view of its force in the past as an educational philosophy, I was struck by the finding that the main tenets of C.N.E. were not embodied in those principles and yet, in terms of the scope of its brief and the severity of the educational crisis it had to remedy, the de Lange Commission must surely be the most important South African

educational commission of this century. Consequently, I began to wonder whether C.N.E. as a force has spent itself, and whether perhaps its influence on South African education had decreased in recent years. These questions about C.N.E. and my continuing interest in the de Lange Commission prompted this research project.

The project investigates the influence of C.N.E. on the principles underlying White and Black education from 1948 to 1982. This time-period sets the scope of the research at a realistic and meaningful length. The starting point of 1948 is an important year, because that was when the *Beleid* was published and the educational policies of the new National Party Government began. The end-limit of 1982 allows a consideration of the relationship between C.N.E. and the de Lange Commission, as well as official and public reaction in late 1981 and early 1982 to the Commission's Report. As the history of C.N.E. goes back much further than 1948, and a thorough understanding of its nature is essential for an analysis of its influence, the project begins with an historical overview of the origins and development of the C.N.E. movement.

The Government's publication of the de Lange Report in October 1981 enabled me to work with the final formulation of its principles, instead of the draft principles I had studied previously. My work with the Urban Foundation has involved me in further research in connection with the de Lange Commission. This gave rise to a journal article, "Teacher Education and the de Lange Commission" (Hofmeyr and Lewin, 1982), to which I refer in my final chapter.

I am greatly indebted to Dr R.H. Lee of the Urban Foundation for giving me the opportunity to study the de Lange Commission. Under his expert guidance my knowledge of many aspects of the Commission has been extended. My thanks are also due to my supervisors, Professors D. White and D. Freer, for their assistance in defining the scope of my research. Discussions with friends and former colleagues, Mr. J. Lewin, Ms H. Gluckman and Ms M. Eva, proved most helpful. I am grateful to my typist, Ms S.Stastny, for her willingness to meet my requirements, changes and deadlines, and to Ms E.Maré for her assistance with the typing.

My husband and mother have fulfilled so many vital functions - from proof-reading to emotional support. Without their aid this project would not have been written. My deepest thanks goes to them.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.N.E.	- Christian National Education
F.A.K.	- Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings
H.S.R.C.	- Human Sciences Research Council
I.C.N.O.	- Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys
N.I.O.O.	- Nasionale Instituut vir Opvoeding en Onderwys
RSA	- Republic of South Africa
S.A.I.R.R.	- South African Institute of Race Relations
SPROCAS	- Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research project is to determine the extent of C.N.E.'s influence, in the past and at present, on the principles underlying South African education. To this end the project first examines the nature of C.N.E. by tracing the historical development of the C.N.E. movement from its origins to the publication of the *Beleid* in 1948. The major part of the project investigates the influence of C.N.E. from 1948 to 1982. This analysis is confined largely to the principles of educational legislation, commissions and official policy statements concerning primary and secondary White and Black education. The focus is on the principles and not on their implementation.

The specific questions that this research will attempt to answer fall into two main categories: those relating to the nature of C.N.E. and those relating to its influence. The questions that deal with the nature of C.N.E. are as follows:

- What are the origins of C.N.E.?
- How has C.N.E. developed historically?
- What are the principles of this educational doctrine?
- Has the nature of C.N.E. changed over the years?
  Is so, how?

Some of the important issues concerning C.N.E.'s influence include:

- What is the relationship between C.N.E. and the National Party?
- What influence has C.N.E. had on the principles underlying Black education from 1948 to 1980? Has the trend been one of constant, increasing or decreasing influence?
- What influence has C.N.E. had on the principles underlying Black education from 1948 to 1980? Has the trend been one of a constant, increasing or decreasing influence?
- What is the influence of C.N.E. on the principles of the de Lange Commission? Is this influence the same or different from C.N.E.'s influence in the past?
- What factors might account for the above findings?

The layout of the project reflects the same division as the type of questions posed. Part I in concerned with the nature of C.N.E. - its origins, historical development and policy statement in the 1948 *Beleid*. Part II deals with the influence of C.N.E. on the principles of Black education, White education and the de Lange Commission. The conclusion attempts to draw all the threads together and present an overview of C.N.E.'s influence during the whole time-period. It also includes a speculative discussion that suggests some of the factors that might account for the findings.

As this research is essentially historical in nature, methods appropriate to historical research in education have been used.

There is an extensive range of primary and secondary sources relevant to the study of this complex topic. In view of the limited nature of a research project, it was not possible to review all of them and consequently a substantial sample of the available sources was consulted. Rather than compiling a comprehensive bibliography, I have listed at the end of the project only those works specifically referred to in my text. Thus many sources which I read that are of a general background nature, or not specifically relevant to the focus and purpose of this research, are not mentioned in the References.

Most of my research dealt with primary sources which can be categorized into three main groups. The collection of primary sources in Rose and Tunmer (1975) allowed easy access to the most important of these. The official sources, such as Parliamentary debates, reports of official commissions and the texts of education acts were essential material. The same was true of the non-official primary sources which included the *Beleid*, reports of private study projects like SPROCAS and the Education Panel, and newspaper articles. Newspapers were a particularly important source of official and public reaction to the Report of the de Lange Commission. Contemporary material, consisting of the writings and addresses of C.N.E. spokesmen and members of the de Lange Commission, provided useful supplementary comment and information. The facts and figures of South African Education that are referred to in Chapter 3 were gathered from other contemporary sources such as the annual surveys of the S.A.I.R.R. and Mercabank (1980).

Four types of secondary sources were used: books on South African history; a range of literature on South African education; works specifically relevant to C.N.E.; and works concerned with related topics, such as Afrikaner Calvinism and the rise of Afrikaner power.

The general histories of South Africa, like Kruger (1969) and Davenport (1977), provided an historical background to the development of C.N.E. and the time-period of the project. Of the general works available on South African education, Malherbe (1925, 1977) and Behr (1980) proved the most useful. These books contain a comprehensive survey of our education systems and include reference to the role of C.N.E. Malherbe (1977) provides detailed information and comment on the Nationalist Government's language policy and the 1967 National Education Policy Act. Behr (1980) supplies a valuable account of recent developments in South African education. In the sphere of Black education, Horrell (1968) focuses on the introduction and early period of the system of Bantu Education. Journal articles by Nkomo (1981) and Hartshorne (1981) interpret the more recent developments in this area.

There appears to be no comprehensive and up-to-date work dealing specifically with the full history of C.N.E. throughout the country. Consequently, for the purposes of this research the most useful sources on C.N.E. included a variety of books, unpublished theses and seminar papers written mainly by English-speakers. Although there are some recent unpublished theses by Afrikaans students, they deal with aspects of C.N.E. that are not relevant to this research. The single most valuable source for the period up to 1961 was the Yale Ph.D. dissertation (1973) by Shingler, an ex-South African. His painstaking research highlights the changing focus of the C.N.E. movement and its relationship to the political order during the period of Union (1910 - 1961). Shingler made careful translations of Afrikaans writings of C.N.E. supporters like B.F. Nel, H.C.M. Fourie and H. du Plessis. These are used in this project to make certain quotations accessible to English-speakers. The B.Ed. dissertation of Lewin (1974) and the seminar paper of Muir (1968) provide overviews of C.N.E.'s origins and early development that complement Shingler's more recent focus. The insightful editorial comment interspersed between the documents in Rose and Tunmer (1975) offers guidelines for a general understanding of C.N.E.'s nature and influence on particular educational policies. Unfortunately, another overseas thesis, a D.Ed. from Harvard on C.N.E. and Bantu

education by Mbere (1979), is disappointingly superficial and out of date in a number of crucial areas.

There are a number of recent essays and books concerning the nature and rise of Afrikanerdom, the wider context of C.N.E. Among others, de Klerk (1975), Moodie (1975) Loubser (1968) and Stokes (1975) examine Afrikaner Calvinism which is relevant to the Christian principle of C.N.E. Adam and Giliomee's book (1979) provides an invaluable broad perspective of all the factors involved in the rise and crisis of Afrikaner power. Essays by du Toit (1975) and Degenaar (1978) investigate the nature of Afrikaner nationalism and C.N.E.'s significance in its development. In recent years the role of the *Broederbond* in the rise of Afrikanerdom has been highlighted in a number of works. The appendix on the *Broederbond* and its influence on education in Malherbe (1977) proved most useful for this research.

The choice of descriptive terminology presents certain problems. During the first half of the 20th century it was customary to refer to all the non-white peoples of South Africa as "natives" and the Bantu-speaking peoples as "Bantu". In spite of the current preference of Bantu-speakers for "Blacks" it was decided to continue to use the terms, "natives" and "Bantu" for the sake of historical accuracy when material of that time is used. On all other occasions "Blacks" with a capital "B" will be used to denote Bantu-speakers. Similarly, "White", "Black", "Coloured" and "Indian" with capitalised first letters will be used to describe the main population groups and their respective education systems. There is still the added problem, however, of a single comprehensive term to replace "non-white" with its offensive connotation. In this case it was decided to use "black/s" with a small "b", in contrast to "white/s", when all the groups who are not white are included.

PART I

THE NATURE OF C.N.E.

CHAPTER I

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF C.N.E.

This chapter outlines the development of the C.N.E. movement until the publication of the *Beleid* in 1948. The origins and evolution of its twin pillars of Calvinism and Afrikaner nationalism and their changing relationship and influence are surveyed. In particular, the fundamental shift in the movement from an espousal of private confessional schools to state-controlled education is highlighted. The chapter concludes with a short review of recent studies of the role of Calvinism in Afrikaner history.

Although Christian National Education (C.N.E.) was systematically formulated as recently as 1948, its historical roots go back to the 17th century in Holland (Muir, 1968). In 17th century Holland, the state, the church and the school were closely inter-related. There was one state church, a Christian Protestant one based on Calvinism, and so closely were church and school connected, that it is not easy to determine where the authority of the one ended and the other began. At the Synod of Dort, which was held between 1618 and 1619, the creed and practice of the Dutch Reformed Church was defined and the close links between the church and schooling explicitly formulated: schools must be instituted in country places, towns and cities; religious instruction must be given; the Christian Magistracy must see to it that well-qualified persons teach with suitable compensation; in all schools only orthodox Christians may teach. To ensure these goals a church system of supervision was instituted - the Minister and his elders inspected the schools. In short, all the functions of a modern education department were fulfilled by the church.

This particular practice of a close relationship between church and school was transplanted to South Africa with the Dutch settlers in the 17th century, and the first schools in South Africa were established according to the pattern in Holland. Thereafter, any challenge to that pattern resulted in protest and resistance from the Dutch settlers.

The first protest occurred during the Batavian Regime in the Cape from 1803 - 1806. The Revolution in France led to the replacement of the Dutch East India Company rule at the Cape by the Batavian Republic in 1803.

The new Cape governor, Commissioner de Mist, proposed a secular state system of education which provoked a strong negative reaction from the settlers. De Mist's attempts at modernisation were rejected by the Cape burghers because they lacked a strictly denominational or confessional cast to education. His regulation stated: "The public schools for the education of the youth do not belong to any particular religious denomination. They are nurseries to form good citizens of the state and as such stand directly under the immediate supervision and management of the Government" (quoted in Shingler, 1973, p.89). The public, neutral, secular educational outlook embodied in this regulation was unpalatable to the Cape settlers and they protested against it.

This threat to the existing system of schooling in the Cape was removed when the Batavian regime came to an end in 1906 and de Mist left, but it was not long before the new rulers of the Cape, the British, challenged the system. In 1822 Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the Cape, proclaimed English as the only official language and the medium of instruction in government schools.

Opposition to de Mist's reforms had been on religious grounds. A cultural element was injected into the protest of the settlers by Somerset's anglicization policy. The Dutch resisted anglicization by setting up private schools in which their children would be instructed in Calvinism, and Dutch as the mother-tongue would be promoted. Later with the Herschel system (1839 - 1865), that brought about greater centralisation and secularization of education, the private school movement grew. Shingler (1973, p.88) comments on the significance of this movement:

> ... the resistance of the Dutch Reformed Churches to secularization and modernization was based not only on religious and status factors but was compounded by an ethnic element, above all the issue of language. The consequence of this added dimension in the Cape experience was that the 19th century European idea of "free" education, which there represented a religious resistance to mass secular education, was harnessed early in the Cape - and later in all of South Africa - to a nationalist struggle.

The private Dutch schools in the Cape, known as *Vrije Christelijke* schools, were modelled on similar schools in Holland established under the auspices

of the *Vereeniging van Christelijk-Nationaal Onderwijs* founded in 1860 in opposition to the introduction of state-monitored secular education. Although the term *Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys* (Christian National Education) appeared for the first time in the middle of the 19th century in Holland, with the establishment of the *Vereeniging* above, it was not widely used in South Africa until the South African War when prisoners in the concentration camps founded *Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys* schools.

During the rest of the 19th century the secular trend in education in the Cape continued to be resisted by many of the Dutch clergy who feared that because of it, the Cape Afrikaners would be absorbed and their language, religion and distinguishing characteristics lost within a few generations. In the last three decades of the century there was an almost simultaneous renaissance of political interest, affirmation of language rights and fostering of Afrikaans among the Cape Dutch.

In this early cultural and linguistic renaissance, two prominent figures who pronounded confessionalist purity were the dominees, Dr. G.W.A. van der Lingen and Ds. S.J. du Toit. Van der Lingen was one of the first to advance the *Christelike-Nasionale* ideal in his Gymnasium at Paarl, and S.J. du Toit was the founder in 1876 of *De Afrikaanse Patriot*, the first newspaper in the Afrikaans language, which represented a nationalist pride in language and *volk*. In his writings du Toit also argued the right of the confessional school to state subsidy, a tenet of the *Vrije Scholen* (Free school) idea which later formed the basis of C.N.E. doctrine. Between 1860 and 1890 the private school movement became strong in the Cape with more than 100 schools (Lewin, 1974, pp. 39-52). However, government subsidies for the *Vrije Christelike* schools were cut off, causing bitter resentment amongst many Afrikaners and the closure of most schools through a lack of funds by the turn of the century. Thus the struggle between church and state in the Cape ended in a victory for the state, with the Superintendent of Education, Thomas Muir, at the head of a centralized state-controlled system in which instruction was given in English (Muir, 1968). Nevertheless, the thread of Dutch resistance was still there in a few Dutch Church schools.

In the interior of South Africa, a similar position to that of the Cape pertained in Natal: instruction was entirely in English, the education was not confessional and the Dutch Reformed Churches received no state support. However, in the two Trekker Republics, the church-dominated pattern continued. The trekkers who left the Cape after 1836 desired to maintain the old relationship between church, state, school and home, and consequently they established school systems which embodied that relationship.

In the *Oranje Vrij Staat* the state supported education and maintained the schools, while the Dutch Reformed Church played an important monitoring role through its clergymen. Shingler (1973, p.93) believes that its educational system was probably closer to "the 17th century Calvinist model than any system in South Africa has been". It is important to note, however, that even in the Orange Free State there was a persistant tendency to secularization, largely due to the influence of British ideas and the communicative power of the English language. Afrikaans, the spoken language, lacked a written form - Dutch was still the written language.

In the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* in the Transvaal the situation was more complex. The political structure established there by the Trekkers experienced internal conflicts and local rebellions to an extent that the Orange Free State did not. There was a considerable divergence of opinion between the conservative Transvalers, especially President Kruger, and the small Afrikaner opposition who were sympathetic to the secular and modern ideals of the *Uitlanders*, the largely English-speaking newcomers who arrived after the discovery of gold in 1886. The school system in the Transvaal suffered from a lack of the coherence and continuity of the Orange Free State system - it was headed by a succession of administrators pursuing a variety of goals. S.J. du Toit, the Cape leader of the Afrikaans language movement, was appointed superintendent in 1872 but his efforts met with little success. By 1892 Dr Mansveldt, a Hollander, had been installed and under his leadership an attempt was made to formulate and maintain a conservative ideal in the face of the threatening presence of the Uitlanders. English in the schools was limited to three hours per week, while all instruction was in Dutch - a development which provoked strong opposition from the *Uitlanders*.

Thus by the end of the 19th century, educational policy and practice in South Africa was a complex amalgam of the different ideas and systems of the two British colonies and the two Boer Republics. In the area taken as a whole, the position of nationalistic Afrikaners who supported the ideals of the *Vrije Christelike Scholen* was weak - only in the Orange Free State was there a relationship between parent, church, school and state which approached the criteria of the Reformed Church's education doctrine and, even there, the threat of anglicization was felt.

The South African War (1899 - 1902) destroyed the school system in the two Republics that the Boers held dear. English became the official language in all four colonies. According to the Treaty of Vereeniging of 31 May, 1902 which ended the War, provision was made for instruction in Dutch but in ambiguous terms:

> The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in Courts of Law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

Thus clause 5 above adopted parental option as its central principle but it was not clear whether it referred to an individual or collective choice. Over the years Afrikaner nationalists attacked individual parental option because Afrikaans parents tended to exercise it in favour of English, the language of commerce and international use. Clause 5 also did not differentiate between instruction in Dutch as a language and its use as *a* or *the* medium of instruction. Under the reconstruction administration of Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner in South Africa, the interpretation of this clause was biased towards English.

E.B. Sargant, Milner's Director of Education during the latter part of the War, and for several years after, aimed at the anglicization of the Afrikaners. The policies of the Milner-Sargant administration were summed up by Sargant as follows:

> 1. The development of a free, undenominational and non-compulsory system of Government Primary Schools for children of European descent.

> 2. State assistance to denominational schools, giving industrial as well as other instruction to the native population .....
>
> 5. The compulsory registration of private schools and their compliance with the regulations of Government as to sanitary condition, record of attendance of scholars, and the certification of teachers.
>
> 6. The association of the various churches with the state in regard to religious teaching in its schools.
>
> (Sargant Report, 1904, p.21)

The educational ordinances of the Transvaal Colony and the Orange River Colony (Nos. 7 & 27 of 1903, respectively) provided the administrative structure for the realization of these policies. English was established as the medium of instruction; Bible History might be given in Dutch for no more than two hours per week; and instruction in Dutch could not exceed more than five hours a week. Thus Sargant's educational administration provided for "a centralised secular education in the English language" (Shingler, 1973, p.103). This was basically hostile to the goals of educational autonomy and the confessional orientation of the NGK, and clashed with the fundamental principle of church doctrine - the parents' responsibility for the education of the child.

In reaction to the policies of Reconstruction the C.N.O. movement gained momentum. The formation in June 1901 of the *Vriendenkring* (Circle of Friends), a group of teachers to help Afrikaans schools and teachers during the War, provided the initial impetus. By the end of 1902 the Circle of Friends had grown into the *Algemene Kommissie tot behartiging van die Christelike Nasionale Onderwys* (General Committee for the support of Christian National Education). The Committee aimed to establish *Vrije Christelike Nasionale Sohole* which would be:

> ... free from the control and meddling of the English authorities, and Christian national in scope and spirit. It was an education that wanted to go on building on the past, on the religion, the language, the history and the culture of the vanquished Boer Nation (Coetzee, 1939, p.25).

In the years immediately after the War, when the British administration was so alien, feelings ran so high, and the memories of the camp schools were so vivid, the C.N.E. schools were easily established and maintained. In the camps during the War, and to a greater extent afterwards, C.N.E. schools were set up and run independently of the government. In accordance with C.N.E. principles they were controlled and administered by the church, the teachers and the parents. The long-term existence of these schools was affected by a lack of funds. The Dutch Reformed Church had limited resources and could only sustain the schools with parental contributions, but the impoverished Afrikaner parents were reluctant to pay for education when subsidized government schooling, albeit secular, was available.

When Britain granted responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies in 1907, political power once more became vested in Afrikaner hands in these areas. State systems of education were established by the Smuts Act of 1907 in the Transvaal and the Hertzog Act of 1908 in the Orange River Colony. These Acts attempted a compromise solution to the Afrikaans and British approaches to education. In the Transvaal the C.N.E. schools were only incorporated because of the vigorous intervention of Smuts, a former leading member of the C.N.E. movement. In the Orange River Colony the issue had been resolved in 1905, in a succession of conferences organized by the colonial administration and attended by leading Afrikaner churchmen and politicians, who agreed to state control of education.

The aim of Smuts's Act was to unite Boer and Briton into one people so that "one great Afrikander people (the whole white population) will arise under one national, Christian system of education" (Debates, 1907, p.136). Here Smuts was propounding an inclusive broad interpretation of national and Christian, rather than a narrow exclusive one restricted to only Afrikaans-speaking Calvinists. In this respect, Smuts and Hertzog's Acts were similar - they both represented the integrative approach stressing the shaping of a common identity. They had a number of similar provisions, too: some local initiative with ultimate central government responsibility and a broad Christian foundation to education. They differed, however, with regard to the medium of instruction.

Smuts's legislation provided for mother-tongue instruction until Standard IV, but it also made it obligatory for any pupil to pass an examination in

English before going on to the next standard. In effect this made English rather than Dutch a compulsory subject throughout the school. Parental objection could prevent a child learning Dutch. A steady shift to English as the medium of instruction was also provided for in the Act.

Hertzog made both languages the medium in his Act, thus effectively making Dutch compulsory for the minority of English students. Up to and including Standard IV, there would be a form of dual-medium instruction in which the teacher would first use the language of the majority of the class and then repeat the lesson in the language of the minority. From Standard V to Standard X there would be a form of parallel-medium instruction in which the children would be taught about half their subjects through the mother-tongue and the other half through the second tongue. Consequently, the main medium of instruction in the primary schools would be Dutch as most children in the Orange Free State were Afrikaans.

Thus in their attitutes to the language issue, Smuts and Hertzog differed. Hertzog's major concern in a new South Africa was the preservation of his people and the means to that end was bilingualism. Thus, although he favoured an integrative approach to white South Africans, he envisaged a complex notion of duality: two streams united in a broader unity in which two separate languages and cultures would flourish. Smuts leaned more heavily to the English connection than did Hertzog, and for this reason Smuts, in particular, came to be seen in later years as a betrayer of the *volk*.

Most people responded to Smuts's plea to bury old differences, and to the majority of Afrikaners the Smuts and Hertzog Acts were obviously acceptable. Prayers every morning and two and a half hours of Bible reading every week was adequate, and once a government sympathetic to the Afrikaners' educational ideals was in power, the need for separate private schools was no longer perceived by most of them (Lewin, 1974, p.90). At the time, however, there was some strong opposition to Smuts's ideal. This was strongly expressed by Mr. J. Kamp of the Theological School at Potchefstroom in the following arguments:

(i) the government school was based on a lie and a presumption for it placed the government between God and the parents; (ii) it was a steady but certain poison for all true religion; and (iii) it could never give children a national education (quoted in Muir, 1968). The main features of their position are clear: Kamp and his supporters did not want secular schooling or a common culture - they wanted an exclusive, separatist Afrikaner culture. Any immediate realisation of these goals and the aims of the C.N.E. movement was lost, however, as almost all th C.N.E. schools gave up after 1907 and were integrated into the secular system. Thereafter, C.N.E. theorists retreated to the background for many years and entered a long period of reassessment and reformulation of their policies.

The desire for conciliation and compromise that underlay Smuts and Hertzog's education legislation found its political expression in the Union of the four colonies in 1910 and the victory at the polling booths of the South African Party, under the leadership of General Louis Botha, with Smuts as his right-hand man. In the years after Union the language issue claimed the attention of the politicians and educationists.

The Act of Union entrenched the equality of English and Dutch as the official languages of South Africa. Each of the provinces was given the responsibility for all education "other than higher" in its territory, and thus each province had the right to pursue its own policies with regard to the language issue in its schools. At the time of Union parental option was the policy in the Cape, whereas compulsion was practised in the Orange Free State. In the Transvaal the position favoured English and in Natal instruction was wholly in English with no alternatives allowed.

Bitter debates in the House of Assembly after Union on the question of language in the schools led to the establishment of a Select Committee on Education to investigate the matter in 1910. It recommended that

the mother-tongue be the medium of instruction in the primary schools and that the second language be optional. However, acceptance of this report by Parliament could not automatically result in Union legislation on the matter, as this lay within the educational control of the Provinces. Nevertheless, in 1911 and 1912 enactments making mother-tongue instruction obligatory and school attendance compulsory were passed in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and the Cape. Natal did not pass similar legislation, and only introduced individual parental option as to the medium of instruction in 1916. Furthermore, Natal did not replace Dutch with Afrikaans as a subject of study and medium of instruction as the other Provinces had done in 1914 and 1919.

Hertzog, as a member of the Union Cabinet, became increasing concerned that the young Afrikaans language and culture would be swamped by English and disappear. He allied himself with the Afrikaans cultural movement and, as the champion of Afrikaans interests, demanded that equality of the languages be carried out rigidly in practice. In so doing he annoyed the South African Party's English supporters and embarrassed Botha,who eventually was forced to reform the Cabinet without Hertzog. Out in the cold, Hertzog formed a new political party, the National Party, which pledged itself to develop the national life on Christian-National lines; cultivate strong national autonomy and independence; uphold South Africa's interests before Britain's; pursue the full equality of both languages in practice; establish one white nation from the two language groups; and entrench white political supremacy and the separation of the races. Thus Hertzog took his stand largely on the issues of language and the British connection. He is generally regarded as the founder of Afrikaner nationalism in the 20th century, but later generations of Afrikaner nationalists found his two-stream approach to South Africanism unacceptable.

After the formation of the National Party the debate about the language question continued and resolved itself around two basic issues: the educational situation of the Afrikaans minority in Natal,where the continued existence of parental option regarding the medium of instruction and the use of Dutch instead of Afrikaans was regarded by Afrikaner nationalists as degrading and destructive; and the increasing demand of Afrikaner nationalists for unilingual, or single-medium schools with instruction in the mother-tongue throughout the school career (Shingler, 1973, p.122). This

demand was opposed by the bilingualists' call for dual- or parallel-medium instruction in mixed schools serving Afrikaans-and English-speakers.[1]

After the passing of the 1916 Ordinance in Natal, the worst fears of the Afrikaner nationalists were confirmed: whereas Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking children made up 10,6 per cent of the school population, their parents chose Dutch as the medium for only 2,8 per cent of them (given in Shingler, 1973, p.122). Shingler points out that the anomalous situation in Natal contributed to the reformulation of Afrikaner nationalist education philosophy:

> In the same way as mother-tongue compulstion involved the intervention of the State between the parent and the child in the other three provinces, thus directly contradicting the fundamental principle of C.N.O. that the responsibility for educating the child is primarily that of the parents, so, in Natal, the frustration of the Afrikaans minority impelled reformers to think increasingly about the value of a national definition of educational policy and a national administration (1973, p.123).

Increasingly Afrikaner nationalists were forced to turn to the State in their search for an educational system.

While the situation in Natal claimed the attention of the Afrikaner nationalists early on, as a specific example of the assimilationist threat presented by the English, the debate over bilingualism and the single-medium school continued to mount in the rest of the country. The Afrikaner nationalist resurgence of the 1930s provided a spur to the debate.

Various Commissions in the Provinces investigated the matter, but single-medium schools were not introduced as policy in any of them. E.G. Malherbe undertook a detailed study in 1938 of the role of the bilingual school in furthering bilingualism, which he saw as the prerequisite of South African political stability. His study was published in 1946 and became a major part of the United Party's effort in the Transvaal and the rest of South Africa to establish bilingual schools under protective provincial legislation. The intervening war years and the uniting experiences of Afrikaans- and English-speaking soldiers fighting together had convinced many South Africans of the value of bilingual schools.

The 1944 Transvaal provincial council elections were fought and won on the United Party's proposals for bilingual schools. As a result of the 1943 General Election the United Party was again in power in the Union Parliament. Despite the bitter protests of Afrikaner nationalists, the United Party enacted the necessary legislation to introduce bilingual schools, but in practice bilingualism was carried out only at the provincial level and not very thoroughly.

The critics of the bilingual school attacked it on a number of fronts: the desirability of bilingualism in itself, the possible negative consequence of two media of instruction, and the effectiveness of the bilingual school in producing bilingualism. An *ad hoc* committee formed in 1948 to investigate dual-medium schools in the Transvaal confirmed many of the negative consequences argued by the critics. In an article published in the same year Prof J. Chris Coetzee used its findings to justify the critique offered by Afrikaners in the previous years and to reaffirm the Dutch Reformed Church declaration of Dec 1942 that

> ... the mother-tongue single-medium school had to be maintained on religious, psychological-educational and national-cultural grounds ... and that the mother-tongue school was of vital importance for the maintenance of both the Afrikaner churches as communities and the members individually, as well as posterity ... (1948, p.44)

Prof J. Chris Coetzee was one of the prime movers behind the policy declaration of the Institute for Christian National Education in 1948. In the years between Union and this policy statement, the proponents of C.N.E. had been involved in a reconsideration and revision of their position. This resulted in pamphlets, books and articles in journals, like *Die Kerkblad*, *Die Kerkbode*, *Die Boekbig*, *Koers*, *Die Christelike Onderwysblad* and *Die Brandwag*. Conferences organized by clergymen and educators took place steadily over the years, the first held in 1907. Those mentioned most frequently in the literature as the most important in the reformulation of policy were the meetings of 1916, 1917, 1918, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1937 and 1939. (Shingler, 1973, p.136).

By the mid-1930s the supporters of the C.N.E. had divided into two main camps: the majority who favoured the idea of state-supported church schools or "confessionalism"; and a smaller group who were ultimately successful and argued for the "christianization" of the school system, or "permeationism" (Shingler, 1973, p.137). The confessionalist approach was largely that of the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK) purists at Potchefstroom University where Neo-Calvinism held sway.[2]

The Neo-Calvinist movement began in 1925 with the establishment of the *Christelike Unie* by J.A. du Plessis. This Union aimed to spread ideas regarded as necessary for the survival of the Afrikaner volk as a Christian nation against the threats of secularization and moderization. In 1930 the Christian Union became the "Calvinistiese Bond" which stressed a specifically Calvinist interpretation of Afrikaner experience. Despite a widespread acceptance of Neo-Calvinism,there was the important confessionalist/permeationist division on the question of strategy. The confessionalist approach was largely supported by the Gereformeerde Kerk and men like H.G. Stoker, D.J. van Rooy, and P.J.S. de Klerk. They all favoured the Free Group School idea of J. Chris Coetzee. Some younger members of the NGK, such as Ds. J.D. Vorster, were also in sympathy with the GK position. The permeationist stand was supported by the NGK and the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (NHK) and by educators and sociologists,like L.J. du Plessis and A.K. Bot.

The standpoint of du Plessis and Bot is evidence of a strong professional element in the composition of the more pragmatic permeationist approach. This was produced by the emergence of a new class of educators, political thinkers and social commentators "impatient at clerical meddling in their profession" (Shingler, 1973, p.139). Permeationists like Bot pointed out the practical weaknesses of the confessionalist position in terms of its lack of funds and organizational problems:

> No, let the opponents of the system of state education stop wrangling and perform one deed which will command the respect of the government: Found a free school, begin just one! (Bot, 1938, p.25).

Bot's criticism was a telling one because for some thirty years there had been no C.N.E. schools. Bot also claimed that the confessionalist position was a foreign transplantation from 19th century Holland to South Africa, where it had no place. He claimed that in South Africa the state schools could be instruments of the orthodoxy:

> The Afrikaans people were and are satisfied with a Christian State school. The old C.N.O. movements for church schools, for free schools with State subsidy, for Group schools, etc. are dead: were not killed, but died from a lack of vitality. Protests of the "volk" never originated in opposition to the principle of state instruction, as such, but rather against the violation of Christian and National interests (1936, p.15).

However, the confessional purists like Coetzee continued to argue for the free school, basing their arguments on the primacy of the parental right to educate the child and the duty of the state to support the free confessional school. A leading theologian, H.G. Stoker (1937), discussed the ideal of the free school - an elaborate structure of balanced participation and limited autonomy for parents, teachers and state, everyone in itself incomplete and everyone complementing each other. Broadly speaking, the parents would be responsible for the spiritual direction of the education, the state for the administration and financing, and the teachers for the method of teaching. Only in a *Besondere Skool* (Special School) could C.N.E.'s confessional purity be maintained - the *Openbare Skool* (Public School) represented a dilution, a more liberal and ecumenical Christianity. Bot, du Plessis and others did not agree: they argued that the Public School provided adequate opportunity for the propagation of C.N.E. ideals.

This fundamental rift between the supporters of Public and Confessional Schools was not resolved by 1939 despite many conferences. In 1939 the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings*, (F.A.K.) organized a *Volkskongres* on C.N.E. As a result of this meeting the *Nasionale Instituut vir Onderwys en Opvoeding* was established and soon became the *Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys* (I.C.N.O). A decade later the I.C.N.O. presented the famous 1948 *Beleid* (Declaration) after widespread consultations.

The permeationist approach of Bot and du Plessis truimphed. As du Plessis (1939, p.19) argued

> ... since the development of the apparently unthreatened Afrikaans medium schools with an Afrikaans, largely Afrikaans-Christian, teaching staff, the existing educational system has gained firm ground in the national life and created an opening for the permeation of the educational realm with the fundamentals of the national life.

The 1948 declaration stated it thus:

> We believe that our ideal is and remains the Christian-National School, but we realise also that our provisional task is directly to leaven the ordinary public schools through the medium of our Christian-National spirit and direction. (Part I, Article 8, Clause 7).

Thus the 1948 resolution merged Christian National principles with an increasingly secular nationalism in which the original basic principles of C.N.E. were sacrificed to the higher goal of a united "volk". E.G. Malherbe (1946, pp. 106-107) recognized this trend and criticized it sharply for its inversion of earlier ideas and its implications, although he did not clearly differentiate the divisions within the Dutch Reformed Churches and C.N.E. supporters:

> ... Recently there has been a strong movement on foot by the Dutch Reformed Church to repudiate the bilingual school and to appropriate the unilingual Afrikaans medium school as its own particular charge, chiefly on religious grounds. There are clear signs that it wishes to dominate all Afrikaans medium institutions as if they were its own sectarian institutions. The difference however is that instead of paying for such schools itself, the Dutch Reformed Church now wishes to utilize state schools for its own ends, presumably thereby hoping to retain its denominational hold on the people ...
>
> The assumptions underlying this attitude are not only inconsistent with, but represent a complete departure from the centuries old attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church towards the state school in South Africa.

Shingler (1973, p.149) summarizes the changing nature of the C.N.E. movement over the centuries as follows:

> What was born in 1803 as a resistance to the erosion and displacement of confessional education by the secular outlook of the modern state had become in 1948 a doctrine of state education based upon the doctrinal infusion and transformation of the public realm. The Christian-Nationalism of the 1948 manifesto is a doctrine predicated upon the acquisition of office by the National Party and the pre-eminence of the Afrikaner *"volk"* in the state; Christian-Nationalism prior to that date was, for over a century, a demand for state-subsidized confessional schools and a strategy for the survival of the Afrikaner *"volk"*.

The preceding discussion of the historical development of Christian-Nationalism has been confined to the arena of white-white interface - the interaction of white governments and white citizens, and Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans. Christian-Nationalism in the twentieth century also focused its attention on white-black interaction and attempted to define its stand in that area.

In the late 1920s the new Afrikaner intellectuals turned their attention to the ideological and dogmatic treatment of the relations between white and black. Until that time, as we have seen, the primary concern of Afrikaner intelligentsia had been with the survival of Afrikanerdom. When they did turn to the question of Black education, many of them transplanted to the Black context, the system of ideas that the Christian-Nationalists had developed to meet the threat of absorption into the British Empire. Just as the Christian-Nationalists had asserted their identity within the matrix of Neo-Calvinism, they believed that the Blacks also should resolve the tensions of their entry into modernity on the basis of a specifically Bantu character and identity - *Bantoïteit*. The stress upon *Bantoïteit* was a way of reconciling the Christian and the national in formulating a doctrine of separate Black education.

Shingler (1973, pp. 249-250) contends that the segregationist perspectives of the Christian-Nationalists were based on a theology in which the rejection of science and modernity was married to an interpretation of the world based upon Holy Scripture. In this respect they differed from other secular intellectuals of the time, whose segregationist beliefs were often influenced by a cultural romanticism or the idea of racial superiority.

In the two decades before 1948 the Christian-Nationalists' influence appears to have been crucial to the reformulation of a segregation policy. Thus the theological interpretation of the racial question in the definition of Afrikaner nationalist policy appears to have held sway in the early period, rather than the anthropological orientation of secular theorists, like Eiselen, Cook, Eloff and Verwoerd, who ultimately became predominant in the Afrikaner ranks.

Christian-Nationalists read the works of Diedrich Westermann, a German theologian and Director of the International Institute of African Languages

and Cultures, and his thinking seems to have influenced their system of ideas. Westermann emphasized the importance of the vernacular in mission work in Africa. He pleaded for recognition of the intimate relationship between language and culture, between language and the distinctiveness of each cultural existence. This plea had immediate appeal for Afrikaner nationalists.

Westermann (1937) indicted missionary education of the past in Africa because it had attempted to destroy the African way of life and culture. He believed that for Africa to become Christian, it was not necessary for it to become Western. In fact, to become Western might impede its chance of becoming Christian, because the current powerful forces of the secular, scientific modality and the ostensibly neutral state in the West were hostile to Christianity.

The most well-known of Christian-Nationalist writers dealing with a Black education policy were H. du Plessis, H.C.M. Fourie and B.F. Nel. Each contributed his own distinctive emphasis, but all of them were adherents in one form or another of the doctrines of C.N.E. Du Plessis (1935, p.12) examined the problem of the dislocation of the Black social order and culture and concluded that Black society should undergo a Christian transformation but retain its essentially Bantu character:

> Only when we give the Bantu a new foundation on which to build, can there be talk of their own cultural life; and then it must not be something patched on, but must permeate through the whole way of life. This only Christianity can do .... Through Christianization alone is the preservation of a separate *Bantoïteit* possible.

H.C.M. Fourie emphasized the national character of the Black and the need to recognize the intrinsic qualities of the indigenous culture. However, he agreed with du Plessis that "the Christian reform of the national can enrich and ennoble the national" (1940, pp. 407-408). Fourie believed that teaching should be in the mother-tongue to ensure that the *volksiel* and national pride of the Black is not harmed.

An underlying assumption in the work of many of these writers is the concept of complete segregation (geographical partition) between Blacks and

Whites in South Africa. They saw their educational programmes as an integral part of a geopolitical restructuring of South Africa. As B.F. Nel (1941, pp. 24-25) explained: "When a policy of segregation is aimed at the development of a racially genuine Bantu-culture, it is clear that it can never be realised if the natives are living everywhere in little groups amongst the Whites".

The distinctive features of the Christian-National policy of Black education can be summed up as follows: complete segregation, instruction in the vernacular, reintegration of national life around *Bantoïteit*, and Christianization. It is immediately obvious that there is a crucial difference between the application of C.N.E. to the Afrikaners and the Blacks. For the Afrikaner, Christian-Nationalists were concerned with the elaboration of a framework for the education of the *volk* along Christian-National lines within a modern state. In the case of the Blacks, they attempted to define *Christelike* in the context of the indigenous Black culture and *Nasionale* in terms of the contemporary hegemony of the Whites (Shingler, 1973, p.254). The Whites, and especially the Afrikaners, were seen in the key role as the guardians of the Black people with a responsibility for their education:

> The native has been entrusted to us, as guardians, by history, and this through the dispensation of God. We must not oppress them, but must educate and develop them as natives, that is to say, according to their own nature. (Fourie, 1940, p.402).

Another implication of the Christian-National attitude to Black education was the reversal of the contemporary trend in Black education. Essentially this was the outlook of the prevailing system of missionary schooling, subsidized by the Union government. Christian Nationalists rejected the assimilationist, egalitarian thrust of this outlook - it was dangerous to the Blacks who would lose their culture, and to the Afrikaners who might sink to the level of the *kaffers* and would ultimately be dominated by them (du Plessis, 1935, p.40). Thus Nel (1940, p.66) urged "the necessity for the education of the native according to the viewpoint of the Afrikaner nation, that is to say, on a Christian-National foundation".

A resumé of the past 180 or so years of its history highlights various phases in the C.N.E. movement. Shingler (1973, pp. 40-41) has identified five important stages in its development: the confessional resistance to the modern, secular education introduced first by de Mist and then by the British within a framework of anglicization; the temporary blossoming of *Christelike Nasionale* doctrines and schools as a result of the South African War, followed by a collapse under the Smuts and Hertzog Education Acts and Smuts's ideal of a broad South Africanism; the lengthy language debate centred around the position of the Afrikaans minority in Natal, the mother-tongue medium and unilingual versus bilingual schools; the search for a new definition of C.N.E. so that it could keep its doctrinal purity, while directing Afrikaner nationalists in a secular world, and regulate White-Black interaction; and finally the articulation of the educational doctrine and political programme of *Christelike-Nasionalisme* in the years of Afrikaner hegemony. Thus, the original doctrine of C.N.E. was turned on its head. The religious principle was inverted from a desire for autonomous state-subsidized confessional schools to a doctrine of state-controlled education infused with C.N.E., and the focus of the national principle shifted from the survival to the dominance of the Afrikaner. What initially had been developed as a defensive and protective policy to preserve the *volk* became an instrument to control other groups.

In the historical overview outlined above, we have seen how the C.N.E. movement developed on the twin pillars of Calvinism and Afrikaner nationalism. It has been shown by Shingler and argued by other commentators (Lewin, 1974, pp. 179-184) that the national principle steadily gained ground over the religious principle. Be that as it may, the religious theme cannot be underplayed or dismissed. Shingler (1973) stresses its role throughout his dissertation and contends that from its origins through to the first half of the 20th century, C.N.E. was part of a religious response of the Afrikaner to modernity and all it implied (p.42). Without an appreciation of the importance of the religious principle and the fundamental shift in its direction, much of the significance of the 1948 *Beleid* is lost. Consequently, the approach to C.N.E. adopted by writers like Mbere (1979), who neglects the early

development and meaning of the Christian principle, seems an inadequate oversimplification.

Mbere typically underplays the religious foundation of the movement: for him Christian Nationalism is "Afrikaner Nationalism's historical reaction to two fundamentally challenging issues, the paralysing fear of Black domination .... and the political domination of the English-speaking Whites" (1979, p.26). This is only half of the story of C.N.E. He does refer to the Christian basis of Christian-Nationalism but only in terms of the effect of Calvinism on the racial attitudes of the Dutch settlers: He claims that the doctrine of predestination in the South African context was translated by the settlers in terms of the White Calvinists as the elect, and the Black heathen as the non-elect. In time, the trekkers came to see themselves as a Chosen People, destined by God to civilize the natives and rule South Africa (pp. 26-77).

Mbere's argument is common interpretation of the influence of Calvinism on the rise of Afrikanerdom and the policy of apartheid. Adam and Giliomee (1979) characterize this school of thought as stressing the primitive, fundamentalistic Calvinism of the backward Boers who, in their isolated harsh frontier existence, developed "Israeli-like visions of a civilizing mission by a Chosen People with a destiny in a sea of primitive heathen natives" (p.17).

During the last decade or so the subject of Afrikaner Calvinism in all its aspects has attracted a considerable body of scholarship. Within the general argument outlined above by Adam and Giliomee, various writers have made their own contributions. A brief overview of some of the studies in this area seems pertinent to this research because they examine Calvinism within the wider context of Christian-Nationalism - the rise to power of the Afrikaner *volk*. Loubser (1968, pp. 379-380) highlights the rigid "fundamentalistic faith system" that Afrikaners developed as a relief from "existential anxiety" produced by the threat of a large indigenous population. De Klerk (1975, p. XIV) maintains that "the key to the Afrikaners is Calvinism" in his book *The Puritans in Africa*. He stresses that, in the perception of Afrikaners, apartheid is more the result of the divine task of a nation called by God "to create a new humanity" and "restructure the

world according to a vision of justice" than an oppressive tyranny (pp. 233, 241). Howe (1972), in a study of the general decline of Calvinism in the world, suggests that those people most likely to cope with their anxieties by means of Calvinism are farmers and lower-middle class townsmen. He goes on to add: "Where the yeoman-farmer character structure is combined with an accutely defensive sense of being an embattled minority, Calvinism lasts indefinitely, or so the example of the Afrikaners would indicate" (p.327). Stokes (1975, pp. 63-80) focuses on the social and historical context of Afrikaner Calvinism and how this shaped Afrikaner "operant religion". He stresses the Afrikaner interpretation of Calvin's doctrines of predestination, the 'calling' and the unmediated relationship of man to God which produced the perception that the Afrikaners were a sanctified society, *collectively* elect of God. From this belief system came a security about salvation and knowledge of God's earthly will that was denied the European Calvinist, who operated under a high degree of anxiety generated by the concept of *individual* election. The security engendered by the idea of collective salvation also produced strict Afrikaner secular orthodoxy - membership of the group and maintenance of "sanctified" Afrikaner traditions became all-important.

Adam and Giliomee (1979, pp. 17-24) critically evaluate the sample of interpretations given above and other studies of Afrikaner Calvinism. They agree that Afrikaner religion must have been influenced by the rigors of dangerous frontier life, which caused heightened existential anxiety requiring explanation. However, they point out that this argument still has to explain why the Afrikaner people embraced Calvinism over rival interpretations of the world, and how a religion suitable to frontier existence came to be transplanted into industrial, bureaucratic, city life. A thorough exploration of historical, social, psychological and structural factors is necessary to answer these questions: the religious-explanation of the rise of Afrikanerdom and the policy of apartheid is not sufficient. Adam and Giliomee stress the role of contemporary Calvinism in fostering group identification and a sense of security among Afrikaners suffering a high level of anxiety because of their minority position. The point is also made that what later developed into the Afrikaner "civil religion" (Moodie, 1975) resulted from an importation of 19th century fundamentalism

from Holland expressed mainly through one of the smaller Dutch Reformed Churches in Potchefstroom. They allow that Calvinism is used for a ritualistic assertion of group solidarity on Afrikaner "holy" days, but contend that in present-day South Africa white supremacy is justified more in terms of technocratic law-and-order arguments than a sacred mission.

From the preceding discussion the significance and limitations of a number of interpretations of the relationship between Calvinism and Afrikanerdom emerges. Together these studies show that the religious theme was influential in the rise of Afrikanerdom but that it is not the full explanation. As the importance of the national and secular grew, particularly in the 20th century, so the religious influence waned.

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1. In order to give effect to the compulsory mother-tongue medium regulations three types of school organization gradually evolved in South Africa: In more or less linguistically homogeneous communities, *unilingual* or *single-medium* schools were established, in which the children of one language group received their instruction in that language. In a linguistically heterogeneous community, where there was a minority group of at least fifteen pupils, *parallel-medium* classes were established. Each language group received its instruction in its mother-tongue up to the compulsory limit as laid down by the mother-tongue medium ordinances of the different provinces. Where the minority group numbered less than fifteen pupils, *dual-medium* classes were instituted in which both languages were used as media of instruction, either on alternate days, in the same lesson, or for certain subjects.

2. There are three Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa: the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK) - the oldest; the *Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk* (NHK) - established in the Transvaal in 1858 after the NGK had refused to extend its aegis to the North beyond the boundaries of the Cape; and the *Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika* (GK) or *Dopper Kerk* - the smallest, founded in 1859 with its stronghold at *Potchefstroom Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys*.

CHAPTER 2

THE MANIFESTO OF C.N.E.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the main points in the 1948 *Beleid* issued by the I.C.N.O. A thorough explication of the philosophy of C.N.E. contained in this manifesto is essential in order to assess the influence of C.N.E. on educational legislation after 1948. The following important aspects in the Declaration are investigated: the Christian and National principles, the view of the child, method and discipline in teaching, the content of education, the control and organisation of education, the role of the teacher, and the attitude of C.N.E. to pre-primary, higher, technical, special and adult education. C.N.E. policy towards Coloured and Black education is also examined.

Article 1 of the Declaration makes it clear that C.N.E. is a philosophy with a particular life and world-view directed towards Afrikaners. This world-view is founded on Christian and National principles. The Christian principle is defined as "grounded on the Holy Scriptures and expressed in the Creeds of our three Afrikaans Churches". The National principle embraces "everything that is our own, with special mention of our country, our language, our history and our culture". The Christian principle is given primacy over the National principle: "the National principle always must be under guidance of the Christian principle - the National must grow from the Christian root". The influence of both principles must permeate the entire school, "its spirit, aim, syllabus, method, discipline, personal organisation and all its activities".

The Calvinist origins of the Christian principle require exploration before it can be fully understood. The link between Calvin and C.N.E. is explicit and obvious, such that Rose and Tunmer (1975, p.112) describe C.N.E. as "a twentieth century extension of the logic of Calvinism". The Calvinist basis of C.N.E. is proclaimed and defended by one of its adherents as follows: "...we believe that the Calvinist conception stands closest to God's Word and agrees the most with the Holy Scriptures, and best interprets the contents and spirit hereof" (Fourie, 1940, p.393).

Some of the aspects of Calvin's theology that are relevant to this discussion of the Christian principle of C.N.E. are outlined below. The absolute sovereignity of God was the cornerstone of Calvin's theology. From the concept of the omnipotence of God flowed Calvin's view of man as weak, sinful and depraved and incapable of securing his own salvation. According to Calvin's doctrine of predestination and election, God had pre-ordained the destiny of each individual in his plan for the universe. Calvin explained the doctrine thus:

> ... (God) adopts as his children such as He foreknows will be deserving of His grace, and devotes to the damnation of death others, whose dispositions He sees will be inclined to wickedness (quoted in Lewin, 1974, p.20).

For Calvin the authority of the Scriptures was paramount in all spheres of human life. The Bible was the Word of God revealed to man and therefore carried the authority of God. Calvin defined the relationship between the State and Church as close. He maintained that the Church and State were separate domains that should assist not compete with each other. The Church must not usurp anything that belongs to the State, nor the State execute what was done by the Church (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.120).

The influence of his theology is obvious in Calvin's attitude to education. He stressed the importance of education for the proper development of the child. Children were God-given, dependent and imperfect, and therefore it was the parents' duty to direct the child in the knowledge and service of God. The parent was responsible for the Christian spirit and aim of the child's education.

The entire sum of our wisdom Calvin regarded as consisting of two parts, the knowledge of God and of ourselves. In order for a person to have sound knowledge of God he must have been to school to be taught the Holy Scripture. The mysteries of God, however, would only be fully understood "by those to whom it was given" - the elect (quoted in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.119).

Calvin contended that the word of God revealed in the Bible was the foundation of all learning, but in order for sinful man to understand the word of God he needed someone to interpret and expound the Scriptures

to him. Calvin regarded teachers as one of the four types of ordained officials of the Church who fulfil this function. Thus he placed the teaching profession within the province of the Church.

Calvin's theology and his views on education permeate the I.C.N.O. Declaration. Accordingly, the doctrine's outlook is theocentric - "everything emanates from God, exists through God and returns to God" (Orange Free State Education Commission of Enquiry, 1951, p.21). Man's religious experience is regarded as transcendental. It is not only the primary object of all sound education but it must also infuse all other disciplines. Article 2 states:

> "We believe that religious inst[illegible]on according to the Bible and our Creeds should be the key subject in school ... and that all instruction that is given at school shall be founded on the Christian basis of the life and world-view of our nation".

The ultimate aim of education thus becomes the knowledge, service and love of God. In addition to being Christian, education also has to be national. The basis of the Christian-National world-view is the belief that every individual can only become fully a spiritual being when he is a member of a definite God-willed community, namely the nation (N=1, 1941, p.154). Article 3 of the Declaration explains it thus:

> "By national education we understand teaching in which the national principle of love for one's own may effectively become valid in the entire content of the teaching and all activities of the school so that the child shall be led properly and with pride in his spiritual-cultural heritage into the spiritual-cultural possession of the nation".

In its view of the child C.N.E. also shows the influence of Calvin's beliefs. Children, possessing within them the seed of sin, must be moulded and guided in the right direction by adults: "in the child's condition of unripeness, his dependence, his ability to learn by experience, his docility and his imperfection lie the possibility and necessity of all teaching and education" (1948 *Beleid*, Article 4). This point of view is essentially idealistic and conservative. The

authoritative adult must mould the child, who is capable of improvement, in the "right" way, so that he inherits all that is good and of value in the cultural past of the nation. As all authority in the school is seen as authority borrowed from God, it follows that the C.N.E. view of method and discipline is traditional and teacher-centred: the authoritative teacher is the source of knowledge and the children the respectful, obedient recipients of that knowledge.

When it comes to the content of education, the framers of the 1948 Declaration make it clear that all subjects must be taught "on the basis of the relevant scriptural principles" (Article 6). All subjects, like religious and mother-tongue instruction, civics, geography and history, must be taught to cultivate a Christian and National way of life. Instruction in Bible history and theology must conform to the Creeds of the Dutch Reform Churches and occupy a central role in teaching. The mother-tongue is regarded as the basis of all education and the only medium of instruction. Bilingualism is not seen as the aim of teaching, and the second official language may only be taught once the child is thoroughly grounded in his mother-tongue. History, Geography and Civics must be taught to encourage "love of our own" and the formation of Christian and National citizens with certain rights, duties and responsibilities. The view of history is teleological - a fulfilment of God's plan for mankind. The separate identity and development of each nation is seen as God-given: "God has willed separate nations and peoples, and has given each separate nation and peoples its particular vocation and task and gifts" (Article 6).

The important issue of the control and organisation of education is discussed at length. The parent is accorded a place of considerable importance in education: "the control of the school must in the first place be in the hands of the parents" (Article 8). The education of the child is the duty and right of the parents. In community, with the collaboration of the church and state, they must determine the spirit and direction of the schools and maintain control of them. What is the relationship between the parents, church, state and school to be? They relate to one another in an autonomous, complementary way. Prof. J.C. Coetzee summarises the delicate state of balance between them thus:

> Each sphere has a status of its own, which is rooted in its divinely instituted nature and which cannot be infringed upon by any other sphere ... Each sphere must recognize and accept not only its autonomy but also its dependence on other spheres. To sum up: the home decides on the spirit and direction of the education of the child, the church on the religious aspect of the education of its members in all the other spheres, the state on compulsion and academic standard and on moral and political standards in public life, and the school finally on matters of organisation and administration and of educational method and procedure. They must work together. (Quoted in Lewin, 1974, p.26).

The idea of mixed schools for English and Afrikaans children is rejected explicitly - separate unilingual schools must be established for each language group.

The teacher is accorded a high status and heavy responsibility as the parents' substitute. C.N.E. demands that the teacher be a person of Christian life and world-view who is trained at a Christian and National institution. In addition to the appropriate religious instruction, the teacher trainee must also receive secular instruction, particularly in pedagogic science (Article 9).

The context of the C.N.E. principles discussed above is primary and secondary education. However, the 1948 Declaration makes it clear that these principles are valid for nursery schools, higher, technical, special and adult education (Articles 10, 11, 12, 13). In addition, the attitude of C.N.E. to Coloured and Black Education is also defined (Articles 14, 15).

The teaching of the Coloured is regarded as part of the vocation of the Afrikaner to Christianize the non-white races of South Africa. The Afrikaners' trusteeship over the Coloureds involves a sacred obligation to educate them according to Christian and National principles. In order to make the Coloureds "race-conscious" the principle of "apartheid" (separation) must be applied in education. The medium of instruction must be the mother-tongue. The proviso is also added that Coloured education must not occur at the cost of White education (Article 14).

All of the principles formulated with regard to Coloured education are applied to Black education; that is, trusteeship, segregation, the mother-tongue medium, and the Christian-National basis without White financial liability. However, a few additional points are made regarding no equality between Whites and Blacks, the "cultural infancy" of the Black, and the necessity for Blacks to learn the two official languages. The final aim of Black Education is seen as "the development of an independent, self-supporting and self-maintaining native community on a Christian National basis" (Article 15). In the meantime, however, this education must occur under the control and guidance of the state and the world-view of the Afrikaner as the senior White partner must prevail.

The consensus which underlay the 1948 *Beleid*, its clarity and scope, mark it as the most important formulation of C.N.E. in the twentieth century. As such it will be used in this research project as the blueprint against which the principles of Black and White education after 1948 will be investigated for the influence of C.N.E. From the outline of the Declaration's main principles above certain points emerge as the most significant. Education must be Christian, that is, the child must be instructed in the dogma of Calvin and this Christian world-view must permeate all other subjects. Education also must be national - the Afrikaans child has to become fully aware of himself as an Afrikaner. The role of the parent is regarded as important in education but the church, state and school also have their own complementary functions to fulfil. The mother-tongue must be the medium of instruction and separate unilingual schools should be established for each language group. The child is seen as helpless, sinful and capable of moulding by the teacher, who acts with God-given authority as the parents' substitute in the classroom and must subscribe to the Christian-National life-view. The principles of C.N.E. must extend to all types and levels of education, from pre-primary to higher. In the spheres of Coloured and Black education, C.N.E. endorses the principles of trusteeship, segregation, mother-tongue medium, a Christian-National basis, state control and black financial responsibility for black education.

PAR II

THE INFLUENCE OF C.N.E.

CHAPTER 3

C.N.E. and Black Education: 1948 - 1980

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the influence of C.N.E. on Black education and to determine whether this influence has waxed, waned or remained constant during the thirty or so years since the 1948 Declaration was issued. The focus is on the principles embodied in the reports of educational commissions, legislation and official policy statements and not on their implementation. As a background the chapter begins with a brief treatment of the course of Black education prior to 1948 and some of the main themes and schools of thought historically associated with it. An analysis of the influence of C.N.E. on Black education in the 1950s and early 1960s involves an exploration of the links between the Eiselen Commission, the system of Bantu Education and National Government policies. In the middle period, between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, little happened in Black education besides the Abolition of Bantu Education Account Act of 1972 and the establishment of education departments in the Black "homelands". Nevertheless, the links between these changes and C.N.E. are discussed. In the period after 1975, the Education and Training Act of 1979 and other recent developments in Black education are examined for evidence of Christian-National philosophy. Before concluding the chapter, it also seemed important to include a sample of black and white reactions to the system of Bantu Education, and a discussion of its effects in order to establish its long-term significance and legacy.

The history of the control and financing of Black education prior to 1948 can be divided into two main stages (Malherbe, 1977, p.558):

1) The nineteenth century in which virtually all educational progress was due to missionary effort;

2) The period from 1904 to 1948 during which control was in the hands of the churches and the provincial education departments, although the financing became increasingly the responsibility of the Central Government in aiding missionary effort.

Education for Blacks under the 19th century evangelist missionaries was mainly assimilationist. Subsequently Black education came to be seen by some Whites and Blacks with an assimilationist outlook as a means of modernisation and even integration within a common society. By 1948, however, the integrationist principles of the state-subsidized missionary system had come under increasing attack by segregationists. There had always been a segregationist argument in the historical debate about the nature and purpose of Black education, but this debate only became urgent in the mid-20th century as part of the larger debate among Whites as to the future position of Blacks in South Africa. Prior to that time there had been much confusion about Black education which had resulted "contemporary drift" rather than a formulated policy (Shingler, 1973, p.265). However, during the course of the 20th century the intolerance of the white electorate grew and the idea of segregation between white and black became increasingly attractive.

Intellectual debaters about white-black interaction and social change can be divided into two basic camps - assimilationist and differentialist. Assimilation iuvolved the acquisition of the ideas, standards and institutions of the other cultures, especially the white culture, and thus entailed social intermingling and integration to a lesser or greater degree. Differentiation implied the maintenance of separate cultures and races and the preservation of indigenous values and mores, and consequently required separation or segregation of one form or another.

Through the years the debate about Black education revolved around a number of recurring issues: the role of Black education in the social order as a whole; the type of education offered to Blacks - academic, vocational, industrial or tribal; the medium of instruction; the "educability" and "intelligence" of Blacks; the control of Black education; the eventual status of mission education; and the financing of Black education. All of these issues were treated within the context of the broader ideological frameworks of the different intellectual factions.

Beneath the arguments of the intellectuals ran the practice of reality, and since 1910, and indeed long before that, segregation in the sense of discriminatory practices, which barred blacks to a varying degree

from participation in activities and occupations reserved for whites, had been pursued by every South African government. The ideas of segregation, separate development and trusteeship were formulated by various governments long before the National Party came to power in 1948. (Shingler, 1973, pp. 15-24).

Evidence of increasing public and government concern about "the native question" can be seen in the appointment of three Government Commissions in the 1930s to investigate various aspects of "native affairs": the Native Economic Commission of 1932, the Inter-departmental Committee of Enquiry 1935-1936 and the Native Affairs Commission Report of 1936. Their different approaches to native policy reflect the confusion and deep division which existed in society at large about Black education and development, and which ultimately coalesced in favour of a policy of differentiation.

When the National Party took office in 1948, it found the position with regard to Black education unacceptable, because it was still largely in the hands of missionaries of a liberal outlook and because it was funded out of the general revenue of the Union government and yet not controlled by the government. Clearly, the existing situation did not accord with the Christian-National ideas outlined in the *Beleid*.

In order to rectify the situation, the Native Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr W.W.M. Eiselen was established in 1949. Its membership comprised several leading segregationist intellectuals and its terms of reference were *inter alia* to formulate plans designed to provide "education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration" (quoted in Behr, 1980, p.165). The Commission heard a massive body of evidence from many different quarters and in 1951 issued its Report.

Given its composition and terms of reference, it is not surprising that the Eiselen Report interpreted the evidence along "culturalist" lines (Shingler, 1973, p.279) and worked on the premise that a distinction should be made between White and Black education (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.244). The Report's main recommendations formed the basis of the system of Bantu Education that was introduced by the National Government in 1954.

The Commission found several weaknesses in the prevailing situation:

> Your Commission considers that the four most important criticisms of the present systems are:-
>
> (a) Bantu education is not an integral part of a plan of socio-economic development;
>
> (b) Bantu education in itself has no organic unity; it is split into a bewildering number of different agencies and is not planned;
>
> (c) Bantu education is conducted without the active participation of the Bantu as a people, either locally or on a wider basis;
>
> (d) Bantu education is financed in such a way that it achieves the minimum of educational effect on the Bantu community and planning is made virtually impossible. (1951), p.129).

In essence the Report is a general critique of the nature of race relations and culture contact in South Africa. It deplored the "general lack of clarity that exists as to the rightful place of the Bantu in South Africa" (p103), and saw the uncertainty about the nature and future of the Bantu culture as the cause of the vagueness of aims in Bantu education and a major obstacle to its definition. Although it makes a few references to the processes of change and acculturation at work in Bantu society, the Commission's view of Bantu education is based on a notion of Bantu culture and social order that is intact:

> ... educational practice must recognise that it has to deal with a Bantu child, ie. a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education.

> The schools must also give due regard to the fact that out of school hours the young Bantu child develops and lives in a Bantu community, and when he reaches maturity he will be concerned with sharing and developing the life and culture of that community (p. 131).

Thus the Commission believed that Bantu education should be tied to Bantu culture and society and stressed the "dynamic nature of Bantu culture and the need for the duty of developing it" (p.104). Its Report emphasized the role of the state rather than the province and the role of the community as opposed to that of the church or mission. This transfer of authority was to be part of a broader programme or plan for the development of Blacks. Instead of the advancement of the individual or an elite, schooling was to aid the development of the community as a whole.

In 1953 the Government introduced the Bantu Education Bill which was exhaustively debated in and outside Parliament. The Bill became the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which placed Black education under the control of the Department of Native Affairs of the central government and gave considerable powers to its Minister. In fact, the Act dealt only with the very broad outlines of the new system on which the National Government had decided: it was left to the responsible Minister, Dr. H. Verwoerd, to make regulations in all the areas specified. A clear indication of how his wide powers were to be interpreted, and his detailed plans for Bantu education were given by Dr Verwoerd in a number of speeches in Parliament.

As a result of the Act the financial allocation for Bantu Education from General Revenue was pegged at thirteen million rand and all additional expenditure had to be derived directly from Black taxes or from school fees. The medium of instruction became the Bantu language of the area or group involved.The emphasis was placed on providing "fundamental education" in the first four years of schooling. The curriculum involved not much more than "the teaching of the 'three R's' through the medium of the mother-tongue, the beginning of the study of Afrikaans and English, religious education and singing" (Verwoerd, 1954). Established schools were required to register with

the Department in order to continue receiving the existing subsidies. Schools which did not register lost their subsidy, thereby making their continued survival virtually impossible. Registration brought a school under the control of the Department of Native Affairs. On 20 October 1958 the division of Education within this Department became the separate Department of Bantu Education.

For the purposes of this research the link between C.N.E. and the Bantu Education Act of 1953 has to be examined. Can the Act be regarded as an expression of the philosophy of Christian-Nationalism, as a commentator like Mbere (1979) has claimed? The link between the two is not direct because the Act is largely technical and administrative rather than philosophical in its description of the extensive powers of the Minister of Native Affairs. However, the interpretation of the Act by Verwoerd as the Minister of Native Affairs can be regarded as an articulation of its underlying philosophy, and his speeches in the House of Assembly (17 September 1953) and the Senate (7 June 1954) show the clear influence of the Eiselen Report (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.260). Thus, in fact, any consideration of the influence of C.N.E. on Bantu education, must concern itself with a further question: is the Eiselen Report based on the doctrine of C.N.E.?

Shingler (1973) throws considerable light on that important question. He contends that the orientation of Eiselen and Cook, the two main figures in the Commission and in the drafting of the report, was closer to the social orientation of the cultural idealists than the theological bent of the Christian-Nationalists or the physical concerns of the racists. The cultural idealists cherished somewhat romantic notions about Bantu culture, laid stress on "separate development" and favoured nationalist arguments in support of segregation. Hence their underlying affinity with Christian-Nationalist ideas. As indicated earlier, by the 1940s the secular element in the ranks of Afrikaner nationalists had become stronger, and the composition of the Eiselen commission reflects this trend of a greater stress on the national than the Christian (p. 293).

The Eiselen Report contains no mention of Christian-Nationalism. With regard to any enunciation of its Christian principle, the historic and contemporary role of the missions presented a thorny problem: "to

confront the churches and missions involved in African education on the grounds of their outlook would have been to raise the most divisive kinds of theological, evangelical and sectarian issues" (Shingler, 1973, p.283). Thus the commission briefly refers to the issue in its recommendations as follows:

> Education must be broadly conceived so that it can be organized effectively to provide not only adequate schools with a definite Christian character but also adequate social institutions to harmonize with such schools of Christian orientation. (1951, p.130).

As far as the national principle is concerned, the Report makes no overt reference to segregation. However, that the underlying political ideas and beliefs of the Commission fit into a segregationist mould is obvious. ...icy of integration into a common society is clearly unthinkable. ...ntu education is seen as having a separate existence just as, fo... French education, Chinese education or even European edu... in South Africa, because it exists and can function only in and for a particular social setting, namely, Bantu society" (Eiselen Report, 1951, p.132 para 777). Part and parcel of this outlook are the frequent references to the need for the development of Bantu societies and the central role of the Reserves in this development. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that a segregationist outlook was not peculiarly Christian-National; it also belonged to cultural idealism. Segregation was an old theme in the history of Black education and, by the mid-20th century, widespread amongst South African whites. The same is true of the Commission's recommendation of central government control of Black education. This had been urged by several authorities and commissions in the past (Horrell, 1968, p.1).

As far as the other elements of the 1948 Declaration of C.N.E. are concerned, the Commission's Report accords with them except in the case of finance. The principle of trusteeship is there by implication in the commission's dismissal of the fact that Blacks who had given evidence showed "an extreme aversion to any education specially adapted for the Bantu" (Eiselen Report, 1951, p.43) and believed that "any differentiation in education must be to their detriment ..." (p. 104). This points to the paternalistic belief of the Commissioners that as the senior white

trustees of the Blacks they knew what was best for them, and shows that they did not regard Blacks as their equals. The Christian-National theme of no equality between White and Black runs through Verwoerd's Senate speech (1954)

> The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the process of development of the Bantu community. He must learn not to feel above his community with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community .....
>
> There is no place for him (the Black) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.

The advocation of mother-tongue instruction, the need for Blacks to learn the two official languages and the responsibility of parents for the education of their children in the *Beleid* are all in the Eiselen Report. However, the commission did not agree with the *Beleid's* insistence that Black education must be financed by Blacks without any cost to Whites:

> Your Commission does not hold the view that the Bantu should be solely responsible for the financing of their education but it does feel that the Bantu should play a direct part in the finding of a certain proportion (1951, p.160).

The Commission made it clear that significant contributions from Blacks themselves could not be expected until Blacks were included in a normal income tax structure, and this development would only occur as education increased skills and led to a consequent increase in earning power. Thus initially the share of the state would be heavier than that of the Black communities and should be regarded as an investment or "pump-priming device" (p.164). These qualifications made by the commissioners were not heeded in the implementation of the system of Bantu Education, which pegged the State's contribution to Black education at an unrealistically low level based on *past* expenditure and made

Blacks responsible for contributing in an increasing measure to the cost of expanding their educational services (Verwoerd, 1954). In the area of finance, therefore, the Eiselen Commission and system of Bantu Education introduced in 1954 are not in total agreement. The financial system instituted involved Black parents in a considerable financial outlay for their children's schooling. In addition to taxation and school levies, they had to contribute towards school funds and pay for all the stationery and most of the books required. Thus education for Blacks, while not compulsory, was certainly not free, as it was for Whites.

To summarize then: the connection between C.N.E., the Eiselen Commission, and Bantu Education cannot be made on the basis of a 1:1:1 relationship as writers like Mbere (1979) assume. The relationship is more complicated than that. As du Toit (1975, p.42) notes, conceptions drawn from Christian-National philosophy played a large part in the formulation of Bantu Education policy, but some of the elements of the Eiselen Report and Bantu Education show the influence of cultural idealism rather than pure C.N.E. Shingler (1973, p.292) writes of the "mixed parentage" of Bantu Education with its roots in "a strange amalgam" of the two segregationist doctrines -cultural idealism and Christian-Nationalism. Although most of the principles of the Christian-National stand on Black education can be found in both the Eiselen Report and Verwoerd's execution of his wide powers under the 1953 Act, these elements belong to the reformulated C.N.E. doctrine of the mid 20th century which "enhanced the role of the state and stressed the importance of the secular in a linguistic definition of political community" (Shingler, 1973, p.293). This shift in the original doctrine of C.N.E. reflects the encroachment of the secular world upon its earlier evangelical orientation. The C.N.E. stress in the 1930s on *Bantofteit*, as a means of reconciling the tension between the Christian and the national in formulating a doctrine of Black education, gave way to a more secular emphasis on the role of the Bantu languages in the development of Bantu culture.

The reformulation of C.N.E. doctrine was linked to the National Party's accession to power in 1948. To protect the Christian-National way of life the National Party had been founded in 1914 and the Afrikaner

Broederbond in 1918 (Degenaar, 1978, p.11). By 1945 the *Herenigde Nasionale Party* had emerged as "the vehicle of Afrikaner nationalist action, the spokesman of the *volk* in the political arena and the chief custodian of the *Christelike-Nasionale* Ideal" (Shingler, 1973, p.39). The victory of this Party at the polls in 1948 reinforced the position of Neo-Calvinism as one of the main elements of Afrikaner nationalist thought. C.N.E. became one of the main intellectual foundations of the National government's policies, providing an educational doctrine and a political programme. To the Christian-Nationalist, education and politics were complementary: the State in the hands of Afrikaner nationalists could establish an educational system which would be used to shape and maintain the political order. Thus education was both conservative and innovative - it was designed to preserve the Christian and national features of the Afrikaner *volk* and mould other nations in South Africa along Christian lines (Shingler, 1973).

According to Shingler (1973, pp.150-153), the political vision of Christian-Nationalism was based on two main tenets: the truth of the Gospel revealed through Christ, and the division of mankind into nations. Firstly, God who continued to act in the world had created the Afrikaner *volk* to take his word to the native inhabitants of Africa and to act as their guardians. Secondly, each people or *volk* as a creation of God had been given its identity, which man should not seek to destroy or change, but rather must nurture, preserve and allow to develop along its own lines. The separate identity and development of each nation involved two further principles - separation (territorial partition preferably) and language (mother-tongue instruction). Ultimately Christian-Nationalism envisaged "a mosaic of nations in a single state under Afrikaner tutelage and control" (p.153).

This political vision became enshrined in the National Government's policy of *apartheid*. This has often been regarded as a reversal of previous government policy. However, as indicated earlier, its segregationist stand was not new - it drew on ideas that dated back to the Shepstones, the Glen Grey Act and the Lagden Commission Report, and on legislation enacted by Botha, Smuts and Hertzog. The two new aspects of *apartheid* were its reinforcement by the reformulated doctrine

of Christian-Nationalism and its designation of Coloureds as non-Europeans who had to be segregated from Whites. "*Apartheid* differed from segregation in scope and tone, but not in substance" (Shingler, 1973, p.291).

In pursuance of its *apartheid* or separate development policies, the Nationalist Government appointed the Tomlinson Commission in 1951 to investigate the problems and possibilities of the total development of Bantu culture and the economy. In 1954 the Tomlinson Commission reported on "the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native and based on effective socio-economic planning" (official summary of the Tomlinson Report, 1955). Their recommendations formed the basis of the Black "homelands" policy of the Nationalist Government and led to the passing of various Acts, like the Bantu Authorities Act of 1953, in order to develop these homelands.

The segregated educational structure of the Bantu Education Act was maintained and extended by the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 and the Fort Hare University College Transfer Act of 1959. These provided for the establishment of university colleges for blacks only under the control of the central government, and transferred the control of Fort Hare from its Governing Council to the Minister of Bantu Education. After 1961 blacks were not allowed to attend white Universities (other than the University of South Africa and the Natal Medical School) without the written permission of the Minister in the case of courses not available at black universities. In 1963 and 1965 respectively legislation was passed which also placed Coloured and Indian education in the hands of the central government.

The system of Bantu Education thus established met with a strong reaction in many quarters. All the arguments of the past were voiced again and the debate centred around the issues of the content and the underlying goal of the

curriculum, the medium of instruction, the locus of control, and the basis of financing. Among Blacks the effects of this system came to be felt above all by the intelligentsia (Shingler, 1973, p.287). A third generation of young Black leaders and "modernizers", like Z.K. Matthews, M.L. Kabane, Selby Ngcobo and I.B. Tabata, attacked segregation and defended a common society and its accompanying education. For example, Z.K. Matthews (1957, p.43) pointed out the inevitability and desirability of modernization and thus argued for English as a medium of instruction in schools:

> - it is undoubtedly of great advantage to the future leaders of a country if their education is conducted through the medium of a language which will make it possible for them to enter into the heritage of world civilizations.

I.B. Tabata was educated at Lovedale and Fort Hare, which had great symbolic significance for Blacks. Like many others he mourned the passing of these institutions in the form in which he had known them. In 1960 Tabata attacked segregation in a book, *Education for Barbarism in South Africa*, in which he analysed Bantu Education within the broader context of ideas like Christian-Nationalism, Nazism and the *herrenvolk* attitude of the National Party government. He was especially critical of the interrelationship between the Bantu Authorities Act and the Bantu Education system because of the powers it gave chiefs over teachers in their jurisdiction:

> What stands out with appalling clarity is that the more progressive section of the non-Whites, the educated section, is delivered into the hands of the most backward elements of the population (1960, p.74).

Antagonism to Bantu Education was expressed beyond the Black intelligentsia. There was considerable unrest amongst teachers and students. A boycott of Black schools was organized when the new system was introduced. It commenced on 12 April 1955 and was fairly effective for some weeks, especially on the Witwatersrand and in the Eastern Cape (Horrell, 1968, p.6). In some rural areas there was strong parental resistance to the use of the vernacular.

The general Black attitude to education is aptly summarized by Shingler (1973, p.54):

> The Africans never saw education as an instrument for preserving an African identity, religion or language. On the contrary, it was seen as providing a language of global pre-eminence, as a means of participating in the structure which had been imposed on them and of obtaining familiarity with a literature and ideas, skills and techniques which were the source of wealth and power. For Africans education was the means to modernity.

Thus, this Black view of education was in direct opposition to the Afrikaner view of Bantu Education. The Afrikaners felt that the various Bantu tribes should be made to realize the value of their own vernaculars in preserving their own identity, particularly in the socio-political sphere, because the preservation of ethnic identity and home language had a particular appeal to the Afrikaners who had achieved their own ethnic identity and language only after a long struggle. However, as Malherbe (1977, p.548) points out, many Blacks, who by no means lacked appreciation of their own home language and culture, "regarded with suspicion this sudden solicitude on the part of the White government about their cultural development. They felt that this solicitude was an aspect of the *apartheid* policy designed to confine and isolate them from the broad stream of South Africa's socio-economic life". Nkomo (1981, p.127) claims that "while the purpose of Bantu Education was ostensibly to school Africans within their own cultural groups and patterns, its actual goal was to produce a semi-literate industrial force to meet the needs of an expanding economy". Critics of the Bantu Education Act saw it as an effort by the dominant White group to control the development of Blacks and to ensure that that development resulted in "a perpetual peonage".

Generally speaking, the criticism of Bantu Education was of a political, economic and religious-moral nature. Some examples of the arguments against it follow below.

Members of the political opposition, like Mrs Helen Suzman, emphasized that "it is quite futile to try to keep Natives in a perpetual intellectual

The general Black attitude to education is aptly summarized by Shingler (1973, p.54):

> The Africans never saw education as an instrument for preserving an African identity, religion or language. On the contrary, it was seen as providing a language of global pre-eminence, as a means of participating in the structure which had been imposed on them and of obtaining familiarity with a literature and ideas, skills and techniques which were the source of wealth and power. For Africans education was the means to modernity.

Thus, this Black view of education was in direct opposition to the Afrikaner view of Bantu Education. The Afrikaners felt that the various Bantu tribes should be made to realize the value of their own vernaculars in preserving their own identity, particularly in the socio-political sphere, because the preservation of ethnic identity and home language had a particular appeal to the Afrikaners who had achieved their own ethnic identity and language only after a long struggle. However, as Malherbe (1977, p.548) points out, many Blacks, who by no means lacked appreciation of their own home language and culture, "regarded with suspicion this sudden solicitude on the part of the White government about their cultural development. They felt that this solicitude was an aspect of the *apartheid* policy designed to confine and isolate them from the broad stream of South Africa's socio-economic life". Nkomo (1981, p.127) claims that "while the purpose of Bantu Education was ostensibly to school Africans within their own cultural groups and patterns, its actual goal was to produce a semi-literate industrial force to meet the needs of an expanding economy". Critics of the Bantu Education Act saw it as an effort by the dominant White group to control the development of Blacks and to ensure that that development resulted in "a perpetual peonage".

Generally speaking, the criticism of Bantu Education was of a political, economic and religious-moral nature. Some examples of the arguments against it follow below

Members of the political opposition, like Mrs Helen Suzman, emphasized that "it is quite futile to try to keep Natives in a perpetual intellectual

twilight and lead them back to a tribal Eden" (quoted in Malherbe, 1977, p.547). The facts of urbanization did not accord with Dr. Verwoerd's plan because only 37 per cent of the Blacks at that time were domiciled in the "homelands". Some 63 per cent worked in the White areas: 31,8 per cent in urban areas and 31,2 per cent on farms owned by Whites (Malherbe, 1977, p.546). Thus Black culture was already fragmented and dislocated by the processes of social change, and a considerable proportion of the urbanized Blacks had lost all touch with their tribal background. Furthermore, even the most isolated rural Africans accepted westernization as an ideal (Horrell, 1968, p.6).

The Eiselen Commission's recommendations were strongly criticized by a national conference which was called by the South African Institute of Race Relations (S.A.I.R.R.) to study the Report. The conference, representing some 159 educational organisations, resolved that Blacks were not culturally, economically or politically independent, but that they were an integral part of South African society, and as such, entitled to access to the common cultural heritage (Horrell, 1968, p.137).

Opposition to Bantu Education was usually part of a more general opposition to the Government's policy of separate development. Many whites and blacks did not feel that separation of the races was desirable or possible. They believed that South Africa's various peoples would preserve their languages and the features of their inherited customs that proved to be of lasting value, but that South Africa should "aim at unity and eventual equality in its rich diversity" (Horrell, 1968, p.136). Political rights at the central government level eventually should be made equally available to whites and blacks, otherwise the system would be discriminatory. The Reserves, as the most backward areas of South Africa, must be developed as far as possible, but for more than half of the Blacks who lived outside them, political rights in the Reserves would be unrealistic and impractical. For this majority of urban Blacks, *apartheid* was an oppressive policy characterized by pass laws, police raids, residential insecurity, harassment by petty officials and barriers to economic progress.

The religious-moral arguments are typified by the 1971 Report of the Study Project on Christianity in an *Apartheid* Society (SPROCAS). In 1968 the

Theological Commission of the South African Council of Churches issued a "Message to the People of South Africa" to the effect that policies based on *apartheid* were irreconcilable with Christianity. The Study Project above was set up to work out the implications of the "Message" for six aspects of South African life: education, the church, law, politics, the economy and society. The first report to emerge was *Education beyond Apartheid.*

The Report characterized a Christian society as one in which there should be "no arbitrary barriers of ancestry, race, nationality, language, culture or religion" (1971, pp. 7-9) and which should work for the removal of such barriers. Thus it found educational separation unacceptable as a religious principle, although it might be desirable as a matter of temporary practice because of geographical, linguistic, cultural and educational considerations. The Report stressed the need for equality of educational opportunity in the sense that:

> ... every person in society should have equal access to the best education which the state can provide and have available an education which is best suited to his age, ability and aptitude. This does not imply that the same education is suitable for all, nor does it imply that all people have the same capacities. But it does mean that the system of selection for education and the system of differentiation in education must be based on the criteria of ability, talent, quality and hard work of the individual, and on the needs of all the members of society. On the other hand, criteria like colour, race or creed should be irrelevant in the public educational system (1971, p.9).

The injustice of the prevailing system of financing Black education was attacked, because the Blacks as the most economically disadvantaged group had to provide their own educational facilities largely from their own resources.

The Report also noted that progress in Black education and the introduction of compulsory education for Coloured and Indian children was very slow, mainly because the Government restricted spending on this education so that it should not take place "to the cost of white education". The problem of mother-tongue instruction was discussed and its extension from

the end of Standard II to the end of Standard VI in Black schools was viewed as a reflection of the C.N.E. attitude towards the vernacular (1971, p.76).

In the decade after the Bantu Education Act there was considerable economic expansion in South Africa and the economic arguments against Bantu Education, which had always underlined the reality of increasing white-black economic integration, became more urgent. Economists and businessmen claimed that the country's economic growth was being hampered seriously by the shortage of skilled manpower. The defects of the Bantu Education system and the government's policy of "job reservation", which limited the use of Black labour in skilled and semi-skilled jobs, were frequently cited in their arguments as the main causes of South Africa's failure to realise its economic potential.

In 1961 an Education Panel of academics, educationists and businessmen was set up as an independent, private organization to critically review the country's educational systems and suggest solutions to its problems. In its *First Report* of 1963 the Panel argued that the country's economic needs could not be satisfied by relying so heavily on white skills and thus there would have to be a considerable expansion and upgrading of black education so that blacks would be able to move into skilled occupations. The *Second Report* of the Education Panel appeared in 1966. This attempted to project South Africa's economic development and manpower needs forward to 1980. The Panel pointed out that too little money was spent on education in South Africa. To satisfy the economic and educational needs of South Africa, the percentage of the Gross National Product allocated to education would have to increase from 2,95 per cent in 1961 to 6,35 per cent (1966, pp. 121-129). The Report rejected the idea that Blacks should finance on their own the expansion required in Black education:

> We conclude that the country can and must afford the additional expenditure required for educational expansion contemplated in the earlier sections of this Report. This expansion is required in the interests of the economy as a whole, and the economy as a whole can afford to pay for it (1966, pp. 132-133).

In an attempt to gauge the continuing extent of the influence of C.N.E. on Black education after the edifice of Bantu Education had been erected in the 1950s, it is necessary to survey developments since then.

Horrell (1968, p.5) maintains that the policies advocated by the Eiselen Commission continued to motivate the people in charge of Bantu Education in the 1960s. In its report for 1965 the Bantu Education Department averred:

> It has been constantly borne in mind that the development of the Bantu and their homelands must be firmly rooted in their own cultural institutions and customs with due regard to their right to full self-determination. A further object pursued in the educational field is to bring about self-supporting Bantu communities which can develop fully in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres. In order to realize this ideal, a place of honour continues to be given in the school to everything of value in the Bantu culture so that the Bantu may thereby retain his identity despite the acquisition of Western knowledge and techniques which are indispensable to him (quoted in Horrell, 1968, p.6-7).

These sentiments echo the Christian-National concern with a specifically Bantu character and identity and were repeated in its report for 1966.

When the 1960s and early 1970s are examined it is immediately clear that there were few changes in Black education, except for the establishment of education departments in the homelands and an amendment in 1972 to the system of financing Bantu Education. From 1954 to 1968 Black education was managed in terms of a highly centralised system under one central state department in Pretoria. Since 1968 the system has been decentralised according to regions and homelands but, in all these, close liaison and co-ordination have been maintained with the rest of the Republic. Although the homelands are supposedly "independent", they are still financially dependent on the South African Treasury for about 75 per cent of the funds for running their education and other departments (Malherbe, 1977, p.558). The decentralisation of the system represents some loss of power by the central government, but the gradual development of "independent, self-supporting and self-maintaining native communities" (I.C.N.O., 1948, Article 15) under the control and guidance of the state fits in perfrectly with the Christian-National plan for Bantu culture and education.

Over the years since 1954 it became clear that the principle of using contributions from Black taxation to extend school provision for Blacks was unworkable. When it was seen that the supply of money from this source and the pegged amount of thirteen million rand was inadequate, a special Bantu Education Loan Account was established to which Parliament appropriated moneys from the Consolidated Revenue Fund to meet the deficits in Bantu Education. However, each year the deficit grew despite economies in Bantu Education and an increased rate of Black taxation. Furthermore, the total expenditure on Bantu Education was insufficient. Malherbe (1977, p.552) claims that the decline in the quality of Black education in the 1950s was almost entirely symptomatic of the financial provision made for it. In the twelve years following the take-over of Black education by the Department of Native Affairs there was a sharp decline in the amount the State spent per Black pupil in terms of real prices.

Eventually the Government announced that it would have to revise its approach to financing Bantu Education. Legislation was passed in 1972 in terms of which the necessary finances are voted from general revenue by Parliament in the same way as any other department of State. Thus no longer is the amount available for Black education determined by what Blacks can pay themselves in direct taxes. For the purposes of this research it is important to note that the new system of financing Black education represents a relaxation of the C.N.E. principle that Black education must not occur at the cost of White education. The Deputy Minister, on introducing the legislation, explained that revenue from Black taxation would still be expected to contribute substantially to education provision, but that account had to be taken of Black contributions through indirect taxation. This point had been made repeatedly during the past twenty years by the critics of Bantu Education.

In the mid-1970s the call for skilled manpower and the education to produce it became vociferous and resulted in the system of differentiated education. This was introduced in the education of all race groups in the hope

that it would produce earlier vocational and technical competence in school-leavers. Instead of the previous system of placing a pupil in one of three streams in which he remained for all his subjects, differentiated education attempts to place pupils in different achievement groups for each subject, and to allow them, during the last three years of secondary school to specialize in one of eight different fields of study (natural sciences, humanities, technical, commercial, home economics, agricultural, artistic or general). The specialization occurs in three of the six suojects taken in the last three years of school (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.81). Thus the system allows earlier and narrower specialization in the secondary school than the old streaming system did. The successful implementation of differentiation depends largely on the availability of well-qualified teachers (Malherbe, 1977, p.337). Unfortunately owing to a general shortage of teachers, and especially science, mathematics, technical and guidance teachers, the system has not worked as well as planned. This is particularly true in Black education, where it is largely a change on paper only.

The rationale of differentiated education is that the best education for everyone is not necessarily the same education for everyone. This can be accommodated within the Christian-National life- and world-view. Indeed, the investigation of the Human Sciences Research Council (H.S.R.C.) into differentiated education (1972) justifies it using terminology, concepts and reasoning in the Christian-National mould. (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.142). Thus this change does not seem to represent any break with C.N.E. policy, although it was not specifically envisaged in the *Beleid*, as it was in the Eiselen Report which recommended vocational, technical and industrial training for Blacks.

Black protest against Bantu Education and apartheid policies in the 1950s and early 1960s was effectively silenced by the repressive measures and legislation adopted by the Government. Shingler (1973, pp. 47 - 50) points out that the moderate nationalism and essentially liberal outlook of the third generation of Black leaders made them ill-equipped to deal with the better organized, more unified and ideologically tougher Afrikaner nationalism in the last decade of Union. The head-on clash

of the two nationalisms found Black nationalism in ruins:

> The organizations were banned, the leadership dead, captive or exiled, cowed or quiescent. The goals and vision remained, but the strategy and tactics had failed. (1973, p.49).

A period of reassessment followed in which the ideas, assumptions and strategy of Black Nationalism were examined in the light of the experience of the preceding fifteen years. This period of relative quiescence, however, could not last. By 1968 a new generation of young Blacks were developing their black consciousness philosophy which aimed to lift their fellows out of the spirit of defeatism which pervaded their attitudes. In 1969 the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was founded among Black students, with Steve Biko as one of its leaders. SASO believes that Black students owe their first allegiance to the Black community and aims to elevate the level of consciousness of this community by promoting Black awareness, pride, achievement and capabilities. The South African Students' Movement (SASM) was subsequently formed among school pupils. In 1972 the Black People's Convention was established to involve the Black masses and broaden the debate.

The rise of Black student activism expressed itself in Black education in 1976. Attempts by the Government to enforce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black schools sparked off mass demonstrations organized by SASM in Soweto. Violent confrontations with the police resulted. Protests, riots and school boycotts spread throughout Soweto, and in the days and weeks that followed, to other areas of the country and other black groups. As a result of the unrest, violence, strikes, considerable damage to property, many deaths and detentions, the Cillie Commission was appointed by the Government to investigate. It found that although Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was the spark that ignited the revolt, it was soon replaced by the whole system of Bantu Education as the object of attack:

> When Bantu Education virtually took the place of Afrikaans as the reason for the demonstrators' dissatisfaction in the course of the unrest, many

> described the object of the system as a pre-meditated effort to educate the Black pupil in such a way that he would be submissive to the Whites or, to put it more strongly, that he would be and remain the slave of the oppressor (quoted in Behr, 1980, p.325).

The Commission described black consciousness as follows: "It is a philosophy, almost a religion, and it is present in all Black political and community organizations". The student unrest involved all black groups as an expression of their desire to create "a community based on shared feelings, interests, responsibilities and actions", their common resistance to segregation of educational institutions on the basis of race or culture as inferior and unequal, and their lack of political rights (Cillie Commission, 1980).

The Cillie Commission noted that since the riots several changes had come about which had affected the lives of many Blacks. The non-educational changes occurred largely in Black urban housing, local administration and official terminology. Because of Black aversion to the term "Bantu" and all it had come to signify, the Government eliminated that term from all its departments and official publications. Thus the Department of Bantu Affairs changed its name to the Department of Co-operation and Development and the Department of Bantu Education became the Department of Education and Training in 1978. The educational changes included major concessions to the demands of Black pupils - the introduction of free, compulsory education for Blacks and the use of one of the official languages as the medium of instruction after Standard II. In practice, the language medium after Standard II became English in urban areas. Already some homeland governments had decided in favour of English as the post-elementary medium of instruction. Aversion was often expressed by Blacks towards Afrikaans, because of its associations with a repressive and discriminatory authority.

Most of the educational changes are enshrined in the Education and Training Act of 1979, which follows the pattern of the National Education Policy Act of 1967 for White education. The seven cardinal policy principles of the Act (No. 90 of 1979), within which education must be pursued in Black schools managed, controlled or subsidized by the Department of Education and Training, are as follows:

(a) Education shall have a Christian character, but the religious conviction of the parents and the pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies.

(b) The medium of inst uction shall be the mother-tongue up to and including Standard II. Thereafter one of the official languages may be used as medium of instruction.

(c) Education shall be compulsory and free (including the supply of books) subject to the co-operation of the parents.

(d) Education shall be provided in accordance with the ability, aptitude and interest of the pupil as well as the training needs of the country, and to this end appropriate guidance will be given to pupils.

(e) There shall be co-ordination with other departments of education in respect of syllabuses, courses and examination standards.

(f) Recognition shall be given to the active involvement of the parents through parent-teachers' associations, or other local committees or councils.

(g) Health services shall be provided in schools in conjunction with the Department of Health.

To what extent do these principles show the influence of C.N.E.? That Black education should have a Christian character is in accordance with the Christian-National belief that the calling and task of white South Africa is to christianize the native. Recognition of the role of Black parents in their children's education is also typically Christian-National. However, when we come to the mother-tongue medium and the financing of Black education there appears to be a dilution of the original C.N.E. principles. The use of the mother-tongue medium is curtailed beyond Standard II, and the introduction of free, compulsory education for Blacks in designated areas would involve a further drain on the coffers of the White Government and ultimately the wealthier White taxpayers. Although the Act allows for the establishment of private and state-aided schools, these have to be registered with the Department of Education and Training and registration is subject to certain conditions. Thus the control of the state over Black education, as desired by Christian-Nationalists, is maintained.

The fundamental C.N.E. principle of segregation of white and black education is still there. So, too, is the idea of trusteeship in a "watered down" form. The draft bill of the Act was published in the *Government Gazette* in November 1978 with a view to eliciting comments from interested parties by the Minister of Education and Training, and various changes to the bill subsequently were made. Thus some attempts was made to gauge public opinion, presumably including Black opinion. The Act also makes provision for the appointment of an advisory Council for Education and Training of twenty members to assist the Minister in matters of policy in Black schools and teacher training institutions. However, the Act is still a White creation for Blacks on the basis of separate provision for different groups, and thus is a reiteration of the principle of trusteeship that the Whites know what is best for their Black wards. As such the Act is viewed with suspicion and resentment by Blacks (Behr, 1980, p.337).

The principle of no equality is not explicitly mentioned, and the Act makes some concessions towards equality between White and Black education in terms of the introduction of the white norm of free, compulsory education in Black schools and co-ordination between all education departments in respect of syllabuses, courses and examination standards. Following the 1976 student unrest the Department of Education and Training has also announced its intention of achieving parity with respect to white and black teachers' salaries. In an official statement the Minister in charge of Black education in 1977 drew attention to the department's efforts to improve the standards and quality of Black education and described its aims as follows:

> First it needs to be said that the department concerned cherishes the same basic goals of education as those of any other education department, namely that its duty is to make the most of the potential of the children entrusted to its care, both as individuals and as members of society (*Bantu*, March 1977).

This statement of aims should be contrasted with earlier ones by the Department in the 1960s (see p. 49). No mention is made of a distinctive Bantu culture and identity, and the statement seems to be an expression of a "separate but equal" goal.

To sum up then: it can be argued that the Education and Training Act of 1979 shows the influence of Christian-Nationalist philosophy although in a weakened form. Certainly many of its principles are still in line with C.N.E. thinking. Hartshorne (1981, p.32) regards this Act as one of the two missed opportunities by the Government to deal with the fundamental issue of the separateness of the Black education system and the inferiorities and limitations arising from this separateness:

> This is not just a matter of readjustments in the administrative machinery. It strikes at the heart of the ideology on which the present system of black education is based. The arguments for separateness revolve around everything from the nature of man, cultural differences, political solutions in a plural society and issues of relevance in education. These areas are all worthy of debate. But throughout, the decisions arising from the debate have been taken by the white establishment, deciding what is "good for the black man". Whatever divisions there are in the black community there can be no doubt as to its broad unanimity that the separateness of the system should be brought to an end.

By perpetuating the isolation of Black education and the tradition of whites taking decisions for the black man the Education and Training Act failed to come to grips with the root problem. A second opportunity to tackle the problem presented itself when the Prime Minister decided to reduce the number of state departments in the interests of greater civil service co-ordination and efficiency. His decision not to incorporate the Department of Education and Training into the Department of National Education (which is concerned with the education of Whites) but to maintain it as a distinct separate organization responsible for Black education was another opportunity lost. Hartshorne (1981, p.33) comments:

> The essentially political, ideological nature of the decision, however, remains. The emphasis was placed on "black" and a continuation of separateness, rather than on "education" and co-ordination of the national effort in the development of human resources. This may well prove to have been a most disastrous choice. Recent boycotts, unrest and violence in coloured and black schools certainly seems to suggest so.

Clearly blacks are still not satisfied with the changes that have been introduced. In the above comment, Hartshorne (1981) refers to further outbreaks of student unrest in 1980. In that year seventy-seven schools were closed by government decree because of protracted boycotts by students. While grievances against specific policies have generated confrontations between black students and the authorities, the students have consistently related their protests to the general socio-economic conditions to which blacks are subjected (Nkomo, 1981). Thus, they are rejecting more than an education system - they are rejecting the whole *apartheid* system symbolised by their inferior, separate education.

Another legislative change in Black education occurred in 1979 with the Universities for Blacks Amendment Act (No. 52) which allowed the admission of students other than Blacks to Black universities, subject to ministerial approval. This step in the direction of voluntary association relaxed the strictness of black-white separation in tertiary education enforced in 1961, and thus represents a breaking away from the Christian-National ideal of educational segregation.

Recent advances in Black education include efforts by the Government to extend more vocationally-oriented education for Blacks in response to the growing crisis in skilled-manpower. The needs of the economy are reflected in the principle of the Education and Training Act of 1979 which refers to the provision of differentiated education "in accordance with the ability, aptitude and interest of the pupil as well as the training needs of the country". To this end the Department has introduced more differentiated secondary school courses and given greater attention to secondary and tertiary technical education. In the past black technical education was neglected largely as a result of job reservation and the white unions' fear of the competition of black artisans, as well as a chronic shortage of technical teachers. This backlog will take a long time to make up. In 1976, of the 3,9 million black children at school, only 0,01 per cent received technical education whereas 6,3 per cent of white children received technical education in the same year. Recently,

however, new institutions have been built, like technical centres which provide a technical orientation for school pupils, and a technical teachers' training college to increase the supply of technical teachers. Also more industrial schools, technical colleges and institutes, and technikons are being established. The demand, however, still exceeds the supply of courses and institutions.

Since the 1976 student unrest, the Department has also attempted to improve the serious problems of quantity and quality on Black education. Accordingly, the amount spent on Black education has been considerably increased every year, and efforts have been made to provide more physical facilities and train more teachers in order to reduce the number of "double-sessions" in Black schools and improve the Black pupil-teacher ratio. Most of the problems of quality hinge around the large percentage of unqualified Black teachers. Hence in-service training centres to upgrade teachers' qualifications and more training colleges to increase the quality and supply of Black teachers are being built.

None of these recent developments in Black education show any overt influence of C.N.E.; however, its cardinal tenets of segregated education systems, no equality between white and black, and white trusteeship prevail in practice if not in articulated theory. The Black system of education is unequal to the White system in almost every respect as the qualitative and quantitative overview of South African education systems below reveals.

90 to 100 per cent of the school-going population of Whites, Coloureds and Asians is at school, but only 80 per cent of the Black school-going population. This is partly attributable to the high birth-rate amongst the Black population. The number of Black pupils is increasing rapidly every year with a growth rate of about 5 per cent per annum (Mercabank, 1980). Observers have commented that Black education is short of everything except pupils (Dhlomo, 1981, p.2).

The majority of Black pupils are in the junior primary school. Owing to a very high drop-out rate, few Black children reach secondary school: 4,6 per cent of Black children were in secondary school in 1970 as opposed to 34 per cent of White children (S.A.I.R.R., 1980, p.462). There are also very few Black graduates. Whereas only 0,06 per cent

of the Black population was in universities in 1976, the corresponding percentage for the White group was 2,57 (S.A.I.R.R., 1979, p.11).

Educational resources are inequitably allocated among the various racial groups. Free compulsory education has been provided for all Whites aged seven to sixteen years for many years. Since the mid-1970s, it has been gradually introduced in Asian and Coloured education, and only recently in certain urban areas in Black education. In the fiscal year 1978-1979 the per capita expenditure on the school children of the different population groups was as follows: Whites : R724; Asians : R357; Coloureds : R226; and Blacks in the "white" area : R71 (S.A.I.R.R., 1980, p.460).

Perhaps the most acute shortage in Black education is the lack of properly qualified teachers. In 1978, 80 per cent of Black teachers had only a junior certificate or lower school qualification, and 2,4 per cent of Black teachers were graduates compared with 28 per cent of White teachers (Mercabank, 1980). The statistics above on teacher qualifications indicate the central qualitative discrepancy in the formal education system. As Lee (1980, p.7) points out: "In a formal schooling system the quality of teachers (and, to a certain extent, the ratio of teachers to pupils) is the key to quality education". Thus the quality of Black education is poor.

After three decades of Nationalist Government control, Black education is in a disadvantaged state. Too little was done for too long with respect to the education of Blacks. The targets set by the Eiselen Commission for the provision of four years of schooling for all Black pupils and a pupil-teacher ratio of 1 : 43,8 have not yet been met, and its targets for the numbers undergoing technical training and teacher training were only met in the late 1970s (Hartshorne, 1981). The neglect of Black education has earned it the accurate label of "the unfinished business", and the net result of this neglect is an entire generation of young Black people that has been subjected to an education system gravely inferior to that provided for whites (Hartshorne, 1981, p.1). Consequently, Black education is currently facing a crisis

of trust and credibility amongst Blacks resentful about the poor quality of their education which denies them easy access to the skills needed for work and advancement in a modern urban industrial society. Their problem is also South Africa's because most Black pupils still leave the system with inadequate or unsuitable qualifications for a basis of immediate employment and/or trainability for future jobs (Mercabank, 1980).

What has been the role of C.N.E. in all this? Although in many instances no direct link can be made between its doctrine and Black education during the last thirty or so years, it was a strong influence on the Eiselen Commission and Verwoerd's thinking which produced the blueprint for Bantu Education and the legacy of Bantu Education which is still with us today. Three of C.N.E.'s cardinal principles - segregation, trusteeship and no equality between black and white - have not been reversed although they have been weakened in Black education. C.N.E.'s insistence on Black financial responsibility for Black education resulted in the totally inadequate system of financing Black education which persisted with grave consequences for nearly twenty years. Likewise, the stress on mother-tongue medium throughout Black primary schooling, has produced a generation of Blacks with a poor command of English, in particular (Troup, 1976, p.38). The notion of *Bantoftait* and a distinctive Bantu culture found in Christian-National philosophy was translated by the Nationalist Government into the development of homelands, which in the 1980s are educational "backwaters" labouring under less educational resources than those allocated to the rest of Black education (Hartshorne, 1981). Only in the case of the parental role in education can C.N.E. be said to have had a beneficial effect, in that many Blacks have been given an acquaintance with the dynamics of local government (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.202).

Despite the recent advances in Black education, it has not proved possible to make up the backlog which occured during the previous twenty or so years. As we have seen in the analysis of Black education above, there were few changes in the system until the mid-1970s where the powerful counter-vailing forces of the demands of the economy and the black consciousness movement accelerated change. In recent years it is less easy to detect the influence of C.N.E. in Black education and, in a number of instances where C.N.E. principles have been over-turned or relaxed, it appears to have become weaker. Whatever influence C.N.E. has on Black education at present is latent rather than overt.

CHAPTER 4

C.N.E. and White Education: 1948 - 1980

The influence of Christian-Nationalism on the principles underlying White education since 1948 is examined in this chapter in an attempt to gauge the strength of that influence with the passage of time. To this end the language policy of the Nationalist Government is discussed and the role of the *Broederbond* highlighted. A consideration of increasing central government control in White education occupies the major part of this chapter. The development of a national education policy and Act. No. 37 of 1967 are crucial elements of this trend and are studied in detail. The introduction of the systems of differentiation and guidance as aspects of the national education policy are also included. Finally, mention is made of some of the main effects of these developments.

In 1948 the new National Party Government inherited a fairly sophisticated system of primary and secondary education for White children which was comparable with metropolitan Europe (Shingler, 1973, p.60). Many aspects of this system, however, did not accord with National Party thinking. Christian-Nationalism as one of the main elements of Afrikaner nationalist thought was opposed to the previous United Party Government's policy of bilingual schooling. As discussed previously, Shingler (1973, pp. 150-152) emphasizes the importance in Christian-National philosophy of the principles of separation and language for the preservation of the distinctive God-given identity of each *volk*. Du Toit (1975, p.42) suggests a strong and basic link between the Christian-National stress on identity and separation and the evolution of the National Party's policy of *apartheid*.

> Something of the basic connection might appear from the use of the very concept of "apartheid", which came to stand for the social and political order between the different groups, for the unique calling and identity of the Afrikaner nation itself, in a passage from P.J. Meyer in 1942: "the organic unity of Afrikanerdom, the Calvinistic basis of the Afrikaner national life, the "apartheid" (literally, "apartness") of the Afrikaner national calling and national identity ... are emphasized". The ideological "apartness" of the Afrikaner nation requires that it be "separated from" other groups, i.e., "apartheid" in its later sense.

> The mediating factor is the political power that is necessary to secure "apartness" by enforcing separation, and thus *apartheid* emerges as the political ideology of Afrikaner supremacy.

Although the principles of territorial separation and language could be fairly successfully applied to black groups, they had to be compromised in the case of the white English-speakers. Territorial segregation was clearly impossible and thus co-existence with English-speakers had to be accepted. Furthermore, their language had to be accorded equal status with Afrikaans, although the hope might remain in the minds of a few that one day Afrikaans would become the only official language (Shingler, 1973, p.152). In order to preserve and cherish Afrikaans, however, Christian-Nationalists aimed to enforce mother-tongue instruction on the Afrikaner *volk* and other population groups.

As we have already seen in Chapter 1, the battle for mother-tongue instruction and unilingual schools was part of a long Afrikaner nationalist campaign in which the minority position of the Afrikaans-speaking pupils in Natal was used as a rallying call for the salvation of Afrikanerdom throughout South Africa. Malherbe (1977, pp. 663-690) underlines the part played by the *Broederbond* in this campaign. The role of the *Broederbond* in South African history has received considerable publicity in recent years (see Wilkins, 1978; Serfontein, 1979). In 1951 the *Broederbond* defend it aims as follows:

> The attainment of a healthy and progressive unanimity among all Afrikaners who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner people, the kindling of national self-awareness in the Afrikaner, and the instilment of a love for his language, religion, traditions, country and people and the promotion of all the interests of the Afrikaner people. (quoted in Malherbe, 1977, p.664).

Malherbe claims, however, that the ultimate aim of this exclusive secret organization of "super-Afrikaners" was more ambitious and sinister than this statement for public consumption indicates: the *Broederbond* aimed to indirectly rule South Africa in order to further Afrikadom's eventual goal of *baasskap* (domination) in South Africa. He argues persuasively that subsequent history has shown that the *Broederbond* was the biggest single force that kept the National Party in power and influenced the Government in many of its decisions affecting the whole population of South Africa and not merely Afrikaners.

From the 1930s the Broederbond and its public front organisations, like the F.A.K. and the *Nasionale Instituut vir Opvoeding en Onderwys* (N.I.O.O.), were united in a common purpose to gain control of all cultural media and especially the schools. Most of the *Broederbond's* members were selected from the Dutch Reformed clergy, the teaching profession, and officials from the civil service and the cultural media. On account of its large membership in the educational and cultural spheres, it was able to fan resistance in education departments and schools to the United Party's extension of its bilingual medium policy. The *Broederbond* had a sense of mission about this and even planned a country-wide strike of Afrikaans schools, colleges and universities to sabotage the Government's dual-medium policy (Malherbe, 1977, p.672). The fight for the unilingual Afrikaans-medium school was carried on with great intensity in the press and through the publication of pamphlets attacking the dual-medium principle "which was being foisted on the people" (quoted in Malherbe, 1977. p.101). The Dutch Reformed Churches were also involved in the campaign and supplied the religious justification:

> God has willed it that there shall be separate nations each with its own language, and that mother-tongue education is accordingly the will of God. The parent should accordingly have no choice in this case (quoted Malherbe, 1977, p.101).

Here it would seem that the "old-fashioned" C.N.E. tenet of the primacy of the parental role in education has been submerged in favour of the needs of the *volk*.

In the pamphlets of the unilingual school campaign there were various versions of what Malherbe (1977, p.101) calls "cultural laager theories". Amongst others, he gives the example of the work of Dr. P.J. Meyer, one time chairman of the *Broederbond* and later head of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, who provided a mystical basis for the whole struggle for Afrikaans single-medium schools. On the basis of his studies in Germany, Meyer (1945) claimed in his booklet that "all researchers in this field are agreed that bilingual children show backwardness in development as compared with unilingual children" (1945, p.41). He also believed that soul-destroying consequences would result from the Afrikaner child's contact with another stronger culture like English:

> The Afrikaans world image and spiritual outlook will be largely displaced by that of the Englishman, that is, in spite of possibly retaining the vocabulary and syntax of his own language, the Afrikaner will become completely Anglicized ..... The question therefore, is whether Afrikaans-speaking youth should not be made deliberately unilingual Afrikaans, i.e. whether we should not deliberately concentrate on creating an Afrikaans educational system with a real mother-tongue education to serve as an introduction to the whole culture of its own *volk* by means of complete competence in its own language. Surely this is the only way to complete spiritual and character development and to breaking down the enslaving circumstances wherein the individual's philosophy of life is exchanged for a crust of bread .... (1945, p.61).

Such views, preaching a narrow Afrikaner nationalism, would have been given a large audience because of Meyer's positions in both the Broederbond and the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Malherbe (1977, p.103) contends that his influence on the Government's educational policy, particularly as regards the medium question, has been "unmistakable". When it is remembered that the F.A.K. was behind the establishment of the I.C.N.O. which issued the *Beleid* in 1948, then there seems to be little doubt about the strong link, via the *Broederbond's* activities and organisations, between C.N.E. and the Nationalist Government's educational programme. Shortly after the National Party came to power, it held a congress on 17 November 1948 and adopted a resolution that the country's education system should conform to their version of a Christian-National Education policy as formulated in the *Beleid*. (Malherbe, 1977, p.105).

In the implementation of its bilingual-medium policy the United Party Government had encountered some opposition from English and Afrikaans-speakers. As we have already seen, compulsory mother-tongue medium ordinances had been introduced in the Cape, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in the decade after Union. In the Cape and the Transvaal the compulsory limit was set at Standard VI, thereafter the parents had a right to claim that the other language be introduced as a supplementary medium. In the Orange Free State from 1940 onwards all classes were conducted through the mother-tongue medium. In Natal parental choice operated with regard to the medium of instruction throughout the primary and secondary school, although in 1942 the second language had been introduced as an additional medium for one other subject besides

that language from Standard II upwards. In order to bring the language ordinances in line with the United Party bilingual-medium policy, the Transvaal had passed the New Consolidated Education Ordinance in May 1945. As a result of this ordinance all pupils were compelled to learn both official languages, but the second language was to be introduced gradually as a medium of instruction after Standard V, until eventually both official languages should be used, more or less equally, as media of instruction. These requirements were made applicable to both private as well as government schools. The implementation of this ordinance met with some resistance. Some parents objected to the deprivation of their right of choice of a medium, and the private schools were unhappy because the language requirements were also enforced on them. The main practical problem centred around the lack of sufficient teachers who were competent to teach through both languages in the high schools, and this difficulty produced opposition to the bilingual policy from English schools as well as Afrikaans ones.

The National Party took advantage of this resistance and acted swiftly after it came to power to reverse the bilingual-medium policy. By appointing National Party administrators in each of the provinces and obtaining National Party majorities in each of the provinces except Natal, Christian-Nationalists were able to implement their mother-tongue and unilingual school policies up to the secondary level. For example, in the Transvaal, a new language ordinance, (No. 19 of 1949) was passed which made it obligatory for parents to have their children educated through the medium of the mother-tongue up to and including Standard VIII. Private schools also had to comply with the requirement. The Consolidated Education Ordinance (No. 29 of 1953) added the proviso that if a minority language group at a parallel-medium public school reached 100, a separate single-medium school could be established for such a minority group if the parents so desired. Thus the ordinance spelt the end of the system of parallel-medium schools. In cases where the home language of a pupil from a bilingual home became a matter of dispute, the Director of Education made the decision. Similar provisions prevailed in the other provinces except Natal where the parents still had the choice of medium throughout.

The Nationalist Government regarded bilingualism as desirable but by no means the prime goal of education. In 1951 the Commission of Enquiry into Education in the Province of the Orange Free State (the Pretorius

Commission) published its findings. An excerpt from its Report serves as a good example of the official Nationalist viewpoint on the language issue:

> The Commission endorses the evidence in regard to the importance of bilingualism in our country but also the evidence, based on the sound educational principle that bilingualism may never be an ultimate aim in education and that the solution is not to be found in double or parallel-medium schools. Although it is admitted that bilingualism must be regarded as very important intellectual equipment for every worthy citizen of the Union of South Africa, there are in the education of the young considerations of major importance which can be disregarded only at the risk of exposing to the threat of injury other important facets of the developing spirit of the child. Bilingualism may never lead to estrangement from one's own language, for therein lies the germ of self-destruction. Language, which stands in immediate relationship to the culture of a nation, serves to distinguish it from other nations and gives direction to its activities. Through language the nation gives expression to its culture and to its deepest convictions. (1951, pp. 65ff).

It is important to note that Prof J.C. Coetzee, one of the chief spokesmen of the C.N.E. movement, was a major force behind this Report. Thus there is a clear link between the views expressed by the Pretorius Commission and C.N.E. doctrine.

During the years after the National Party's language policy was put into operation there was a decrease in the use of the second language as an additional medium in all the provinces. Simultaneously there was an increase in the number of complaints in the inspector's reports that the second language of both English and Afrikaans children was deteriorating. (Malherbe, 1977, p.108). The greatest deterioration was in the English language. Whereas in the past English had been the predominant medium at the secondary level, Afrikaans steadily became predominant, largely at the expense of the bilingual medium. This trend has continued since 1958 (Malherbe, 1977, p,108).

In order to promote bilingualism and halt the deterioration in the standard of the second language, the various provincial authorities offered inducements to pupils and teachers to attain a high level of proficiency in both languages. None of these measures, however, proved very fruitful.

The English language, in particular, continued to deteriorate, largely owing to the separation of the language groups at school and the poor English proficiency of the teachers of English as a second language at the primary as well as the secondary level. This was especially true of Afrikaans-speaking teachers in the rural areas. Malherbe (1977, pp. 118-119) describes the vicious circle that is caused:

> Not only is the disproportion of Afrikaans-versus English-speaking teachers in the profession far greater today than it was a generation ago, but as a result of the rigid application of the home-language medium principle in segregating the children, those Afrikaans-speaking teachers who have to teach English have themselves now become the products of teachers who were poor exponents of the language. Thus has evolved a vicious circle of progressive deterioration in proficiency in the second language, especially in English. As a result of artificially separating the country's children on the home-language medium principle ... we are accordingly developing in our educational system what are practically two closed circuits of human association.

In 1961 South Africa became an independent Republic, and the greatest goal of Afrikaner nationalists was thus attained. At that time the promotion of bilingualism was praised as a particularly worthy objective for the schools. Malherbe (1977, p.119) contends, however, that teachers in unilingual environments and unilingual schools are finding this increasingly difficult to achieve and consequently the standard of bilingualism is decreasing, particularly among the Afrikaans-speaking section. The status of the second language has generally declined to virtually that of a foreign language in the schools.

The final blow to parental choice of medium was provided by the National Education Policy Act (No. 39 of 1967). For the first time central government policy was imposed on provincial primary and secondary schools. In the Act it was stated that "the mother-tongue, if it is English or Afrikaans, shall be the medium of instruction, with gradual equitable adjustment to this principle of any existing practice at variance therewith". This meant that in Natal the long-established tradition of parental choice as regards the medium of instruction was eliminated.

Furthermore, it meant that in the future English and Afrikaans-speaking children would be rigidly segregated. On 16 May 1969 the Minister of Education issued a proclamation which prescribed the medium of instruction in government and government-subsidized schools and also set out the procedure for determining the medium of instruction of a child. The principal was given the right to decide whether a child from a bilingual home was to be classified as English or Afrikaans-speaking. The home-language medium was to operate exclusively up to and including Standard VIII. The parents were only able to exercise any choice of medium in Standards IX and X. In practice this made any change of medium unlikely because it would entail a change of school in the last crucial years before the matriculation examination. Parents, therefore, lost the opportunity of sending their children, in the interests of bilingualism, to a school where the second-language was the medium of instruction. Consequently, bilingualism in South Africa has suffered and this legislation has had the effect of producing "a dichotomy of two separate cultures operating side by side in separate schools from kindergarten through to university" (Behr, 1980, p.26). Clearly, the Christian-Nationalist stress on the mother-tongue medium is largely responsible for this situation.

Like Shingler, Malherbe (1977, p.151) maintains that the Government's "language apartheid" has significance beyond the educational sphere. He believes it was of paramount importance to the *Broederbond*-inspired educational policy that children had to be in separate schools: "the mother-tongue medium principle was the means to the end : *Divide and Rule*. The attainment of POWER became the dominating motive". However, as he notes, the Afrikaans language has arrived now and has achieved a virtually impregnable position as a cultural medium in South Africa. Thus measures designed to nuture and protect it have become unnecessary. This consideration leads Malherbe to claim that in the course of time the preservation of the Afrikaans language became of secondary importance: the real and dominant motive was the consolidation of the political power of Afrikanderdom.

As well as implementing its language policy, the Nationalist Government extended the powers of the central government in education as advocated by the Christian-Nationalists. In 1953 an Inter-Church Commission on Education was formed by the Dutch Reformed Churches to further the policies of C.N.E. This Commission presented several memoranda to the government between 1954 and 1962 on the need for a national education policy and the abolition of the divided control of secondary education. (Behr, 1980, p.30).

In White education the autonomy of the provinces impeded Christian-National goals. Consequently, when South Africa became a republic in 1961, the unification of white schooling under an agency of the central government was not attained. This only came about in 1967 with the National Education Policy Act (No. 39 of 1967).

The problem of divided control in education had plagued South Africa since the establishment of Union in 1910. As indicated earlier, a compromise had been effected at the time of Union which gave the provincial councils the power to make ordinances on education "other than higher education", for a period of five years, "and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides" (South Africa Act 1909, Section 85(iii)). Hereafter, problems arose from the implication that the provincial powers were only temporary and from the interpretation of "higher education". As Rose and Tunmer (1975, p.11) point out, the idea that the provincial powers in education were only temporary was confirmed by another part of the South Africa Act, which declared that no provincial ordinances could be repugnant to the legislation passed by the South African Parliament.

The problematical nature of extent and status of provincial powers generally, and especially in education, became obvious some five years after Union with the appointment of the Jagger Commission to "inquire into the working of the system under which the Provincial Administration is carried on" (quoted in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.11). Thereafter, a steady succession of commissions were appointed to investigate the problem of divided control. The disputed areas of education were teacher training and the provision of technical, vocational and special education. Were these "higher education" or not? Another consideration was that the provinces were

limited financially in their ability to provide the more expensive types of education mentioned above. Thus increasingly the central government assumed responsibility for these areas, with the result that the control of secondary education was split between the central government and the provinces. The various Commissions did not come to the same conclusion. Some argued for greater central government control of education and others for increased provincial powers. Generally, however, what did emerge was the fact that the provinces were a type of hybrid authority - not state parliaments as in a federal system, nor real local government bodies (Rose and Tunmer, 1977, pp. 11-46). Furthermore, the divided control of education led in the course of time to each province pursuing its own policies and jealously guarding its rights. Thus there was no co-ordination in respect of policy and many observers came to believe that some form of co-ordinating authority at the national level was needed (Behr, 1980, p.22).

When the National Party took office in 1948, the idea of a co-ordinated national policy of education assumed a different meaning for some of its earlier supporters, especially amongst the English-speaking group. With the publication of the *Beleid* in the same year, they became suspicious of central government control over education because they feared that through Afrikaner political domination this might lead to an infusion of the state school system with C.N.E. philosophy.

Rose and Tunmer (1977, p.47) point out, however, that it is naïve to attempt to neatly categorize reactions to centralisation in terms of an English critical reaction and an Afrikaans positive reaction, or a United Party versus a National Party response. For instance, the Orange Free State, a citadel of Afrikanerdom and the National Party, while supporting the creation of a National Board of Education of a *purely advisory type* in the Report of the Pretorius Commission (1951), argued in favour of retaining provincial powers. The Report insisted that "the ingrained historical differences in attitudes, national descent and educational needs as delimitated by the provincial boundaries be not disregarded". And this reaction occurred, despite the fact that both the Orange Free State and the central government followed the same party line and the Orange Free State favoured the policy of "Christian and National education, which in essence was already in existence in the Free State" (quoted in Rose and Tunmer 1975, p.47). Thus the tensions between local and central government cannot be accounted for only in terms of differences in language and

political outlook.

Under the Nationalist Government the tendency to centralisation expressed itself in three trends (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.50). Firstly, the Government decreased provincial government powers through legislation. As we saw in Chapter 3, examples of such legislation are the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which removed Black education from provincial control, and the Acts of 1963 and 1965 which brought Coloured and Indian education under the control of the central government. After 1965 only White education remained in the hands of the provinces. Secondly, the Government created an educational policy applicable to all the provinces. This trend began with the establishment of the National Education Advisory Council in 1962. The third trend was the restoration to the provinces of administrative power over almost all types of primary and secondary education, while retaining the broad direction of policy at the centre. This concept was expressed in the phrase "Uniale beleid maar Provinsiale beheer" (Union policy but Provincial control).

The need for a uniform educational policy throughout South Africa was brought to public attention in 1959 by Dr Verwoerd, as Prime Minister, when he made a party political speech in which he declared:

> There would be uniformity in the sphere of education ... the nation could only maintain one ideal in this sphere. There could not be one ideal in one part of the country and another in another part of the country. The government would lay down in legislation that which could be expected of education in South Africa. National institutions and Provincial authorities would have to adjust themselves to these ideals. (quoted in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.60).

Considerable public debate was aroused by Verwoerd's speech. As we have seen, over the years no agreement had been reached as to the extent of the central government control or the form it should take. Many organisations, and especially those representing English-speaking South Africans, expressed concern about the implications of the speech. They claimed that the imposition of a single "ideal" in a plural society would be difficult to implement, and called for an early publication of the draft legislation so that it could be studied. (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.61).

In April 1961 the Bill was published and resulted in many public meetings and a petition with some 100,000 signatures pleading for its abandonment. Objections were raised to the proposed Advisory Council's extensive powers over all legislation, its right of access to any school, the comparatively small size of the Council and the failure of the Bill to provide for publication of the Advisory Council's investigations, reports and advice. The Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1962 and was immediately referred to a Select Committee to enable the public to submit recommendations on the Bill. On practically every clause the evidence was conflicting. As a result of the hearings of the Select Committee, however, changes were made in the final version of the Act which was passed in 1962. These changes included: an increase in the membership of the Council; requirements about members having distinguished themselves in the field of education; a full-time Executive; a more specific limitation of the functions of the Council to those of an advisory nature; and arrangements for the submission of annual reports and minority reports, where warranted (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p. 61). The Council still retained, however, the right to investigate individual schools and was specifically given the function of devising a system of "broad fundamental principles of sound education for the country as a whole" (Act No. 86 of 1962, clause 7).

As a result of this Act, therefore, the power of the central government was increased in the sphere of educational policy. This was in line with Christian-Nationalist support for a state-controlled education-system Furthermore, in that the advice of the National Advisory Education Council was limited largely to education for White children, the Act perpetuated the C.N.E. belief in segregated education for whites and blacks.

Concern continued to be expressed by many private bodies interested in education about the implications of central control of policy and the details of educational administration. The First Report of the Education Panel (1963) is a good example of the concern of such a body. In addition to its main task of exploring the relationship between economic development and education, the Panel discussed the different attitudes to education found in South Africa. The Panel argued that in a country of many cultures "complete toleration and mutual respect is the "only basis for national unity", and that in these circumstances the decentralization of

educational control is the best solution (1963, pp. 14-17, 56-59). As well as private organizations, the provinces reacted to increasing central government control over education. The Report of the Wentzel Commission into differentiated education in the Orange Free State (1963) produced a vigorous defence of local responsibility and initiative. It also advocated decentralised control of education with regular conferences of responsible authorities at the national level. In the light of this recommendation the Report envisaged comparatively limited functions for the Education Advisory Council: it should organize the conferences which were proposed in the Report, advise the Minister of Education, and liaise between private and public bodies concerned with education and the employment of the products of the system. The provinces were not prepared to see their educational powers lost to the central government.

From the outset the National Education Advisory Council considered the problem of defining a national policy for education in accordance with its prescribed functions. By 1967 it had submitted its suggestions to the Government and in the same year the National Education Policy Act (No. 39) was passed. Rose and Tunmer (1975) regard this Act as highly significant in the history of South African education. To a large extent the Act resolved the problem of divided control in terms of a victory for the central government, which took responsibility for the broad definition of educational policy. As a result of this victory the central government could contemplate relinquishing to provincial administration many kinds of secondary schools which had falled under central government control between 1910 and 1960. Legislation to this effect, Act No. 41 of 1967, was passed later in 1967: provincial education departments became directly responsible for almost all education at the primary and secondary levels.

The Wentzel Report's recommendation of a fairly powerful inter-provincial education "conference" was incorporated into the National Education Policy Act. This "conference" was established as the Committee of Educational Heads, which took over some of the functions originally allocated to the National Advisory Education Council, and has become a powerful force in South African Education. The organization of the Advisory Council was modified and the membership more strictly defined. The right to inspect schools was removed from the Advisory Council and given directly to the

whether national policy was being followed.

Later legislation increased the power of the Minister. Act No. 41 of 1967 accorded him the power to declare any form of education to be higher education. Consequently, the transfer of technical and commercial secondary schools to the provinces in terms of that Act must be seen as entirely at the central government's discretion. In Act No. 73 of 1969, the Minister's right of inspection of schools was extended to the power to demand a report from a province "on any matter relating to education".

Like the educational legislation of 1967, Act No. 73 of 1969 increased central government control over White education at the expense of the provinces. As a result of this Act the control of secondary school teacher training was removed from the provinces to the univ , which are ultimately he responsibility of the central governm e Act also modified still further the National Advisory Council. The term "advisory" was dropped from its name and its size increased again, but its func ions remained generally unchanged.

As the preceding discussion of Nationalist Government policies in White education has shown, there can be little doubt generally that the whole trend has been towards the centralisation of educational control in Pretoria. Furthermore, as Malherbe (1977, p.523) notes:

> Unfortunately the motive behind this trends appears more of a political and ideological nature than to promote efficiency in the administration of education. The provinces with their provincial education heads have been virtually dragooned into conformity by the power of the Minister under the National Education Policy Act.

The growing machinery of state control of education, in addition to the "little empires" that the provincial administrations have built (Malherbe, 1977, p.144), has aggravated the problem of bureaucratization with its attendant evils of poor communication, inefficiency, wastage of funds, inflexibility and conservatism.

In view of the importance of the 1967 National Education Policy Act as the "Magna Carta of education in South Africa" (Assembly Debates, 1967, col. 1829) it is necessary for the purposes of this research to ascertain whether this Act is an embodiment of C.N.E. ideals. We have already seen that it does accord with the reformulated C.N.E. doctrine of 1948 which emphasized the value of state control of education in the interests of Afrikanerdom. Some commentators claim that the relationship between the 1967 Act and C.N.E. is much closer than that (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.128), and the clauses of Act that they cite in this connection are the following:

> 2.(1) The Minister may, after consultation with the Administrators and the council, from time to time determine the general policy which is to be pursued in respect of education in schools (hereinafter called the national educational policy), within the framework of the following principles, namely, that-
> (a) the education in schools maintained, managed and controlled by a department of State (including a provincial administration) shall have a Christian character, but that the religious conviction of the parents and the pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies;
> (b) education shall have a broad national character;
> (c) the mother-tongue, if it is English or Afrikaans, shall be the medium of instruction, with gradual equitable adjustment to this principle of any existing practice at variance therewith;
> (h) the parent community be given a place in the education system through parent-teachers' associations, school committees, boards of control or school boards or in any other manner. (given in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, pp. 128-129).

It is clear that there are stipulations regarding the mother-tongue medium, the role of the parent community and the national and Christian character of White education. At a first glance, therefore, it seems as if the Act does follow the C.N.E. philosophy. The meaning given to Christian and national is particularly important in reaching such a conclusion, however, and the definition of these two terms is a matter of debate and controversy.

In the Act itself, "Christian" is not given an Afrikaans Calvinistic interpretation and the right of religious freedom is acknowledged in clause (a). Similarly, "national" is broadly defined. Nevertheless, the mere use of these two terms aroused fears among critics of the Government and C.N.E. that the Act would result in the imposition of C.N.E. doctrine on all sectors of the white population. In the parliamentary debate on 22 February 1967 that followed the introduction of the Bill, a number of Government supporters gave their interpretations of Christian and national. The Minister of National Education, Senator J. de Klerk, defined the terms as follows:

> My interpretation of"the Christian character of education" is that education should build on the basis of the traditional Western culture and view of life which recognizes the validity of the Biblical principles, norms and values. I challenge my honourable member to tell me that that is sectional; that it includes one group of Christians and excludes another. By "national" it is understood that education shall build on the ideal of the national development of all citizens of South Africa in order that our identity and way of life maybe preserved, and in order that the South African nation may constantly appreciate its task as part of Western civilization (Assembly Debates, 1967, col. 2011).

"All citizens" here refers only to *White* citizens, as the Bill, despite its title as the *National* Education Policy Bill, legislated only for White education and thus perpetuated the Christian-Nationalist insistence on segregation between the black and white races. Malherbe (1977, p.145) claims that several members of Parliament became suspicious that the Minister's reference to preserving "our own identity and way of life" involved only the aspirations of Afrikaner nationalism: "not only would the term 'broad national character' have reference only to the White population of the Republic, but now it seemed to be confined to a section thereof, namely the dominant Afrikaner section".

Such suspicions were expressed in the context of the debate on the clause which stipulated the mother-tongue medium. It was alleged that the segregation of Afrikaans-and English-speaking children thus produced, enabled history to be taught to Afrikaans children in such a way that they would become good Nationalists. (Assembly Debates, 1967, col. 1824-7). It was pointed out that Afrikaans-speaking children were in the majority and by keeping them separate the political future of the National Party was

assured. Malherbe (1977) firmly believes that easy indoctrination of Afrikaans-speaking children with National Party dogma is an underlying motive of the separation of the language groups at schools.

A statement at the time in the *Transvaler*, the official mouthpiece of the National Party, seemed to provide justification for misgivings about C.N.E.:

> Without the application of the system of Christian-National education the political history of South Africa over the last 30 or 40 years would have been entirely different (7 November, 1967) (quoted in Malherbe, 1977, p.147).

In replying to this, Dr C.P. Mulder explained to Parliament that in the Bill the terms "Christian" and "national" were not hyphenated and they meant simply that education must be according to the Holy Scriptures and for the promotion of South Africa, our Fatherland. (Assembly Debates, 1967). Malherbe (1977, p.147) comments that Mulder's explanation was too naïve to command general acceptance and as the debate proceeded the concept of "broad national" became narrower instead of broader.

The task of defining the terms "Christian" and "national" more specifically was referred to the National Advisory Education Council which presented its findings four years later. As a result the Minister issued a proclamation on 12 November 1971 containing the definitions of the terms used in the National Education Policy Act of 1967. The definitions follow below:

> 'Christian Character:
>
> 2. The education in schools maintained, managed and controlled by a department of State (including a provincial administration) shall have a Christian character founded on the Bible and imprinted-
> (a) through religious instruction as a compulsory non-examination subject, subject to paragraph 3 below; and
> (b) through the spirit and the manner in which all teaching and education, as well as administration and organization, are conducted.
>
> 3. In the implementation of the policy in regard to the Christian character of education, the religious convictions of the parents and the pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies.
>
> National Character:
>
> 4. Education in schools maintained, managed and controlled or subsidized by a department of State (including a provincial administration) shall have a broad national character

which shall be imprinted -

(a) through the conscious expansion of every pupil's knowledge of the fatherland, embracing language and cultural heritage, history and traditions, national symbols, the diversity of the population, social and economic conditions, geographical diversity and national achievements; and
(b) by developing this knowledge in each pupil into understanding and appreciation by presenting it in a meaningful way where appropriate, in the teaching of the two official languages, national history of the fatherland, civics and geography in school teaching and further through the participation of pupils in national festivals, and their regular honouring of the national symbols, so as to -

(i) inculcate a spirit of patriotism, founded on loyalty and responsibility towards the fatherland, its soil and its natural resources;
(ii) enable every pupil to gain a balanced perspective; and
(iii) achieve a sense of unity and spirit of co-operation.'

(*Government Gazette*, 1971, Notice No. R. 2029).

Behr (1980, p.43) comments that the Christian principle thus defined "in essence amounts to a Christo-centric education permeating the whole system and subject content" - and this is reminiscent of the theocentric philosophy of C.N.E. He also points out that in order to equip teachers to give effect to the Christian and national character, a further proclamation in 1975 stipulated that their training should be so planned that "a spirit of patriotism, loyalty and a sense of responsibility towards the fatherland and its inhabitants" would be engendered, and that "religious instruction, founded in Scripture" should be a compulsory subject for all teacher trainees. (*Government Gazette*, 1975, Notice No. R. 1192). This also fits in with the C.N.E. belief that teachers must subscribe to a Christian-National life-view. Malherbe (1977, p.148) contends that such proclamations and the whole spirit of the National Education Policy Act of 1967 with their stress on the national, as opposed to the international, are reminiscent of the chauvinistic regulations issued under the early Nazi regime in Germany.

Rose and Tunmer (1975, pp. 107-131) discuss the influence of C.N.E. on South African education and attempt to explain the fears and suspicions about it described above. They lay considerable stress on the writings of Professor J. Chris Coetzee, one of the best-known of Potchefstroom academics and a member of the panel of Afrikaners who drew up the I.C.N.O.

Declaration in 1948. In his work Professor Coetzee emphasized that the I.C.N.O. Declaration was never intended to be more than a clarifying statement written for Afrikaners by Afrikaners:

> The C.N.E. policy of the F.A.K. is a policy for the Afrikaans Calvinistic section of our population. It was never intended for the English Anglican section, neither for any other Afrikaans religious or philosophical groups .... The agitation against the Afrikaans Calvinistic C.N.E. policy is unfair and unnecessary" (quoted in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.117).

As Rose and Tunmer (1975, p.119) point out, however, this consideration does not eliminate the problem for non-Afrikaners:

> The problem, as non-Afrikaner South Africans see it, is that what is intended as sectional may - through contemporary political Afrikaner dominance - become national; and therefore that Jews, Roman Catholics and Moslems could be coerced into subscribing to religious precepts and interpretations not in accord with their particular religious views.

Furthermore, in connection with the application of C.N.E. to Afrikaners only, it is worth remembering that Professor Coetzee's orientation within the C.N.E. ranks is "confessionalist" rather than "permeationist", as the thorough historical research of Shingler (1973) has revealed. Thus Professor Coetzee would be inclined to stress the limited applicability of C.N.E. to Afrikaner education rather that its permeation of the state system of education. It also must not be forgotten that Coetzee's argument for the limited application of C.N.E. rests on *intention* not on *implementation*. In the hands of the Afrikaner Nationalist Government C.N.E.'s applicability may well have been extended in the pursuit of Afrikaner hegemony, as Shingler (1973) and Malherbe (1977) claim. An exploration of this point would involve an examination of the implementation of C.N.E. doctrine in South African schools, and this lies beyond the scope and focus of this research. It suffices to say that various syllabi, particularly those of History, Geography and Religious Instruction, do show the influence of C.N.E. (Malherbe, 1977, p.149, SPROCAS, 1971, pp. 74ff).

Thus, to sum up: some of the C.N.E. principles, like separation of the *volke*, mother-tongue instruction and the importance of the parent community in education, are found in the 1967 Act, but in the text of the Act itself

there is no evidence of a particular C.N.E. interpretation of the terms "Christian" and "national". The wording of the 1967 Act is in fact general and open to any number of interpretations. And this is precisely the point: the 1967 Act does not enshrine a systematic formulation of C.N.E. theory, but it does not exclude its main tenets either. In practice, therefore, C.N.E. policy can be followed in the schools. The statement made by the Minister of National Education to the Transvaal National Party Congress in October 1971 would seem to support this point. The Minister said that while he could not speed up the implementation of Christian-National Education in South African schools, he would see to it that the policy would be in full force throughout the country very soon. He said that the current legislation made provision for this. "Separate development must be taught as contemporary history. It is not propaganda" (*Daily News*, 6 October 1971). As the SPROCAS Report (1971) points out, the statement of the Act offers broad guidelines for the practice of education that are not inimical to C.N.E. theory, and do not go beyond this first level of theory-making. The 1948 *Beleid*, however, is at a different level of conceptualization - the second level at which an educational theory is a unified and systematic set of statements which are logically related and which are developed to justify practical activity. Because of the difficulties in resolving these two different levels of conceptualization and determining exactly how theory and practice are connected, the Report concludes: "it is therefore impossible to answer satisfactorily the question whether the Act can be regarded as the implementation of a C.N.E. theory of education" (1971, pp. 74ff).

After the 1967 Act the Nationalist Government turned its attention to a further development in the creation of a national education policy, the implementation of differentiated education throughout South Africa. The system was instituted in the Transvaal in 1973, and in the rest of White education in 1974. As we have already seen in Chapter 3, differentiation was also introduced into the black systems of education in the mid-1970s.

Since the 1940s White secondary education had come under close scrutiny. Until then secondary education had catered largely for the small minority of academically talented adolescents who had matriculation in mind (Behr, 1980, p.30). A "comprehensive" type of education that would cater for pupils with a wide range of abilities became increasingly necessary as the age of school-leaving was raised in all race groups. Thus a strong demand was voiced for the re-structuring of the whole secondary school organization and the implementation of differentiated education. To this end a number of Commissions were appointed to investigate the introduction of differentiation. As a result of their reports, different forms of differentiation were introduced with varying degrees of success in the four provinces (Behr, 1980, pp.30-37). Nevertheless, the general trend was a broadening of the previously narrow academic base of the secondary school curriculum, and this had had the effect of increasing the holding power of the school from one per thousand to nine per thousand since 1964 - saturation level in the white population (Malherbe, 1977, p.290).

In the 1960s the urgent manpower needs of the economy necessitated an acceleration of this trend on a nation-wide basis. Consequently, the National Advisory Education Council brought about the appointment in 1964 of a committee of senior officials from each education department in the Republic, under the chairmanship of the Director of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research. (The Bureau became the Human Sciences Research Council (H.S.R.C.) in 1969). The task of the Committee was to examine the problem of differentiated education and guidance from a national view-point. The Committee brought out a comprehensive report in 1971. By then, in terms of Acts Nos. 39 and 41 of 1967, the provinces had become directly responsible for primary and secondary education. This meant that technical and commercial high schools in particular could be integrated with ordinary provincial secondary schools, so that in the words of Act 34 of 1967 (clause (f)) "education in accordance with the ability and aptitude of and interest of the pupils" could be provided by one administrative authority.

The Government accepted the main recommendations of the Committee: the division of schooling into four phases; specialization in various fields of study in the secondary school; and the provision of guidance services. These were implemented by regulations published in the

Government Gazette of 12 November 1971. This system of differentiated education is not functioning as well as it might, however, as a result of parental resistance in some areas and the critical shortage of science, mathematics, technical and guidance teachers in particular (Behr, 1980, pp. 287-289). Furthermore, differentiation has brought with it a number of evaluation problems (Malherbe, 1977; Botha, 1980).

Rose and Tunmer (1975, p.81) maintain that differentiation must be seen as a central government policy imposed on the provinces. The system is very similar in each province with little local variation. The uniform introduction of differentiation in the 1970s, therefore, can be viewed as part of the trend towards increasing central government control of education in accordance with the mid-20th century C.N.E. goals. Rose and Tunmer (1975, pp.81 and 141) also claim that the influence of C.N.E. can be detected in the thinking behind the policy of differentiation. In this connection they refer to the blue-print of the system, the 1971 Report of the H.S.R.C. Committee for differentiated education and guidance. Chapter 14 of the Report is concerned with educational policy and aims, and interprets the requirements of the National Education Policy Act within a C.N.E. life- and world-view. This has already been mentioned in Chapter 3 of this research project, but here a more specific demonstration of the influence of C.N.E. on this Report seems necessary.

In its discussion of a South African philosophy of life, the Report states that in the course of the last three centuries the white population has "emerged with a communal aim, which may serve as a broad foundation for moulding the young in such a way that they will achieve self-realization and render service to their fellow-men, country, nation and their God" (H.S.R.C., 1971, p.14.1). The Report then proceeds to spell out this communal aim as a striving after the "retention of identity" with the following implications:

> South African national groups must, in the first place, retain, preserve and amplify their identities, which means that each South African who considers South Africa as his own country, and trusting in this, wishes to rear his issue, will give expression to separation of national groups in some form or other. This national characteristic attitude to life is of a Christian nature, and this means that those who profess to be South Africans automatically throw in their lot with the

> inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa, and this goes deeper than language, deeper than descent; it culminates in the future. The White South African accordingly sees his attitude to his fellow-man in the light of the Word of God and grants his fellow-man, irrespective of race and colour, a living space of his own, in which his identity and culture can come into their own. (1971, 14.1).

This piece of writing is such an embodiment of C.N.E. philosophy that it might have come from the *Beleid*. All the major tenets of C.N.E. are encompassed - the Christian and National principles, the authority of the Word of God, the preservation of the identity of each *volk*, and the separation of the different *volke* in South Africa. Here one is reminded of the claim of Malherbe (1977, p.146) that under the Nationalist Government the test of a true South African has become support for *apartheid*.

There are numerous other references in the Report to the *moulding* of the child, particularly "the Christian and National moulding", and the moulding of children "as future citizens" (1971, 14.2.4 and 14.3). These fit in with C.N.E.'s emphasis on the group rather than the individual, and its authoritarian, idealistic and conservative view of the educational process (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.82). Great stress is laid on formative education in the Report, and the necessity for the child to be "deliberately introduced into his specific cultural context and community, so that the particular values which are honoured may be able to assume substance in his life" (1971, 14.5.1).

In short, as Rose and Tunmer (1975, p.142) contend, apart from a small gesture towards viewpoints other than those of C.N.E. in the Report (see 14.2.3), "it is reasonably clear that white education in South Africa is currently thought of as almost identical with C.N.E. formulations".

The H.S.R.C. Report of 1971 also recommended the provision of guidance services as the cornerstone of differentiated education. In accordance with the guidelines laid down in the Government Notice No. R2029 of 1971 each province devised its own system of guidance. Essentially school guidance is seen as an auxilliary education service to be undertaken by experts and it comprises guidance in personal matters, choice of education and career. Psychological, remedial and school visiting services are also included. In 1972 a Youth Preparedness Programme was introduced as

a compulsory ingredient of the curriculum of all secondary schools. Guidance teachers are responsible for the various facets of this programme. These consist of training for physical preparedness which includes, for example, first aid, life-saving and fire-fighting, and moral preparedness which is concerned with cultivating sound moral attitudes and rectitude in the youth of the country.

Urging teachers to "launch and execute the Youth Preparedness Programme with enthusiasm", the Director of Education in the Transvaal, Dr A.L. Kotzee, stated in his official report (1972, pp. 2-4) that drug addiction, the breakdown of loyalties, the collapse of sexual morals, and the negation of authority were contributing elements to the spiritual corruption of our youth (1972, pp. 2-4). Similarly, the Deputy Director of Education in the Orange Free State, W.J. Coetzee (1972), warned that the growing liberalism and anti-religious tendencies in the Western World paved the way for Communism, and he drew a parallel between present-day events and the decline of the Roman Empire in the days of antiquity. Such pronouncements are perfect examples of what Shingler (1973, pp. 152-3) describes as the Christian-Nationalist antipathy to the secular, scientific trends of the 20th century and to the view of liberty and freedom prevalent in the North Atlantic world. The Christian-Nationalist outlook regards the West as decadent and believes that there is the greatest danger that South Africa will be infected by this spiritual malaise unless the moral tone of the country is raised.

In the actual functioning of the present system of guidance there are also overtones of C.N.E. In the Transvaal the introduction of veldschools (sic) as part of the Youth Preparedness Programme has provoked frequent criticism, especially from non-Afrikaners, who alledge that these camps are used to indoctrinate adolescents with C.N.E. and National Party ideology (see Patterson *et alia* (1980), Pasques (1978) and Anonymous (1978)). An in-depth study by Watts (1980) laid bare many of the weaknesses of guidance services in South Africa. Watts found that guidance here is less concerned with helping youngsters learn who they are than with teaching them who they should be. The emphasis tends to be on socialization as opposed to individualization. This is in keeping with the focus on moulding the child and the needs of the group found in the 1971 H.S.R.C. Report and the *Beleid*. Watts, quoting Bauer (1977), points out that there

is no Afrikaans word for "counselling": such words as there are, like *voorligting* and *berading*, emphasize advice-giving rather than the freedom of individual decision-making. Watts (1980, p.6) also notes the importance ascribed to patriotism and the duties and obligations of citizens in the topics officially suggested for discussion in guidance periods, and concludes that in South African guidance systems there are strong echoes of Christian-National Education, with distinct Nazi overtones, as Malherbe (1977) suggests.

Since the introduction of the systems of differentiation and guidance in the early 1970s, there have been few developments in White education. No major education acts have been passed and this period of relative quiescence has had the effect of making any potential C.N.E. influence less visible. The only noteworthy change in recent years recorded by Behr (1980) is the announcement by the Minister of National Education towards the end of 1980 that he intended introducing legislation during the 1981 session of Parliament to do away with "compulsory free education". He stated that the education system had "become unbearably socialistic". The proposed legislation would "open the possibility for parents to be asked to make some sort of contribution to the cost of education - in the buying of books for instance, or making a more economic contribution to hostel fees or bussing. This will lead to a more comparable situation among different race groups" (quoted in Behr, 1980, p.293).

The idea of parents paying for aspects of their children's schooling would be acceptable to C.N.E. philosophy because in the 1948 *Beleid*, Article 8 states that "parents must contribute towards defraying the school's expenses". Whether the mention of comparability between the race groups is as acceptable, however, seems doubtful, because this suggests an infringement of the principles of no equality between black and white, and black education not occurring "to the cost of white education". Nevertheless, while parts of this announcement may be compatible or otherwise with C.N.E. thinking, in this case there is inadequate evidence to support an argument for or against the influence of C.N.E. on the proposed change.

In this chapter various aspects of the Nationalist Government's policy towards white education since 1948 have been discussed. Through the *Broederbond* and its organs C.N.E.'s insistence on the mother-tongue medium

and the separation of each language group appears to have been a seminal influence on the Government's language policy. During the last three decades the state has systematically extended its powers over White education and decreased provincial powers. It has centralised educational policy while allowing the provinces to administer primary and secondary schools. This centralisation has been in keeping with the C.N.E. desire for state control of education in the interests of Afrikanerdom but, as we have seen, the presence of C.N.E. ideology in the legislative changes has not always been easy to determine. Broadly speaking, the crucial 1967 National Education Policy Act can be said to accommodate the main tenets of C.N.E. and allow their implementation in practice. Differentiation and guidance, as aspects of the States national education policy, show a definite C.N.E. influence on their origins and implementation. The lack of change in White education in the last decade, however, makes it difficult to know to what extent C.N.E. still influences White education. It may be a spent or only a latent force. Generally we must conclude, therefore, as the SPROCAS Report (1971) does, that in the last thirty years C.N.E. has permeated the state education system for whites and as an authoritarian, exclusive and chauvinistic doctrine which "promotes division between the people of the country and enforces acceptance of the doctrine by authoritarian methods", it is unacceptable to many South Africans (quoted in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.141).

CHAPTER 5

C.N.E. and the de Lange Commission

This chapter investigates the influence of C.N.E. on the eleven principles published in the Report of the Main Committee of the de Lange Commission. Although the focus is on the principles, other relevant issues are also covered: namely, the educational crisis which gave rise to the appointment of the Commission; its brief from the Government; the evolutionary stages in the formulation of the principles by the Work Committee: Education principles and po[illegible] and the reports of some of the other work committees. In the fi[illegible] section of the chapter a number of reactions to the Report are considered

In recent years [illegible]cation in South Africa has come under heavy attac[illegible] from various quarters. In the light of some of the underlying forces and pressure groups, and the problems and weaknesses in the different education systems that have been discussed in the previous chapter, this is not surprising. Since 1976, boycotts and riots by black pupils, complaints and resignations by white and black teachers on account of low salaries, poor status and unsatisfactory conditions of work, and the skilled manpower needs of industry and commerce have highlighted the inadequacy of the present system.

As a response to the education crisis, in June 1980 the Prime Minister requested the H.S.R.C. to conduct an in-depth investigation into all facets of education in the Republic of South Africa (R.S.A.). The execution of the Cabinet's request resulted in the establishment of a Main Committee of the Investigation into Education. This consisted of twenty-five members appointed by the Council of the H.S.R.C., in addition to Professor J.P. de Lange as the chairman. Eighteen work committees were then formed. Each was headed by a member of the Main Committee and responsible for a different aspect of education.

The Cabinet's request to the H.S.R.C. to investigate education in the RSA contained a direct reference to the formulation of guiding principles for a feasible education policy in order to "allow for the realization of the inhabitants' potential, promote economic growth in the RSA, and improve the

quality of life of all the inhabitants in the country" (H.S.R.C., 1981, (2), p.1). *Inter alia*, the H.S.R.C. Commission also had to submit recommendations on a programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups. The Main Committee regarded the task of drawing up the set of guiding principles as of primary importance, because these would form the basis of any new system of education and the progress of the other work committees was dependent on them. Consequently, the Work Committee: Education principles and policy, under the chairmanship of Professor F van der Stoep, began the process of formulation of the principles immediately. In the course of the gradual refinement of the principles a wide range of local and overseas literature was used, hundreds of submissions were studied, a large variety of individuals were consulted, submissions by members of the Main Committee were considered and a number of meetings of the Work and Main Committees were devoted to intensive discussion of the principles. As a result of this process, when the de Lange Commission presented its findings to the Cabinet in July 1981, the following eleven principles had been developed:

PRINCIPLES

1. Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the State.
2. Education shall afford positive recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of the inhabitants.
3. Education shall give positive recognition to the freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisations in society.
4. The provision of education shall be directed in an educationally responsible manner to meet the needs of the individual as well as those of society and economic development, and shall, inter alia, take into consideration the manpower needs of the country.
5. Education shall endeavour to achieve a positive relationship between the formal, non-formal and informal aspects of education in the school, society and family.
6. The provision of formal education shall be a responsibility of the State provided that the individual, parents and organized society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in the matter.
7. The private sector and the State shall have a shared responsibility for the provision of non-formal education.
8. Provision shall be made for the establishment and state subsidisation of private education within the system of providing education.

9. In the provision of education the processes of centralization and decentralization shall be reconciled organizationally and functionally.
10. The professional status of the teacher and lecturer shall be recognized.
11. Effective provision of education shall be based on continuing research.

The Work Committee (1981, (2), pp. vii-viii) is at pains to point out that the principles given above must not be narrowly interpreted as pedagogic principles or as philosophical principles. Rather, they must be widely interpreted as guidelines for designing a system of educational provision in accordance with the requirements set out in the Cabinet's brief to the H.S.R.C.,and as such they comprise a mixture of political, social and economic philosophies and principles on which an education system could be based. The Main Committee (1981, (1), p.14) also cautions that the principles must be read as a whole and not in isolation from one another.

A study of the principles suggests that they represent a changed view of the whole question of the provision of education in the RSA along four parameters:

- equal educational opportunities and equal standards of provision of education (Principle 1);
- flexibility within the system to accommodate a diversity of needs (Principles 2, 3, 4, 8, and 9);
- closer interlinking of the formal, non-formal and informal systems and a shared state/private responsibility and say in their provision (Principles 5, 6, and 7);
- improvement of the professional base of the education system especially as regards the status of teaching staff and the use of continuing supportive research activities (Principles 10 and 11).

This grouping will be used for the examination of the eleven principles in the light of C.N.E. theory.

The dominant first principle is regarded as so important by the Main Committee that a special chapter in its Report is devoted to a discussion of equal education. In order to avoid and overcome many of the problems associated with the concept of equal education, the Main Committee (1981, (_), pp. 205-214) discusses the issues involved and defines its position. A summary of the Committee's argument follows.

Equality is a social-ethical concept articulating the right of every individual to receive equal treatment as regards allocation of the collective benefits of a society. In a situation of scarcity of resources, the allocation of equal benefits becomes a pressing question. Clearly, a person cannot expect to achieve an arithmetically equal share of these benefits, but rather a *rightful share* based on the concepts of both equality and justice. In order to receive a *rightful share*, an agreed criterion of fairness is required, as well as agreed rules for the distribution of these benefits. In the real life situation, both the fairness criterion and the rules of distribution must allow for *differentiation* (not *discrimination*) between individuals. This can only be achieved if acceptable relevant grounds for differentiation can be formulated and agreed by the parties. "Relevant" in this context implies that the grounds should relate exclusively to the benefits being distributed, that is, for *educational* benefits only *educational grounds* are relevant. A determination of educationally relevant criteria involves the further problem of the relationship between the education curriculum and the values of a society. Which aims should be served by institutionalised education as a means to an end? The Committee offers a list of community values and aims and concludes that the answer probably lies in the balance between them (between, say, individual and collective goals and, say, instrumental and expressive goals).

In evaluating the present system of education in South Africa, the Committee immediately concludes that the "same advantages are not available to everyone" (1981, (1), p.209). Some differentiations are defensible, however, on educationally relevant grounds; but differentiation which rests purely on the basis of race or colour is not defensible. A selection of examples of such discrimination is given.

When the Committee attempts to define its interpretation of equal quality in education, it rejects the interpretation in terms of educational achievements in favour of the one in terms of *educational opportunities*. Equality in educational opportunities is seen as the key operational goal.

The Main Committee realizes that there are a number of practical problems associated with the provision of equal educational opportunities for all inhabitants: for example, the difficulty in making a clear and positive definition of what is meant by "equal opportunities" and the determination of where the "starting line" is in terms of the unfair advantages or disadvantages of some participants. The Committee finally adopts the position that the most effective starting point is the "elimination of demonstrable inequality" in access, curriculum, compulsory education, teachers, physical facilities and financial resources.

Within the framework thus established, the Committee proposes four policy guidelines to assist the drafting of a programme which will vigorously and purposefully pursue the elimination of "educationally irrelevant" (that is, discriminatory) differences through a process of educational reform. Indeed, the Committee (1981, (1), p.214) regards it as a "bounden duty" to commence with a practical programme for the achievement of equal quality in education as soon as possible and to move purposefully towards the ultimate objective. It does caution again, however, that equal equality education cannot be interpreted in the absolute sense of an arithmetically equal share, nor does it feel that realistically it can be provided immediately.

The Committee's commitment to the elimination of educational inequalities and the attainment of equal educational opportunities and standards for all, as the key operational goal of the new system of education, strikes at the heart of C.N.E. doctrine. Principle 1 is an attack on the C.N.E. principles of no equality and segregation between whites and blacks on the basis of race, culture and creed. In fact, the Committee's discussion of equality in education is very similar to the arguments on the same topic in the SPROCAS Report of 1971 (see Chapter 3), and this Report is a critique of the *apartheid* system of education which was largely influenced by C.N.E.

In the next grouping, principle 2's positive recognition of commonality is a new concept in South African education. In the past what makes English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Indian and Coloured children *different* has been stressed, rather than what they have in *common*. This aspect of principle 2 thus opposes the C.N.E. emphasis on the distinctive separate identity of each *volk*. In the Cabinet's request to the H.S.R.C. the concept of commonality is endorsed: the guiding principles have to apply to all inhabitants of the RSA. As the Principles Work Committee (1981, (2), p.1) emphasizes, this means that "for the first time in the history of South Africa the point of departure was not the separate population groups as such, but what is common to all the inhabitants of the RSA". The fact that diversity of religion is mentioned is also new. All the previous education acts for Whites and Blacks in the last thirty years contain a clause which specifies that education shall be Christian in character although the principle of religious toleration is included. This principle then does not contain any reference to the main Christian and national principles of C.N.E.

Recognition of diversity of religion, culture and language in the second part of principle 2, however, does allow for the existence of different philosophies of education based on such diversity, and this includes C.N.E. Indeed, in the Questions and Answers Newsletter on the de Lange Commission produced by the H.S.R.C. (1982) it is stated that every population group is free to formulate its own specific education principles within the broad framework laid down by the guiding principles. Thus in this Newsletter, in reply to the question posed, "Do the proposed eleven principles for education provision in the RSA imply that the principle of Christian-National education has been abandoned?", the answer given is "Christian-National education will therefore remain possible for those who value it".

Principle 3 is also intended to cater for diversity. It enshrines the right of individual, parental and organizational freedom of choice. It therefore harks back to the pre-Nationalist Government era in education when parental right of choice, especially as regards the medium of instruction, operated in many parts of South Africa, and particularly in Natal. The flexibility built into principle 3 stands in opposition to the official prescribed mother-tongue medium of instruction held so

dear by C.N.E. There is no mention of this tenet of C.N.E. in the principles, and where the medium of instruction is discussed (H.S.R.C. 1981, (1), pp.142-3), it is made clear that the policy on the use of language medium at any given level of education should be such as to facilitate access to other or higher levels of education, rather than to preserve the identity of any population group. The H.S.R.C. Newsletter (1982) summarizes the de Lange Commission's stand on this matter thus: "the major recommendation with regard to the present state of affairs is that provision should be made for greater flexibility and that there should be less prescriptiveness in the national policy".

A familiar theme appears in principle 4. It attempts to reconcile the needs of the individual and society just as similar principles do in both the 1967 National Education Policy Act and the 1979 Education and Training Act. In practice, the system of differentiated education was primarily intended to reconcile these needs. The concepts of flexibility, balance and educational responsibility in principle 4 could be said to counter the stress on authority and a collective, Calvinistic responsibility in C.N.E. (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, pp.82-84).

The concept of flexibility enshrined in the second group of principles is extended by principle 8, in that provision is made for a state-subsidized system of private education to cater for needs too diverse to be accommodated within the ordinary state system, however flexible. This reverses the trend followed by the Government in the last three decades. During this period no private schools received Government subsidies. Thus the principle points to a more open and varied system of education than the present uniform type of state education, and it involves a consequent reduction in state control over education. Although less state control over education decreases the possibility of an infusion of the whole system of education with C.N.E. philosophy, this principle would allow for the establishment of private C.N.E. schools with some financial support from the Government. In the same way, integrated multi-cultural private schools could be established (Olivier, 1982).

Principle 9 attempts to incorporate the idea of flexibility into the organisation and control of education. Its support of both centralised and decentralised control of education seems to reverse the trend towards

centralisation implemented by the Nationalist Government and supported by C.N.E. However, as it could be argued that the provincial and homeland education departments represent a form of decentralisation in the present system, the vagueness of these terms must be fleshed out by reference to the recommendations regarding the management of education.

The Work Committee: Education management (1981, (1), pp. 192-203) recommends a three-level structure of management with a single, national Ministry of Education at the first level to determine the educational policies which would be necessary to achieve the overall goal of equal education and which would be applicable to all the inhabitants of the RSA. The C.N.E. idea of a separate educational policy for each *volk* is eliminated by this proposal which reinforces the concept of commonality in principle 2. A considerable devolution of power and responsibility from the centre to the second and, especially, the third or local level of management is another proposal of the Work Committee. This is intended to produce the maximum involvement and representation of the "users" or "clients" of the education system and is a telling criticism of the present over-centralised, bureaucratic system of education administration. The Work Committee's advocation of negotiation, consultation and the participation of all the peoples, groups, authorities and organizations interested in the educational process is also expressed in its conception of a South African Council of Education, representative of all the "providers" and "users" of education, to advise the Minister on all policy matters. This Council negates the C.N.E. concept of white trusteeship over blacks. The idea of a flexible local level of management catering for the diversity of culture, religion and language, and the needs of children and adults, nevertheless, must, accommodate the C.N.E. philosophy of a particular community.

The third group of principles deals with the interlinking of the formal, non-formal and informal aspects of education and a joint state/private responsibility and involvement in their provision. The concern of principles 5 and 6 with the shared responsibility, choice and voice of individuals, parents, organised society and the state in education is reminiscent of the C.N.E. concept of the autonomous, complementary roles of the home, church, state and school in education. Furthermore, as in the case of principle 3, the importance of the parental role in education, one of major tenets of C.N.E., could be said to be accommodated in these principles.

Principle 6 recalls the announcement in late 1980 by the Minister of National Education that "compulsory, free state education" for Whites would be abolished (see Chapter 4). This principle refers to the responsibility of the Government to provide formal education for *all* its children, a stronger commitment in the area of black education than it has made before. The Government's obligation extends to providing compulsory and largely "free" education for nine years for all children, with the financial assistance of private individuals and organisations. Principle 7 extends the shared state/private sector responsibility and financial contribution into the sphere of non-formal education. This represents a change from the past, when the Government for a long time frowned upon the efforts of private organisations in non-formal education and did not become involved in this type of education itself. Thus principle 7 involves a new commitment by the State to non-formal education.

As we have already discussed in Chapter 4, the financial implications of this principle would not be inimical to C.N.E. theory with regard to white education, because this mentions the financial contribution of parents. The C.N.E. insistence that black education must not occur "to the cost of white education" is countered, however, by the idea that the Government must also provide "free" compulsory education for all blacks and even additional compensatory funds to eliminate backlogs in black education, and that in order to do so the "unrealistic" norms of white education must be pruned (H.S.R.C., 1981, (4)).

The last group of principles, concerned with the professional base of education, accord great importance to the status of the teaching profession and continuing research. The teacher is also given high status in C.N.E. theory as the parents' substitute with God-given authority. The idea of continuing research suggests, however, an education philosophy and system open to change and adaptation and this seems opposed to the conservative, authoritarian nature of C.N.E.

Taken as a whole, as the Main Committee urges, the eleven guiding principles represent a new dispensation for education in South Africa. Some of the principles continue familiar trends from the past but most contain the promise of new directions and emphases (Hofmeyr, 1981). As far as

C.N.E. is concerned, the principles collectively cannot be said to support it. The commitment to equal opportunities and standards in education for all, and the concepts of commonality and flexibility, stand in fundamental opposition to the intrinsic nature of C.N.E. and its doctrines of identity, segregation, white trusteeship and no equality between white and black. In the case of the de Lange Commission we are not dealing with the same situation as the 1967 National Education Policy Act which did contain a very general and non-specific form of the main tenets of C.N.E. In the principles of the de Lange Commission there is no mention of the Christian and National principles of C.N.E. or mother-tongue instruction. A case could be made for the inclusion of the parental role and the shared responsibility of the home, church, state and school in education, but these are not peculiar to C.N.E. and, without the other three tenets, cannot be said to constitute a C.N.E. influence. The most that can be said is that the principles allow for the existence of a C.N.E. philosophy in the same way as the concepts of flexibility and diversity allow for any other philosophy of education. Thus the principles can accommodate C.N.E. but they do not promote it. In fact, in terms of these eleven principles, it could be said that the State is withdrawing its previous sanction of the "permeationist" form of C.N.E.. Instead, provision is made for a return to the 19th century "confessionalist" form of C.N.E. as state-subsidized, autonomous, confessional schools. Financial assistance from the Government for such private schools would eliminate the perennial problem of a lack of funds that the C.N.E. movement faced in the past.

It is clear from other sources outside the principles themselves that the Main Committee opposed any incorporation of C.N.E. philosophy in its Report. In response to the author's question about the influence of C.N.E. on the Report, Professor de Lange (1982) intimated that allowance had been made for different philosophies of education by principles 2, 3 and 8 particularly, but that the Main Committee believed that "cultural imperialism should not be committed in education" as a result of a central government decision in favour of one philosophy of education. Another member of the Main Committee, Dr K B Hartshorne, in a public address (1982) on the de Lange Commission, emphasized that what is important about the principles is what they do not contain - and that is C.N.E..

When the Work Committee: Education principles and policy published its draft principles for public comment, it received a number of submissions urging that a commitment to a Christian and national character be incorporated in the principles (1981, (2), pp. 137-138). However, the Work Committee did not accept these proposals:

> ...the fact is that no reference to "Christian" as such is made in the Constitution and, as positive recognition of the religious aspect is incorporated in the principles, the work committee did not accept this proposal. In respect of the principle on patriotism the committee felt that it would cause an infringement of its authority.

It is true that the report of the Work Committee: Recruitment and training of teachers (H.S.R.C., 1981, (13)) does show the influence of a C.N.E. life and world-view. This Work Committee was constrained by the notion of necessarily separate *onderwysgemeenskappe* and the distinctive ident of each cultural group. Consequently, it was unable to consider the problems of teacher supply and education from a national perspective in terms of the needs of the whole country (Hofmeyr and Lewin, 1982). It is interesting to note, however, that when the Main Committee published its Report as a summary of the main findings and recommendations of all work committees, it did not incorporate this C.N.E. bias. In the section on the recruitment and training of teachers this resulted in recommendations of such vagueness and generality as to be inadequate guidelines for any new system of teacher education (Hofmeyr and Lewin, 1982). In one area of the Main Committee Report (1981, (2)) there is evidence of a tension between the "new" and the "old" way of looking at education. An important discrepancy occurs in the terminology used in the Committee's discussion of the concept of equal quality in education. In Chapter 2 equal quality education is advocated for *all, every inhabitant*. In Chapter 5, reference is made to equal quality education for the different *population groups*. The same ambivalence occurred in the Cabinet's request to the H.S.R.C. to conduct its Investigation into Education, because both terms, *inhabitants* and *population groups*, were used. The difference in terminology can have significant implications: for example, the consideration of educational norms or criteria in terms of each individual as opposed to each population group. The latter could result in a "separate but equal" system of education for each population group,

and many commentators charge that these would inevitably be separate and unequal. In the light of all the evidence to the contrary, it is unlikely that this discrepancy represents the influence of C.N.E.'s concern with separate cultural groups. It is probably just a reflection of the present reality of the system of *apartheid*.

Although C.N.E. does not appear in the principles of de Lange Commission it did show itself in the reaction to the Commission's Report. The Government made its stand clear in its Interim Memorandum on the Report of the de Lange Commission. It announced that it accepted the eleven principles of the Commission subject to five points of departure which concern the Government's commitment to:

- the principles of a Christian and a national character for the education of each population group, with due regard to the right of self-determination of each population group;
- the principle of mother-tongue education with allowance for the special problems of certain population groups;
- separate education authorities/department for each population group, although the need for co-ordination is recognized;
- separate schools for each population group, although individual and parental freedom of choice is accepted;
- the prevailing constitutional framework.

The Government reiterated its commitment to improving the quality of education in the RSA and achieving education of equal quality for all population groups. It also announced that it would delay its decision on recommendations in the de Lange Report until an Education Working Party had had time to receive public comment on the Report, consider the comments and the Report's recommendations, and advise the Government. In essence this reaction seems to constitute a reaffirmation by the Government of the principles of C.N.E. and the policies of *apartheid*/separate development.

It seems likely that the Interim Memorandum was a bid to pacify the restive right-wing of the National Party, and that the appointment of the Working Party was a delaying tactic to sound out public opinion and marshal support. It is also ironical that in many cases the de Lange Commission's principles and the Government's five provisos are mutually contradictory and cancel one another out, and the many qualifications around the provisos make any clear interpretation of the Interim Memorandum impossible.

The right-wing reaction to the de Lange Commission was far more unequivocal and reactionary than that of the Government. In March 1982 at the *Volkskongres* in Bloemfontein, the Afrikaners' right to separate schools and education authorities, mother-tongue education and Christian National Education were voted by 89,6 per cent to 5,4 per cent to be non-negotiable (Olivier, 1982). Although the congress "passed" the Government's Interim Memorandum on the Report, a rider was added to the resolution holding the Government to the five provisos without exception. The eleven principles of the de Lange Commission were accepted on condition that the standard of white education may not be sacrificed, that C.N.E. principles be adhered to and that the Commission's principles be interpreted educationally and philosophically. Besides the fears that these conditions reveal, another major worry, that educational reforms would lead to constitutional reforms and a "unitary state", was articulated (Dempster, 1982). Thus this right-wing Afrikaner gathering of representatives from the Dutch Reformed clergy, the teaching profession, academica, the *Broederbond* and women's organisations took up an almost pure C.N.E. stand on the de Lange Commission. All the main elements of C.N.E. are in the delegates' reaction.

By contrast with this reaction, in February 1982 a conference in Grahamstown of mainly English speaking delegates felt that the de Lange Report had the potential to provide the tools for meaningful reform of the present education system. A vocal minority felt that the Report did not go far enough and that educational reform would remain an "idle dream" without social and political reform (Moolman, 1982). This response to the Report is echoed among black groups. Many black educationists fear that the de Lange Report will be interpreted to their disadvantage (Education Reporter, 1982).

The Government, caught between the two poles of public opinion, continues to aver that it has not rejected the Report and that its recommendations are still being seriously considered. To what extent the de Lange Commission's main thrust towards equal quality education for all the inhabitants of the RSA will be implemented, however, is open to question.

CONCLUSION

In the course of its two hundred-year history C.N.E. altered its support of the independence of the parent and child in private, confessional schools to an espousal of state-controlled education in the interests of the Afrikaner *volk*. This fundamental shift in the movement's focus belies the claim that C.N.E. adherents have made for the historical continuity of the philosophy (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p.108). The re-direction policy gave rise to the 1948 *Beleid*, the most important formulation of C.N.E. theory in the 20th century, in terms of the consensus among C.N.E. supporters it represents, and its predication upon the accession to power of an Afrikaner nationalist political party. The scope of this C.N.E. manifesto embraced most aspects of education involving the white and black groups of this country.

In the sphere of white education the *Beleid* formulated several essential principles: the Christian-National basis of Afrikaner education; the mother-tongue medium and cultural separation; the moulding of the child by the Afrikaans Christian teacher; and the balanced, complementory roles of parents, church, school and state in education. These principles amounted to an education which was nominally confessionalist but increasingly emphasized the state's role and in practice was largely secular and nationalist. As C.N.E. became more closely interlinked with Afrikaner nationalism and its accession to power in 1948, so it became a doctrine of ethnic hegemony in which language was a major educational and political factor.

The application by the Nationalist Government of C.N.E. principles to White education resulted in a system of compulsory mother-tongue education in unilingual schools and increasing state control. The separation of the two white language groups into two closed cultural circuits allowed the definition and preservation of Afrikaner identity. An exclusive Afrikaner education with Christian-National indoctrination promoted the vigorous growth of Afrikaner nationalism. As a result of Afrikaner domination of all aspects of public life and the creation of a state-controlled national education policy for whites in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the influence of C.N.E. permeated the public school system.

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The Christian-National policy towards Black education embraced certain distinctive features: complete segregation of the races; instruction in the vernacular; reintegration of national life around *Bantofteit;* Christianization; and the key role of the Whites and especially the Afrikaners, as the divinely-appointed trustees of the Blacks with a responsibility for their education. These principles reflect the Afrikaner's concern with his own language and membership of a *volk,* translated into the Black context. As in the sphere of White education, the initial stress of the C.N.E. theorists on the preservation of Bantu identity on religious grounds gave way to a more secular interpretation in the reformulated C.N.E. doctrine, which emphasized a linguistic definition of political community and enhanced the role of the state.

In the hands of the National Government, C.N.E. became one of the powerful influences on the system of Bantu Education which brought about a centralised, secular, state administration of Black education, under Afrikaner domination, within the overall scheme of *apartheid.* Bantu Education aimed at the preparation of Blacks for a different and subordinate status in the life of the country. Consequently the system limited Black participation in the total society and manipulated the entry of Blacks into modernity in the interests of white supremacy.

After 1948 education was a vital instrument in the construction of a political order dominated by white Afrikaners, and it was generally viewed by the Nationalist Government as "a means of maintaining separate identities, languages and roles which coincided with colour and race" (Shingler, 1973, p.294). With the passage of time, however, both the black and white systems of education became increasingly unacceptable and inadequate in terms of the challenges facing them. The consequent crisis in education led to the appointment of the de Lange Commission to design a new system of education for all the inhabitants of the RSA. The principles formulated by this Commission envisage a new role for education in South Africa - a more politically neutral, unifying, flexible and egalitarian one.

A review of the time-period of this research project reveals some ironic twists. The last three decades are bounded by two Commissions, the Eiselen and the de Lange, and the appointment of the latter was largely a response to the educational problems created by the former. The history

of C.N.E. in the time-period also reveals an ironic circular change in the relationship between the state and parents. Whereas in C.N.E.'s early history the primacy of the parents' responsibility for the child's confessional education was upheld and the influence of the state was limited to financial support, by 1948 the role of the state in directing and controlling education in the interests of Afrikanerdom was emphasized and parental rights played down. In the Report of the de Lange Commission, however, the predominance of the state has been diluted and parental freedom of choice, involvement and responsibility in education once again asserted.

In general the influence of C.N.E. on the principles underlying educational legislation could be said to have declined recently. A justification of this argument would point to the compromising of certain C.N.E. principles in Black education, the less noticeable effect of C.N.E. on White education in the last decade, and the avoidance of a C.N.E. bias in the principles of the de Lange Commission. From its waning influence it could be assumed that C.N.E. is perhaps a spent or inappropriate ideology for the times. This is indeed suggested in recent literature on Afrikaner nationalism.

Shingler (1973, p.42) makes the telling point that Christian-Nationalism, formulated as a strategy for the survival of the Afrikaner volk, strained under many tensions and pressures when it had to serve as a doctrine of dominance. On the basis of a programme worked out before it came to power, the National Party passed legislation concerning the franchise, reserves, industry, churches and education. These laws met with great resistance and necessitated further repressive legislation to enforce them. The "exigencies of office" took their toll of the ideology. Secular nationalists, like P.J. Meyer and G.D. Scholtz, tried to sustain the government and its policies in their writing, but the criticism mounted on three fronts: the relevance of race and colour, the definition of "nation" and the meaning of Christianity. In the late 1950s theological and philosophical attacks on Christian-Nationalism by writers, such as Ben J Marais, B B Keet, P J Pistorius and N P van Wijk Louw, forced a re-examination and re-evaluation of its doctrine.

Shingler's line of argument is supported by other writers. W de Klerk (1975, p.341) also focuses on the challenge presented to Afrikanerdom from within its ranks by academics testing the validity of the political

order: "The *Volk* has long since ceased to be the homogeneous whole it seemed to be in the early fifties. The dissident Afrikaner, the angry Afrikaner, the philosophical Afrikaner, are all in the centre of a national anguish". Within this spiritual turbulence de Klerk sees the possibility of renewal.

The relationship between politics of power and ideology is discussed by du Toit (1975, p.50). He believes that in the contemporary South African situation, when the ideology of *apartheid* is associated with Afrikaner nationalism, it produces a type of troublesome "ideological lag" which increasingly interferes with the on-going requirements of pragmatic adaptations to political and social change. This suggests that the *apartheid* ideology and Christian-Nationalism, as one of its main elements, are inappropriate ideologies given the present political realities. Du Toit poses some crucial questions: will Afrikanerdom be willing or able to compromise ideological coherence and cultural identity in favour of white supremacy and economic privilege; and in the long-term will Afrikaners continue to insist on exclusive political power as a precondition for these, or will they be able to share power in a more open and pluralistic society?

Similar questions and themes are addressed by Adam and Giliomee (1979). They stress the current crisis of Afrikaner power caused by the black challenge and demands of economic growth. The policy of coercion is inadequate against the power of urban, politicized blacks and the costs of apartheid are rising. Furthermore, the priority of economic growth entails a measure of economic, social and political liberalisation. The ideology of separate development, therefore, has fallen on bad times and the idea of reform necessitates a search for a new legitimacy and new strategies.

Adam and Giliomee (1979) contend that the mobilization of Afrikaners as a political class and the entrenchment of Afrikaner power and privilege were crucial to their rise to power. Conversely, in the current crisis they see the ethnic demobilization of Afrikaners as essential for the development of alternative political structures. They believe that P.W. Botha is attempting to do precisely this in his efforts to forge new alliances with business in order to create a bourgeois party and government. The inevitable consequence of such a strategy is the jettisoning

of the Afrikaner working class by the National Party.

Like Adam and Giliomee, many commentators stress the force of Black nationalism's challenge to the Government: "Now the two nationalisms stare one another in the face with a grim determination" (Villa-Vicencio, 1978, p.49). The power of the black consciousness movement is highlighted by Troup (1976) in a discussion of the paradoxical effects of Bantu Education. On the one hand, this system of education was successful in buttressing the *apartheid* system and maintaining white domination through its cultural, technical and spiritual impoverishment of the entire Black community. Yet, on the other hand:

> "The militance of the Black students, their energetic and outward looking approach to their own educational concerns and to the cause of the liberation of their people, coming as they do from a generation which has known only the schools, and colleges, the curricula and methods of 'Bantu education' as introduced a generation ago by the Nationalist government, demonstrate the failure of that policy to condition the majority of the Black intelligentsia to acquiesce in their imposed inferiority" (p.65).

The failure of Bantu Education to fulfil its intended goals, particularly in the sphere of higher education, is also pointed out by Nkomo (1981). Disturbances in Black South African universities in the last decade seem to be partially the result of Bantu Education policies which have spawned a "culture" among the students that contradicts the Government's ultimate aims: "Education appears to have become one of the principal disintegrative agents of the South African system" (p.137). Outside the official curriculum, external factors, like the decolonization process, also seem to have exerted a powerful influence on this culture. Nkomo believes that it is unlikely that the Government will be able to either control the culture or abolish higher education for Blacks, and therefore the interplay of these forces constitute a catalyst that may contribute to the demise of the apartheid system.

In view of the powerful counter-vailing forces of ideological challenges, economic demands and political realities discussed above, and the quiescence or absence of C.N.E.'s influence in recent developments, it would seem quite reasonable to deduce that Christian-Nationalism is "dead". In the light of the reaction to the de Lange Commission, however, this would be too facile

a conclusion: the strength of support for C.N.E., as evidenced by the Government's Interim Memorandum and the *Volkskongres*, is too great. Obviously C.N.E. is very much "alive and well and living" amongst certain Afrikaners.

The juxtaposition of the de Lange Commission's non-promotion of C.N.E. and the reaction in C.N.E.'s favour prompts some interesting questions about the present state of Afrikanerdom and this ideology. Both the de Lange Commission and the *Volkskongres* are representative of the views of Afrikanerdom: Afrikaners outnumbered the other members of the Main Committee, and the *Volkskongres* was supposedly a gathering of the whole Afrikaner *volk*. It seems, however, that the *Volkskongres* represented only conservative right-wing Afrikaner views. The congress was held soon after the right-wing breakaway from the National Party by Dr. A.P. Treurnicht and his supporters to form the Conservative Party. Newspaper reports underline intense, behind-the-scenes, political manoeuvring by this group to "steamroller" the *verlig* voice and dictate the nature of future educational change (Dempster 1982(a)). Most of the delegates were *verkramptes* (Afrikaner conservatives). *Verlig* reformists were in the minority and claimed that the congress represented only a portion of Afrikanerdom (Dempster, 1982(b)).

Clearly, there is a split in the ranks of Afrikanerdom. No doubt the de Lange Commission represents the views of the *verligtes*, and the *Volkskongres* those of the *verkramptes*, and the Government is caught in the middle. As a result it engages in contradictory activities like accepting the principles of the de Lange Commission and issuing the Interim Memorandum in an effort to placate both the right and left wing of the *volk*.

And the state of C.N.E. at present? A conclusive answer to this question is not possible now. The problem is so contemporary that any attempted answer can be only speculative. It does seem that at present C.N.E. is still held very dear by right-wing Afrikaners, who perceive it as "the true lifebuoy of Afrikaner identity", and fear that it will be submerged beneath "a tide of integrated, equal and un-Christian teaching and relegated to a position as the educational philosophy of 18 per cent of South Africa's people" (Weaver, 1982, p.21). For many other Afrikaners, however, C.N.E. appears to have lost its appeal. For the most part, therefore, when C.N.E. is not threatened it probably lies dormant, but once it is attacked it rears its head.

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