

CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION, 1880-1990

M. Cross

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1994

CONTENTS

CONTENTS	i
DECLARATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS	
ABSTRACT	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
The purpose of the study	3
Rationale	6
Outline of chapters	10
Methodology	17
CHAPTER 1: TEXTS, DISCOURSES AND IDENTITY	22
Texts, silences and the study of identity	23
Texts, silences and power	27
Conclusion	29
CHAPTER 2 : CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM, AFRIKANER IDENTITY AND SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1980-1948: FROM SURVIVAL TO DOMINANCE	32
Christian Nationalism: Definition	34
General political background	36
Forging the concept of the <i>volk</i> or Afrikaner nation, 1881-1901	40
Defining the ideological context, 1902-1924: CNE and the survival of Afrikanerdom	43
The <i>Taalstryd</i> in the context of anglicization, 1900-1909	46
The struggle for political hegemony, 1910-1948	50
The role of "cultural" organizations	55
Christian National Education: Refining the concept	61
Conclusion	65

CHAPTER 3: MILNER AND SMUTS: COLOUR, IDENTITY AND SCHOOLING, 1900-1924	67
The origins of the policy of racial segregation in education, 1860-1924	68
The ideological climate under Milner's reconstruction policy, 1902-1910	74
The making of a segregationist discourse	79
State intervention and the entrenchment of segregation in education, 1902-1910	81
Early segregationist reforms in African education, 1903-1912	85
"... putting the character and content of the education given on a more rational basis ..."	86
Conclusion	93
CHAPTER 4: CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM, COLOUR AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION, 1910-1990	95
Afrikaner nationalism and African schooling	97
The Holloway Commission (1930-1932)	106
The Eiselen Commission (1951)	108
The Tomlinson Commission (1955)	110
The new intelligentsia: Merging CNE and social theory	117
Conclusion	121
CHAPTER 5: CULTURE, ETHNICITY AND "RETRIBALIZATION" IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1948-1986	123
Shaping separate African identities: some origins	125
Framing separate ethnic identities: Policy and responses	130
Responses to the "homeland" policy	137
Education for <i>popagano</i> and nation building in Bophuthatswana	146
The crisis of the homeland policy	149
Past images and new ideals: The search for a new identity	150
Conclusion	157
CHAPTER 6: THE CRISIS OF CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION, 1981-1992	159
General background	160
A second trek? "Organized culture" and the struggle for the survival of Afrikanerdom	166
The new intelligentsia and the search for a new identity	174
"We must make a new beginning. We must make a new start to a new future."	176

The race/class dilemma in the public school system	185
Conclusion	190
CHAPTER 7: LIBERALISM, CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA	191
Liberalism: The concept	192
Period 1881-1910: The influence of the Cape liberal tradition	196
Period 1910-1948: "Adaptation" versus total segregation	198
Social and educational research, 1920-1948	198
"Race psychology" and African educability	201
The concept of "adaptation" in African education	211
Re-defining the nature of liberal identity	212
The 1957 "Multiracial Conference"	215
The rise of economic liberalism	217
Conclusion	224
CHAPTER 8: NEO-MARKSISM, THEORY AND IDENTITY, 1970- 1990	226
From "history without politics" to "history without passion": The historiographical revolution of the 1970s	229
Neo-Marxism in South Africa: Its theoretical frontiers	230
Against economic reductionism: Social history or "history from below"	233
Revisionism in education: The political economy of education	234
The case against liberal discourses in education	236
Culture, schooling and society	238
People's history	242
Class analysis revisited	246
Radical discourses in South Africa: Future prospects	247
Conclusion	250
CHAPTER 9: AFRICAN NATIONALISM, SCHOOLING AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1884-1990	252
Moderation and liberal reformism, 1886-1943/8: Early African "modernisers"	255
The role of the press	260
Africanism and Charterism, 1948-1976	273
Africanism: "Africa for the Africans by the Africans"	274
The Freedom Charter: "A people's charter by the people for the people"	276
Black Consciousness: "Black man you are on your own"	278
Seeking to recreate a lost identity, 1948-1976: The role of the arts	283
Conclusion	286

CHAPTER 10: YOUTH, POLITICS AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION	288
Youth, culture and identity: A conceptual framework	290
Literature on Youth in South Africa	295
Youth, culture and identity in South Africa, 1888-1990: An historical perspective	298
The disintegration of pre-colonial African cultures, 1884-1939	299
The emergence of black urban cultures, 1939-1955	300
The emergence of urban black youth cultures, 1955-1976	301
Gangs and resistance politics, 1950-1976	302
The development of a youth resistance movement, 1976-85	303
The crisis of the youth resistance movement and the resurgence of urban street gangs, 1985-1990	305
The resurgence of youth conformist and middle-class subculture, 1985- 1990	309
Conclusion	311
CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION	316
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	330

DECLARATION

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



05 day of September, 1994.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of any major study is always more than an individual effort. With this in mind, I would like to extend my gratitude to the following people for their thoughtful criticism, suggestions and support throughout the researching and writing of this dissertation.

My supervisor, Professor Peter Randall, was particularly helpful in raising substantive and stylistic questions related to the content and presentation of the material. Linda Chisholm read parts of this dissertation in its different stages and provided valuable comments. Not only has she had a profound influence on my intellectual growth, but it was through her that I became sensitized to the critical issues discussed in this dissertation. Her thoughtful comments were, and continue to be, a source of inspiration for my work. Constant reminders from my colleagues Penny Enslin, Pam Christie, Francine de Clercq and Shirley Pendlebury, about the need to complete this study, provided strong encouragement.

The work of David Cohen set a new intellectual project of which this dissertation represents a preliminary effort.

I would finally like to extend my gratitude to my wife Albertina and children, Michael and Eunice. It is to them that this dissertation is dedicated.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACUMSA	Curriculum Model for South Africa
ANC	African National Congress
APK	<i>Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk</i>
ABCCS	African Brotherhood and Commercial Co-operation Society
ASAP	All Schools for All People
ASB	<i>Afrikaanse Studentebond</i>
AV	<i>Afrikanervolkswag</i>
AWB	<i>Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging</i>
BCMA	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
BMIS	Becoana Mutual Improvement Society
BPP	<i>Boerevaat Party</i>
BPC	Black People's Convention
CNE	Christian National Education
COSAG	Concerned South Africans Group
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	Conservative Party
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CYL	African National Congress Youth League
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
FAK	<i>Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings</i>
GK	<i>Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid Afrika</i>
HNP	<i>Heerenigde Nasionale Party</i>
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICNE	Institute for Christian National Education
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
LP	Labour Party
MDALI	Music Drama Arts and Literature Institute
NGK	<i>Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk</i>
NIPR	National Institute for Personnel Research
NP	National Party
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
SABRA	South African Bureau of Racial Affairs
SACESR	South African Council for Educational and Social Research
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SALP	South African Labour Party
SAMCI	South African Mines, Commerce and Industries

SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
SANNC	South African National Native Congress
SAP	South African Party
SASO	South African Students Organization
TECON	Theatre Council of Natal
TIC	Transvaal Indigency Commission
UP	United Party
VEKOM	<i>Volkseenheidkomitee</i>

ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the forging of identities in twentieth century South Africa. It is undertaken within the discipline of history of education, but, given the complexity of the topic, the writer has adopted an interdisciplinary approach, drawing where appropriate on the methodologies provided by other disciplines.

This study explores the mechanics of "othering", which Spivak calls domination or struggle "in and by words". This means that imagery-making and the symbolic representation of identities are not neutral intellectual activities. They are forms of action with implications for the affirmation of desire, power and interests in society. The study highlights the manner in which notions of difference and diversity, and representation of others, embedded in dominant educational discourses, were used to legitimate privilege and hegemony for whites and oppression of blacks. Through a shallow nationalist self-image, which romanticized the purity, superiority and strength of Afrikanerdom, Afrikaner nationalists not only used "culture" to represent themselves as superior and different from others but as a group with particular characteristics by virtue of which they claimed exclusive rights and citizenship.

With a more moderate stance, South African liberals avoided the imputation of racial inferiority to blacks. Instead, they emphasized cultural and educational differences with reference to which they defined individuals' rights and potential equality of Africans with Europeans. Neo-Marxists proposed a project of radical democracy, which privileged a working class identity determined by class struggle. The study contends that the era of 'privileged subjects' in a historical sense has long been superseded. Future identities must be thought about within a horizon of possibilities different from that suggested by the short-lived neo-Marxist school.

In response to the exclusivist nature of dominant discourses, Africans generally rallied around discourses which emphasized inclusiveness and commonness of all South Africans. They developed a new imagery rooted in their past, imagined fellowships and idealized futures.

The study has direct implications for current politics of nation-building and reconciliation. It draws attention to the fact that nation-building in South Africa is not a new idea. It has been used in different ways, at different times, by various social agents to pursue goals diverse from those of the present nation-building project. For this project to succeed, particular attention should be given to the past.

INTRODUCTION

Culture has dominated educational debates, policy and school practices throughout the history of South African education. Since the early days of "Native Policy", culture, particularly European culture - interchangeably conceptualized as civilization - has been regarded as central to the process of policy-making in education and as a criterion for access to civil and political rights. For example, Cape liberals at the turn of the century regarded assimilation and acculturation through schooling as the most effective strategy for selectively granting those rights to blacks - this has been known as the "educated franchise". With the expansion of liberal ideas, early African "modernizers" came to place great stress on the assimilation and adaptation of European culture by Africans through schooling, in order to be accommodated within the existing social order.¹

Thereafter, dominant discourses of culture became characterized by notions of "race/civilization" in the early missionary period and concepts of "Bantu culture" developed by social anthropologists in the 1920s and 1930s. This culminated in the construction of "ethnic cultures" or ethnic identities among 'Bantu' people in the 1950s and 1960s. Underlying this intellectual history were the attempts made by Christian National Education protagonists to define cultural boundaries and mould separate identities among the different racial and ethnic groups which constituted South African society. They attempted to do so by imposing a racially segregated education system in South Africa and enforcing a Calvinist and Christian National Education philosophy,

¹ Note that "European culture" has been constantly portrayed as superior to any African cultural forms. See for example Sir Alfred Milner, 'The Watch Tower Speech', in C Headlam (ed.), *The Milner Papers, South Africa 1899-1905*, Vol.2 (London: Cassel, 1933), p.467; ER Brueclaner, 'Curriculum implications from the changing culture and civilization of the South African native', PhD thesis, Columbia University Teachers College, 1933) 2 vols; Neil MacVicar, 'Western civilization and the Bantu', *Jeffreys Pamphlets*, Ref. 252ROB/P, Cape Archives; and RE Philips, *The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1938), pp.12-13).

whereby different cultural groups should have different and separate schooling systems. As white supremacist ideologies dominated education policy, the ruling group came to see culture as an important factor for legitimizing segregated schooling for blacks, and excluding blacks from mainstream political, social and economic life in South Africa. This explains why struggles against the apartheid system frequently assumed the form of opposition to apartheid education and, in particular, opposition to particular forms of discursive representation² and imposed identities.

Cultural discourses had profound implications for policy formulation and practice. For example, the reorganization of schools and the imposition of "colour bars", in 1905-1908, curriculum reforms in the 1910s and increasing state intervention in African schooling, had as a major concern the need for African schools to adapt to the "African's own possibilities, needs and aspirations", i.e. to "Bantu culture", the colonial construction of African identity. The formulation of the concept of "Bantu culture" and of its varied and contradictory images reflected the desire, power and interests of the Afrikaners and white supremacists in their efforts to consolidate their hegemony. It was thus a necessary moment in their self-constitution as a dominant and oppressive group. In this process, the complicity of the intellectual in reconstituting the Other - the black majority - as the Self's shadow of the white minority became notorious.³

The education reform which followed the publication of the Eiselen (1953) and Tomlinson (1955) Commissions reflected the changing social identities and the newly-forged constructions about the nature of "Bantu culture".⁴ Drawing on the accounts of "Bantu culture" provided by certain social anthropologists like Eloff, Nel and Cook and inspired by the doctrine of Christian National Education (CNE), apartheid policy-

² Representation here is used in the sense of "speaking for" as in politics. For further details about this concept see GC Spivak, 'Can the subaltern speak?', in C Nelson and L Grossberg, Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1988), p.275.

³ The concept of Self refers to the definition of one's group identity as different from the identity of the Other, i.e. the identity or set of identities to which the Self is articulated.

⁴ See Chapters Four and Five for details.

makers began to paint a fragmented picture of "Bantu culture" and to privilege the importance of ethnicity and ethnic cultures in the process of schooling. This meant that within the boundaries of "Bantu culture", several ethno-linguistic cultures such as Zulu, Tswana and Sotho could be identified. Generally, schooling for Africans came to be seen as part of a "retribalization" process through which "Bantu" people would finally recover their tribal or ethnic identities and remain on the periphery of the apartheid society. These identities would ultimately be consolidated into ethnic nationalisms.

However, the culture of resistance sparked by contradictions within the schooling systems and the wider political economy entailed an "agency" free from the bonds of the segregationist and apartheid discourse which paradoxically helped to make it. This was expressed through the problematization, critiquing and deconstruction of the imagery of identity portrayed in dominant forms of representation. The question as to how Afrikaners represented themselves and Africans became increasingly important among African intelligentsia. In their dialogue or intellectual confrontation with the dominant forces, they created new images and forms of self-representation. In the process of self-constitution, they began to disclose and know the discourse of the group's Other, the nature of its denigrating images and the nature of the identities it portrayed.

The purpose of the study

This thesis explores discourses of identity, images and modes of discursive representation in their interaction in education, and the associated struggle for the constitution and hegemony of group identities over years.⁵ It focus on the mechanics of constitution of the Other and on what Spivak would call domination or struggle "in and by words", in the sense that images and representations of identity, the

⁵ The constitution of identity can be defined as the process of constitution of the self which materializes only by reference to an other, from which the self can be distinguished. See Alletta J Norval, 'Against a theory of ethnicity: Thinking political identities in a post-apartheid context', Paper presented to the conference on 'Ethnicity, identity and nationalism in South Africa', Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 20-24 April 1993, p.5.

intellectual construction of a group's Self and a group's Other, are not a neutral intellectual activity. They are also action and practice with profound implications for the affirmation of desire, power and interests within society. The thesis shows that the question of group identity has dominated the history of intellectual and cultural production in South Africa, particularly within the educational field.

It is argued in this thesis that nationalist white supremacist groups tended to foster images and representation processes which claimed different identities for whites and blacks. On the one hand, they placed emphasis on a shallow nationalist self-image and romanticized the purity, superiority, strength and destiny of the Afrikaner nation. On the other, they reduced the subordinated, oppressed, "peripheral", or "marginalized" Other - the African - to a simple God-given resource for the realization of that destiny.

The construction of social identities followed two main logics: the logic of difference and the logic of equivalence.⁶ In terms of the logic of difference, each group or social identity was portrayed as being merely different from the other and as occupying a specified place in the social hierarchy (e.g. Afrikaner, English and Zulu identities). Most importantly, only the differential aspect is stressed while the relations of domination and subordination, i.e. the relations of power on which the latter are based, are systematically ignored.⁷ In terms of the logic of equivalence, the Other was portrayed as a threat (e.g. the notion of *swart gevaar* - black danger - introduced by Malan in the 1948 election, the idea of "total onslaught", the notion of opposition as

⁶ I borrow these terms from a debate between Norval and Laclau. See Alleta J Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', in Ernesto Laclau, New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time (London, New York: Verso, 1990), p.138.

⁷ Note that relations between groups are constituted as relations of power. Each group is not only different from the others but constitutes in many cases such difference on the basis of the exclusion and subordination of other groups. See Ernesto Laclau, 'Political frontiers, identification and political identities', Paper presented to the conference on 'Ethnicity, identity and nationalism in South Africa', Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 20-24 April 1993, p.8.

equivalent to communism or revolution).⁸ It is the outside or what is externalized which, by threat or other means, makes the emergence of an inside possible.⁹

Caught between these two opposite poles and in their interaction with black people, liberals vacillated between attempts to construct an authentic Other - the tribal, uneducated and righteous African - and the appropriation of the Other by assimilation. In their early expression, liberal discourses avoided the imputation of inferiority to blacks and emphasized instead cultural and racial differences. Africans were "primitive" and "uneducated", therefore, undeserving of equality or potential equality in a common society. In this case, for example, the educated African could theoretically be accepted as part or extension of the broader white and dominant group. Therefore, in their discursive construction of identities, liberals portrayed the Other in terms of either the nationalist logic of difference - terrifying images of non-educated Africans - or the logic of equivalence - images of educated Africans. Africans were thus regarded as a society in decomposition and transition from inferior/traditional societal forms to superior/modern forms. Those who had reached this last stage could as a result be integrated into the dominant society. Experiences and characteristics associated with the self-identity of the dominant race and class were privileged in the constitution of the Other.

In contrast, African oppositional and nationalist groups have generally rallied around modes of representation which emphasize a wider national identity for both whites and blacks. With the increasing alienation of black people from mainstream economic, political and social structure, a variety of responses developed among blacks, ranging from the radicalization of political cultures, and worker activism, to *tsotsism* (street gang culture). In these complex processes, the dividing lines of social identities shifted, new boundaries were established and new social identities constructed, particularly among young people. However, the fact that the modes of

⁸ Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', op cit, p.138. Note that Afrikaner identities have also been re-constructed by other groups in terms of equivalence and through barbaric images of "Boer", "laager mentality" and so forth.

⁹ Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', op cit, p.155.

representation or the discursive formations generated by these responses reflected concerns with the apartheid discourse, generally gave them a relative national flavour. Thus concerns with a common national identity have been beyond the dividing lines of their identities. Nonetheless, new trends have emerged with recent political competition.

The thesis will highlight the intricate and complex historical processes through which black South Africans have been socialized into distinct racial and ethnic groupings, and through which discourses of separate, comparable "traditions" and "cultures" have dominated educational policies and practices in South Africa. It will show that representational modes of identity have hardly been the exclusive attribute of dominant institutions and agents. Similar, re-created or alternative discourses, symbols and meanings have characterized African representational practices. African intellectuals, labour and political activists have either appropriated and recreated dominant discourses or created a new symbolic world, with its own logic, to pursue their own political and economic aspirations. By focusing on culture, the thesis will attempt to unravel a critical terrain where the forging of identities has taken place through restoration of pasts, imagining of fellowships and definition of futures.¹⁰

Rationale

This study was inspired not only by personal research interests but also by historiographical trends in current educational research, which have concentrated almost exclusively on the process of schooling under apartheid and on resistance to apartheid education while neglecting the dynamics of cultural production and cultural reproduction in education.¹¹ In contrast to the existing accounts of culture and schooling in South Africa, which have concentrated on criticizing the notions of

¹⁰ An idea borrowed from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1983), p.140.

¹¹ Note also that because identity does not necessarily follow the logic of class and class relations, it has not been dealt with adequately by the rich revisionist literature produced in the 1970s and 1980s.

culture and schooling put forward by Christian Nationalists and fundamental pedagogicians, this thesis discusses discourses of culture with reference to prevailing policies and practices within the educational system.¹²

Methodologically, the thesis rests on the following epistemological and theoretical foundations:

Firstly, it takes **history** as its point of departure with regard to the problem of social and cultural transformation. Whatever reality society has is an historical reality. Great political projects have failed because they did not take into account the reality informed by an intellectual command of the particular historical and contemporary circumstances. As Marx pointed out:

[History] is nothing but the succession of the separate generations, each of which uses the materials, the capital funds, the productive forces handed down to it by all preceding generations, and thus ... continues the traditional activity in completely changed circumstances with a completely changed activity.¹³

¹² See for example P Enslin, 'The role of fundamental pedagogics in the formulation of educational policy in South Africa', in Peter Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid and Education (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984); P Enslin, 'Science and doctrine: Theoretical Discourse in South African teacher education', in Mokubung Nkomo (ed.), Pedagogy of Domination (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990); L Chisholm & P Randall, 'Which history of which education? A critique of metagogics', Perspectives in Education, 7(2), 1983; PC Luthuli, The Philosophical Foundations of Black Education in South Africa (Durban: Butterworths, 1981); and PC Luthuli, An Introduction to Black-oriented Education in South Africa (Durban: Butterworths, 1982); PNG Beard & WE Morrow (eds.), Problems of Pedagogics (Durban-Pretoria: Butterworths, 1981); L Chisholm, 'Problems in South African educational research' (Association of Sociologists of South Africa Regional Seminar paper, Mafikeng, April 1985); Fidela Fouche, 'Pedagogics: A philosophic method or a parasitic ideology?', SA Journal of Education, 2(4), 1982; WE Morrow, 'The voice of the people?', Perspectives in Education, 6(2), Sep 1982; and WE Morrow 'Philosophies of education in South Africa', Parts I and II, SA Journal of Education, 4(1 & 2), 1984; and M Dorgan, 'Culture and schooling in South Africa', University of the Witwatersrand, PhD thesis, 1992.

¹³ Karl Marx, 'Conclusions from the materialist conception of history: History as a continuous process, history as becoming world history, the necessity of communist revolution', in John Elster (ed.), Karl Marx: A Reader (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1986), p.182.

Secondly, the thesis re-asserts the centrality of history as a method of inquiry. This is particularly important because the practice of conceptualizing the problems of the present and future historically has not yet penetrated with success much of the political and educational thought in South Africa.¹⁴ As Nkomo has pointed out:

The future is embedded in the present as the present bears imprints of the past. Therefore, any project that is designed to contemplate a reconstruction of the future of education in a transformed South Africa must first be grounded on a firm understanding of the genesis, evolution and the nature of the current educational arrangement and the crisis it produced.¹⁵

Thirdly, the thesis emphasizes a concept of totality as the territory of dialectical thinking, more specifically the conception of social phenomena in their entirety and interrelatedness and not as conglomerates of fragmented and isolated parts. For example, while some approaches would treat segregated departments of education (African Education, Coloured Education, Indian Education) as autonomous entities and take the uniqueness of their empirical organization in the natural world as something given, this thesis is firmly based on the idea of a relationship between them. Thus the South African education system is conceptualized as a whole, whose individual and concrete parts reveal their dialectical essence precisely in the qualitative differences between them and in the continuous transformation of their objective structures and institutions.¹⁶ This is also applicable to the existing cultural traditions in their interrelatedness and in their dialectic with schooling processes. Similarly, identity construction is essentially a dialectical process. Discursive formations are ensembles of articulations marked by contradictions "since the unity of the discursive formation is not given through a logical coherence of its elements,

¹⁴ See Peter Randall, 'The role of the History of Education in teacher education' (PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989).

¹⁵ Mokubung Nkomo, 'Post-apartheid education: Preliminary reflections', in M. Nkomo (ed.), Pedagogy of Domination: Towards a Democratic Education in South Africa (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990), p.291.

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion of this perspective see Georg Lukacs, 'Technology and social relations' in New Left Review, (39), 1966.

but through articulatory practices which combine the elements in a certain way and around a number of nodal points".¹⁷ To put it differently, discursive formations are dynamic, unstable and open to articulation and re-articulation. They are in a constant struggle where there is weakening of dividing lines or shifting of boundaries between discourses and a proliferation of floating signifiers.

Fourthly, this thesis is an expression of concern with an unresolved paradigmatic battle in cultural studies between two traditions: (1) one that views cultural and educational processes as passive movements determined by the changes in social and economic structures - class relations - with no space for active social intervention by individuals; and (2) one which, with delightful simplicity, asserts that men have heads and brains and can hence act as they choose. Of course it is the real human being, the thinking, willing and acting person, with feelings, needs and interests, who constitutes the precondition for social change. However, people's actions are as much their creation as they are a product of past human history. Schumpeter's argument on this point is worth quoting:

of course men "choose" their course of action which is not directly enforced by the objective data of the environment; but they choose from standpoints, views and propensities that do not form another set of independent data but are themselves moulded by the objective set.¹⁸

Finally, it is hoped that this study will shed some light on the question of culture in the context of educational reconstruction by highlighting relevant lessons from the past.¹⁹ The explosion of ethnic and national identities in Eastern Europe and the territories of the former USSR, new forms of pluralist protest and self-assertion in the USA, ethnic-based rebellions in Angola, Mozambique and Nigeria, and ethnic tensions in Kwazulu (Msinga), have made the question of identity a theoretical puzzle

¹⁷ Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', op cit, p.141.

¹⁸ JA Schumpeter, 'Marx the sociologist', in Tom Bottomore, Interpretations of Marx (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p.52.

¹⁹ Note that identity construction very often had strategic impact which permeated the whole South African society.

which requires urgent solution. Particularly in South Africa, practice without an historically-informed theoretical basis runs the risk of merely perpetuating the oppressive social order.

Outline of chapters

Chapter One deals with educational texts and discourses. It explores the problems they pose and the possibilities they offer for the study of identity construction. It argues that all agencies which in education and particularly in schools influence the individual's consciousness are of crucial importance for understanding the dynamics of identity construction. These include not only the official curriculum and syllabuses, and textbooks and classroom practices, but also elements of the hidden curriculum, particularly practices in activities such as sports and the various extra-curricular activities, modes of representation, school and national symbols, emblems, prayers, commemorations, exhibitions, film and slide shows, plays and features of school ethos, including school organization, school uniform and school discipline.²⁰ A careful examination of these aspects will certainly highlight important features of the processes of identity construction.

Chapter Two scrutinizes the mechanics of construction of Afrikaner identity as an opposition to the English-speaking sectors of society, who were perceived as representing British capital, imperialism and liberalism. It shows how the Afrikaner nationalist discourse has evolved from one of survival to one of domination marked by definitions of "pure" Afrikanerhood which included only white Afrikaans-speaking people. The Afrikaner nationalist discourse emerged between 1881 and 1901, with a

²⁰ One could, equally, note the approach suggested by Auslander:

...in paying attention to the critical importance of commodity forms in emerging ideologies of cultural propriety and authorized histories, let us remain committed to seeking out the less obvious, hidden voices and histories which these consciously constructed forms of knowledge seek to marginalize or erase. (Mark Auslander, 'A trademark for Nc'wala: The politics of emblems, commodities, and "cultural authenticity" in Ngoni historical consciousness', The Institute of Advanced Study and Research in the African Humanities, Northwestern University, Evanston, 3 March 1993, p.54)

distinctive historiography which mobilized Afrikaners to think of themselves as a distinct people with a common culture, identity and destiny. The concepts of Afrikaner nation and Afrikaner identity received particular attention in all spheres of life, particularly education. They were seen as crucial in shaping an Afrikaner nationalist consciousness. The Anglo-Boer (1899-1902) crisis sparked general mobilization of Afrikaner people for resistance against British imperialism and British anglicization policies, which culminated in the development of the Christian National Education (CNE) Movement. The educational debate reflected this struggle for the survival of Afrikanerdom and for the preservation of Afrikaner linguistic and cultural traditions.

Chapter Three analyses the political foundations of a Native Policy in South Africa during Milner's reconstruction period. It focuses on those issues which affected the formation of racially segregated schooling systems based on supremacist ideas, promoted by Milner's Reconstruction Administration, and on the cultural claims made for such systems. It shows how the Victorian discourse of "civilizing mission" gradually gave place to the concept of culture in the dominant educational historic. It argues that the logic of difference with reference to which images and modes of representation of African identity were constructed in dominant discourses was completely established and accepted during the British reconstruction regime. During this period, the British authorities tried unsuccessfully to build a national white identity by uniting Afrikaners and the English into a "white *volk*" by the differential treatment and peripheralization of Africans. They attempted to build white unity and minimize English/Afrikaner antagonism in terms of a black/white divide, the rejection of equal rights and the franchise for blacks, and the consolidation of white privilege in social and labour relations. However, while the main line of division remained that separating blacks and whites, the distinctiveness of Afrikaner and English identities prevailed until other attempts to create a "white *volk*" were made by the ruling National Party after the 1948 elections.

Chapter Four examines the re-constitution of Afrikaner identity in terms of black/white opposition. The struggle for survival articulated by the CNE Movement was

followed by the Afrikaner struggle for political hegemony within the ruling forces in the 1924-48 period. In contrast to the previous concern with the survival of Afrikanerdom, the doctrine of Christian National Education became associated with the need for Afrikaner pre-eminence in the state and with the restructuring of relations between whites and blacks. Christian National Education principles were refined, systematized and disseminated throughout the country. Racism and segregationist ideologies developed during Milner's reconstruction regime were appropriated to constitute part of the nationalist discourse on African education and social identities.²¹ Those who participated in the scientific movement of the 1920s and 1930s saw their major task as to highlight and, very often, emphasize the intellectual and cultural differences between whites and blacks, which eventually influenced policy formulations in African education and legitimized the racial policies of the government.

Attempts were also made, this time by agents of Afrikaner nationalism, to widen the political frontiers and create a new identity by uniting Afrikaners and English into a "white *volk*" or white nation *vis-à-vis* the black threat.²²

Chapter Five discusses attempts to reconstruct black identities in terms of a logic of difference with the introduction of notions of "ethnic groups" as constitutive of

²¹ Leonard Thompson, The Political Mythology of Apartheid (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.26-27.

²² The concept of political frontier is used by Laclau in his whole approach to the question of hegemony. Laclau argues that it is through the consolidation and dissolution of political frontiers that a historical bloc is constructed and fragmented. Political identities are constructed via the drawing of political frontiers. Political frontiers can only be drawn by externalising an other, which is constituted as opposed to the identity of the self. As Norval puts it, 'the positing of an other is what allows for the closure which facilitates the 'cerning' of a certain identity' (see reference below). For example, in his view the history of apartheid has been the history of the political frontiers through which Afrikaner identity was established. Laclau also suggests that there are two other important dimensions with reference to which the category frontier may be understood. First, the presence of frontiers is inherent to the political; there is no politics where there are no frontiers. Second, politics is part of the very terrain of the constitution of social relations, i.e. any social identity has a political character. See Ernesto Laclau, New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time (London, New York: Verso, 1990), pp.160-61; Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (London: Verso, 1985), pp.127-134); and Norval, 'Against a theory of ethnicity...', *op cit*, p.6.

"Bantu" people. It shows how the major cultural constructs examined in the previous chapters were accommodated by the state and formed a basis for its educational policy. The concept of culture, which emerged in the 1920s and 1930s in social anthropology as a function of race, acquired another meaning, that of a fossilized "ethnic identity" or the peculiar way of life of an ethnic group. Culture, which was seen as an instrument and an indicator of social upliftment in the Victorian age, came to be seen as a timeless body of values, lifestyles, norms and beliefs, a philosophy of life or world view of an ethnic group. It became a God-given gift to be preserved and protected through political, educational and social instruments.²³ Culture and tradition were romanticized to inculcate ethnic-nationalist identities dividing South African society. With these developments, the Christian National Education principle that cultures, languages and traditions of the various ethnic groups that constitute South African society should be preserved and institutionally protected, and develop separately, found expression in the policy of bantustanization, the highest stage of white supremacy in South Africa. The question of otherness was reviewed and the question of colour redefined. With the rejection of the idea of a "multi-racial" state, suggested by the United Party in the 1950s, as equivalent to "white suicide", South Africa came to be projected as a "multi-national" state from the 1960s, in which blacks comprised culturally and ethnically different groups.

Chapter Six looks at the crisis of identity within the *volk*²⁴ connected with the increasing complexity and fluidity of frontiers, particularly the increasing weakening of the original black/white frontier, which led to a proliferation of points of antagonism within Afrikanerdom. This generalized crisis of social and political identities did not emerge from a single point. It was a result of an overdetermination of several circumstances and cannot be conceptualized as pertaining exclusively to the Afrikaner nationalist discourse, wholly separate from other discourses operating in

²³ Norval refers to the emergence of a technocraticism attempting to de-politicize areas of potential conflict by constructing differential, non-antagonistic identities, a task which has proved to be a difficult one for the National Party ('Letter to Ernesto', op cit, p.146).

²⁴ The term *volk* (people) is a signifier used to refer to those positive differential identities by which the separateness of the Afrikaner group is constructed.

the social the. The crisis of Afrikaner nationalism must be placed against the whole social and political matrix which forms what Derrida²⁵ would call the "constitutive outside"²⁶ or in Norval's words "the discursive exterior", i.e. the pressures from the social groups that lie beyond the unstable frontier of white and Afrikaner identities - extra-parliamentary groups, trade unions, youth movements and so forth, as well as the constraints imposed by the organic crisis facing South Africa.²⁷ This is the most important site from which the inside/dominant block is challenged and threatened.

The state under Vorster and Botha responded to the crisis through new measures of inclusion and exclusion. For example, labour and influx control reform split blacks into two groups: the privileged urban insiders, recognized as permanent residents of "white" South Africa, and the homeland outsiders. Indians and Coloureds were given political representation at the national level in a tri-cameral parliament, in a move to disengage them from the black majority and broaden the support basis of the dominant bloc in the face of a revolutionary threat. They received the right to administer education for Indian and "coloured" people as an "own affair".

Chapter Seven discusses the role of South African liberal discourses as associated with the construction of particular social identities. It argues that liberal discursive formations have been characterized by attempts to split the dominant bloc and by persistent attempts to disarticulate the discourse of the ruling National Party.

Chapter Eight examines the radical intellectual movement of the 1970s and 1980s dominated by neo-Marxist conceptions of society, culture and schooling in South

²⁵ For a discussion of this concept see J Derrida, 'Racism's last word', *Critical Inquiry*, (12), 1985.

²⁶ A "constitutive outside" is an "outside" which blocks the identity of the 'inside' and a prerequisite for its constitution at the same time. To illustrate this Laclau quotes Saint-Just as saying that "What constitutes the unity of the Republic is the total destruction of what is opposed to it" (*Reflections...*, op cit, p.21). In this sense, for example, the identity of the "New South Africa" can only be constructed with reference to what is blocking it, the legacy of apartheid, which is part of the conditions of existence of that identity.

²⁷ Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', op cit, p.136.

Africa. It looks at the emergence in the discourse of the left of new camps and social identities based on class frontiers and driven by conflict and their implications for the project of radical democracy and national question in South Africa. It shows how the adoption of the Marxist theory of class and class struggle, which emphasizes the essential unity of the social agents around interests, has led to the construction of new privileged historical subjects for the project of radical democracy - working-class, the comrades, the people, and so forth.

The economic boom experienced by South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s and the subsequent economic recession and crisis in the early 1970s were followed in academic circles by important theoretical and methodological attempts to review and revise traditional forms of social analysis. This marked the beginning of a revisionist historiography in Southern African studies, representing the first most significant challenge to constructions forwarded by liberal and conservative analyses in South Africa. A common feature in this new school of thought was the attempt to apply the tools provided by a Marxist political economy and the historical materialism in social studies. As the term indicates, revisionists have undertaken the task of reviewing and revising traditional theories and methods which in the light of the new events in South Africa came to be seen as inoperative and irrelevant. In reviewing and revising traditional theories, revisionists have formulated and suggested completely new perspectives and alternative frameworks for approaching social issues in Southern Africa. However, it appears that, particularly in South Africa, the discourse of the left has already exhausted the possibilities of mastering the problems that the complexity of dismantling apartheid poses unless it finds its way within radically new forms of interrogation of the social, i.e a new problematic.²⁸

Chapter Nine examines the question of identity construction within the discourses of the African elite, with focus on nationalist movements. It explores the ways its responses reflected the complex processes of acculturation under an education

²⁸ In Laclau's terms " 'problematic' means precisely that: a coherent system of questions constituting the ground upon which the debate between radically different perspectives may take place" (*New Reflections...*, op cit, p.162).

dispensation designed to marginalize Africans on grounds of race and culture. Responses by blacks to the educational debate have been highly dominated by the nature of African politics. Christian Liberalism, dominant within influential sections of the African middle class during the first half of the century, came under fire with the emergence of militant nationalism from the late 1940s, which placed education in the context of the struggle against apartheid.

Chapter Ten analyses the processes of cultural change and shifting identities among black youth with reference to experiences in four main areas of social activity: family, school, work and street. This is an illustrative chapter designed to highlight the complex processes of appropriation and rejection of dominant discourses in the context of youth resistance to apartheid education. The chapter pursues the argument that the increasing alienation from the prevailing economic, political and social structure has produced a wide variety of cultural responses amongst black youth, particularly black urban youth. The expression of these responses ranges from oppositional cultures manifested through disaffection from school work, classroom disobedience, school boycotts, "stay-aways" and absenteeism, to social crime and street-gang life, activities that oral and documentary evidence suggest have occurred with some continuity during the past two decades. All these activities constitute the basis of three main forms of identity discourses: (1) *tsotsi-ism* with its different nuances;²⁹ (2) middle-class cultural rebellion and reformism; and (3) comrade-ism.³⁰ A common thread in all these discourses is the emphasis on a common national identity.

In the conclusion, the thesis explores the main theoretical implications of the arguments developed in the above chapters for the construction of a unitary South African identity as a new historical bloc and a new hegemonic order emerge in South Africa. It is suggested that the project of a unitary identity in South Africa entails the

²⁹ *Tsotsi-ism* refers to street-based identities generally expressed in street-gang culture.

³⁰ Comrade-ism refers to the discourses binding all those who have been involved in the struggle or oppositional movements.

questioning and re-articulation of the political identities of all forces and actors involved, such that no single identity can be kept pure and intact. It also implies the recognition that in such a process the Other is constitutive of the Self. However, the dialectic between the Self and the Other, the identity and alterity, can be determined only in the context in which "the 'post' [in post-apartheid] is thought".³¹

Methodology

Some of the material in this thesis has appeared in the following publications, but has been significantly revised and rewritten for the purpose of this study:

- 'A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment' in the British journal Comparative Education, 22(3), 1986, pp.185-200;
- 'Open the parcels and check inside before you stick on the labels: A reply to Penny's "Is the dominant tradition in education in South Africa a liberal one?"', Perspectives in Education, 8(3), 1985, pp.27-53;
- 'Youth culture and resistance in South African education: A theoretical review', Perspectives in Education, 12(2), 1991, pp.33-48;
- 'The foundations of a segregated schooling system in the Transvaal, 1900-24', History of Education, 16(4), 1987, pp.259-274;
- with L. Chisholm, 'The roots of segregated schooling in twentieth-century South Africa', in Mokubung Nkomo (ed.), Pedagogy of Domination - Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), pp.43-74;
- 'Education for national culture in South Africa: Problems and possibilities', in D Freer (ed.) Towards Open Schools: Possibilities and Realities for Non-racial Education in South Africa (Macmillan, 1991);

³¹ I would like to thank Norval for this theoretical insight. For details see Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', op cit, p.156.

- 'Catholic 'open' schools in the Transvaal, 1976-1986: The road to non-racial education in South Africa', in the Australian journal Education and Society, 5 (1&2), 1987, pp.65-77;
- 'Youths, culture and politics in South African education: The past, present and future', Youth & Society, 24(4), June 1993, pp.377-398.

A preliminary attempt to integrate these writings systematically has been published in book form as Resistance and Transformation: Culture, Education and Reconstruction in South Africa (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1992).

This thesis is undertaken within the discipline of history of education, but given the complexity of the topic, the writer has adopted an interdisciplinary approach, drawing where necessary on the methodological strategies provided by other disciplines, particularly sociology and comparative education, without, however, neglecting the historical dimension.

The study is based on four main research strategies: (1) an extensive review of literature on culture and schooling in South Africa; (2) a detailed examination of primary and relevant secondary sources; (3) interviews with a selected number of people; and (4) direct observation. The literature review includes a general scrutiny of South African educational historiography to highlight debates and approaches to culture and its role in schooling.

The main bulk of written empirical data was obtained from commissions of inquiry, reports of evidence, reports of education departments and authorities, school magazines, newspapers and periodicals, school curricula and correspondence, civic association records, and teacher and student organization records. Most of these records are located in the following archives: University of the Witwatersrand, Africana Library, the Church of the Province of South Africa Library and the Howard Pim Collection; University of Natal, Killie Campbell Africana Library; Johannesburg Public Library; Pretoria State Archives; Northwestern University, Africana Collection; and Cape Town, Cape Archives Depot.

A major problem during the research process was the question of oppositional discourses, predominantly expressed by black South Africans. First, these are not part of a systematic intellectual discourse, but a set of practices and patterns of behaviour which have characterized African responses and reactions to European contact. Written accounts by the educated African elite are very limited in quantity and address only topical policy issues. Further, any account of the intellectual history and responses of an underprivileged group to the dominant order requires a methodological approach different from that ordinarily employed by historians. Since the control of manuscripts and printed evidence by other parts of society is considerable, most documentary sources present a biased and distorted historical account. This study attempted to minimize this problem by paying particular attention to the words of elderly people who themselves have been actors in the educational scenario. Thus official accounts of African responses and reactions to the dominant educational ideology were confronted with and assessed in the light of the reminiscences of some elderly people. For this purpose, biographical records and employment histories provided important information.

Second, oppositional cultures in education express themselves in terms of changing attitudes and behaviour, forms of organization, ideals and values, lifestyles, militancy or activism. As such, there are three main dimensions to be considered in tracing the roots of oppositional culture in its interplay with schooling: (1) the school environment including sources of intellectual and cultural discourse (school curriculum, forms of literature available, hidden curriculum, use and control of leisure-time, cultural circles); (2) family, community and township environments; (3) the changing political economy of schooling in South Africa. Direct observation was thus an important strategy to make sense of recent trends and developments of oppositional cultural discourse in these contexts.

Through an examination of the township, school and family environments, the writer was able to establish correlations between dominant and hegemonic forms of discourse, on the one hand, and prevailing discourses and practices within the oppositional groups, on the other. The experience of class and race relations in

everyday life of South African blacks was of great significance in shaping their consciousness and identity.

Thirdly, culture develops concepts popular amongst the actors but very often dismissed by theorists. As South African blacks, including the educated elite, have been marginalized from mainstream theoretical history, this thesis pays especial attention to the language and concepts used within African circles, though not accepted by dominant education theorists, and tries to incorporate them into educational theory. These concepts have enormous potential for generating a more firmly grounded basis for an understanding of the complexity of the schooling process in South Africa. This is crucial for an analysis of the concepts developed in the context of educational struggles since 1976. These can be best understood by decoding the symbolic style displayed in these struggles and working back to their social base. The great advantage of grounded concepts is that they express directly the motives and meanings of the people whom they purport to describe.

A focal area for observation in this symbolic style is related to the patterns of rejection and assimilation of dominant educational concepts and cultural forms expressed by the struggling youth. Besides the expressed political discourse, it is on the level of lifestyles and aesthetics - in the dress, dance, music, reading interests, forms of interaction and the whole rhetoric of style - that one can find the dialogue between the oppositional and the dominant culture, albeit concealed in code. By watching, describing, and deciphering these forms, one can construct an approximate account of the oppositional features of culture in South Africa.

The interviews were conducted with a number of elderly people, particularly teachers or ex-teachers, and with a number of youth, using the life history approach. The author spent some two years working with youth in the Youth Leadership Development Programme, particularly youth leaders from a wide range of organizations: youth clubs, youth congresses, the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and church organizations.

Translations from Afrikaans to English were commissioned to several people at different stages of my research. I refer to these translations as "private translation".

CHAPTER ONE

TEXTS, DISCOURSES AND IDENTITY

This chapter discusses the importance of educational texts and discourses in the study of identity construction. It argues that all factors which help in the dissemination of culture in schools - more precisely the agencies which act upon and shape the individual's consciousness - represent an important basis for understanding the dynamics of identity construction in education. These factors are of three main categories: (a) the official curriculum, textbooks and classroom practices; (b) the more subtle, less obvious, hidden and commodified forms of intervention such as sports and the various extra-curricular activities; and (c) systems of representation and symbols such as the national anthem (*Die Stem/Nkosi Sikeleli*), emblems, the assembly, prayers, commemorations, exhibitions, film and slide shows, plays, and features of school ethos, including school organization, school uniform and school discipline.¹

A careful scrutiny of these aspects will certainly unravel the dynamics of cultural discourses, practices and socialization in schools, and thus highlight the processes of identity construction. However, for this project to materialize attention should be given to the informal processes of production of knowledge by students, parents and other non-professional agents, i.e. the practices of knowledge production outside the

¹ See footnote 20, Introduction, page 10.

academy or discarded by it as unscholarly. This is an important area of investigation which has been ignored by social scientists, disregarded by the canonizers of scientific activity and consequently shadowed by almost complete silence within the academy. Therefore, there needs to be a radical review of the existing methods and processes of knowledge production as recognized by the academy.

Texts, silences and the study of identity

To unpack cultural texts and their different representational forms, one must understand the different settings in which production of culture takes place (the location of cultural texts) and the complex processes through which cultural texts are produced. For this purpose, the study of cultural organizations, which keep the ideological world in movement, is central.² Cultural institutions and organizations which help in the dissemination of culture include schools and churches, newspapers, magazines, the book trade, and private educational institutions which are complementary to the state system, or cultural institutions like popular universities.³ These operate in conjunction with professions with cultural activity such as medicine, the army, law and teaching.

In The Combing of History, which, to my view, represents a radical shift in contemporary historiography, Cohen writes:

I did not feel inclined to enter anew the literatures on historiography: the theory of history, the philosophy of history, the varieties of history, historical imagination, the history of historical writing ... these were and are thematic fields that I think of when I hear the word "historiography" ... to me at the time, and still today, the realm of historiography so construed is reserved for an arena of scholarly practice on the reconstruction of the past. As a field of scholarly activity, "historiography" privileges the written document and the

² Clarke et al, 'Sub-cultures, cultures and class', in T Bennet, G Martin, C Mercer & J Woollacott (eds.), Culture, Ideology and Social Process - A Reader (London: Open University Press, 1986), p.54.

³ Ibid, p.194.

learned and scholarly literatures on the past developing over centuries. It omits ... the practices of history outside the academy.⁴

He goes on to appeal for recognition of the ways through which people popularly process the past outside the work of the guild or academy. The recognition of this, he argues, has dramatic consequences: (1) it frees history students from narrow understandings about the nature of history, historical evidence, historical writing, and what should constitute history; (2) it discloses "a far more spacious, (clearly broad, yet sometimes unmapped)", and "challenging view of history - of the telling of the past - in which it is recognized that there are **multiple locations of historical knowledge**";⁵ and (3) it opens clear horizons about the forms and directions of historical knowledge. From this point of view, questions about history production become broader questions about who is listening to whom, and about who controls vocabularies, grammars, and symbolic materials in the telling and writing of history.⁶ Real and imagined audiences intervene in the production of history in powerful ways, introducing critiques, rereadings, corrections, value, and meaning.⁷ The new paradigm also frees historical inquiry from the limitations and constraints imposed by the overemphasis of expert knowledge on written texts. Indeed,

Historians and others interested in contact between literary and non-literary traditions can hardly live with the simplifications and reifications involved in the simplistic dichotomy of written and oral.⁸

Or as Chartier puts it,

... what readers make of their readings in an intellectual sense is a decisive question that cannot be answered either by thematic analyses

⁴ David W Cohen, *The Combining of History* (Chicago University Press: Forthcoming), p.34, manuscript. The title is a metaphor in which the "comb" represents simultaneously "the power to cover and usurp knowledge from inspection, but also the power to restore it in practice" (p.427).

⁵ Ibid, pp.37-38.

⁶ Ibid, p.376.

⁷ Ibid, p.425.

⁸ Ibid, p.403.

of printed production, or by analysis of the social diffusion of different categories or works. Indeed, the ways in which an individual or a group appropriates an intellectual theme or a cultural form are more important than the statistical distribution of that theme or form.⁹

The model suggested by Cohen has dramatic implications for the handling of cultural discourses and texts in the study of identity. By bringing attention to silences and by liberating silenced voices, it widens the scope of production of historical knowledge to include all kinds of settings beyond the formal and institutional structure of the academy. It thus makes it possible to map out the interface of cultural discourses and other intervening forces in the process of identity construction. It provides a paradigm for an understanding of the workings of the various forces and audiences in society in the process of formation and presentation of school knowledge as well as responses to this knowledge.

Indeed, the production of history¹⁰ and culture is not just a privilege of the academy; it takes place in different kinds of settings: formal institutions of the "guild" - forums, seminars, exhibitions, festivals, parades, workshops, symposia, conferences, lecture series and publication projects - in several public institutions such as the library, the schools and curriculum, dinner dances, forms of radio broadcasting, labour unions

⁹ Roger Chartier, 'Intellectual history or sociocultural history? The French trajectories', in D LaCarpa and L Kaplan, (eds.), Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), p.30.

¹⁰ "Production of history" is a key concept in Cohen's work, which he defines as follows:

The production of history - a frame of reference that is intended here to augment the conventional senses of meaning of history and historiography - refers to the processing of the past in societies and historical settings all over the world and the struggles for control of voices and texts in innumerable settings which animate this processing of the past. This field of practice - the production of history - encompasses conventions and paradigms in the formation of historical knowledge and historical texts, the organizing sociologies of historicizing projects and events including commemorations, the structuring of frames of record-keeping, the culturally-specific glossing of texts, the deployment of powerfully nuanced vocabularies, the confronting of patterns and forces underlying interpretation, the workings of audience in managing and responding to presentations of historical knowledge, and the contentions and struggles which evoke and produce texts and which also produce historical literature. (Cohen, op cit, pp.425-26)

The concept of production of history has a double meaning: "how understandings of history are created and shaped, and how history itself is made".

and their organizers, film, television and newspapers, photography, and in memorials and commemorations, re-enactments, museum exhibitions, popular biographies, and advertising, i.e in all institutional and popular processes with some bearing on the covering/uncovering, revealing or suppressing of historical and cultural knowledge.¹¹

The influence of these institutions and processes on schooling processes can be illustrated by the holiday resort *Shakaland*, which started as one of the film sets for the television mini-series, *Shaka Zulu*, became a "bush camp" and was converted into an educational centre. Large numbers of black school children visit the resort, in which, it is claimed, they are exposed to a "unique Zulu experience" and a cross-cultural experience which promotes understanding between racial groups.¹² The inadequacies in the present history curricula and the absence of suitable materials for teaching beyond the curricula will certainly increase the importance of cultural institutions such as *Shakaland*.¹³

¹¹ Cohen, op cit, p.377 and p.421.

¹² CA Hamilton, 'The real goat: Identity and authenticity in *Shakaland*', paper presented at the Institute for Advanced Study and Research in the Humanities, 24 February 1993, p.12 and p.20. In Hamilton's view *Shakaland* "does not seek to authorize a return to tradition, but promotes instead an appreciation of 'Zuluness' in diverse forms" (Ibid, p.20).

¹³ Hamilton argues correctly that:

Shakaland offers more than a compendium of knowledge, both arcane and relevant, that fills the gaps in the textbooks and satisfies the curiosity and the growing public appetite for a new history. It presents itself as providing a cross-cultural experience, an experience that is denied to many South Africans by Apartheid (Ibid, p.24).

However, in a complex terrain such as South Africa where neither teachers nor students are adequately prepared to read texts such as those offered by *Shakaland* or those proposed by Cohen - film, museum, theatre, commemorative activities and so forth - and translate them into knowledgeable meaning, there needs to be a radical critique of the established approaches to teaching and learning, and a critical pedagogy to account for the complex relationships through which texts are constituted as sources of knowledge.

Texts, silences and power

Another important feature of Cohen's model is related to the effects or influence of silences on identity construction. People do not respond to the stimulus only of what they see or are told. Consciously or unconsciously people increasingly show concern, respond to and come to believe in what they do not see or are not told: the hidden aspects of knowledge and the silences. Sometimes people become sceptical towards canonized forms of knowledge, particularly their impact on the individual's empowerment, and shape their consciousness as they grapple with the reality and the complex questions raised by silences. One would certainly agree with Cohen that:

To take up the question of silence is at the same time to take up in a very specific way the general problem of how people handle and deploy knowledge. This is a complex moral and ethical ground. (Cohen, *op cit*, p.430)

The above discussion on the question of silences brings some light to the nature of the interface between dominant and subordinate discourses and modes of representation. It makes it possible to determine the nature of the struggles and dialogue between dominant and subordinate voices in the production, selection and presentation of school knowledge. As Macherrey has pointed out:

What is important in a work is what it does not say. This is not the same as the careless notation "what it refuses to say", although that would in itself be interesting: a method might be built on it, with the task of measuring silences, whether acknowledged or unacknowledged. But rather this, what the work cannot say is important, because there the elaboration of the utterance is carried out, in a sort of journey to silence.¹⁴

Academics have a propensity either to consider texts as having attributes which may not appear as evident to outsiders, or to ignore attributes which would have appeared to those same outsiders as being inextricably part of those texts. This is not only because to some extent they are a human mirror which reflects a particular

¹⁴ Pierre Macherrey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. Godfrey Wall (London: Routledge, 1978), p.87.

configuration of social relations in society but mainly because they have some bearing on the constitution of the same social relations.

Texts are not mere things, they represent dynamic relationships between people. The reification and fetishization of texts¹⁵ tends to mask the actual power and social relations which determine the process of production and presentation of historical and cultural knowledge. It is thus necessary to understand the dynamics of "story telling" to know what to make of the story as told in the text. This entails asking fundamental questions such as: Who is presenting the text? What is presented in the text? What is not presented in the text? Why is it presented in that particular way? What is expected from the text? and so forth. The subject of historical knowledge - the producer of knowledge - cannot be entirely separated from the object or the product and *vice versa*. Miller's concept of "objectification" is important to explain this aspect. He uses the term objectification

to describe the dual process by means of which a subject externalises itself in a creative act of differentiation, and in turn reappropriates this externalization through an act which Hegel terms sublation ... This act eliminates the separation of the subject from its creation but does not eliminate this creation itself; instead, the creation is used to enrich and develop the subject, which then transcends its earlier state.¹⁶

This means that there is no historical knowledge prior to the process through which it is created, though the process must take place in history and through the material and intellectual media given by history.¹⁷ This can be illustrated by the process whereby councils of elderly people in Gola society arrive at socially knowledgeable

¹⁵ The process whereby social groups are held to be unable to understand that texts (commodities) which they see as alien are actually of their own production.

¹⁶ Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1992), p.28. To some extent, Miller draws on Marx's concept of alienation and objectification as opposed to self-affirmation: "The object that labour produces, its product, stands opposed to it as something alien, as a power independent of the producer. The product of labour is labour embodied and made material in an object, it is an objectification of labour" (K Marx, *Early Writings* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p.324).

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.28.

constructs of the past or reconstitute past histories, which are then accepted as historical knowledge:

These histories, as we may call them, are constructed from the collective efforts of aged persons whose special skills are directed to arriving at a public consensus regarding the validity of past events and their meanings ... In litigation proceedings, for example, an interesting transformation takes place in the uses of historical data. Here, it is necessary to justify one's actions by an appeal to precise locations in time and space. In a matter involving land ownership each of the contestants is armed with a version of events in the past which are meant to validate his claim, and justification requires that a third party can be convinced of the reliability of one among a number of rival versions.¹⁸

Conclusion

Drawing on the important theoretical propositions made in *The Combining of History*, this chapter has argued that, to be effective, current studies of identity should go beyond the narrow scope and restrictive methodological parameters provided by the tradition of educational historiography in South Africa and explore the rich dynamics of knowledge production and socialization beyond the institution of the academy. This argument poses serious challenges to the radical educational historiography in South Africa which has been dominated by the "political economy of education" and by the social history/people's history/people's education paradigms.¹⁹ It calls for a model

¹⁸ See Warren L. d'Azevedo, 'Uses of the past in Gola discourse', *Journal of African History*, III(1), 1962, p.31. For further details on this issue see for example IM Lewis, 'Historical aspects of genealogies in Northern Somali social structure', *Journal of African History*, III(1) 1962, pp.35-48; William P. Murphy, 'Oral literature', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 7, 1978, pp.113-136; William P. Murphy, 'Creating the appearance of consensus in Mende political discourse', *American Anthropologist*, 92(1), 1990; and Igor Kopytoff (ed.), *The African Frontier - The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), ch. 'The importance of being first'.

¹⁹ Introduced in the early 1980s by radical historians and sociologists of education as a response to technocratic and technicist views of the education crisis in South Africa, it has become almost institutional in the main liberal and progressive schools of education. For more details see Chapters Four and Five. For a detailed review see M. Cross, 'A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment', *Comparative Education*, 22(3), 1986; M. Cross, *Resistance and Transformation - Education, Culture and Reconstruction in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1992), ch. 'Education in South African historiography'; Peter Kallaway (continued...)

which goes beyond the limited analytical scope offered by these paradigms and offers a more holistic approach to the practice of social science.²⁰ South African educational historiography has privileged and celebrated the authority of "the written document"²¹ in history production to almost mythical proportions.²² It has neglected the authority which regulates the selection and the uses of the written text. It has done little to account for the complex ways in which popular and institutional constructions of the past, and political suppressions of knowledge, shape, distort and deform the processes of knowledge production.²³

Finally, I would like to close this chapter with two main criticisms regarding *The Combing of History*. First, the proportions of the project suggested by *The Combing of History* seem almost impossible to handle. Every aspect of human activity becomes part of the "production of history". Indeed, the production of history is conflated with "the making of history".²⁴ Where does one draw the line between the "processing of the past" - constitution of historical knowledge in its wider sense - and the process whereby the participants make their own history?

While recognizing the dialectic between the two processes, this study conceptualizes the "production of history" in a more specific sense, as consciously articulated

¹⁹(...continued)

(ed.), *Apartheid and Education* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), Intro; and Peter Randall, 'The role of history of education in teacher education', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989.

²⁰ For details on "People's History" and "People's Education" see Chapter Eight. For further details see M Cross, 'Youth culture and resistance in South Africa: A theoretical review', *Perspectives in Education*, 12(2), 1991.

²¹ This is associated with crude empiricism, 'white-centredness' in focus and silence concerning African voices in their written or oral expression.

²² Given its ideological nature, education is obviously dominated by struggles for control of voices and texts in the processing of the past.

²³ Cohen, op cit, p.424.

²⁴ Ironically, Cohen himself states that the concept "production of history" has a double meaning: "how understandings of history are created and shaped, and how history itself is made" (Cohen, op cit, p.426).

activities whereby people process the past to constitute historical knowledge in its different forms - common-sense or abstracted knowledge. In this process, people make use of different kinds of texts, oral, written, aesthetic or artistic, to make sense of the past. A distinction is clearly drawn between the constitution of historical knowledge and the making of history.

Second, the project of the Combing of History appears somewhat incomplete. Production as a concept refers to the first step of a complex process, which includes **distribution**²⁵ and **consumption**. With the professionalization of history production, the distribution of knowledge has radically changed. A great deal of knowledge produced by the academy is for self-consumption. Where popularization of knowledge takes place, particular kinds of knowledge and texts are simplified to feed ordinary people. For those groups whose forms of production of culture and history have not been recognized by the canonizers, history is made under conditions of estrangement. This means that the external is created under conditions which ensure that the producer is unable fully to utilize culture and historical knowledge as an instrument for self-realization. In this sense, the problem is not just the lack of recognition of the role played by illiterate societies or the masses in general in the processing of the past, but also the inaccessibility of the immense body of knowledge produced by the academy.

²⁵ The term distribution refers to the exchange relations which mediate the process of objectification, i.e the expression of the relationships between goods and desires or human needs.

CHAPTER TWO

CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM, AFRIKANER IDENTITY AND SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1880-1948: FROM SURVIVAL TO DOMINANCE

Identity discourses in education in South Africa have been dominated by a battle between three main intellectual traditions: the nationalist-conservative, the liberal and the radical-neo-Marxist. The nationalist-conservative tradition dominated cultural historiography both before and after the consolidation of the apartheid system in education. Embedded in the doctrine of Christian National Education (CNE), this tradition tends to glorify traditional Afrikaner values and to promote Afrikaner nationalism. Although some of its central ideas have been shared by some educationists in English-speaking institutions,¹ historically it has remained predominantly an attribute of Afrikaans-speaking educational circles.

Calvinist theologians adapted Christian Nationalism to counter liberal educational policies in the 19th century Cape. They later reformulated it into Christian National Education to ensure the survival of the Afrikaans language and culture. After the proclamation of Union in 1910, the doctrine of Christian National Education came to reinforce the pre-eminence of the Afrikaners in the political arena. With the victory of the National Party in the 1948 elections, the doctrine of Christian National Education underwent yet another metamorphosis. What was designed as a strategy of survival of Afrikanerdom came to serve as a philosophy for dominance. As will be illustrated in the next chapter, it was the symbiosis of Christian National Education and the anthropological theory of culture contact which provided the ideological and theoretical basis for the policy of apartheid.

¹ For example, CT Loram, and PAW Cook.

The term "cultural historiography" is used to refer not only to the formal forms of historiography accepted by the academy but also to popular forms of production of historical and cultural knowledge such as the mass media, television, theatre and music.² Intellectual processes - of whatever kind - are part of a complex and unique history that is shaped by particular cultural and political traditions, and such traditions exert a powerful influence upon educational and scientific pursuit and *vice versa*. The writer will not necessarily navigate all these different segments of intellectual activity to pursue the argument developed in this chapter. The concept of "cultural historiography" is used to maintain consistency with the framework set for this study as discussed in Chapter One.

This chapter is designed to review the most significant stages of Afrikaner nationalist discourses in education in the years which preceded the 1948 elections, with a special emphasis on what has been said about culture, schooling and the identity of Afrikaners in South Africa. An attempt will be made to provide a critique and reassessment of the particular way cultural identity has been viewed in the context of the education debate in South Africa. In this account, I shall rely on texts by Afrikaner historians, educationists, commissions of inquiry, and political figures within the Afrikaner nationalist and youth movements.³ I shall closely scrutinize major trends in the intellectual history of the universities. As Lipset has noted:

Universities are ... the primary centres of intellectual life in modern society. They are, therefore, a key centre of criticism - criticism of the society, of the dominant trends in it, especially its politics, by sections of both the faculty and the student bodies.⁴

Four main forces have determined the development of Afrikaner nationalist discourses, namely, the Calvinist Protestantism of the Afrikaner group, the clash of

² See Chapter One.

³ Commissions of inquiry have a particular relevance in this study. They are both users and producers of knowledge. Because commissions address political issues, their reports reveal some of the ways in which knowledge is used for political purposes.

⁴ SM Lipset, in HW van der Merwe & D Welsh (eds.), Student Perspectives on South Africa (Cape Town: David Philip, 1972), p.3.

the Afrikaner people with the British, the perceived threat of an overwhelming black majority within the South African population and the struggle for power between various groups in South Africa.⁵ With reference to these forces, the development of Afrikaner nationalist discourses before the 1948 elections can be divided into the following main themes: (1) forging the concept of the Afrikaner *volk* or nation, 1881-1901; (2) defining the ideological context, 1902-1924: the CNE Movement and the survival of Afrikanerdom; (3) setting the terms of co-existence, 1910-1948: CNE and the question of "race relations"; and (4) the struggle for political hegemony, 1924-1948.

Before embarking on a detailed discussion of these themes I shall first discuss the meaning of the term Christian Nationalism, and then provide a brief general outline of the main political developments leading up to the Nationalist victory in 1948.

Christian Nationalism: Definition

The study of nationalism has been the object of a large volume of literature.⁶ However, nationalism remains a contested concept and, as Haas has pointed out, the definitions of nationalism can be compared to the proverbial descriptions of an elephant offered by a group of blind people who had each touched the beast in a different part of its anatomy.⁷ In this study, I shall use the definition developed by Kiss, who defines nationalism and nation as follows:

⁵ Mark F Dorgan, 'Culture, schooling and education in South Africa', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1991, p.38.

⁶ See for example, E Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); EJ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ernst Faas, 'What is nationalism and why should we study it?', *International Organization*, 40(3), Summer 1986; Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (New York and Cincinnati: Van Nostrand Company, 1965); Emil Niederhauser, *The Rise of Nationality in Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Corvina, 1981).

⁷ Haas, *op cit*, p.707.

Nationalism is a form of political consciousness which revolves around identification with and allegiance to a nation. A nation, in turn, is a group whose members consider themselves to have a shared culture and history and who in fact typically share one or more objective characteristics, such as language, ethnicity, race, or political history.⁸

Nationalism is always dominated by politics of difference and identity, very often claiming self-determination, citizenship, democracy and social welfare for a particular group, and emphasizing cultural exclusivity. In the case of Afrikaner Nationalism or *volks nasionalisme*, the ideas of a unique history, of speaking a distinct language and of being a *volk* with a divine calling were closely linked to the concept of nationalism.⁹ As Van Jaarsveld has pointed out,

The national consciousness, which, on the one hand, led to the discovery of their own language, led, on the other, to the discovery of their own history - to the language because it had to do with their nationality in the present and in the future, and to their history because it had to answer questions on their origin, background and destiny.¹⁰

Similarly, the concept of *volk* as interpreted by Afrikaners was a cultural concept and referred to a group of people with a common life-style and an experience of continuity based on shared history and tradition, common land, descent, custom, language, religion, social organization and political ideal. Christian Nationalism was a "theological defence" of Afrikaner Nationalism.¹¹ Calvinism as its main form of theology associated the idea of predestination with a sense of group mission and the

⁸ Elizabeth Kiss, 'Is nationalism compatible with human rights? Reflections on East-Central Europe', paper presented at the Institute for Advanced Study and Research in the African Humanities, Northwestern University, Evanston, April 8, 1993, p.4.

⁹ Johannes Degenaar, *Afrikaner Nationalism*. Occasional paper no.1, (Cape Town: UCT, Centre for Intergroup Studies, March 1978), pp.11-17.

¹⁰ FA van Jaarsveld, *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1868-1881* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1961), p.114.

¹¹ Charles Bloomberg, *Christian Nationalism and the Rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond in South Africa, 1918-48* (London: Macmillan Press, 1990), p.1.

notion that the Afrikaner is a God-chosen people - with Afrikaner Nationalism.¹² As Afrikaners gained prominence in South African politics, this notion provided the theological justification for Afrikaner hegemony and dominance in politics.

General political background

The Anglo-Boer War added to the legacy of bitterness arising from several incidents involving Dutch and British forces in Southern Africa, including the Great Trek (mid-1830s) and the first British attempt to occupy the Boer republics (1880-81). Following the cessation of hostilities at the Treaty of Vereeniging (1902), the two Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (re-named the Orange River Colony), became Crown colonies, administered by Lord Milner, British High Commissioner in South Africa. Milner set himself the task of "picking up the pieces" and getting the political, economic and social life in motion once again while uniting and integrating the two colonies into a British domain. The political programme he introduced, which lasted until 1907, was known as "reconstruction". He established a highly centralized administration which depended almost entirely on his strong personality. Milner left South Africa in 1905, after a period of intense conflict between the two sections of the white population, the Dutch and the English, stirred by his anglicization policies.

On 6 November 1900, EB Sargent was appointed the Acting Director of Education for the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, with the task of reorganizing the educational system in both colonies, administered as Crown colonies under the Milner Administration.¹³ During Milner's regime, the education of both colonies remained under the control of Sargent's directorship, assisted by an assistant director in each colony. Following instructions given by Milner, efforts were made to bring about

¹² Appel argues for example that the sense of togetherness, the Afrikaner "we" feeling, and the distrust of "them", was present in the Boer Republics in the attitudes towards the "uitlanders" (outsiders). (PK Appel, 'Afrikaner maximization of interest: Evolution of a political culture', PhD thesis, New York University, 1973, p.38)

¹³ ND Achterberg, 'A survey of native education in the Transvaal', DPhil thesis, Pretoria, 1927, p.69.

closer union in education, involving a uniform elementary school curriculum, a uniform system of training and certification of teachers, and the promotion of a British identity through anglicizing strategies. These policies precipitated the development of the Christian National Education (CNE) Movement, an important aspect of the struggle for Afrikaner linguistic and cultural affirmation.¹⁴

The victory of the Liberal Party in the 1906 British general election resulted in more flexibility in the handling of English politics in the two colonies. The Transvaal received the status of self-government under the Premiership of Louis Botha, leader of the Transvaal party, *Het Volk*, founded in 1905.¹⁵ Botha and Jan Smuts, Transvaal's first Minister of Education, advocated the policy of *hereniging* or "conciliation" between the "white races" in order to remove the bitterness of the past. In the Orange River Colony, responsible government was granted in 1907. Here, both the Prime Minister, Abraham Fischer, and the Minister of Education, JBM Hertzog, leader of the *Oranje Unie* party, were initially opposed to "conciliation". These two positions dominated post-Union Afrikaner politics.¹⁶

The education policies pursued under the responsible governments (1905-08) attempted to accommodate Afrikaner grievances, particularly the language issue, and placed white children in a privileged position by imposing colour bars in education. Thus the 1905 Cape School Board Act, Smuts' Education Act of 1907 in the Transvaal and Hertzog's School Act of 1908 in the Orange River Colony made provision for compulsory education for white children and institutionalized racial separation in education.

After Union, Generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, leaders of the Transvaal Colony, led the South African Party (SAP) government, which was to unite *Het Volk*

¹⁴ See EG Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, Volume 1 (1652-1922)*, (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta & Co., 1925), pp.305-311 and pp.321-323.

¹⁵ Malherbe, *op cit*, p.325.

¹⁶ Malherbe, *op cit*, pp.378-389.

(Transvaal), the *Oranje Unie* (Orange Free Colony) and the *Afrikaner Bond* (Cape) parties.¹⁷ Almost immediately, tensions erupted within the dominant South African Party (SAP), between those who advocated the party's "conciliation" policy designed to unite white South Africans and those who favoured a "two-stream" policy. In 1914, JMB Hertzog, DF Malan (Cape) and Teitman Roos (Transvaal) broke away from the South African Party to form a new National Party. Using slogans such as "South Africa First", Hertzog challenged "conciliation" or the common citizenship of all whites and stressed the need to preserve Afrikaner culture and traditions and consolidate Afrikaner identity, which were in danger of being suppressed by English influences, by means of dual-medium education and compulsory bilingualism. This could be achieved within a framework of a "two-stream" policy which would guarantee the linguistic and cultural affirmation of Afrikaners. These tensions culminated in the 1914 rebellion against the SAP government's allegiances to Britain and to the Allies during the war.¹⁸

The 1914-18 period also saw the rise of the Labour Party (LP), which represented white labour unions. While promoting the interests of workers, the LP soon found a common ground with the National Party, which became concerned with the interests of "poor whites" and favoured the imposition of colour bars to protect them against African competition in the labour market. By 1924, the LP and NP decided to bury their differences and form a coalition - known as the Pact - between the two parties, which enabled them to defeat the SAP at the polls.

The Pact government remained in power until the gold standard crisis in the 1930s began to erode its popularity among Afrikaner nationalists. As a result, in March 1933 Hertzog and Smuts agreed to a coalition based on some guarantees such as the preservation of the rights achieved by Afrikaners during the Pact and the maintenance

¹⁷ The Cape was granted responsible government in 1872. The *Afrikaner Bond* was its most influential political grouping. It stood for the promotion of Afrikaner culture and the pursuit of Afrikaner political goals, though its leaders never expressed disloyalty to Britain.

¹⁸ For details see Robert Morrell, 'Reconstruction to Union', in P Kallaway et al (eds.) and S Marks and S Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African State', in *History Workshop Journal*, No. 8, 1979.

of colour bars and the racial segregation of blacks.¹⁹ The "Fusion" of the two parties in 1934 gave rise to the United Party (UP). The formation of the United Party added to the discord among Afrikaner nationalists and was followed by break-aways from the extreme wings of the party. Colonel Stallard, concerned to maintain South Africa's links with Britain, formed the Dominion Party. Malan, pressing for South African autonomy and the need to break off relations with Germany, formed the *Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party*, Purified National Party, later the Re-unified National Party. Hertzog advocated a policy of neutrality and broke away with Smuts when the South African Parliament narrowly voted to enter the war against Germany.

Malan played an exceptional role in the promotion of the foundations of nationalism, which resulted in the policies of apartheid. He emphasized recourse to the past, the use of symbols drawn from history, particularly the Great Trek, and the danger of imperialist domination and used intense emotionalism to unite Afrikaners as a nation. For his followers, Fusion represented a potential threat to the victories of Afrikaners achieved during the Pact. In September 1939, at the outbreak of World War II, the old National Party under Hertzog and the new Purified National Party under DF Malan became reunited in what was called *Herenigde Nasionale Party* (HNP). After the 1943 general election won by Smuts' United Party, Malan turned away from the question of war to concentrate on domestic issues, especially those related to racial policy and Afrikaner unity. In 1948, the National Party won the election and introduced its apartheid policy with DF Malan as Prime Minister.²⁰

Against this historical framework we now turn to a detailed analysis of the various themes evident in the period.

¹⁹ See for example the debate between Smuts and Malan in House of Assembly Debates, September 1948, vol.65, cols.2900-2901, 2905-2910.

²⁰ JD Shingler, 'Education and the political order in South Africa, 1902-1961', PhD thesis, Yale University, 1973, p.36.

Forging the concept of the *volk* or Afrikaner nation, 1881-1901

Afrikaner cultural historiography began with attempts to assert Afrikaner cultural and linguistic identity through a distinctive discourse, which encouraged Afrikaners to think of themselves as a distinct *volk* with a common history, language, culture, identity and destiny. Politicians, clergy, educationists and cultural leaders began to articulate concepts of Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner identity. The highly glorified *Slagtersnek* incident in 1815 in the Cape, tensions over church-state relations and the secularist trend in education in the Cape colony, the Great Trek of the 1830s and its causes, the British attempt to occupy the Transvaal in 1877, the 1895 Jameson Raid, and the events leading to the Anglo-Boer War were exploited to create favourable subjective conditions for the development of an Afrikaner nationalist consciousness.²¹

Two outstanding developments may be distinguished in early nationalist cultural historiography. The first is the Calvinist ideas propagated by leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church. The second comprises several literary and commemorative initiatives focusing on the constitution of Afrikaner history and promotion of Afrikaans as the language of the Afrikaners. In opposition to the non-denominational educational policies of the British authorities and to liberal theological tendencies within the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)*, members of the Dutch clergy founded two separatist churches which came to be a central factor in the structure of Afrikanerdom and the development of Christian Nationalism. These were the *Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (NHK)* founded in 1858 in the Transvaal; and the *Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika (GK)* - very influential because of its role at *Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys* - founded in 1859 by the Rev. Postma.²² Dutch church leaders opposed the introduction

²¹ For details see for example WA de Klerk, *The Puritans in Africa - A Story of Afrikanerdom* (London: Rex Collings, 1975); Carl David Dalcanton, 'The Afrikaners of South Africa: A case study of identity formation and change', PhD thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1973; Van Jarrsveid, *op cit*; Appel, *op cit*.

²² Appel, *op cit*, p.12.

of state-monitored education based on the British model, i.e., secular and non-denominational schooling through the medium of English.²³ All these factors were to play a crucial role in the formation of nationalist symbols and ideas in 20th century South Africa.

Dutch/Afrikaner literary activity of the 19th century reflects earlier concerns with national self-assertion and the historical foundations of an Afrikaner nation. There was an attempt to articulate Afrikaner nationalist feelings by displaying and interpreting the images, words and symbols of the past. Historical consciousness was to bring about national self-consciousness, necessary for the struggle against British cultural and political imperialism.

The first important step was made by writers like SJ Du Toit, Gideon Malherbe. Their work culminated in the publication in 1877 history book in Afrikaans, *Die Geskiedenis van ons Land in die Taal van ons Volk* (The History of our Country in the Language of our People). This was followed by works by Van der Lingen, Du Plessis, Van Oordt, Cachet and Voigt.²⁴ The Afrikaans newspaper, the *Patriot*, opened a special column for "Afrikaans Idstory",²⁵ and began to emphasize the importance of "history" and "language": "We want now with our 'Patriot' to show to the world that we really do have a language wherein we can say exactly what we want to".²⁶ An article published in 1871 had made the following comment:

It is a disgrace that there is no history of our land written in Dutch. In English there is. But everyone can understand how an Englishman will

²³ Ehingler, op cit, p.41.

²⁴ See also SJ du Toit, *De Geschiedenis van het Afrikaans Geslacht van 1688 tot 1882*; F Lion Cachet, *De Warselestrijd der Transvalers* (Amsterdam: 1882); JC Voigt, *A Hundred Years of the Republic in South Africa (1795-1899)* (London: 1899); JF van Oort, *Paul Kruger en de Opkomst der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (Amsterdam and Cape Town, 1898); CNJ du Plessis, *Uit de Geschiedenis van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek en van de Afrikaanders* (Pretoria and Amsterdam: 1898).

²⁵ Van Jaarsveld, op cit, p.116.

²⁶ *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, Deel I(1), Saturday 15 January 1876.

describe our land. The English are always right and the poor Afrikaner is always put in bad light ... they distort the things as they wish.²⁷

Between 1899 and 1902, South Africa was heavily shaken by the most destructive war in its history, the Anglo-Boer War. The causes of this war fall beyond the scope of this study. It is enough to mention that the Anglo-Boer War was ultimately related to the clash between two totally different and contradictory modes of production: an existing quasi-feudal and communal mode of production and an emerging capitalist one. By the 1890s, the capitalist mode of production had already developed a strong economic base, which was not followed by suitable political and ideological apparatuses. It also required an expansion of its social base. These needs could not be met through a simple "modernization" of the feudal Boer states. This fundamental contradiction associated with the economic and strategic interests of British imperialism in Southern Africa led to the eruption of the South African War. As Legassick has indicated, the war essentially came as a particular form of capitalist revolution: "a capitalist revolution made from above and not in a situation where the internal capitalist forces could achieve such a transformation".²⁸ To put it another way, the transition from pre-capitalist social formations to capitalism did not follow the European route, where internal contradictions within feudal society determined the transition. Capitalist social relations of production were imposed, and became dominant, as a result of the world-scale expansion of European capitalism.

The crucial implication of the profound social and economic changes caused by the war was the need for a re-adjustment of the whole superstructure (education, culture, ideology, religion, etc.), particularly the education system, to meet the new social and economic demands. For the British, the war had created appropriate material and subjective conditions for the incorporation and assimilation of Afrikaner society into the British system. The Afrikaner language, culture, history and religion were to be discounted in favour of anglicizing practices which would forge an anglophone white

²⁷ In *Die Zuid-Afrikaan*, 'A true Afrikaner', 25.11.1874.

²⁸ M Legassick, 'South African capital accumulation and violence', *Economy and Society*, 3(3), 1974, p.260.

community loyal to the empire. The Boer clergy and political leaders responded to this policy by creating new social and ideological institutions through massive mobilization of Afrikaner people for resistance against British imperialism and British anglicization policies.

As a result, the educational ideas and practices of the Afrikaners reflected the struggle for the survival of Afrikanerdom and for Afrikaner linguistic and cultural affirmation. The Afrikaner intelligentsia undertook the task of describing and reinterpreting Afrikaner value systems and promoting institutions which reflected Afrikaner aspirations. These developments also took place against the background of rapid economic and social change, caused by increasing industrialization, the proliferation of "poor whites", particularly among the Afrikaner farming community, and the emergence of a militant white working class on the mines.

Defining the ideological context, 1902-1924: CNE and the survival of Afrikanerdom

One aspect of the struggle for linguistic and cultural affirmation was the Christian National Education (CNE) Movement. The idea of Christian National Education was imported from 19th century Holland and became popular in South Africa after the creation of CNE schools in the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer war. In Holland, Christian National Education emerged as a Protestant alternative to education offered by the Roman Catholic Church. Similarly, in South Africa, Christian National Education appeared in opposition to state-controlled secular education, systematically enforced after the Anglo-Boer war.²⁹ However, its origins go back to the mid-nineteenth century. GWA van der Lingen and SJ du Toit were the first to link the struggle for cultural and linguistic affirmation to the purity of the reformed religion.³⁰ Van der Lingen distinguished himself as a pioneer in applying

²⁹ See J Chris Coetzee, Die Gereformeerde Beginsel en die Onderwys in die Transvaal, 1859-1937 (Bloemfontein: Nasionale Pers, 1939), p.5.

³⁰ See John Fisher, The Afrikaners (London: Cassel, 1969), pp.14-18; and J Abel Coetzee, Die Afrikaanse Volksgeloof (Amsterdam: NV Swets and Zieflinger Boekhandel and Uitgeversmij, 1938), p.23.

the idea of Christian Nationalism in his Gymnasium at Paarl. In 1865, Van der Lingen, du Toit and WP de Villiers established Dutch-medium Christian schools in the Cape; these schools however disappeared for lack of funds.³¹

The CNE movement involved the creation of CNE schools (1902-1907), the reassessment and reformulation of CNE policies, and the establishment of appropriate institutions, such as the Institute for Christian National Education (ICNE), cultural organizations, secret societies such as the *Broederbond*, economic co-operative organizations, and trade unions, to stimulate the debate.³² Underlying the activities of all these organizations was an emphasis on Afrikaner linguistic and cultural self-determination. Afrikaner theologians and teachers established in the concentration camps CNE schools controlled by the community and with Dutch as the medium of instruction in order to revive Calvinist beliefs and promote an Afrikaner nationalist consciousness. In February 1903 the first Transvaal Education Ordinance introduced state-controlled schools and laid down that English would be the sole medium of instruction and that the teaching of Dutch would be limited to five hours every week. In response to the anglicizing intentions of the ordinance, Afrikaners, through the *Christelike Nasionale Onderwys Kommissie* (Commission on Christian National Education) founded in 1903, created in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State alternative Dutch-medium private schools, which, apart from language, stressed instruction based upon Calvinistic principles and the dogmas of the Dutch Reformed Church. They named them Christian National Education schools.³³ The existence of separate CNE schools for Afrikaner children soon became a matter of great

³¹ Shingler, *op cit*, pp.91-92.

³² The most notorious organization was the *Broederbond*, a secret brotherhood organization founded in May, 1918, with the aim of secretly furthering the interests of the Afrikaner people, striving for the Afrikanerization of South Africa in all aspects of life, for the dominance of Afrikanerdom in the political sphere and for a "truly Afrikaans government for South Africa" (CFJ Muller (ed.), *100 Years: A History of South Africa*, third revised edition. Pretoria: Academica, 1981, p.141).

³³ J Chris Coetzee, *Die Gereformeerde Beginsel en die Onderwys in die Transvaal, 1859-19370* (Bloemfontein: Nasionale Pers, 1939), p.25.

controversy with the education authorities. In 1906, the report of the Transvaal Education Department gave the following account:

A number of primary schools have been established throughout the colony in opposition to the Government schools by an organization known as the CNO [CNE]. The reasons usually given to justify the existence of these schools as against the Government schools are 1) that the Government school code is framed with the object of destroying the Boer nationality and language, and 2) that the Government school system does not allow the parents to appoint teachers and, therefore, prevents them from discharging their responsibility for the proper moral and religious training of their children. The three objects ... for the sake of which the CNE schools are said to exist are language, national sentiment, and the appointment and control of teachers by parents ... The national sentiment of a people must be learned in the public schools of the State to which parents of both races as citizens of one State send their children. As for the appointment and control of teachers, I have given above reasons for holding that the devolution of educational control to parents' committees would be a retrograde step.³⁴

The Milner administration tried to counter the rapid proliferation of CNE schools by creating government schools. This strategy merely increased the antagonism between Afrikaners and the British rulers. More flexible education policy was introduced after the departure of Milner in 1905 and the appointment of Smuts as the first minister of education of the Transvaal until the time of Union.

In the Orange River Colony, the controversy surrounding the CNE schools was resolved in 1905 (and the language dispute in 1908).³⁵ In the Transvaal, CNE schools gradually came into the government system, with the promise made by Smuts in 1907 that a new system would be developed to embody the aspirations of those who had been led to establish the CNE school system and particularly with the settlement of

³⁴ TED, Report for the year ended 30 June 1906, p.4.

³⁵ Brian Rose & Raymond Turner (eds.), Documents in South African Education (Johannesburg: Ad Donker, 1976), p.164.

the language question.³⁶ However, these conciliatory developments were not met with the same enthusiasm in the Orange River Colony.

The *Taalstryd* in the context of anglicization, 1900-1909

During the early days of the Dutch East India Company, the majority of white settlers spoke Dutch. Dutch was unquestionably accepted as the sole educational medium.³⁷ With the arrival at the Cape of some one hundred and sixty Huguenot families, the use of French was tolerated during the "period of adjustment" but, as Malherbe has indicated, within a single generation French Huguenots had disappeared as an ethnically and linguistically distinct group.³⁸

Language became a matter of controversy with the British occupation of the Cape in 1806-1815 and attempts at the anglicization of the Dutch speakers. In 1822, a British proclamation institutionalized English as the colony's sole official language to promote a sense of British identity. English and Scottish teachers were brought to the colony to teach in schools.³⁹ The Cape Education Act of 1865 reaffirmed the use of English as the medium of instruction in all government schools. The language policy was received with a degree of antagonism by the Dutch community,⁴⁰ and private community schools continued to use the medium of Dutch.⁴¹

³⁶ TED, Report for the year ended 30 June 1907.

³⁷ ME McKerron, A History of Education in South Africa (Pretoria: JL van Schaik, 1934), p.119.

³⁸ Malherbe, *op cit*, p.27.

³⁹ Malherbe, *op cit*, p.58.

⁴⁰ See FA van Jaarsveld (ed.), Honderd Basiese Dokumente by die Studie van die Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis, 1648-1961 (Bloemfontein: Nasou, 1980), p.41.

⁴¹ Malherbe, *op cit*, p.97: The first published education law of the South African Republic was Law no.4 of 1874, which introduced three categories of schools: ward schools (farm schools), district schools (town schools) and Gymnasium. According to this law, the medium should be Dutch or English at the will of the parents. In 1882, an attempt was made to enforce Dutch as the sole medium. However, the medium clause was not rigidly enforced and English schools had no difficulty in obtaining a subsidy. In 1891, it was stipulated that "all lesson books must be written in Dutch" (Report of the Syndic to Council of Education, Witwatersrand, for the year ending 30

At the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, Milner hoped that an anglicization policy, applied specially to education and immigration, would re-assert British dominance, curtail Afrikaner nationalism and silence resistance feelings among Afrikaner children.⁴² For him an influx of British settlers would be a major factor in settling the question of British predominance in the Transvaal.⁴³ He held the position that the British section of the white population should play a hegemonic role in South Africa.⁴⁴ For this purpose, British settlement was to be promoted in a selective way by attracting, as far as possible, "settlers of a superior class" and avoiding a "white proletariat".⁴⁵ If any workers had to come, they should be those who could fit into the skilled labour market available.

In 1901, following the appointment of EB Sargent as Acting Director of Education for the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, free primary education was introduced for white children.⁴⁶ The primary objective of this change was the anglicization of Afrikaner children, most of them concentrated in military camps. The same year, Sargent sent the following message to Lord Milner: "Our military policy has gathered the greater part of the child population into these camps and ... I feel that the opportunity during the next year of getting them all to speak English is golden".⁴⁷ He also instructed English teachers that "we use the English language in all subjects of secular instruction, because the Dutch, as well as the British Africander

September, 1915, pp.12-13).

⁴² Rose & Tunmer, *op cit*, p.9.

⁴³ A Milner to Mr Lyttleton, Secret letter, Johannesburg 02.05.1904 in C Headlam (ed.), *The Milner Papers, South Africa 1899-1905*, Volume 2, (London: Cassel, 1933), p.524.

⁴⁴ C Headlam (ed.), *op cit*, p.457.

⁴⁵ 'Memorandum, Sir A Milner to Major Hanbury Williams, 27 December 1900', *Ibid*, p.242. See also 'Interview, Sir A Milner to a deputation from the White League, 1903', *Ibid*, p.459; and the letter 'Sir A Milner to Mr Chamberlain, 9 May 1900', *Ibid*, p.144.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.69. See also the 'Report of the Syndic to the Council of Education' (Witwatersrand, 4 September 1903), pp.2-3.

⁴⁷ EB Sargent, 'Letter to Lord Milner, 14 June 1901, with regard to the appointment of English teachers for the concentration camps', in Headlam (ed.), *op cit*.

population [sic], recognize that the material advancement (to name no other forms of advancement) of the children in these countries is bound up with an adequate knowledge of the English tongue".⁴⁸ He believed that the encouragement of "miscegenation" with English female teachers would facilitate the process of anglicization.⁴⁹

Sargent's views to a large extent reflected Milner's political intransigence concerning the question of anglicization. In this respect, Milner regarded the need for the dominance of the English language in the colonies as a non-negotiable matter. Milner insisted that "any school relying upon aid from the State should not only teach English, but make English the medium of instruction in all but the elementary classes".⁵⁰ He insisted that

In the new colonies the case will be easier to deal with, provided we make English the language of all higher education. **Dutch should only be used to teach English, and English to teach everything else.** Language is important, but the tone and spirit of the teaching conveyed in it is even more important.⁵¹

Moreover, history, "another thing of greatest importance", should include "British history and the growth of the Empire which would be of immense use", and not only concentrate "on Majuba with a little Jameson raid", topics which had some bearing on Afrikaner nationalism.⁵² Milner was conscious of the political effects of this kind of history: "everything that makes South African children look outside South Africa and realize the world makes for peace. Everything that cramps and confines their

⁴⁸ EB Sargent, 'Letter to teachers, Johannesburg, 31 December 1901', in Report of the Director of Education, 1900-1904, Appendix V.

⁴⁹ Sargent, 'Letter to Lord Milner', op cit, p.11.

⁵⁰ A Milner to General Pretzman, letter dated 20.06.1900, Government House, Cape Town, in Headlam (ed.), op cit, p.133.

⁵¹ Headlam, op cit, pp.242-4.

⁵² Ibid. 'Sir A Milner to General Pretzman ...', op cit, p.133.

views to South Africa only ... makes for Afrikanerdom and further discord."⁵³ The Transvaal Education Ordinance, which enforced a system of state-controlled schools, reduced the time devoted to instruction given in Dutch to not more than five hours a week. A similar measure was introduced in the Orange River Colony.

In the Orange River Colony, the Education Ordinance of July 1905 solved the controversy around the CNE schools and set the first general arrangements for free and compulsory education in any part of South Africa, involving white children between the ages of ten and sixteen who lived within a two-mile radius of a school.⁵⁴ More detailed provision followed after the Orange River Colony received internal self-government in 1907. Hertzog's School Act of 1908 extended compulsory attendance to white children between seven and sixteen years. It established the principle that all white children should acquire their education in a dual-cultural environment: English and Afrikaans. In the Transvaal, the Education Act of 1907 also established free and compulsory education for white children.

The conflict over the language question was minimized only with the negotiations which led to the proclamation of the Union of South Africa. In 1906, the Transvaal received the status of self-governing state from the British Liberal government. In 1908, the first meetings of the National Convention, which led to Union, were held in Durban. By May 1909, the contending parties had struck an agreement in Bloemfontein. Dutch and English were both officially recognized: "Both the English and the Dutch [later, Afrikaans] languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality, and possess equal freedom, rights and privileges".⁵⁵ This meant that the two parties had constitutionally sanctioned the principle of bilingualism in every sphere of public activity in the Union. However, this clause did not explore the technicalities as to how it should be translated into educational policy. It did not address for example the question as to whether Dutch-

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Orange River Colony, Ordinance No. 29 of 1905.

⁵⁵ Article 137, the Act of Union.

and English-speaking children were to be integrated in the school or whether both languages were to be used as educational media for every child, i.e. the question of monolingual versus bilingual schooling. These questions had profound implications for the commitment of Afrikaner nationalists to a separate linguistic and cultural identity. Therefore, they dominated the struggles of the Afrikaners for political hegemony in the three decades which followed the Act of the Union.

Having succeeded in gradually integrating CNE schools into the government system, Smuts hoped to draw from Milner's Reconstruction programme a blueprint for a new and broader South Africanism, which would result in a broader white nation in South Africa.

The struggle for political hegemony, 1910-1948

The three decades after the Act of the Union involved several initiatives undertaken by the Reconstruction Administration aimed at consolidating previous policies. Initiatives concerning white education, in particular, covered three main spheres: (1) the extension of technical education for white children; (2) the introduction of programmes of industrial and agricultural training for the white working class; (3) the implementation of compulsory education for white children; and (3) the acceptance of the principle of bilingualism to reduce tensions between Afrikaans and English speakers and create an integrative "community culture" amongst whites. The Union Department of Education received control over the South African School of Mines and Technology in Johannesburg and gave support to evening classes conducted by the School, which was the forerunner of the University of the Witwatersrand. The Railway Department improved its own schools for white apprentices. The Agricultural Department expanded various programmes in agricultural education. The Prisons Department operated industrial schools and reformatories which became effective instruments of social control and discipline imposition for the white working-class

youth.⁵⁶ Provincial administrations, through school boards, secured control of compulsory school attendance of white pupils.

The significance of these initiatives goes beyond the instrumental function that education was expected to play in the economy. Indeed, state intervention in the reconstruction of white schooling responded to the "heightened conflict between white labour and capital on the Rand and the need to reproduce white labour in such a way that it saw its interests as non-antagonistic to those of capital".⁵⁷ It also responded to the need for muting the increasing Afrikaner nationalism that threatened British hegemony in the region. This unity was to be achieved through emphasis on the racial identity of white labour and capital, thus minimizing the danger of cross-racial proletarian insurgency. Consequently, educational initiatives were supported by discriminatory industrial legislation which denied Africans access to semi-skilled or skilled jobs, such as the Apprenticeship Act of 1922.

The post-Union period also saw the Afrikaner struggle for political hegemony within the ruling class in the context of profound political, economic and social changes. These included the accommodation of major Afrikaner demands through the Act of Union.⁵⁸ The concern with the survival of Afrikanerdom became associated with the need for Afrikaner pre-eminence in the sphere of the state and the restructuring of the relations between whites and blacks, at the time when the emergence of an African working class, the development of an identifiable black elite and the emergence of nationalist black politics were taking place. The black majority was perceived as representing a greater threat to Afrikaner interests than British imperialism. Christian

⁵⁶ See for example Linda Chisholm, 'Class practice, racial control: Education of the white working class on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1913', mimeo, Department of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, July 1985, p.6. For more details see Linda Chisholm, 'Reformatories and industrial schools in South Africa: A study in class, colour and gender, 1882-1939', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989.

⁵⁷ Chisholm, 'Class practice, racial control ...', op cit..

⁵⁸ These included the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language alongside English, the acceptance of a national flag based on the flags of the former Boer republics and Great Britain, and the restriction of the black franchise in Parliament.

National Education principles were refined, systematized and disseminated throughout the country.

Several issues had become sources of apprehension within the *volk*: (1) the status of the Union in relation to the Empire and the Commonwealth; (2) the question of bilingualism at school level; (3) the future of Christian National Education; (4) the ideal of South Africanism promoted by Smuts and its effects on the *volk*; and (5) the question of the co-existence of blacks and whites. The Act of Union did not address these issues. Furthermore, the symbols of Union - the flag, the anthem, the Governor-General, etc. - did not appeal to many Afrikaners, who regarded them as representing the British Empire.

Three positions emerged within the *volk*: (1) those who advocated the dismantling of the Union and the re-establishment of the former Republics; (2) those who supported the conciliatory policy of Smuts,⁵⁹ Hofmeyr and Botha - the ideal of South Africanism - which through assimilation would lead to the creation of a common white South African nation; and (3) those who were prepared to settle for a balance between the two positions, i.e. a policy of mutual respect and equality with the two groups in two streams.⁶⁰

Smuts' concept of South Africanism was related to the idea of holism as formulated in his *Holism and Evolution* published in 1926, which, according to Shingler, reflected the influence of contemporary theories at Cambridge.⁶¹ According to this philosophy, the universe tends to move to ever greater wholes through the integration of prior autonomous units. To quote Smuts in his introduction to the 1907 Transvaal Education Act, this meant "to do away with sectional differences and divisions" and "to combine the whole of the white population of the country in a common system"

⁵⁹ Shingler, op cit, p.40.

⁶⁰ For further details see Shingler, op cit, p.33.

⁶¹ JC Smuts, *Holism and Evolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1926); and Shingler, op cit, p.21.

as illustrated by the cosmopolitan integration of the United States.⁶² On the same occasion, Smuts stated that "in the first place every child in this country must learn English, and in the second place ... every child shall learn Dutch unless its parents object".⁶³ Certainly such a policy represented a serious threat to the integrity of the *volk* and was met with severe criticism by the opposition.

In 1912, Afrikaner nationalists convened under Hertzog's leadership to form the National Party in opposition to Smuts and Botha, who were regarded by some as traitors to the Afrikaner cause. In 1919, a National Party delegation, led by Hertzog and Malan, went to the Versailles Conference to present the demands of the Afrikaner opposition.⁶⁴ Protest against the Union assumed violent proportions with the 1914-15 rebellion led by former Boer guerrilla generals who sought to dismantle the Union and re-establish the Republics.⁶⁵ Having failed in their plan to restore the Boer Republics, Hertzog and Malan came to accept participation in the Union, but in such a way that the Afrikaners would not lose their old identity. Hertzog, who dominated politics until the late 1930s, opted for the "two-stream" model, in which systematic bilingualism would safeguard the identities, and cultural and educational integrity of each group.⁶⁶ In fact, he regarded school monolingualism in a bilingual society as a perfect solution to safeguard a national identity within a white multicultural state. This differed from the concept of dual-medium advocated by E G Malherbe, who undertook a detailed study of bilingualism in South Africa in the 1930s:

Just as Americanization has been set up as one of the main objectives of the American school, so South Africanization should become the objective for the South African school. Just as the American Government insists on the learning of English by every school child,

⁶² See Transvaal Colony, Debates, Legislative Council, 1907, p.136 (Smuts introducing the 1907 Education Act).

⁶³ Transvaal Colony, Debates, Legislative Assembly, 27 June 1907, First Session, pp.187-188.

⁶⁴ Shingler, *op cit*, p.11.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Union of South Africa, Debates, House of Assembly, 1910-1911, col.337.

and the use of that language as the main instrument in achieving Americanization, so the South African Government should insist on the learning of both languages, and on their use as media in the school.⁶⁷

None of these positions seemed to satisfy Malan's supporters. The introduction of bilingualism in 1925⁶⁸ was suspiciously seen as aimed at "murdering" the "moedertaal" schools.⁶⁹ DF Malan issued a warning against "those two wolves in sheep's clothing, Smuts and Min. Hofmeyr, who wish to enter the Afrikaans kraal ... When people such as these show concern for the Afrikaner and his taal, their efforts must be mistrusted".⁷⁰ The arguments used by the Government sounded persuasive, though they antagonized the rising radical generation of Afrikaner nationalists who surrounded DF Malan, notably JG Strijdom, CR Swart, HP Verwoerd, J Chris Cotzee, LJ du Plessis and JC van Rooy.⁷¹ The Government argued that to accentuate "racial"⁷² and linguistic lines of cleavage went counter to the spirit of the Act of Union and would artificially deprive children of association with each other and of working out a way of living together on the basis of mutual

⁶⁷ EG Malherbe, The Bilingual School: A Study of Bilingualism in South Africa (London: Longmans Green, 1946), p.99.

⁶⁸ In 1925, Afrikaans, which had been primarily the spoken language of the Afrikaners, the written being Dutch, was accepted on its own terms and replaced Dutch to become, with English, an official language. (Shingler, op cit, p.34)

⁶⁹ 'Reactions of the opposition in general, and the DR Church in particular, to the Prime Minister's assurance given to the DR Church deputation which visited him on 20.8.43', Killie Campbell Africana Library, University of Natal, document 57031 (46), file 448/11/3, p.11.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.11.

⁷¹ In contrast to the military leadership of Smuts, Hertzog and Botha, these were mostly theologians, academicians, lawyers, politicians, journalists. Note also that with the exception of Jan Smuts who studied at Cambridge and Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr who attended Oxford, most of the nationalist intellectuals had studied in Holland and Germany, where they were influenced by theologians, such as Jaansch and Kohnstamm and the phenomenologists. On the left were those like EG Malherbe, one time Director of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, who was never associated with narrow or exclusivist nationalist views. Malherbe studied in the USA together with CT Loram and PAW Cook. He became one of the mainstream articulators of 'economic liberalism' of the 1960s.

⁷² 'Racial' here was used to refer to English/Afrikaans relations.

understanding.⁷³ As their influence within the state system increased, Afrikaner nationalists seemed determined to go beyond a dual-medium bilingual system towards the idea of a state system of monolingual confessional schooling for the Afrikaners.

The role of "cultural" organizations

As pointed out in Chapter One, an analysis of the cultural organizations which keep the ideological world in movement can highlight the complex ways culture is integrated in society. Cultural organizations play an important role in the dissemination of those aspects of culture which have some ideological bearing on particular structures of social relations prevailing in society. This explains the importance of and the role played by cultural organizations within the Afrikaner nationalist movement.⁷⁴

Afrikaner "cultural" organizations tried as much as possible not to emphasize ideological differences between their members. Instead, they stressed the unity, identity and destiny of the *volk* or Afrikaner nation by glorifying and ritualizing the socio-cultural characteristics of Afrikaners.⁷⁵ This strategy would ultimately harmonize Afrikaners, and minimize potential conflicting interests of a class, gender, religious or political nature. The processes of class formation and their consequences for political group formation were resisted, in Pretorius' words, "by organizing people in terms of the Idea of Culture", i.e. culture was used to fight class.⁷⁶ An

⁷³ See EG Malherbe, 'Bilingual medium draft proposals, Part I: Motivation', Killie Campbell Africana Library, University of Natal, Document 57031, File 6/7/44, p.3.

⁷⁴ I shall use the term 'cultural' organizations despite the fact that there were profound political connotations associated with these associations among Afrikaners.

⁷⁵ This is so in the case of, for example, the *Afrikaner Broederbond*, *Afrikaanse Studentebond* and the recently formed *Afrikanervolkswag*.

⁷⁶ Cultural organizations were expected to counter what has been seen as the history of "dissension" as described by W de Klerk:

It was in the present century ... when the concept of an Afrikaner nation was already firmly established, that the worst dissension occurred. In 1912, shortly after Union, when the Afrikaners had been united under the old South African Party, they started splitting into two groups, Nat and SAP. Afrikaner shot at

examination of the evolution of some of these organizations will illustrate these aspects.

The history of some Afrikaner cultural organizations has been written.⁷⁷ This section will only highlight the role played by these organizations in fostering particular modes of Afrikaner self-representation and promoting an Afrikaner consciousness. The early stages of Afrikaner nationalism were also accompanied by attempts to create cultural organizations or related institutions. For example, groups of concerned Afrikaners created the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (Society of True Afrikaners), and *De Afrikaanse Patriot* (1876), the mouthpiece of the Afrikaner nationalist movement.⁷⁸

However, Afrikaner cultural organizations had greater influence on Afrikaner nationalism in the post-Union years. Several organizations such as the *Ossewa-Brandwag* were established aimed at fostering an Afrikaner national consciousness, pride in the Afrikaans language, and the social and material welfare of the Afrikaners. Their programmes focused on cultural activities more conducive to the attainment of these objectives, particularly creative arts, performance, commemorations and other forms of representational symbolism. They also facilitated the economic mobilization of Afrikaners, which led to the formation of Afrikaner capital and important economic conglomerates such as SANLAM, Volkscas and Rembrandt. For this purpose, after the *Ekonomiese Volkskongres* in 1939, the *Reddingdaadsbond* fund was established to provide relief for poor whites and capital for investment in Afrikaner businesses.

Afrikaner in the Rebellion of 1914. While the Nat/SAP division continued, coalition in 1934 added to the discord among Nationalist Afrikaners. There was the *Gesuiwerde* (Purified) National Party, later the *Herenigde* (Re-Unified) National Party, the Hertzogites in the newly-formed United Party and the Smuts men, also in the United party. The year 1934 also saw the founding of the *Ossewa-Brandwag* which, during the war years, added more fuel to the fires of dissent, and it was also during the war that the old Hertzogites founded their Afrikaner Party. (Willem de Klerk, *The Second (R)evolution - Afrikanerdom and the Crisis of Identity* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1984), p.9.

⁷⁷ See for example I Wilkins & H Strydom, *The Super Afrikaners* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1978).

⁷⁸ Hofmeyr, 'An examination of the influence of Christian National Education on the principles underlying white and black education in South Africa: 1948-1982', MEd research report, University of the Witwatersrand, 1982, p.7.

Created in 1918 as a secret organization, the *Broederbond* played a central role in the National Party's politics as a "shadow government". It was an oath-bound male fraternity of Afrikaner Calvinists over the age of 25, which strived for "the ideal of the everlasting existence of a separate Afrikaner nation with its own culture", subscribed to the doctrine of Christian Nationalism, and worked for the "Afrikanerising of South Africa in all its spheres of life".⁷⁹ It was held that the English-speakers were not really a nation in South Africa; the Afrikaners were the only white nation in the true sense of the word. Therefore, the English-speakers must be Afrikanerized and Afrikaners must beware of becoming alienated from their roots through anglicization.⁸⁰ Only members of the white Afrikaans ethnic/cultural group, dedicated Nationalists and Calvinists, particularly academics, clergy, journalists and politicians, were eligible to join the *Broederbond*.

The *Broederbond* regarded Afrikanerdom as a divinely created nation with a sacred mission in Southern Africa. Its objectives included: (1) to foster Afrikaner national awareness; (2) to promote Afrikaner national pride for language, religion, tradition and fatherland; and (3) to promote all of Afrikanerdom's interests.⁸¹ The *Broederbond* dedicated itself to the pursuit of power in the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields. Particularly in education, all key positions were dominated by members of the *Broederbond* after the National Party's victory in 1948.

The *Voortrekkers* emerged "with the main purpose of preventing the big flow of Afrikaner childhood into the Boy Scout movement where, it was alleged, the children were being impregnated with ideas, ideals and training foreign and detrimental to the interests of Afrikanerdom, thereby alienating them from people, church and Vaderland sentiment".⁸² The *Jeugfront* was created in 1940 as a federation of major

⁷⁹ Bloomberg, *op cit*, p.31.

⁸⁰ See I Wilkins and H Strydom, *op cit*; and W de Klerk, *op cit*, p.13.

⁸¹ Bloomberg, *op cit*, p.32; Appel, *op cit*, p.94.

⁸² A Mann (Military intelligence officer), 'Secret - OB & Kindred Activities', Killie Campbell Library, Document 56976, 14.03.1944, p.1.

Afrikaner youth organizations. Professor Dirk van Rooy became the leader. Together with Dr Van Rensburg, Van Rooy led the school of thought which believed that "political parties and systems were outworn, old-fashioned and obsolete and were keeping the whole Afrikanerdom divided".⁸³ Their political pragmatism is well documented in one of Van Rensburg's messages to the *Jeugfront*:

Sixty three years ago (1881) Afrikaners with a calm disregard for death or privation put their lives all on the altar and fought for their freedom, which they gained. Twenty years later that same freedom was smothered with blood and concentration camps by that ... same enemy, Capitalism of the Empire. We cannot fight imperialism and ignore capitalism, they are allied and cannot be viewed from different angles. Both aim at spoliation and deprivation of the Afrikaner of what is his legitimate heritage and right. They desire to enslave us. The duty of the O.B. is clear. As the Voortrekkers fought off the hordes of Dingaan, and the heroes of Kruger and Teyn fought against the Imperialism of Queen Victoria so must this generation of the O.B. fight for and gain their liberty from out of the stranglehold of capitalism, therefore "Ossewa-Brandwagte", say to the Afrikaner worker, male and female, as also to the unemployed victims of your enemy. "My brother, my Sister", I have sworn an oath before God and that I shall not deliver or betray to the enemy nor desert my brother Afrikaner. That oath I shall keep, especially towards you. We fight for liberty, servants of the Almighty, against the whole world, free. Against tyranny of Capitalism we shout, Liberty, Liberty.⁸⁴ [Sic]

Of central importance for the promotion of Afrikaner nationalism among youth was the *Afrikaanse Studentebond* (ASB) formed in Bloemfontein on 14 August 1948. Its constitution declared that the "Bond exists on the foundations of Christian Nationalism, as manifested in the Afrikaans National tradition" and adopted Afrikaans as its official language.⁸⁵ Its objectives included: (1) "to bind all Afrikaans students in institutions of higher learning together into one organization"; (2) the promotion and furtherance of the communal interests of Afrikaans students; (3) "the maintenance

⁸³ Ibid, p.1.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.2.

⁸⁵ ASB, 'A Translation of the constitution and regulations of the Afrikaanse Studentebond as adopted at Bloemfontein on 14th August, 1948, subsequently amended from time to time and consolidated on July 2nd, 1962', p.1, Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library.

and furtherance of the White Christian civilization as a bulwark against communism"; and (4) to study all national questions at an academic level.⁸⁶ The ASB emerged as a typical Nazi strategy designed to split the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), which united Afrikaans- and English-speaking students. Thus, among its tasks, the ASB had to propagate its aims among Afrikaans and English students, expose the aims of NUSAS and resist communist influences in South African universities by way of pamphlets and flyers, newspapers and anti-NUSAS news and comments.⁸⁷

Through its Department of Cultural Affairs, the ASB committed itself to contribute to the development of Afrikaans culture through a variety of initiatives, in particular exhibitions and competitions of fine arts, art and crafts, and the performing arts.⁸⁸ The tasks of the Department of Racial Affairs were vaguely stated as being to expand healthy race relations in South Africa, to make available information with reference to race relations and to make real contact with the non-white population groups.⁸⁹ The Department of Foreign Student Affairs was to establish contacts with non-communist countries and counter "harmful propaganda disseminated overseas by any other student organization".⁹⁰ The Department of Study and Research, responsible for the production and dissemination of information, had strict rules for its Director: (1) "he must ... conduct his research activities in the light of God's word and ... take as ... point of departure the Christian life and world view"; and (2) "he ... must hold

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.5.

⁸⁸ Included were exhibitions of art needlework, weaving, leather work and photography; drama competitions presenting Afrikaans plays; debating contests; literature competitions with sub-sections for short stories, essays and poetry; choral and instrumental music competitions; *Boere-orkes* competitions with only original Afrikaans items; and chess team competitions. Men and women were to compete separately in prose, poetry and biblical recitations. Ibid, pp.2-3.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.4.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.5.

himself responsible to the Christian foundation of the bond".⁹¹ Research activity was associated with the idea of predestination:

He must attempt to be scientific in the investigation of the Creation, where creation is the field of investigation. In this labour of his he stands subject to predetermined principles and it is required of him to make the aims as outlined above to come to fruition. This will mean that he must never allow the Department to acquire a humanistic character. He must also be careful to see that the neutral stand-point of scientific method will not arise in his Department.⁹²

Looking forward, in 1957 the ASB clarified the ambiguity concerning the problem of race in South Africa:

in this respect [it] has been bluntly confirmed ... that the A.S.B. is for the separate development of the different racial groups under which must be understood the most important colour groups in South Africa ... [Whether we] should ... agree to accept the Indian as permanent inhabitant in our land ... has not yet been thoroughly investigated by us ... But then it must be immediately stated that we understand by separate development, segregation but not discrimination in any sense, as it is especially interpreted overseas, i.e. not as suppression or oppression, but in reality, separate social and economic segregated development, initially and as long as it may be necessary for the well-being of the non-white, under the guardianship of the white, but which implies an eventual socially and economically divorced equality.⁹³

The document also stated that there are "principal differences that underlie the structural differences" between the Afrikaners and the English. Only those who remain loyal to the ASB's Calvinistic beliefs and are prepared to permeate these Calvinistic principles among those who think otherwise would qualify to join or co-operate with the ASB.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid, p.4.

⁹³ ASB, 'Translation of the general annexure to the regulations, specific attitudes and policy of the bond, as attached to the constitution', 1957, Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library, p.6.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p.7.

Christian National Education: Refining the concept

In the 1920s and 1930s, the doctrine of Christian National Education underwent a process of reformulation, reinterpretation and refinement. This was a response to the need to reconcile the increasing secularization of Afrikaner values, beliefs and institutions with the tradition of Christian Nationalism. A linguistic and cultural affirmation of the Afrikaner people, as proclaimed by S.J. du Toit, in the mid- and late nineteenth century, was a major concern.⁹⁵ The influences of humanism, liberalism and their secularizing aspects came to be seen as a threat to the image of the Calvinist Afrikaner. This section will explore the main features of these developments.

A common thread throughout the history of Christian National Education and Afrikaner nationalism is the belief that people of different cultures require separate education. This view was articulated in several articles, collections of essays, books, conference resolutions, speeches, performance arts, and in periodicals such as *As Koers*, *Ossewa Reeks* (Ox-wagon Series), *Verkenner Reeks* (Scout Series), *Dageraad Reeks* (Dawn Series) and *Tweede Trek Reeks* (Second or New Frontier Series).⁹⁶ It dominated several theses on education presented to the universities of Pretoria and Potchefstroom between 1948 and 1950.⁹⁷ It was also present in many publications and reports on Afrikaner traditions and education for blacks by prominent writers.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Hofmeyr, *op cit*, p.7; L. Thompson, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p.30.

⁹⁶ Shingler, *op cit*, p.38.

⁹⁷ C. Symington, 'Onderwys in Transvaal gedurende die kroonkolonieperiode, 1900-1907', PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 1948; P. Venter, 'Die groei van onderwysaangeleenthede aan die Witwatersrand tot 1899', DPhil thesis, University of Pretoria, 1950; J. Floeger, *Onderwys en Onderwysbeleid in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek onder S.J. du Toit en Dr N. Mansvelt 1881-1900* (Cape Town: Archives Year Book, Cape Times, 1952). For elaboration see L. Chisholm, 'Notes on Afrikaner nationalist, liberal and radical educational historiography: Education on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1920', unpublished seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, April 1983.

⁹⁸ A.H. Lugtenburg, *Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in die S.A.R. 1836-1900* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1925); A.K. Bot, *100 Jaar Onderwys in die Transvaal, 1836-1936* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936); A.K. Bot, *The Development of Education in the Transvaal, 1836-1951* (Pretoria: TED, 1951); J.C. Coetzee, *Onderwys in die Transvaal, 1838-1937: 'n Historiese Oorsig* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1941); J.C. Coetzee, 'n Beeld van die Afrikaanse Taalewe en maatskaplike toestande op

Coetzee was one of the prime movers in this development and in an article published in 1948, gave a rationale for the critique and reactions manifested by Afrikaners in previous decades. Separate schools with mother tongue as the medium of instruction were justified on "religious, psychological-educational and national-cultural grounds for the maintenance of Afrikaner identity". He explained the issue in this way: "We as Calvinistic Afrikaners will have our CNE schools; Anglicans, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Jews, liberalists and atheists will have their own schools".⁹⁹ Coetzee was supported by men like HG Stoker, DJ van Rooy and PJ de Klerk, while educationists and socialists like Du Plessis and Bot remained critical and "impatient at clerical meddling in their professions".¹⁰⁰ Van Rooy was one of many who emphasized the idea that Afrikaners were a chosen people with a God-given destiny:

In every People in the world is embodied a Divine Idea and the task of each People is to build upon that Idea and perfect it. God created the Afrikaner people with a unique language, a unique philosophy of life, and their own history and tradition in order that they might fulfil a particular calling and destiny here in the southern corner of Africa. We must stand guard on all that is peculiar to us and build upon it. We must believe that God has called us to be servants of his righteousness in this place. We must walk the way of obedience to faith.¹⁰¹

The idea of predestination was also pursued by Stoker, based at the University of Potchefstroom:

die Rand', DLitt thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1936); LJ du Plessis, 'Die toepassing van die CNO - Beginsel', *Koers*, 7(1) 1939; F Postma, 'Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys in Suid-Afrika', HG Stoker and FJM Potgieter (ed.), *Koers in Die Krisis* Volume 1 (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, 1935); and HM Fourie, 'Christelike nasionale opvoeding van die naturel', *Koers in die Krisis*, Volume 2 (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1940).

⁹⁹ JC Coetzee, 'Dubbelmedium-onderwys en Tweetaligheid', *Koers*, 16(2), 1948, p.44; and JC Coetzee, 'Christian National Education', in R Tunmer & RK Muir (eds.), *Some Aspects of Education in South Africa* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, African Studies Programme, 1968), p.30.

¹⁰⁰ Shingler, op cit, p.139.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in T Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), pp.110-111.

God willed the diversity of peoples. Thus He has preserved the identity of our *Volk*. Such preservation was not for naught, for God allows nothing for naught ... He maintained the identity of our *Volk*. He has a future task for us, a calling laid away. On this I base my fullest conviction that our *Volk* will again win back its freedom as a *Volk*. This lesson of our history must always be kept before our eyes ... If He wishes to make us one *Volk* again and to give us our freedom, He will create the necessary circumstances. If we get our republic it will not be from the hand of man, but will be a gift from God ... because God, the Disposer of the lot of nations, has a further task laid away for our *Volk*. Let us become conscious of our calling.¹⁰²

In 1925, JA du Plessis created the *Christelike Unie* - the *Calvinistiese bond* from 1930 - to safeguard the *volk* from the danger of secularization and modernization. LJ du Plessis, author of *Die Moderne Staat*, became popular for his criticism of party politics which divided the *volk*, and his appeal to create a national federation of all Afrikaner organizations, free from political sectarianism and guided by Calvinistic principles.¹⁰³ His vision of schooling did not favour the creation of new and separate schools. Instead, he called for improvements within the existing system:

These improvements must be aimed at making the Afrikaans medium school a Christian National school, not at developing a separate Christian-National (group) school ... The Afrikaans people as such desire and have the power to make their national education ... Christian National and can no longer be satisfied with a Christian National group school which could be interpreted as a sectional instead of truly national school.¹⁰⁴ [Private translation]

In the meantime, the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies - FAK) convened a Congress for Christian National Education in 1939. The Congress established an Institute for Christian National Education, which in 1943 published a manifesto outlining its policy:

¹⁰² Quoted by CM Ngcokovane, 'Religious and moral legitimization of Apartheid in Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Nationalist Party and Broederbond, 1948 - Present', PhD thesis, Graduate School of Emory University, Atlanta, 1985, p.7.

¹⁰³ LJ du Plessis, 'Die loop van die dinge', *Koers*, II(3), December 1934, pp.30-34.

¹⁰⁴ Du Plessis, 'Die Toepassing ...', op cit, p.21.

Our culture must be carried into the school and that cannot be done merely by having our language as a medium. More is needed. Our Afrikaans schools must not merely be mother-tongue schools; they must be places where our children will be imbued with the Christian and national spiritual and cultural material of our nation ... We wish to have no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races. We are winning the struggle over medium. The struggle for Christian and national schools lies before us.¹⁰⁵

Du Plessis' position prevailed in the 1948 Christian National Education Policy, which sanctioned the public school system as a basis for promotion of Christian National Education, thus shifting the emphasis towards a more secular nationalism than in previous periods. Essentially, education was to be adapted to the life and world view of the Afrikaners: all school activities were to reveal the Christian philosophy of life and Calvinistic beliefs and promote the principle of nationalism in education.¹⁰⁶ Central to the reformation movement were Calvinist notions of predestination, the concept of national calling and destiny, the idea that the authority of God should permeate all spheres of social life and the interdependence between the church, family, school and the state.¹⁰⁷ By nationalism was meant the national ideal, traditions, religion, language or culture of each group. In contrast to the previous concern for the survival of Afrikanerdom, from the 1920s onwards these ideas were associated with the need for Afrikaner pre-eminence in the sphere of the state and in the restructuring of the relations between white and black people in the light of the CNE doctrine.

¹⁰⁵ Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys, Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys (Johannesburg: FAK Press, 1948), p.33.

¹⁰⁶ See Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys, Beleid (Johannesburg: Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, 1948); and Rose & Turner (eds.), op cit. pp.82-148.

¹⁰⁷ PS Dreyer, ' 'n Tipering van Afrikanerskap', in PG Nel (ed.), Die Kultuurentplooiing van die Afrikaner (Pretoria: Haum, 1979), p.40; BJ Engelbrecht, 'Die Godsdienst van die Afrikaner', *ibid.*, p.48; F van der Stoep, 'Die Afrikaner in die onderwys', *ibid.*, p.72.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that Afrikaner nationalism created an appropriate intellectual milieu which permitted a general mobilization of intellectual and scientific resources to promote the interests of the Afrikaners, assert the power of Afrikaner culture and develop a sense of national identity amongst Afrikaners. The struggles for the survival of Afrikanerdom against British imperialism and anglicization policies and the struggles for Afrikaner political hegemony which followed the proclamation of Union created an important political and ideological context for the forging of an Afrikaner identity and unity. Education, particularly the ideology of Christian National Education, played an instrumental role in the process.

Christian National Education schools with Dutch/Afrikaans as the medium became important centres for Afrikaner linguistic and cultural affirmation. Literary and artistic activities as well as cultural programmes promoted by Afrikaner cultural organizations also channelled energy towards the assertion of Afrikaner national identity beyond the sectarian practices determined by party politics. Thus, the concept of "total strategy", i.e. the mobilization of all resources, material, cultural and intellectual, for the pursuit of particular social objectives, which formed the basis of apartheid reforms in the 1970s, had expression in the practices of the early days of Afrikaner nationalism.

This explains the historiographical boom in the mid- and late 19th century, and the anthropological research of the 1920s and 1930s, developments which culminated with

the unprecedented philosophical and theoretical refinement of Christian National Education as a basis of subsequent apartheid policies in education.

CHAPTER THREE

MILNER AND SMUTS: COLOUR, IDENTITY AND SCHOOLING, 1900-1924

In 1905 the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC),¹ also known as the Lagden Commission, laid down the political foundations of a "native policy" in South Africa in terms of Milner's reconstruction programme.² In its report released in February of that year, SANAC proposed many aspects of what was to emerge as a policy of racial segregation.³ The structuring of racial social relations in modern South Africa has been extensively studied elsewhere.⁴ This chapter will concentrate on those issues which affected the formation of racially segregated schooling systems based on supremacist ideas promoted by Milner's reconstruction administration and on the cultural claims made for such systems. It will highlight how the Victorian discourse of "civilizing mission" as a basis for identity construction gradually gave place to the concept of culture in the dominant educational discourse. The chapter

¹ G Lagden, Chairman, South African Native Affairs Commission (Cape Town: Cape Town Limited Printers, 1905).

² In 1952, JD Rheinfelt Jones referred to this Commission as the source of Hertzog's policy of segregation: "The so-called Hertzog policy stems from the recommendations of this Commission". (JD Rheinfelt Jones, 'Presidential address', Race Relations Journal, XIX(2), 1952, p.40.

³ The question of segregation, culture and identity will be dealt with in detail in chapters four and five.

⁴ See for example N Levy, 'The state, mineworkers and labour regulations in the Transvaal, 1887-1906', in Collected Seminar Papers (University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1980); Martin Murray (ed.), South African Capitalism and Black Political Opposition (Cambridge: Shenkman, 1987); Shula Marks & Stanley Trapido (eds.), The Politics of Class, Race & Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa (New York: Longman, 1987); and Harold Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid', Economy and Society, 1(4), November 1972, pp.424-456.

argues that the politics of difference with reference to which racist images and modes of representation of African identity were constructed emerged and became established with the discourse of racial segregation that dominated the policies of the reconstruction regime. During this regime, the British administration tried with little success to forge a white nation and identity, and to curtail Dutch/English antagonism, through a systematic peripheralization or marginalization of blacks from mainstream political, economic and social life.

The origins of the policy of racial segregation in education, 1860-1924

The policy of racial segregation in South Africa, also known variously as apartheid, separate development, and multi-national development, has had at different times different meanings and functions. Legassick presents the following account of the origins of segregation in South Africa:

Segregation operates at the levels of ideology, of social control, of reproduction of labour, and so on. Yet if there is a common thread which unites these meanings it is at the level of the imperative for separate territorial/residential poles as the focus of black and white activities in South Africa, coupled with the idea that black and white have different wants and requirements in the fields of social, cultural and political policy. Some of those who have examined segregation have found its roots at the commencement of white settlement, with Van Riebeeck's attempt to build a hedge to separate whites and Khoisan. Others see it, or, more strictly, *apartheid*, as the product of Afrikaner nationalist thought, specifically since the 1930's. I would argue that the crucial formative period for the policy of segregation was between the South African War of 1900-02 and the First World War.⁵

From a narrow functionalist view, segregation, in the form it acquired in South Africa, can be defined as a "cheap labour" policy aimed at maximizing capital accumulation at the expense of the pre-capitalist production sector, which was

⁵ Martin Legassick, 'British hegemony and the origins of segregation in South Africa, 1901-1914', University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, February 1974, mimeo, p.1.

reproduced for this purpose.⁶ Generally, it refers to a racially discriminatory system which precluded Africans, "coloureds" and Indians, in varying degrees, from participation in activities and occupations reserved for whites.⁷ It has been associated with the idea of geographical, economic and social separation along racial lines and the preservation of the indigenous social structure of Africans as a semi-autonomous entity under European control and supervision. In this sense, apartheid or "separate development" can be conceptualized as the highest stage of racial segregation. Smuts put it this way: "The development of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves can only mean the progress and civilization of these backward peoples in accordance with their own institutions, customs, and ideas, in so far these are not incompatible with the ideals of civilization".⁸

The origins of segregation in South Africa have been related primarily to the material conditions at the beginning of the 20th century, specifically the attempts to impose a cheap labour policy which would allow mining capitalists to wrest vast quantities of unskilled and cheap labour from the black population and to find highly skilled white workers for the mining industry with minimum costs.⁹ Those who have studied the development of the mining industry in South Africa have persuasively - though from a crude structuralist perspective - argued that the rapid centralization and concentration of mining capital which led to the monopolization of the mining sector were precipitated by the following factors: (1) the geological nature of the gold fields, with a very narrow reef, mostly at great depths; (2) the fixed price of gold in the world market, which the mining capitalists could not easily influence; and (3) the increasing grievances expressed by the working class, particularly white workers, who

⁶ See for example Wolpe, *op cit.*

⁷ See for example Saul Dubow, 'Race, civilization and culture: The elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years', in Marks & Trapido (eds.), *op cit.*; and John David Shingler, 'Education and political order in South Africa, 1902-1961', PhD thesis, Yale University, 1973, pp.15-27.

⁸ J.C. Smuts, *Africa and Some World Problems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p.89.

⁹ Marks & Trapido, *op cit.*, p.7. For details on cheap labour policy see Wolpe, *op cit.*

demonstrated a high level of political militancy and organization.¹⁰ The geological nature of the gold fields accelerated the abandonment of the exhausted outcrop grounds and encouraged deep-level mining, which required supplementary investment of capital and both a higher degree of mechanization and greater utilization of skilled labour. The costs of production could not be compensated for by the profit extracted from variables such as the price of gold or the cost of machinery. The only variable which could be successfully pressurized in order to raise the rate of profit was labour.

The desire of the mining magnates to reduce labour costs to secure a high rate of profit led them to pursue the policy of not employing whites in general unskilled work, which resulted in a comprehensive rigid racial division of labour in the gold mining industry, within which wage earners of equivalent skill were divided on racial lines into occupations with different functions, income and status. An overwhelming majority of black, unskilled migrant workers worked side by side with a small but politically active section of white skilled and semi-skilled workers. While black migrant workers still preserved peasant characteristics which inhibited significant organization against injustices and repression in the mines, the highly proletarianized white workers already had relatively sophisticated forms of political organization.¹¹

This racial division of mine labour favoured a particular development of class and race relations. It united in struggle those wage earners whose skin pigmentation happened to be white, leading to their claiming rights on grounds of colour and thus practising racial discrimination against black workers in defence of their jobs within that structure. They differentiated and defined their class interests along racial lines, regarding their fellow black workers as potential competitors, directed their

¹⁰ See for example FA Johnstone, 'Class conflict and colour bars in the South African gold mining industry, 1910-1926', in *Collected Seminar Papers* (University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, October 1969-April 1970); and FA Johnstone, *Class, Race and Gold* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

¹¹ Amongst African migrant workers, class loyalties were conditioned by ethnic or tribal affiliations. The predominance of peasant characteristics also inhibited significant forms of political organization or militancy at the workplace. However, many white workers had not only experienced the militancy of the British working class during the nineteenth century but had also developed a high level of class and political consciousness.

grievances against black workers and demanded a privileged status. Thus, as Johnstone has pointed out, "white labour's claims to rights on grounds of colour legitimized the denial of rights to others on grounds of colour".¹² The response by the state and by capital reflected this reality.

The labour structure and class relations in the mining industry resulted in the state intervening, from about 1906, in an attempt to secure preferential treatment for whites in employment outside the gold mining industry in order to minimize the spread of poor-whiteism or massive unemployment of unskilled white labour. The legacy of colour prejudices which accompanied previous colonial practices was revitalized and formalized in the form of job colour bars and an inter-locking system of economic, social and political institutions based on racial discrimination, known as segregation.¹³ Thus the institutional racist barriers imposed to regulate labour relations in the mines were gradually extended to almost all spheres of economic, social and political life, including education. Segregation soon became the dominant mediating mechanism for the main economic and social forces. This new dimension of segregation is well captured by Marks and Trapido in the following extract:

The ideology of segregation did not only speak to the needs of the mining industry. It addressed a number of different audiences. It served white farmers demanding additional controls over their tenants and labourers and white workers seeking protection from cheaper black labour. It was an attractive solution for the white ruling class in the face of the rapid urbanization of poor whites and poor blacks, with its increased possibilities of competition and conflict as well as miscegenation and unified class struggle. Its doctrines even provided opportunities for those Africans concerned to restore "traditional" authority, and for those Coloureds anxious to protect themselves against being reduced to the status of Africans.¹⁴

Colour began to be seen as a criterion of access to rights and power through which whites occupied an elite status and superordinate positions in the social division of

¹² Johnstone, 'Class conflict and colour bars ...', op cit, p.122.

¹³ Marks & Trapido (eds.), op cit, p.7.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.8.

labour. By contrast, Africans were kept at the opposite pole as a cheap labour force with no rights.

This structuralist explanation of the origins of segregation will serve no purpose if the heritage of cultural forms that began to take shape with the changes in social relations brought about by white settlers is not taken into account. The foundations of segregationist policies and practices were also a culmination of an earlier colonial cultural tradition dominated by racial prejudice and the ideology of white supremacy, particularly among white settlers. This tradition included, *inter alia*: (1) "the spectacular explosion of biologically based racial science in the second half of the nineteenth century"¹⁵ through the development of ideas of "scientific racism", social Darwinism and eugenics, which began to undermine the earlier optimistic liberal assimilationist ideas, particularly the Cape liberal assimilationist strategy based on the assumption of the superiority of "Western civilization", and (2) the fear of racial mixture with "tribal" and "heathen" African peoples, which encouraged white exclusivism.

In the late nineteenth century, racism became firmly established in science and social opinion in both Europe and North America. Basing their work on evolutionist assumptions propagated by Darwin and the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest", biologists, archaeologists, anthropologists and psychologists undertook the task of classifying the world's races according to a natural hierarchy.¹⁶ The eugenics movement also insisted that in order to safeguard Western civilization, radical measures of social and biological engineering such as the control of genetic pools or "racial stocks" were essential.¹⁷ The racial imagery which emanated from these intellectual contexts was readily transferred to the colonial terrain where it was applied to questions of race by white settlers and the missionaries. Based on or

¹⁵ Dubow, *op cit*, p.70.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.72. Dubow points out that with the aid of biological sciences, "despite their differences, social Darwinists, Spencerians, Lamarckians, craniologists and physical anthropologists all set themselves the task of classifying the world's races according to a natural hierarchy" (p.73).

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.73.

associated with social Darwinism, scientific racism dominated liberal and conservative debates in South Africa in the early 20th century - e.g. the IQ research - and became a powerful legitimating tool for policy decisions.¹⁸ The "amalgamationist" policies promoted by Sir George Grey in the Cape Colony, the segregationist strategy introduced by Shepstone in Natal, the discourse of the Victorian civilizing mission, and Milner's reconstruction policy were resonances of those very elements which dominated the intellectual world of the late nineteenth century and the programme of Victorian social and cultural imperialism.¹⁹

It is within the same context that differentiated missionary work for blacks and whites became common practice. Generally missionaries accepted separation in church, curriculum and school as inevitable and determined by cultural differences between whites and blacks. At the time, the concept of culture was interchangeably used with the concept of civilization. Writing in 1962, Alston Winter of the Community of the Resurrection recalls this general opinion as follows:

Why this division, it is said. The question was, in fact, raised from the very beginning of our work by Fr. Alston, who, soon after his arrival, wrote on Dec. 1st, 1904: "To me it is very sad the native and the white work being separated. I have not been here long enough to pass an opinion upon it, but it is quite obvious that the natives just emerging from savagery cannot be treated in the same way as whites, there must be restrictions; there must be in many ways separations. But when they have become Christians it does seem to me that the Altar is one place where they certainly can meet, but it is not so." This policy was no new one but a continuation of that advocated by Cannon Farmer, the most experienced priest in native mission work in the Diocese of Pretoria. In reporting to the Synod of 1904 on mission work he "showed that European and Bantu were so essentially different that it was almost impossible for one priest to tackle both efficiently. The committee thought it advisable that missionary work should be extra-parochial, and the diocese divided into districts, with a missionary in charge of each." [My emphasis]²⁰

¹⁸ See Chapter Seven for details.

¹⁹ See for example David Welsh, The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910 (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971).

²⁰ Alston Winter, Till Darkness Fell (Mirfield: House of Resurrection, Easter 1962), pp.8-9.

For Winter there was more to it: "But the question goes deeper than this. The Africans were still mostly heathen." [My emphasis]²¹ Underlying these assumptions was the idea that colour prejudice was "quite rational" in so far as it was based on "the tremendous gap between white and black standards of living and manners". Pells pointed out for example that it was "impossible and unthinkable for whites to receive the average native in their drawing rooms".²²

Although racist tradition had dominated colonial practices in pre-industrial South Africa, it was not until the Milner reconstruction period that the utility of earlier traditions for an industrializing state were recognized. Only then were more sophisticated oppressive practices enforced, namely, the allocation and delimitation of African "reserves", the creation of African "locations" (townships), the control of urban influx through pass laws, the manipulation of chiefs to become agents of the state, and the segregation of schooling according to race or skin pigmentation.

The distinguishing feature here is that the policy of racial segregation as an all-embracing strategy was assumed and reconstituted as a necessary ideological base for capitalist development in South Africa. Differentiated political treatment, different participation in the new economic and social order, determined or required different identities at the cultural level. The shaping of a racially structured education system in the post-South African War period can thus be seen as a function of this broader process. Briefly, the policy of segregation cannot be adequately understood within a historical continuity which does not take these different contexts into account.

The ideological climate under Milner's reconstruction policy, 1902-1910

As has been pointed out, it was under Milner, and then Smuts, that many of the guidelines of twentieth-century segregationist policies emerged, in relation to both

²¹ Ibid, pp 8-9.

²² EG Pells, The Story of Education in South Africa: European, Coloured and Native Education in South Africa, 1652-1938 (Cape Town & Johannesburg: Juta, 1938), p.140.

town and countryside.²³ As Marks and Trapido have correctly suggested, these policies have to be related "not only to Milner's particular world-view ... but also to the far wider set of assumptions held by the British rulers of South Africa at the beginning of the 20th century and their interaction with local conditions".²⁴

The reconstruction regime had to set up an adequate policy which could respond to the contradictions that had determined the war and the subsequent crisis. It had to meet the needs of capitalist economic growth, covering different spheres of social activity, such as the labour supply, the mitigation of growing social conflict through education, and the promotion of the interests of British imperialism. Racial segregation materialized as the dominant strategy in all these spheres. A wide debate took place in the newspapers, through the publication of pamphlets, and in the new journals and associations formed at the time. Colonial conferences and reports produced by missionaries and education authorities provided bases for the new policy. Considerable knowledge and information also came from British and American sources. I shall discuss some of the major issues raised in this debate, starting with Milner's ideas, which appear to have played a central role in shaping segregationist policies.²⁵

²³ For more details about these policies see: S Trapido, 'The friends of the natives': merchants, peasants and the political ideological structure of liberalism in the Cape, 1853-54', in S Marks & A Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London: Longman, 1980); S Trapido, 'The origins of the Cape franchise qualifications of 1853', *Journal of African History*, V(1), 1964; GM Frederickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); John Cell, *Segregation. The Highest Stage of White Supremacy. The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and DJ Welsh *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal, 1910-1945* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971).

²⁴ Shula Marks & Stanley Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African state', *History Workshop Journal*, 8, 1979, p.72.

²⁵ Periodicals that played a considerable role included *The South African Mining Journal*, superseded by *South African Mines, Commerce and Industries*, *The State* (1908-12), *The African Monthly* (1906-10), and such papers as *The Transvaal Leader*, *The Cape Times*, and *The Christian Express*. Legassick, in a study on the origins of segregation, refers to the role played by societies such as the South African Philosophical Society, the Transvaal Native Affairs Society (formed in 1908) and the Natal Native Affairs Reform Society (formed in 1909). See M Legassick, 'The making of South African "native policy", 1903-1923: The origins of segregation', in *Collected Papers* (University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1974), p.5.

"Native policy" - embracing all matters concerning black people - received particular attention from Milner. An underlying assumption in his approach to "native policy" was that any policy or development should incorporate the principle that South Africa was a "white man's country" in the sense that the "white man should rule", on the grounds of his "superior civilization".²⁶ Milner considered "native policy" a separate area, that required differential treatment. Labour problems, the question of the franchise, political and civil rights, and education were among the components of "native policy". For Milner and his administration, the only form of labour for blacks should be unskilled labour.

Milner considered the question of franchise for all Africans premature. Any meaningful "native policy" should encompass the idea that "civilization"²⁷ represented "the test of a man's capacity for political rights". Milner explained this principle in a historic speech, widely known as the "Watch Tower Speech". The white man as the ruler had to play the role of "gradually raising" the black man, not to a white level of civilization, that is the level of a "civilized franchise", but "up to a much higher level than that he at the time occupied".²⁸

South Africa had to be ruled by voters of European descent. Milner believed that the political influence of the "civilized native" could never, within any distance of time profitable to contemplate, be allowed to preponderate in the government of South Africa. The white race had to retain the responsibility of government because of its superior intellectual endowment.²⁹ Thus, if the black man was not to be allowed to preponderate, institutions should be created to keep him at the lowest level. On this

²⁶ C Headlam (ed.), *The Milner Papers, South Africa 1899-1905*, 2 (London: Cassel, 1933), p.467.

²⁷ Note that Milner used the concept of 'civilization' in its Victorian sense, i.e. as synonymous with culture.

²⁸ 'Sir A Milner to a deputation of coloured subjects, January 1901', in Headlam, op cit, p.213; and 'The Watch Tower Speech', in Headlam, op cit, p.467.

²⁹ Sir A Milner, 1903, quoted by Legassick, 'The making of South African "Native policy" ...', op cit, p.12

basis, education for Africans required a different and racist treatment. About this, Milner said:

I think ... that much more should be done for education of the natives than has ever been attempted ... I do not mean that they should be educated like Europeans, for their requirements and capacities are very different, but that they should be trained to develop their natural aptitudes for their own good and that of the community.³¹

From the point of view of the mining sector, whites, in order to play a supervisory role in the economy, needed skills, particularly those provided by technical education. A common opinion among mining magnates was that as "the skilled white workman" was likely to be "the chief factor in a permanent white population, the most effective way to maintain the ascendancy of the white man is by higher technical education".³¹ Debates in education frequently expressed the increasing concern with formal schooling: "The days of the rule of thumb miner are passing and the old maxim that 'trades cannot be taught in a school', has been supplemented by the at least equally true one that 'trades cannot be taught without school'".³² More important was the assumption that "industrial expansion unaccompanied by perfected elementary, secondary and higher education will never make South Africa self-supporting".³³ Commenting on the report of the Transvaal Education Department for 1903, the journal South African Mines, Commerce and Industries (SAMCI) accused the Government of "paying too much for police and too little for pedagogics".³⁴ Schooling appeared as a more effective and necessary mechanism of social control and stability than repressive institutions: "The South African Constabulary was a war-

³¹ 'Despatch, Lord Milner to Mr Chamberlain, 6 December 1901', in Headlam, *op cit*, p.307.

³¹ 'Leading Articles', South African Mines, Commerce and Industries, 27 April 1907, p.162.

³² *Ibid*, p.162.

³³ 'Leading articles: Mr Trainton's Views', South African Mines, Commerce and Industries, 4 June 1904, p.270.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.270.

time product ... More schools, more farm schools ... schools supported by local and general taxation if need be, will minimise the demand later on barracks."³⁵

Neither Milner nor the Rand magnates saw any necessary connection between African education and labour requirements in the mining sector. In the eyes of the Rand magnates, while schooling for whites was a necessary step to technical training to meet industrial needs for skilled labour, African education had to address only problems arising out of the contact between a white employer and black employee. They held that African education would result directly from labour relations. In 1903, the SAMCI made the point that a "course of six or twelve months of labour on the Rand constituted the easiest and most profound education that can be afforded to the native". There, "he learns the value of discipline, regularity, and the ways of the white man"; an African trained for mine work was "a better animal and a better man at the end of his term than he was when he began".³⁶

To some extent these conceptions reflected the particular conditions of the labour market for African workers as perceived by the dominant capitalist forces. With the increasing obstacles imposed by the state, there was little employment for Africans outside the following fields: domestic service, industry, municipal employment and farms. In every case, they performed almost exclusively unskilled roles. As Philips would comment some decades later, they were "everywhere lifting, carrying, shovelling, wrapping ... generally with that disarming genial good-nature which leads many whites to conclude that they are quite satisfied with what they get in the way of wages, food, and quarters".³⁷ When it came to skilled or semi-skilled employment, limited outlets existed beyond teaching in the mission schools, working as police and subordinate clerks in the government, or working in the Municipal and Native Affairs

³⁵ Ibid, p.270.

³⁶ 'Leading Articles', South African Mines, Commerce and Industries, 14 March 1903, p.3.

³⁷ RE Philips, The Nantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand (Lovedale: 1938), pp.12-13.

Department, and its compounds.³⁸ But for the most part, the development of basic operative skills, and of certain attitudes and behaviour, were the main requirements for the training or education of Africans, in the eyes of both the mining magnates and the education authorities.

The making of a segregationist discourse

Milner did not hope to bring clear-cut formulas for all the problems of reconstruction. Contradictions produced by the war, and the complexity of the inherited institutions, required profound and long reflection. He thus tried to create an intellectual climate and a basis to encourage legislation and administration along desirable lines for the future. The starting point was necessarily the elaboration of a "native policy" and its translation into appropriate legislation. At the Intercolonial Conference of 1907 Milner introduced the "native question". He also appointed the South African Native Affairs Commission of Inquiry. Though not advocating total segregation of land areas, SANAC suggested racially exclusive occupation of land areas, separate political representation of blacks and whites, and a policy of gradual and "assisted evolution" to facilitate the development of Africans in a way which could not merge too closely into European life.

In the sphere of education, SANAC questioned whether education, as a development of the intellectual faculties by literary instruction, had militated against the African's usefulness as a productive force or had the effect of making him/her more productive. It concluded that while in some cases it had "the effect of creating in the natives an aggressive spirit, arising no doubt from an exaggerated sense of individual self-importance, which renders them less docile and less disposed to be contended ... it has generally a beneficial influence ... by raising the level of their intelligence and by increasing their capacity as workers".³⁹

³⁸ Ibid, pp.12-13. See also N Kagan, 'African settlement in the Johannesburg area, 1903-1923', MA the is, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978, p.12.

³⁹ Lagden, op cit, p.67.

Sanctioning the principle of racial separation of schools, and the principle that African education should be reorganized into a system of state-aided mission schools, SANAC recommended that, as the great demand of South Africa was for unskilled or partially skilled labour, instruction in manual labour should constitute the basis of African education. It had the "particular advantage ... [of] fitting [the African] for his position in life".⁴⁰ The Commission also urged that Africans receiving educational facilities should contribute towards the cost by payment of fees or local rates. Compulsory education was not recommended nor was it considered advisable.⁴¹

The ideological environment produced by SANAC was strengthened by the publication of the Transvaal Indigency Commission (TIC) report in 1908, which suggested further discriminatory policies. The importance of the TIC lies in the fact that it provided grounds for the implementation of segregationist policies enacted by the Education Act of 1907, by attributing white indigency to competition of blacks in the labour market. The Commission argued that the main problem in the Transvaal was the "poor white problem", that is, the problem created by the growing number of whites "who though able-bodied, are not competent to do skilled or semi-skilled work, and are unable to obtain employment in rough manual labour in competition with the native".⁴² It saw white labour as very inefficient and requiring a high scale of wages as compared to African labour. Whites therefore could not get unskilled employment and became indigent. It also argued that blacks had turned into intruders in the field of skilled work, thereby narrowing the skilled labour market for whites and thus reinforcing the potential threat of white indigency.⁴³

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.72.

⁴¹ Ibid, pp.71-72.

⁴² Q John-Williams, Chairman, Transvaal Indigency Commission Report, 1906-8 (Pretoria, 1908), p.25.

⁴³ Ibid, pp.25-26.

Philips noted that some extremists went to the point of stating that "If there had not been a Native in the country we should not have had the Poor White problem".⁴⁴ Consequently, the Commission recommended that the virtual monopoly of the unskilled market by blacks, and their gradual encroachment on skilled and semi-skilled jobs as they became more educated, must be prevented "by the white man himself" with the assistance of the government. Among the racially discriminatory measures suggested by the Commission, of particular relevance was the improvement of the education of whites on the lines of Smuts' and Hertzog's Education Acts, which institutionalized the principle of racial separation in education. Though no specific recommendations were made regarding education for blacks, the central implication of the report was that "native education" should not be placed on the same footing as that for whites.

State intervention and the entrenchment of segregation in education, 1902-1910

Formal schooling for Africans in South Africa began as part of the missionary method of Christianization based on several mission schools built in the Cape and Natal in the early 19th century. These schools were not segregated; white children who wanted education attended the same schools. Segregation was limited to dormitories and eating facilities. In earlier times, slaves were also segregated but on a class rather than a racial basis.⁴⁵ This pattern of development prevailed until the second half of the 19th century, facilitated by the Cape assimilationist ideology, and opened up unintended political and material opportunities for the emerging black petty bourgeoisie which hoped for incorporation in the colonial order.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Philips, *op cit*, p.47.

⁴⁵ See Frank Molteno, 'The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans', in P Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984); and Ernest F Dube, 'The Relationship between Racism and Education in South Africa', *Harvard Educational Review*, 55(1), February 1985, p.90.

⁴⁶ The political expression of this elite is well represented by the Native Educational Association formed in 1880, and the *Ibumba Yama Nyama*, formed by 1882 in Port Elizabeth to unite Africans in political matters in their struggle for national rights. See Marks & Trapido (eds.), *The Politics ...* *op cit*, p.6.

Selective segregation was formalized at school level in 1884 in Natal with the establishment of government-aided schools for whites. "Civilization" was the criterion of selection. A statement issued by the Natal Council of Education the same year declared that "government schools and aided schools are open to all classes of the community, but Coloured [black] children must, however, conform in all respects to European habits and customs".⁴⁷

More significant moves towards a policy of comprehensive segregation began in the late 19th century. In 1892, the non-racial policy of Lovedale and other mission institutions in the Cape received a severe blow when Sir Thomas Muir, the Superintendent General of Education, ruled that white students from Lovedale engaged upon courses of teacher education could not sit the examination.⁴⁸ In 1896, fourteen students who presented themselves to take examinations at the end of the first year of the course were removed from the examination hall by a government inspector under Muir's orders.⁴⁹ Muir's policy had the effect of reducing - though not entirely removing - opportunities for intimate contact between pupils of different race in the schools of the Cape colony. In the Transvaal and Free State, however, no specific provision existed prior to the Anglo-Boer war to prevent African children from attending the same schools as white or mixed-race children. By 1898, for example, there were some private schools in the Johannesburg area attended by white and black children. Only by the end of the 1890s was the government subsidy for some of these schools restricted on racial grounds.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ GH Welsh, Chairman, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-6, para.85.

⁴⁸ M Horrell, African Education: Some Origins and Developments (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p.13.

⁴⁹ N Atkinson, Teaching South Africans: A History of Educational Policy in South Africa (Salisbury: University of Rhodesia, Faculty of Education, 1978), p.150.

⁵⁰ Michael Cross, 'The foundations of a segregated schooling system in the Transvaal, 1900-24', History of Education, 16(4), 1987, p.266.

It was not until the end of the Anglo-Boer war that the education authorities decided to intervene and gradually institutionalize racial separation in schools in the four territories. Two important steps were taken in February 1903. The first was the passing of the First Education Ordinance for the two colonies, which made provision for the education of African children as a separate matter. It represents the first attempt to formulate the preliminary and provisional principles which guided African schools before the definition of a general "native policy". Emphasis was laid on the necessity for increased manual training in the education of blacks. Every African school eligible for Government grants would have to register with the Education Department. In respect of education for whites, the ordinance introduced a state-controlled schooling system (which would determine the structures, control, training and upgrading of teachers). The principle of racially separate schools was implicitly incorporated. Thus, when in April 1903, an Asian, Dr M A Pereira, asked Sir A Milner to allow his children to attend a school for whites, the request was turned down.⁵¹

The second step involved the creation of separate schools for "coloured" (mixed race) children. The first such schools in the Transvaal were opened between 1897 and 1902 under the initiative of the Rev. Charles Philips of the Ebenezer Coloured Congregational church (a separatist church).⁵² When the state adopted its segregationist policy, they were incorporated into the Government school system for "coloured" children and, theoretically, placed on an equal footing with the schools for white children with regard to annual grants, equipment and inspection. In practice, they were disadvantaged in terms of space, quality of buildings, human resources and grading.⁵³

⁵¹ AL Behr & RG Macmillan, *Education in South Africa* (Fretoria: Van Schaik, 1966), p.339.

⁵² DJ Nolte, "The educational needs of the coloured people in the Transvaal", paper presented to the First National Coloured-European Conference, Cape Town, June 1933.

⁵³ The Director of Education had this to say in 1908: "The working principle which I adopt ... is to grade them one step lower than the schools for white children which have about the same enrolment" (TED, *Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 30 June 1908*, pp.28-9).

More significant moves towards a policy of comprehensive segregation were introduced in 1905-8 with the promulgation of the Cape 1905 School Board Act, Smuts' Education Act of 1907 in the Transvaal, and Hertzog's School Act of 1908 in the Orange River Colony, which made provision for compulsory education for white children and institutionalized racial separation in education. In the Orange River Colony, the Education Ordinance of July 1905 determined that African education should not be incorporated into the European system, but should have a separate organization of its own.⁵⁴

Colour bars were imposed in the schools for white children in the whole country. The Transvaal Act of 1907, for example, stated that "No coloured [black] child or person shall be admitted to or allowed to remain a pupil or member of any school class or institution" for white children.⁵⁵ With these measures children of both skilled and unskilled whites were placed on a fundamentally different footing from that of either "coloured" or African children. Through schooling children were to be socialized into different group identities dependent on their skin pigmentation. Africans were denied the right to free and compulsory education on the grounds that they were still unfit for it.

Early segregationist reforms in African education, 1903-1912

The appointment of an organizing inspector of native education in the person of the Rev W.E. Clarke in 1903 represented a turning point in state policy toward African education in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony.⁵⁶ Shortly after his appointment, Clarke organized a detailed survey of mission schools. He suggested that the secular education for Africans must depend upon the initiative of the different religious agencies, which had the task of Christianizing them and elevating their

⁵⁴ Orange River Colony: Ordinance No. 29, 1905.

⁵⁵ Transvaal Education Act of 1907.

⁵⁶ ND Achterberg, 'A survey of native education in the Transvaal', DPhil thesis, Pretoria, 1927, p.69.

moral condition.⁵⁷ He thus advised government "to accept the existing organization [African schools under missionary initiative], to prescribe a certain course of elementary and industrial instruction, and to subsidize and thereby to control their instruction by means of a system of inspection and quarterly grants".⁵⁸ Clarke's ideas and proposals played a crucial role in the formulation of the first scheme for African education introduced in the two colonies from 1 January 1904, as well as in the formulation of SANAC's recommendations on African education.

As in the Cape and Natal, one of the objects intended was that primary schools should encourage manual work, such as gardening, brick-making, mat-weaving and carpentry (for boys), and needlework and domestic work (for girls).⁵⁹ Particular emphasis was given to the teaching of the English language. Government policy, as laid down by the Superintendent of Native Education in 1903, called for the exclusive use of English in all African schools, to ensure "a common medium of communication between white employer and native employee".⁶⁰ A new syllabus was also set out, in 1905, for the training of teachers. A three-year course was instituted with an entrance requirement of Standard III. Industrial training became compulsory to qualify teachers to teach manual skills in the African schools.⁶¹ To encourage the implementation of the new curriculum the state decided to award assistance from public funds to five training institutions - Botshabelo (Berlin Mission), Grace Dieu (Catholic), Pietersburg (Anglican), Kilnerton (Wesleyan) and Lemana (Swiss Mission). The Clark Commission in Natal in 1909 made similar recommendations.⁶² Conformity,

⁵⁷ Quoted in Behr & Macmillan, *op cit*, pp.338-9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp.339.

⁵⁹ AD Dodd, Native Vocational Training: A Study of Conditions in South Africa, 1652-1936 (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1938), p.85.

⁶⁰ Letter from Lemana Training Institution to the Rev. Clarke, 18 March 1906, Church of the Province Archives, Africana Library, University of the Witwatersrand.

⁶¹ Government Notice, 1 December 1905.

⁶² Natal Colony, Report of Education Commission, 1909, pp.11-12.

subservience and productivity of African labour on white-owned farms and in industry were the ultimate goals of state intervention in African education.

"... putting the character and content of the education given on a more rational basis ..."⁶³

Under the South Africa Act of 1910, white education, except higher education, remained a provincial matter. All matters concerning Africans, including African education, were to be transferred to the Union Government and fall under the Ministry of Native Affairs as soon as a national "native" policy was defined. The post-Union educational strategy included two main steps: (1) the extension of the principle of racially separate schooling to the rest of the country and consequent reorganization and rationalization of the school curricula and forms of control over black education; and (2) an expansion and re-adjustment of education for whites to meet the new social and economic needs. Recommendations formulated by SANAC (1903-4), the Transvaal Indigency Commission (1907-8) and the Carnegie Commission (1932) were gradually improved and translated into legislation.

Most importantly, anthropological studies developed the theory of "culture contact" whereby the complexity of African society and the distinctive nature of African culture should be recognized and a differential schooling system for Africans should be developed accordingly. With the decline of the Victorian "civilizing mission", the concept of "culture", reconstituted by the new academic discipline of social anthropology, offered an apparently rational basis with which to inform efforts to provide for the differential development of Africans. Dubow distinguishes three main uses attached to the concept of culture at that time. In one meaning, culture was assumed as a synonym for "civilization" or associated with progress along the barbarian/civilization continuum. In another meaning, culture, and therefore "inferior" and "superior" civilizations, were regarded as functions of race. Finally, culture also emerged from social anthropology and provided an alternative to both

⁶³ This is how the Director of Education in the Transvaal described the changes in African education after the proclamation of Union.

biological determinism and universalist humanism and assimilation. It rejected assimilation as anti-cultural development, yet it permitted "racial upliftment" and ethno-cultural identity. This concept of culture became part of the legitimizing ideology of segregation and served political ends; it became a more subtle form of "race".⁶⁴

On this basis, the new authorities undertook the task of extending the principle of racial segregation to the rest of the country. Thus, from 1910 onwards a process of reorganization and revision of the system of African and "coloured" schools was carried out, which led to the consolidation of segregationist structures in education. It included the introduction of more rational methods and institutions to render more effective the aims and the role of free compulsory education for white children.

These ideological shifts were accompanied by severe criticisms of mission education. The most common criticism charged mission education with attempting to raise Africans "on the shoulders of the white man in a non-African environment" and for educating them to participate in an economic and social life from which they were barred.⁶⁵ The duty of the native, it was argued, was "not to become a black European, but to become a better native, with ideals and a culture of his own".⁶⁶ As Smuts put it, a policy defined on these lines "is to foster an indigenous native culture or system of cultures, and to cease to force the African into alien European moulds".⁶⁷ Africans had thus to develop their own identity.

African education, it was maintained, should be considered as far as possible from the point of view of the African's "own possibilities, needs and aspirations":

⁶⁴ Dubow, *op cit*, p.83.

⁶⁵ GH Welsh, 'The influence of primary education', in EG Malherbe (ed.), Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society (Cape Town: Juta, 1934), pp.435-436.

⁶⁶ House of Assembly, Debates, 29, 1937, col.4219.

⁶⁷ JC Smuts, Africa and Some World Problems (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), p.84.

The mistake of modelling his education on that of the European seems to have been too frequently made. Of course, the systems must have points in common, but the sound method is unquestionably to treat the education of the native as a separate and distinct problem, rather than to attempt to solve it by considering how the European has been treated.⁶⁸

To put it another way, African education had to adjust and conform to the social and economic roles which African people had to perform. Thus, in 1912, the Transvaal Director of Education determined that the existing scheme "should be stripped of those portions which have ... been taken over from the code for white children, rather than incorporated because of their particular suitability for natives".⁶⁹

Moreover, mission education was charged with having negative effects on the African; in Welsh's words, "'it puffed him up'; made him disinclined for manual labour; rendered him selfish and egotistical; undermined clan restraints; made him an easy victim for agitators; vastly increased his power to do evil; and generally undermined his character".⁷⁰ Welsh, who was later appointed the Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (1935-1936), also charged missionary education with promoting book learning with too little social education - health training, home activities, and agricultural and handcraft work - inculcating alien interests, detribalizing the African, and of being unfavourable to the cultural advancement of Africans.⁷¹

However, the Departments of Education were generally of the opinion that until the wider question of a national policy with regard to "natives and native affairs" had been considered and some pronouncement made, any radical change in respect to

⁶⁸ TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31 December 1912, p.92.

⁶⁹ Ibid, pp.92-93.

⁷⁰ Welsh, 'The influence ...', op cit, p.435. Note that this argument constituted the core of the Eiselen Commission's and Dr H Verwoerd's ideas on black education.

⁷¹ Ibid, op cit, p.436.

native African education would be premature, and might be inconsistent with the wider scheme.⁷²

A new curriculum based on the newly-generated concept of "Bantu culture" was devised and put into practice in 1915 in the Transvaal. It had training as its central aim and included a wide range of subjects such as industrial training, religious and moral training and "training in social and civic duties especially as they were laid down in the laws affecting natives".⁷³ The industrial training on which the whole system rested included, in the case of boys, gardening, rudimentary agriculture, basket-making, mat-weaving, tree-planting, leading water and the care of trees. Girls received training in sewing and domestic service, including cookery, kitchen work, laundry, the care of clothes and household work. The training thus conceived of covered "all occupations intended to develop habits and aptitudes which would enable the native to live a healthy life and render more effective service".⁷⁴

In Natal, syllabuses were also revised and standardized at all levels from primary schooling to teacher education under the supervision of CR Loram (1879-1940), Chief Inspector of Native Education from 1918.⁷⁵ The Orange Free State began a programme of curriculum development with the publication of the first syllabus for lower primary classes in 1924, followed by a syllabus for upper primary classes during the following year, and a training syllabus for African primary teachers two years later.⁷⁶ African languages became the main vehicle of instruction.

On the same lines, segregation of the curricula was gradually extended to education for "coloured" children in the Transvaal. At the same time their schools began to be

⁷² TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31 December 1912, pp.91-92.

⁷³ Third Report of the Council of Education dealing with Native Education, 1915, p.11.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.11.

⁷⁵ Welsh Report, *op cit*, p.44.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, paras. 152-4.

separated from schools for Indian children, who had hitherto attended "coloured" schools. Although there had been attempts to place "coloureds" on the same footing as whites, greater concern existed about their economic and political role within the emerging segregationist structure. Indeed, racist ideology portrayed "coloureds" as a "mixed race", the illegitimate progeny of "European civilization and non-European savagery", with however the influence of "European blood" which made them hierarchically superior to their "Bantu" forebears. This indeed lay behind ruling-class fears that "coloureds", if they were not placated, would provide leadership for the "Bantu" masses. As residential and other controls over Africans increased and separate school curricula began to create a separate cultural and ethnic identity for "coloureds", "coloured education" came to be appreciated by the ruling class.

A special syllabus produced for "coloured" schools in Natal during 1914 gave emphasis to certain manual and domestic skills. In the Cape, a full curriculum for both primary and secondary pupils was developed during the early 1920s under the supervision of a separate division of the Education Department's staff. As a result of Sir Thomas Muir's extremism, very few "coloured" children remained in attendance at white schools in the Cape. By 1921, the Cape already had 423 schools specifically for "coloured" pupils.⁷⁷ In Natal, however, in 1929 there were more than a thousand such pupils still enrolled in schools for Europeans or Africans.⁷⁸ In the Orange Free State, where the "coloured" population remained significantly smaller than that of the other provinces, the process was also slower and a considerable number of "coloured" children attended African schools.⁷⁹

The next step involved the segregation of schools for Indian children, who had hitherto attended "coloured" or white schools. Attempts made in 1877-1894 in Natal to create a schooling system for Indians, with three schools being established in

⁷⁷ Atkinson, *op cit*, p.202.

⁷⁸ Natal Province, *Department of Education Report, 1929*, p.13.

⁷⁹ Orange Free State Province, *Department of Education Report, 1937*, p.151. All 'coloured' schools were run by the government in this province.

Durban, Tongaat and Umgeni in 1881, had failed.⁸⁰ However, following the recommendations made by the Dyson Commission during 1928, the Natal Administration embarked upon a scheme for a steady expansion in the number of separate government-aided schools for Indians. In the Transvaal the first school specifically for Indian children was opened in Johannesburg in 1913.⁸¹

Following the introduction of the new curriculum for African schools, steps were taken towards the reorganization and reinforcement of the mechanisms of control. In the Transvaal, according to the existing arrangements, Mr Clarke, inspector of white schools, inspected African teacher training institutions, and the district inspectors in charge of schools for whites inspected African schools. However, with the introduction of the new curriculum, the argument was put forward that African education had become definitely *sui generis*, and as such its inspection should be in the hands of individuals specially trained and qualified for this work.⁸² It was advocated that the administration of education should also be based on the "racial, economic and social differences between whites and blacks."⁸³ With the appointment of three "inspectors of native schools" in 1918 African education took shape as a separate entity in the Transvaal Education Department. In Natal, during 1923, D.M. Malcolm, Loram's successor, succeeded in carrying into effect an idea which Loram had been pressing for some time, that is, the appointment of the first Native Supervisors of African schools, who were deployed under the District Inspector as itinerant headmasters.⁸⁴ The Orange Free State Administration appointed an Organizing Inspector of Native Education in 1924.

⁸⁰ Atkinson, *op cit*, p.206.

⁸¹ TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31 December 1917, p.82; and ... for the year ending 31 December 1916, p.54.

⁸² TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31 December 1917, p.83.

⁸³ Ibid, pp.80-81.

⁸⁴ Natal Province, Department of Education Report, 1929, p.12.

The Native Affairs Commission of 1921 suggested further radical changes in the forms of control. It argued that African education, as "the chief factor in moulding a native policy for South Africa", should be administered by a body responsible for that policy, that is the Union Government, particularly the Ministry of Native Affairs, an idea reiterated by the Native Affairs Commission report of 1936 and certain prominent Nationalists members.⁸⁵ This structure would facilitate the necessary co-ordination of educational policy with the broader "native policy". The Commission also proposed the creation of "Native Advisory Boards" to retain the co-operation of the missionaries, and the promulgation of a Native Education Act on the lines of the Natives (Urban Areas) Bill of 1923, which institutionalized social segregation in the urban areas. These recommendations resulted in the creation of Provincial Advisory Boards, comprising education authorities and representatives of missionary societies and teacher associations.

Finally, racial discrimination also involved the funding of African education. Traditionally, funds for African education came from school fees together with contributions from missionary societies. These were the only sources until grants-in-aid became available after the curricula reforms. An attempt to generate additional finance through a special tax imposed on Africans by the Transvaal Administration in 1921 was overruled by the Union Government following considerable agitation. In 1923, the Union Government assumed responsibility for all grants for African education. However, these grants still came from revenue derived from direct taxation of Africans.⁸⁶ Thus blacks were not only compulsorily submitted to an inferior form of education designed to fit them into subordinate positions in the racially organized division of labour, and to make them conform to the developing forms of domination; they also had to pay for it.

⁸⁵ 'Arguments for Union control and administration,' in Report of the Native Affairs Commission, Relative to Union Control of, or Alternatively Provincial Uniformity in Native Education, 1921.

⁸⁶ Union of South Africa, Act No. 41, 1941.

Conclusion

The changing social and economic conditions after the Anglo-Boer War were accompanied by an ideological climate which directly or indirectly favoured the policies of racial segregation as the appropriate solution for the growing needs and contradictions created by industrial development and the changing economic and social context. In this regard, it has been suggested that, though it can be seen as a turning point in South African politics, the institutionalization of racial segregation under Milner and Smuts cannot be isolated from the 19th century colonial legacy of racial and cultural exclusivism amongst white settlers.

In practice, the racial imagery surrounding the "civilising mission" had already laid the foundations for the development of racially separate identities between Europeans and Africans. This process was however precipitated by the development of a segregationist or "native policy" discourse after the Anglo-Boer war. Two main conclusions can be drawn concerning the development of this discourse and the question of identity which dominated English and Dutch politics in South Africa during the first three decades of the present century. Firstly, there was a correlation between the development of a segregationist discourse in education and the processes of identity construction. The discourse of segregation which formed the basis of "native education policy" involved images and modes of representation which portrayed blacks as racially and culturally different from whites and as such forming part of an identity group different from that of whites. Political and civil rights as well as educational policy and standards for blacks were determined accordingly. While rejecting equal rights and the franchise for blacks, white rulers made efforts towards entrenching white privilege in all spheres of social and political and economic life. Whites were increasingly incorporated into a white state both politically and ideologically in order to mute social and cultural conflict between Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers as well as between capital and white labour.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Linda Chisholm, 'Class and color in South African youth policy: The Witwatersrand, 1886-1910', *History of Education Quarterly*, 27(1), Spring 1987, p.14.

Secondly, emphasis ceased to be placed on the political frontiers which separated the Dutch from the English. The black/white frontier based on cultural and racial differences became the most important factor in identity formation. By adopting a differential treatment and systematic peripheralization of Africans, the British authorities hoped to build a national white identity, unite Afrikaners and the English into a "white *volk*" and minimize English/Afrikaner antagonism. Nevertheless, the distinctiveness of Afrikaner and English identities and Afrikaner/English rivalry prevailed during the whole period examined in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM, COLOUR AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION, 1910-1990

Drawing on the policy developed by SANAC and the emerging influence of science in the 1920s and 1930s,¹ particularly "race psychology" and social anthropology, nationalist ideologists engaged in a systematic formulation of Afrikaner views and policy options for African education based on CNE principles. They appropriated and reinterpreted liberal concepts of culture, more precisely "Bantu culture", and "adapted education".² They turned racism and segregationist ideologies into the basis of an Afrikaner nationalist discourse on African education.³

The scientific movement which emerged in the 1920s and 1930s was used by Afrikaner nationalists to highlight and, very often, emphasize intellectual and cultural differences between whites and blacks, which certainly influenced policy formulations in African education and legitimized racial policies. They developed a particular form of racial segregation based on a synthesis between Christian National Education and what Shingler calls "cultural idealism",⁴ which emphasized the national and cultural

¹ See Chapter Seven for details.

² These issues will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

³ Leonard Thompson, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.26-27.

⁴ John David Shingler, 'Education and the political order in South Africa, 1902-1961', PhD thesis, Yale University, 1973, p.i.

identity of each ethnic and racial group. As Verwoerd put it in his explanation of the concept of apartheid⁵ in 1948,

there is nothing new in what we are propagating, nor have we made any claim that there is anything new in it. The claim that we have made is that we are propagating the traditional policy of Afrikanerdom, the traditional policy of South Africa and of all those who have made South Africa their home - that we want to apply that traditional policy to the full; that is our claim. Our claim is that, whether it is called segregation or by the clear Afrikaans name "apartheid", our claim is that the traditional policy must be put into effect.⁶

It must be stressed however that the Nationalists were able to carry this policy to a greater degree of refinement than it had been reached in the education system which they inherited from their predecessors. For them, the process of economic and social integration had to be resisted at all costs. Assimilation in any form, whether between the English and Afrikaners or between whites and blacks, represented a major threat to the social, cultural and national integrity of the *volk*.

In this chapter, I will explore how Afrikaner nationalists drew on the legacy of racial segregation and Christian Nationalism to develop a solution to the question of education of black South Africans in line with Afrikaner political aspirations, particularly the preservation of Afrikaner identity. I will argue that the synthesis of Milner's segregationist ideology, the doctrine of Christian National Education and the anthropological theories of "culture contact"/"cultural idealism" formed the basis of a discourse on African education which was seen as instrumental for the re-constitution of Afrikaner identity in terms of the black and white divide. In this

⁵ According to Louis Louw, the word apartheid was used for the first time in *Die Burger* on 26 March 1943 to refer to the Nationalists' policy of separate development. On 25 January 1944, Malan introduced the word to Parliament to refer to the policy which would ensure the safety of the white race and Christian civilization. The term apartheid is now part of the English vocabulary. An extensive explanation of the meaning of apartheid was given by Dr Verwoerd in a speech to Parliament on 1 September 1948. For details see BH Brookes (ed.), *Apartheid - A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), pp.1-17.

⁶ Document 2. Speech by Dr H Verwoerd, 3 September 1948, in BH Brookes (ed.), *op cit*, p.5.

particular case, Afrikaner nationalists saw the CNE principle of separate schools for separate cultural and race groups as a fundamental factor for asserting white supremacy and Afrikaner hegemony. As in the previous period, new attempts were also made with little success, this time by agents of Afrikaner nationalism, to widen the political frontiers and create a new identity, which would unite Afrikaners and English into a "white *volk*" or nation *vis-à-vis* the black threat. This project was, however, conceived within a completely different framework, that of Christian Nationalism, which would guarantee Afrikaner political hegemony.

Afrikaner nationalism and African schooling

The best known Afrikaner writers dealing with education for blacks in the formative period of apartheid as National Party policy were H du Plessis, LJ du Plessis, HCM Fourie, DJ du Toit, G Cronje and BF Nel.⁷ Most of these used the system of ideas developed to counter British anglicization policies, particularly the doctrine of Christian National Education, and applied it to the quite different issue of "race relations".⁸ They emphasized the theological rather than the anthropological interpretation in the formulation of Afrikaner nationalist "native policy". A common thread in most of their writings was the idea that racial segregation, particularly total segregation, represented the best strategy to preserve the culture of the "Bantu" and safeguard the future of a white nation in South Africa. Concerned with the question of cultural disintegration amongst Africans, Du Plessis suggested for example that

⁷ See subsequent references.

⁸ Shingler argues that there was an important difference between their concern with CNE as it applied to themselves and as they applied it to the Africans:

For themselves they were more concerned with elaborating a formula or framework for the education of the *volk* along Christian National lines within a modern state. In the case of the Africans they endeavoured to define the nature of *Christelike*, as it pertained to the indigenous African culture, and of *Nasionale* in the context of the contemporary hegemony of the Whites. (Shingler, *op cit*, p.254)

black societies should undergo a Christian transformation but retain their "Bantu" character.⁹ This could be achieved through the policy of total segregation:

Ostensibly the natives will be absorbed by our culture, but in fact they will, by obtaining participation in our lives, *kaffirize* our whole social and political life ... The past shows us that ... the whites who have sunk to the level of the *kaffirs* also *interbreed* with them. Differentiation, as it has been applied up to the present, results in assimilation, and assimilation leads to domination by the natives. In principle and in practice we cannot accept assimilation. The only alternative is *total segregation*. [priv. trans.]¹⁰

The idea of total segregation received further attention from Nel, who undertook the task of demonstrating that it could ultimately lead to the development of "a racially genuine 'Bantu' culture", implicitly seen as the culture of the black people. Nel also explored what came to be seen as the Christian National foundations of a system of "Bantu education" for blacks: total segregation, instruction in the vernacular, school differentiation, Christianization under white guardianship, and the revitalization of "Bantu culture".¹¹

The idea of "total segregation" received special attention from DJ du Toit in his Naturelle-Opvoeding: Driejaar Plan (Native Education: Three Year Plan), a speech delivered in 1946. Because of its significance to the policy of apartheid education, I shall examine this document in detail. In this document, Du Toit explained the aim of segregation as follows:

The word segregation is here used in its stricter sense and is never intended to give offence. We do not segregate the Europeans for this or that reason. We do not segregate the natives for that or for the other reason. We segregate as between Europeans and Natives, because the

⁹ LJ du Plessis, 'Die toepassing van die CNO - Beginsel', *Koers*, 7(1), 1939, p.12.

¹⁰ H du Plessis, 'Assimilasie of algehele segregasie - Die enigste alternatiewe vir die oplossing van die naturelleprobleem', *Koers*, 11(6), June 1935, p.40.

¹¹ BF Nel 'Inleidende opmerkings tot die Afrikaner en naturelle opvoeding en onderwys', *Koers*, 8(2), 1940, pp.24-25.

fact stands beyond all cavil or doubt that, living far apart - out of touch with each other - the separate culture of each will then blossom and flower anew, will pulsate as with life renaissant, will grow to fruit in a manner natural and unforced, each unspoilt by the other. Such is our simple aim. [priv. trans.]¹²

For Du Toit, blacks should also develop under white guardianship:

We are the black man's guardians. It is our duty to educate him - *om hom op te voed*. It is our duty to exercise him in training himself in the arts of peaceful industry, and, making haste slowly but soundly and wisely, to lead him to a rehabilitated family life, in proud tribal milieu, and eventually to independent nationhood. This duty must we do ... Not by letting him run wild on our village outspans and on the streets of our urban areas ... but by bringing him up according to the principles and tenets of his own culture; by treating him as a growing, developing fellow being all the time, using education only as a means of training him to citizenship of his own tribal state, on the sure and only foundation of his own cultural tradition.

Incidentally, the immediate recognition and institution, followed directly by the faithful and conscientious application and pursuance of this policy, forms the sole safeguard for our future as a white nation here. [priv. trans.]¹³

To achieve these objectives, Du Toit presented a three year plan, which he described as "the only possible way in which pure native culture can attain its end unforcedly" and "the only practical way in which the white blood in Africa can safeguard itself and insure its future".¹⁴ The points enumerated in the plan urged the Union Government, *inter alia*:

- (1) to close and patrol the boundaries of all "native reserves", so as to prevent blacks from leaving the reserves at will;
- (2) to transfer all native commissioners with their staff to "native" reserves;

¹² DJ du Toit, 'Naturelle-Opvoeding: Driejaar Plan', speech addressed to all European Landowners and all European Shareholders of mining, industrial or financial shares, living in South Africa, Zeerust, May 1946, Africana Library, Northwestern University, p.3.

¹³ Ibid, p.4.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.7.

- (3) to extend the powers, duties and prerogatives of tribal chiefs under the supervision of the native commissioner;
- (4) to institute recruiting machinery in every reserve for recruiting only the absolutely necessary unskilled labour required on farms and in urban areas;
- (5) to institute a labour office in each municipality for distribution of labour;
- (6) to enforce the use of identity cards setting forth personal particulars, tax-date, labour record and thumb-marks;
- (7) to set up primary and trades schools in the reserves with the help of the Dutch Reformed Church, with mother tongue as the only medium of instruction;
- (8) "to fine-comb South Africa" and repatriate all those Africans, men women and children, who did no regular work, into their respective reserves;
- (9) to repatriate all sick Africans to the clinics and hospitals in their respective reserves and every African criminal directly after completion of punishment;
- (10) to transfer all Africans who were doing any skilled or semi-skilled work to the reserves, "there permanently to serve in teaching, training and civilizing their fellow tribesmen";
- (11) to punish any person found guilty of instruction, employing or training an African, outside a reserve in any skilled or semi-skilled capacity;
- (12) to prevent Africans from doing any skilled or semi-skilled work;
- (13) to ensure that all economic activities in the reserves were carried out and developed exclusively by the Africans themselves strictly under the supervision of the Native Commissioner's Office; and
- (14) not to allow any other persons, who were not Africans, to reside in an African reserve, except a Native Commissioner, a Christian missionary, white teachers and medical practitioners and assistants.¹⁵

This text, although extreme, shows how the construction of an African or "Bantu" identity within the framework of the reserves came to be seen as the *sine qua non* for white survival and the integrity of Afrikanerdom. Blacks began to be portrayed as a potential danger to European civilization, particularly if they were given access to it.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp.5-6.

Verwoerd, the chief architect of apartheid, followed the same line of argument in 1948:

With the disorder and chaos that were arising in the country under the administration of the previous government we (the whites and non-Europeans) were becoming a mutual danger to one another. That is really the object of the whole apartheid policy - the whole object of the policy adopted by this side of the House is to try to ensure that neither of the two will become a danger to the other.¹⁶

And also,

As the nations of the world each in its own territory accomplishes its own national development, so also the opportunity will be given here to the various Native groups each to accomplish its own development each in its own territory. To each of them, from the tribal chief to the ordinary native, the chance is being given to accomplish a fair and reasonable development within his own national group.¹⁷

The idea of segregation had become the basis for the National Party's campaign for the 1948 elections. Several pamphlets were circulated under the banner: "The Colour Policy of the National Party", "Maintenance of European Civilization as the Prime Task", "Policy Towards the Natives", "Native Reserves", "Natives in Towns", and so forth. According to Verwoerd, the pamphlets advocated racial separation between whites, Indians, "coloureds" and Africans, as "the only basis on which the character and the future of each race can be protected and made secure and enabled to develop in accordance with its own national character, abilities and destiny".¹⁸ They argued for concentration of the main ethnic groups and sub-groups of the "Bantu" in "their own separate areas, where each group will be able to develop into a self-sufficient unit".¹⁹ The reserves were blessed as "the true fatherland of the Natives". The influx of Africans into the towns threatened the safety and "European character" of those

¹⁶ HF Verwoerd, Speech before Parliament, 3 September 1948, in EH Brookes (ed.), *Op cit*, p.5.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.13.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.12.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.12.

towns: "The Native in our urban areas must be regarded as a 'visitor', who will never have the right to claim any political rights or equal social rights with the Europeans in the Europeans areas".²⁰ Or, "All surplus Natives in the towns will have to be sent back to the country districts or to the Native reserves or to wherever they came from".²¹ Thus Africans would be allowed to enter "white areas" only as "temporary workers". All these ideas formed part of the National Party's political manifesto.

Fourie emphasized the need for preserving the intrinsic qualities of African culture and maintained that teaching should be in the mother tongue in order to ensure that "the national pride of the Africans is not harmed". He argued that "Christianity can adapt itself to each national institution ... and, through the Christian reform of the national, it can enrich and ennoble the national".²² This meant that, "for pure survival of white Afrikanerdom", under white or in particular Afrikaner guardianship,²³ the Africans should be Christianized without being "denationalized", i.e. without losing their "national heritage" and "peculiar national course of development in history".²⁴ Fourie joined the Holloway Commission in 1930 and certainly his Calvinist and Christian Nationalist views had some bearing on the Commission's deliberations. This will be discussed in the next section.

In summary, most Afrikaner writers advocated complete segregation of Africans, instruction in the vernacular, restoration of "Bantu culture" and Christianization with a minimum degree of "westernization". Assimilationist and egalitarian policies held by some liberals were categorically rejected; blacks would lose their culture and Afrikaners would sink to the level of the "kaffirs" and would ultimately be dominated

²⁰ Ibid, p.14

²¹ Ibid, p.15.

²² HCM Fourie, 'Christelike Nasionale Opvoeding van die nature!', *Koers in die Krisis*, 2 (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1940) pp.407-408.

²³ Nel also made it clear that the Africans must be educated "according to the viewpoint of the Afrikaner nation, that is to say, on a Christian-National foundation" (quoted by Shingler, op cit, p.262).

²⁴ Fourie, op cit, p.408.

by them.²⁵ For this reason, as Nel pointed out, an educational policy for blacks should be formulated according to the viewpoint of the Afrikaner nation, i.e. the CNE foundation.²⁶

The policy document published by the National Institute for Christian Teaching and Education during February 1948 made it clear that Christian nationalist ideals were also to be applied to education for "coloured" people. It stated that the Afrikaners had the duty to Christianize them, make them race-conscious, educate them according to Christian and National principles, and to inculcate in them an awareness that their welfare and happiness rested upon their realization that they belonged to a separate racial group".²⁷ With regard to education for Africans, the document declared that it was the task of the Boer nation to Christianize them, help them culturally, teach and educate them on a Christian National basis and with reference to the principles of no equality and segregation.²⁸ As such, African education would presumably lead to the development of an independent, self-supporting and self-maintaining African community on a Christian basis.²⁹

These ideas were appropriated by theorists of anthropological orientation like WWM Eiselen,³⁰ PAW Cook,³¹ G Eloff and HF Verwoerd, who ultimately became dominant

²⁵ H du Plessis, op cit, p.40.

²⁶ Nel, op cit, p.66.

²⁷ Beleid (Johannesburg: Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur Verenigings, Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys, 1948), Article 14, Africana Library, Northwestern University.

²⁸ See The Education League, 'Blueprint for Blackout - A Commentary of the Education Policy of the Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys, with an abridged translation of the recent pamphlet in which the policy is stated', undated, p.23.

²⁹ Beleid, op cit, Article 15.

³⁰ WWM Eiselen, Stamskole in Suid-Afrika (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1929); Die Naturelle vraagstuk (Cape Town: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1929); 'Nuwe Sesoeto tekste van volkekundige belang met vertaling en verklarende aantekeninge', Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, VI(V), Afl. 3 1928.

in Afrikaner intellectual ranks.³² Both Eiselen and Cook made no or very little reference to Christian-Nationalism and preferred to justify their claims on "scientific grounds". For them, African society and culture must be preserved and allowed to develop through a policy of differentiation.³³ Using their influential positions within the state they converted their ideas into state policy during the 1950s and 1960s.³⁴ Of particular importance among this generation of Afrikaner nationalists was the recognition of "ethnic cultures" and "population groups" in the context of "Bantu culture" and "Bantu" people, which had profound implications for subsequent educational policy.

Crude racism dominated Eloff's writings. In one of his pamphlets he declared that:

The preservation of the pure race tradition of the Boerevolk must be protected at all costs in all possible ways as a holy pledge entrusted to us by our ancestors as part of God's plan with our People. Any movement, school, or individual who sins against this must be dealt with as a racial criminal by the effective authorities. [priv. trans.]³⁵

³¹ PAW Cook, Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana (Cape Town: Juta, n.d.); The Native Standard VI Pupil (Pretoria: South African Council of Educational and Social Research, 1939); The Transvaal Native Teacher (Pretoria: South African Council for Educational and Social Research, 1940); A History of South Africa for Native Schools (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1932); and The Education of a South African Tribe (Cape Town: Juta, 1934).

³² See for example G Eloff, Rasse en Rasvermenging (Bloemfontein, 1942); G Cronje, 'In Tuiste vir die Nageslag: Die Blywende Oplossing van Suid-Afrika se Rassevraagstukke' (Cape Town, 1945), HF Verwoerd, [several documents] in Edgar H Brookes (ed.), Apartheid ... op cit; and B Rose and R Tunmer (eds.), Documents in South African Education (Johannesburg: Ad. Donker, 1975).

³³ See Eiselen, Die Naturellevraagstuk, op cit, p.11; and Cook, The Education of a South African Tribe, op cit, p.vii.

³⁴ Eiselen was Chairman of the Commission of Enquiry which produced the Report used as the basis for the introduction of "Bantu Education" by Dr Verwoerd. See for example WWM Eiselen, 'The natives living in missionary locations', in EG Malherbe (ed.), Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society - Report of the South African Education Conference held in Cape Town and Johannesburg in July, 1934, under the Auspices of the New Education Fellowship (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta, 1934), pp.483-484.

³⁵ G Eloff, Rasse en Rasvermenging (Bloemfontein, 1942), p.104.

Within the same line of argument Cronje outlined the policy of apartheid, which to his view provided greater security for the purity of Afrikaner blood and European racial survival.³⁶ Eiselen was obsessed with the effects of missionary education and western civilization on "Bantu life", particularly what was known as the danger of "detribalization". At the New Education Fellowship Conference held in Johannesburg in 1934, Eiselen analyzed the economic, social, educational, religious and "tribal" changes among the Africans living in missionary locations and accused the missionaries of being short-sighted in missionary policy. In his view, the missionaries suffered from a lack of insight into the real significance of old customs and beliefs and the nature of African organization. "We have ignored the positive forces which could have counteracted the disruptive influence of Western civilization", he pointed out.³⁷

Important ideas emanated from the ranks of Afrikaner Nationalist anthropologists which were to inform the educational reform of the 1950s. First, the CNE concept of nationality was gradually reformulated to consolidate the political dominance of Afrikaners within a united white nation. As Verwoerd put it in 1961, "the only national unity for the whites is unity amongst the whites".³⁸ Second, the idea of "Bantu culture" was re-conceptualized to accommodate the diversity of "Bantu cultures", which were perceived as embryonic nations:

We do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival as a white race ... We want each of our population groups to control and to govern themselves, as is the case with other Nations.³⁹

³⁶ G Cronje, *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag: Die Blywende Oplossing van Suid-Afrika se Rasbevraagstukke* (Cape Town, 1945), op cit, p.79.

³⁷ Quoted by HP Junod, 'Anthropology and mission education', paper read at the Meeting of the Superintendents' Association held at Pretoria on the 25th October 1934, Killie Campbell Africana Library 56973 (329), file 427/10, p.3.

³⁸ HF Verwoerd, election statement, 18 October 1961, cited by Verwoerd in parliament, 25 January 1963, House of Assembly, *Debates*, 1963, col.231.

³⁹ HF Verwoerd, speech in London in May 1961, quoted by Eric H Louw in his speech to the UN General Assembly on 6 November 1962.

The ideas developed by Nationalist anthropologists formed the basis for the formulations of several Commissions, including the Holloway Commission (1932), the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (1936) and the Eiselen Commission (1953) and Tomlinson Commission (1955). A brief examination of their reports illustrates how Afrikaner nationalist thought increasingly began to dominate national politics. With few exceptions, they advocated racial segregation as the condition for the preservation of European culture, white supremacy, and in many cases, Afrikaner identity.

The Holloway Commission (1930-1932)

The Holloway commission can be described as one of the first opportunities for the Afrikaner intelligentsia to assert their viewpoint on a government platform.⁴⁰ The Holloway commission had to deal with facts about the economic and social position of black people in the country at the time of economic and social change of the 1920s. Its composition still reflected the balance of power between English and Afrikaner forces. It was a mixture of committed Afrikaner nationalists and some liberals with diverse political perspectives: JE Holloway, Director of Census and Statistics and Dean of Commerce at the University of Pretoria, AW Roberts, astronomer and educationist at Lovedale College, PW le Roux van Niekerk, a Nationalist parliamentarian and a member of the Native Affairs Commission, FAW Lucas, an advocate and leader of the Labour Party in the Transvaal, HCM Fourie, a theologian and anthropologist, R Anderson, a Natal farmer and AM Mostert, a farmer and member of a labour advisory board. The Commission investigated the "Native question" and interpreted it in terms of a theory of "culture contact" according to which the process of integration caused by contact between whites and blacks and by urbanization was detrimental for both races. Note that the theory of "culture contact" dominated anthropology and social and educational research at the time.

⁴⁰ JE Holloway, Chairman, Report of the Native Economic Commission (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1922).

The results reflected the multidisciplinary composition of the Commission and the diverse political outlook of its members. The Commission attributed the economic conditions of blacks to the underdevelopment of the reserves, which in turn was ascribed to the socio-cultural conditions of black people. It recommended that in order to limit urbanization, guarantee the supply of labour to industry and farms, and protect poor whites against competition by blacks in the labour market, the reserves had to be developed.⁴¹ This had to involve the stabilization of a "class of more efficient urban Natives" and a "retribalization" of surplus labour in the reserves as well as measures of influx control, work reservation, wage regulation.⁴² Most importantly, the Commission considered that to resocialize blacks into the reserves it was deemed "necessary in the first instance to change the attitude of mind of a people before the natives as a whole can become part of an orderly advanced economic system".⁴³ This would, of course, involve social educational development within the framework of segregation. The majority report, which can be regarded as being in tune with Afrikaner nationalist thinking, was supported by Holloway, Fourie, Mostert and Van Niekerk. Lucas and Roberts and occasionally Anderson adopted a liberal line. They criticized or rejected the principle of segregation and the pass laws.

The educational implications of the Holloway Commission were explored by the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1936 appointed by the Union Minister of Education in the Hertzog-Smuts United Party government.⁴⁴ The Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education did not have a significant representation of the Afrikaner nationalist intelligentsia. With the exception of EG Malheroe, Director of the Council for Educational and Social Research, the Commission was dominated by senior state officials. It noted that education and "detrribalization" tended to become interchangeable terms, and criticized missionary education for

⁴¹ Ibid, par.532.

⁴² Ibid, par.558.

⁴³ Ibid, par.552.

⁴⁴ GH Welsh, Chairman, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936 (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1936).

assuming that there was "nothing worth preserving in the Native's culture and social structure". On the contrary, it argued, "the Native should be allowed to decide for himself which elements in his indigenous culture should be preserved".⁴⁵ The Commission adopted a liberal line and rejected total segregation. Its significance was immediately eclipsed by the Native Affairs Commission of 1936, which outlined the theoretical basis of the policy of segregation pursued by Hertzog.⁴⁶ Its recommendations synchronized African education with the principles formulated by Afrikaner nationalists.

The Eiselen Commission (1951)

The Eiselen Commission was appointed in 1949 under the Chairmanship of Dr WWM Eiselen to make recommendations for education for Africans as "an independent [*selfstandige*] race" taking into account "their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever changing social conditions".⁴⁷ The Commission worked on the assumption that there should be differentiation between education for whites and education for blacks.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.89.

⁴⁶ G Lagden, Chairman, South African Native Affairs Commission, 1936 (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1937), p.14.

⁴⁷ Rose & Tunmer (eds.), op cit. p.244. These terms of reference were heavily questioned at the National Conference convened by the South African Institute of Race Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand to study the Eiselen Commission report:

While accepting the fact that Africans are ethnologically a separate race, Conference does not consider that they are a community unrelated to the rest of South Africa. It believes that Africans are not culturally, economically or politically 'independent', but that they are an integral part of South African society. (SAIRR, Record of Proceedings of National Conference convened by the Institute in July 1952 to study the Report of the Native Education Commission, p.2).

⁴⁸ The members of the Commission included Dr WWM Eiselen (Chairman), then Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Pretoria and later Secretary for Native Affairs, Prof J de W Keyter, Prof AH Murray, Dr PAW Cook, Dr GB Gerdener, MDC de Wet Nel (MP), WA Hofmeyr and J MacLeod.

Its report, released in 1951, severely criticized the existing system of education for Africans for different reasons, particularly for general lack of clarity as to the "rightful place of the 'Bantu' in South Africa".⁴⁹ As such it favoured the adjustment of "Bantu culture" to European economic and political ideals.⁵⁰ As a result, not only were "Bantu" tempted to despise "tribal culture" and choose western culture, but they also came to feel that "any differentiation in education must be to their detriment" and that "if they do not follow the same curricula and pass the same examinations they cannot obtain certificates of equal value".⁵¹

The Commission recommended the adoption of the concept of "Bantu Education",⁵² a concept which recognized that it had to "deal with a Bantu child, i.e. 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".⁵³ Schools were to be primarily concerned with reinforcing the social institutions of "Bantu" society and more largely with the transmission of ideas, values, attitudes, and skills developed in "Bantu" society or in harmony with its institutions.

In contrast to other issues discussed in the report, the aims of Bantu Education were generally and vaguely defined. The aims of Bantu Education, as viewed by the Commission, included: (1) to transmit the culture of a society "from its more mature to its more immature members"; (2) to transmit elements of the culture not easily or necessarily transmitted by other social institutions, including ideas, feelings and patterns of behaviour in an informal way; (3) to teach the virtues and merits of

⁴⁹ WWM Eiselen, Chairman, Report of the Native Education Commission, 1949-1951 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1951), p.103.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp.134.

⁵¹ Ibid, p.104.

⁵² Shingler defines Bantu Education as "an awkward marriage of two segregationist doctrines, Christian-Nationalism and cultural idealism" (op cit, p.i).

⁵³ Eiselen, Chairman, op cit, pp.129-132.

modern hygiene; (4) to develop a modern progressive culture; and (5) to develop the character and intellect of the child and equip her/him for future work and surroundings.⁵⁴ Christian character, co-ordination with "native policy", close links with "Bantu" social institutions, the importance of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction, the use of "Bantu" personnel, and emphasis on African languages were among the aspects which were to guide the implementation of Bantu Education.⁵⁵

The report also suggested that the reserves, "being areas in which 'Bantu culture' functions most completely", provided the context in which "Bantu culture" and schools were to develop.⁵⁶ This question was the object of the Tomlinson Commission.

The Tomlinson Commission (1955)

The Tomlinson Commission⁵⁷ was appointed in 1955 to investigate and recommend a social and political structure within the reserves that could preserve "Native culture" or "Bantu culture". Its policy rested on the following assumptions: (1) that contact between whites and blacks and the concession of equal rights to blacks endangered the existence of European civilization and culture; and (2) that if Africans were granted land, education and opportunities for technical training and equal political

⁵⁴ 'The aims of Bantu Education', republished in Bantu Education Journal, II(1), pp.4-9.

⁵⁵ Eiselen, Chairman, *op cit*, pp.9-37.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.131.

⁵⁷ The Commission was heavily dominated by individuals with an Afrikaner nationalist outlook: Prof. FR Tomlinson, economist at the University of Pretoria and at the Department of Agriculture; MDC de Wet Nel, member of Parliament and specialist in Native Affairs; CW Prinsloo, Assistant Manager of Non-White Affairs for the Pretoria Municipality; JH Janse van Rensburg, farmer; GJ Badenhorst, farmer; CB Young, Assistant Vice-Secretary (Development) of the Department of Native Affairs; Prof. CH Badenhorst, educationist and theologian; Dr JH Moolman, geographer at the Council for the Development of Natural Resources; and Prof. JHR Bisschoff agronomist.

rights, there would be a "total collapse of European culture".⁵⁸ The consequences of the process of integration were carefully highlighted. Integration would remove all economic measures differentiating blacks and whites, develop social stratification based not on colour but on purely socio-economic considerations, produce cultural and economic equality leading to political equality, create a common society, and ultimately lead to cultural assimilation and complete racial assimilation.⁵⁹ If integration was to continue it could lead to a situation in which blacks would eventually constitute the majority of the electorate, which was implicitly seen as a threat to white domination. Interestingly, culture remained a major foundation of its policy.

The commission recommended that social development and welfare services of the "Bantu" should be adjusted to the nature of their society and that their national characteristics should be preserved though fertilized by Western culture.⁶⁰ It advocated an attempt at social engineering through cultural resocialization ('retribalization') within the reserves, which entailed socio-economic reconstruction not directed at the maintenance, or reconstruction of "traditional" structures, but at the adaptation of such structures to "western concepts" within the apartheid mould.⁶¹ The Tomlinson commission endorsed the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission and emphasized that black children should be trained to service in their own "Bantu Community".

⁵⁸ FR Tomlinson, Chairman, Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955) pp.21-23.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.25.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.202. See Rose & Tunmer (eds), op cit, pp.252-256.

⁶¹ The Tomlinson Commission suggested that education "must provide persons trained in the modern technique of a progressive economy" while the Eiselen commission viewed as one of the aims of Bantu education "the development of a modern progressive culture" (p.130). Both commissions had a vision of an African society in the reserves recreated according to the logic of apartheid.

Following the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission (1953) and the Tomlinson Commission (1955), a policy was designed aimed at developing within the reserves a social and political structure that could preserve "Native culture" or "Bantu culture". This policy was translated into state policy through successive enactments in the 1950s and 1960s, namely the Bantu Education Act of 1954, the Extension of Universities Education Act of 1959, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963, the Indian Education Act of 1965 and the National Education Policy Act of 1967. The education system was fragmented in its structures and content into four separate and hierarchically different schooling systems: "Bantu Education", "Indian Education", "Coloured Education" and "White Education".

The guiding principles of the "Bantu Education" policy came with a speech in the Senate by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd, on 7 June 1954.⁶² Verwoerd argued that under the system of mission schools, the schools could not serve communities, were unsympathetic to the country's policy, and lacked effective co-ordination and uniformity consistent with the country's policy'. He went on to say that

the curriculum (to a certain extent) and educational practice, by ignoring the segregation or "apartheid" policy, was unable to prepare for service within the Bantu community. By blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy posts within the European community despite the country's policy of "apartheid". This is what is meant by the creation of unhealthy "White collar ideals" and the causation of wide-spread frustration among the so-called educated Natives.⁶³

He explained that the intention was that Bantu Education "should have its roots entirely in the native areas and in the native environment and native community". The "Bantu" was to be guided to assist his/her own community in all respects:

⁶² HF Verwoerd, 'Bantu Education', speech delivered in the Senate, 7 June 1954, in Rose & Tunmer (eds.), *op cit*, pp.260-266.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.261.

There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. 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. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent for an education which has no specific aim but it is also dishonest to continue it. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European.⁶⁴

Following the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, the apartheid regime separated African communities into ethnic groups and introduced the vernacular as the medium of instruction. Pupils who spoke different African languages had to go to entirely separate schools. In 1957, the government introduced new Junior Certificate syllabuses for secondary schools and new syllabuses for teacher training.⁶⁵ It also imposed Afrikaans as a compulsory school subject for all trained teachers accordingly. The policy was that half of the subjects which were not taught through the medium of the mother tongue had to be taught through the medium of Afrikaans and the other half through the medium of English. Exceptions to this rule were to be motivated and submitted to the Department of Bantu Education.⁶⁶

Bantu education made no provision for compulsory education of African children, even in the "homelands" where, allegedly, their full rights could be realized. In response to his critics in 1967, the Minister of Bantu Education gave the following explanation:

⁶⁴ Ibid, p.266.

⁶⁵ FJ de Villiers, 'What Bantu Education has already achieved', Bantu Education Journal, III(3), pp.1-2.

⁶⁶ WM Kgware, 'Primary and secondary schools in African education in South Africa', introductory paper presented at the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRP Johannesburg, 16-17 January 1969, p.11.

If compulsory education for Bantu children was introduced the number of Bantu pupils produced would be out of all proportion to the numbers that Bantu economy could absorb. Their schools should meet the requirements of the Bantu community and not of an integrated South African community.⁶⁷

To market the concept of Bantu Education, the children's papers Motswalle wa Bana and Umhlobo waBantwana were published in Afrikaans, English and several African languages. Furthermore, in November 1954, the Department of Bantu Education introduced the Bantu Education Journal. As pointed out by Rauche, it was a difficult task to convince "Bantu" students to value Bantu culture: "At once they nourish the suspicion that this is only a trick to keep them backward on purpose".⁶⁸ In May 1965 Senator de Klerk, Minister of Education, Arts and Science, announced in Parliament that blacks would not be allowed to join white scientific organizations once alternative societies had been established for them. This followed a circular distributed to scientific organizations asking them to change their constitutions so as to "kick out" blacks or he would withhold their subsidies under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953.⁶⁹

Similar measures were implemented concerning education for "coloureds" and Indians. To introduce the same strategy at higher education level, the Government appointed a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the possibility of introducing separate training facilities for blacks at universities under the Chairmanship of Dr J E Holloway.⁷⁰ The Commission approved the principle of segregation but rejected the establishment of new universities for blacks on financial grounds. Note that the idea of separate university education was investigated for the first time in 1942, when the Union Government considered the possibility of establishing a separate university for

⁶⁷ Hansard No 5 of 1967, Cols.1682-1683.

⁶⁸ GA Rauche, 'The Bantu and culture', Bantu Education Journal, II(10), p.424.

⁶⁹ Cape Times, 6 May 1965.

⁷⁰ JE Holloway, Chairman, Report of the Commission of Enquiry on Separate Training Facilities for Non-Europeans at Universities, 1953-54 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955).

the Indian community.⁷¹ The committee appointed for this purpose came to the conclusion that there was no demand for those educational aspects seen as peculiar to the Indian community, namely Indian religion, Indian philosophy and Indian history:

They want not Indianisation but South Africanisation, i.e. a university training which not only qualifies them to earn a living in certain professions but which helps to make them less alien, less unprivileged, and less unintegrated into the structure of South African society.⁷²

Interestingly, at the time of the Holloway Commission (1953-54), the Nationalist establishment submitted a scheme to ensure a much more comprehensive dominance of Christian National Education ideology. For example the University of Pretoria proposed that a separate university for the "Sotho-Bantu group" be founded in the north and placed under its guardianship, to emphasize Sotho national heritage, guided by the philosophy of Christian National Education. It also suggested that a university for "coloureds" be established in the south under the guardianship of the University of Stellenbosch; and that the University of Fort Hare be reconstituted to cater for the Nguni "Bantu" group under the guardianship of Rhodes University; and that "the non-European branch of the University of Natal in Durban should be allocated to the Indian community. These institutions could eventually become independent as they developed."⁷³

Then the government decided to appoint an interdepartmental committee (known as the HS van der Walt Committee) to examine the costs incurred in providing separate

⁷¹ At the time the situation of the Indian community in South Africa was still uncertain. Afrikaner nationalists advocated repatriation of all Indians, which led to considerable riots in 1949. Only in 1961, the Government decided to recognize their rights as permanent residents of South Africa: "Geleidelik het die besef deurgering en het dit duideliker geword - en stel ons dit dan nou ook onomwonde - *that* Indiers hier te lande ons permanente verantwoordelijkheid is" (*Hansard*, vol 103, col.6631, 16.05.1961). However, right-wing Afrikaner organizations did not accept this decision.

⁷² AL Behr, 'University Colleges for non-whites - Retrospect and prospect', paper presented to the 1969 Bantu Education Conference, SAIRR, 16-17 January 1969, Johannesburg, p.11.

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp.19-20.

university facilities for blacks.⁷⁴ Its report was published as a White Paper in 1957 and paved the way for segregated university education in South Africa.

The first legislation gave rise to four Bantu university colleges: the University College of the North in the Transvaal for the Sotho-, Tsonga- and Venda-speaking people; the University College of Zululand for Zulu people, the University College of the Western Cape for "coloured" people; and the University College of Durban-Westville for the Indian community.⁷⁵ The University College of Fort Hare was transferred from the Department of Education, Arts and Science to the Department of Bantu Education to cater for Xhosa students.

In presenting the Bill, the responsible minister stressed that

The necessity of maintaining ethnic ties in university institutions flows from the conviction that the future leader during his training, including his university training, must remain in close touch with the habits, ways of life and views of his population group.⁷⁶

He went on to say that:

The university college should be related to the culture and life of the nation. The product of the university should seek and find its highest fulfillment in the enrichment of its own social group ... Such a university must also produce individuals who are aware of their mission in life. It is the specific aim of this Bill not to estrange people

⁷⁴ See HS van der Walt, Chairman, Short Summary of the Findings of the Interdepartmental Fact-finding Committee on the Financial Implications in Connection with the Establishment of Separate University Colleges for Non-Europeans (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1957).

⁷⁵ Government Notices R1180 of 8.12.1961; R1140 of 1.12.1961; R1196 of 31.7.1959. For details see Muriel Horrell, A Decade of Bantu Education (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1964; R Hunt Davis, Bantu Education and the Education of Africans in South Africa (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1972).

⁷⁶ Quoted by Behr, op cit, p.21. Mr W Maseke elaborated on this issue by saying that if the Xhosa culture must develop to be a true culture, it must remain rooted in its own community; Africans must not gain the "fallacious" impression that academic training would remove discrimination in South Africa. He stressed that "the Bantu must be so educated that they do not want to become imitators (of the whites) but that they will want to remain essentially Bantu". (Assembly 17.06.1959, Hansard 20 col.8319; Hansard 5 and 12 of 1959, cols.1560 and 4443-53).

from their own national group. It is fatal, and it will always remain fatal, to try to turn a non-White into a White and ... to try to turn a White into a non-White. Consequently we must ensure that the racial groups are separated on a racial basis and that their education fits in with their own national character.⁷⁷

The creation of separate university colleges had four main aims: (1) to "provide more adequate and more effective university training for the "Bantu" (and other non-whites) than the facilities that existed before 1950"; (2) to acquaint black students with the needs of their community and the means by which they could contribute towards their progress; (3) to provide professional and managerial leaders who would primarily serve their own people and shape the future of their own ethnic group; and (4) to contribute to the enrichment of the cultures of the different ethnic groups.⁷⁸ These aims were certainly designed to put Higher Education in line with the principles and the philosophy of Christian Nationalism, which had become the cornerstone of the Apartheid educational system.

The National Education Policy Act of 1967 sanctioned the implementation of Christian National Education in white schools. The Act stipulated that education in white government schools should have a Christian character, a broad national character and that the mother tongue, if it was English or Afrikaans, should be the medium of instruction.⁷⁹

The new intelligentsia: Merging CNE and social theory

As has been pointed out, there is a close correlation between the pursuit of knowledge and intellectual processes connected to particular cultural and political traditions. This can be illustrated by the distinctive features of scientific and research activity in

⁷⁷ Document 15, 'Speech of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science on the Second Reading of the Extension of University Education Bill on 8 April 1959', in EH Brookes (ed.), *op cit*, p.65.

⁷⁸ Behr, *op cit*, p. 6.

⁷⁹ Rose & Tunmer, *op cit*, pp.128-142.

Afrikaans-speaking institutions in the 1970s and 1980s. The distinctive feature of this development was the creation of new disciplines more adjusted to the CNE tradition in the field of educational studies.

Viljoen and Pienaar, in what has probably been the most widely-prescribed book in education in South Africa since the 1970s, formulated a new theory and philosophy of education based on CNE, positivist and phenomenological traditions, known as Fundamental Pedagogics.⁸⁰ The origins of Fundamental Pedagogics can be traced from the influence of German phenomenologists on Afrikaner intellectuals, the publication of MJ Langeveld's Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek in Holland in 1944⁸¹ and CK Oberholzer's Inleiding in die Prinsipiële Opvoedkunde in 1954.⁸² Fundamental Pedagogics represents perhaps a sophisticated translation of Christian National Education into a theory and philosophy of education. Enslin argues that although CNE certainly was not rejected in favour of Fundamental Pedagogics, it was replaced by Fundamental Pedagogics as the centre of attention in certain educational circles.⁸³ Its point of departure was that:

Education is a particular occurrence in accordance with accepted values and norms of the educator and eventually also of the group to which he belongs. He is engaged in accompanying the child on the way to self-realisation, but this realisation must be in accordance with the demands of the community and in compliance with the philosophy of life of the group to which he belongs. In this way the South African child has to be educated according to Christian National principles.[My emphasis]⁸⁴

This was also the view of Ruperti:

⁸⁰ TA Viljoen and JJ Pienaar, Fundamental Pedagogics (Durban and Pretoria: Butterworths, 1971).

⁸¹ MJ Langeveld, Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek (Groningen: Wolters, 1944).

⁸² Quoted in Penny Enslin, 'The role of Fundamental Pedagogics in the formulation of educational policy in South Africa', in Peter Kallaway (ed), Apartheid and Education - The Education of Black South Africans (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), p.141.

⁸³ Enslin, op cit, p.141.

⁸⁴ Viljoen & Pienaar, op cit, p.95.

The organised education of the youth of a community is part and parcel of the culture of the community. Without culture, no matter how primitive it may be, there can be no education; and without education, no matter how rudimentary, no culture and no community. When one talks of education, therefore, one is also inevitably talking of community culture and cultural communities.⁸⁵

What underlies Fundamental Pedagogics is the assumption that, in the process of scientific practice, one has to bracket "all faith, superstition, dogma, opinions, theories and philosophies of life and the world"⁸⁶ in order to discover the "universal essences of education". However, these essences as a new knowledge should be applied by the scientist (pedagogician) into the life-world of every day to enrich the culture of the group to which he belongs.⁸⁷

Stone sought a new approach in comparative education which to his mind would establish the balance between the two sides of educational reality, the common and the diverse.⁸⁸ These, he argues, are of equal importance to comparative research.⁸⁹ While similarities (the common) and differences (the diverse) may be to some extent important in comparative analysis, within the South African context, a focus on differences tends however to emphasize the ideological underpinnings of separate development. What is missing in Stone and other nationalist pedagogicians is the approach to educational phenomena and education systems from a dynamic perspective.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ RM Ruperti, The Education System in Southern Africa (Pretoria: JL van Schaik Limited, 1976), p.3.

⁸⁶ Viljoen & Piensar, op cit, p.38.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.10.

⁸⁸ Henry Stone, The Common and the Diverse: A Profile of Comparative Education (Johannesburg: McGraw, 1981).

⁸⁹ Henry Stone, 'The common and the diverse', Perspectives in Education, 6(1), July 1982, p.49.

⁹⁰ For details on this debate see Maureen Michau, "'The common and the diverse' and Comparative Education', Perspectives in Education, 6(1), July 1982, pp.67-71; AJ Vos, 'The nature and value of Comparative Education', Perspectives in Education 6(1), July 1982, pp.53-55; Bernard Steinberg, 'Comparative Education in South Africa - Towards an effective rationale', Perspectives in Education 6(1), July 1982, pp.56-60.

The ideas promoted by fundamental pedagogicians have considerably influenced the way many people think of education in South Africa. Their basic propositions built on the Christian Nationalist assumption that the racial and ethnic diversity which characterises South African society requires a differentiated educational treatment for each "population group". Thus the question of difference and identity constitutes their most pressing concern. Literature within this domain rapidly became dominant in the Afrikaans-speaking universities, the so-called "bush colleges" (black universities) and most colleges of education. It is reflected in the writings of many Afrikaner educationists and black writers such as Kgware and Luthuli.⁹¹

Kgware became a well known personality among education officials during the period of implementation of Bantu Education. His voice was heard through participation in several conferences, through articles published in the Bantu Education Journal.⁹² His writings also express a high level of understanding of Christian National Education and manifest an influence on him of this doctrine. In some of his writings, he almost paraphrased the Eiselen Commission to illustrate the importance of "culture" in schooling.⁹³

Luthuli's writings constitute perhaps the most controversial literature on black education by a black South African, for they provide an ideological legitimisation for segregated schooling for blacks in South Africa. His books are but an attempt to elaborate on the doctrine of Christian National Education and the theories of Fundamental Pedagogics as applied to education for blacks, particularly the Zulu

⁹¹ See for example PC Luthuli, The Philosophical Foundations of Black Education in South Africa (Durban: Butterworth, 1981); An Introduction to Black-oriented Education in South Africa (Durban: Butterworths, 1982); and What Ought to be in Black Education (Durban: Butterworths, 1985).

⁹² Kgware was among the 274 persons who attended the National Conference convened by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1952 to study the Eiselen Commission. He also participated in the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education (Kgware, op cit).

⁹³ WM Kgware, 'In search of an educational system: A critical appraisal of the past and present administration of Bantu Education', inaugural address delivered on the occasion of the acceptance of the Chair of Practical Education, University College of the North, Turfloop, 6 October 1961, p.26.

people. Generally his arguments are based on the premise that in South Africa there is a diversity of cultures, therefore in South Africa we need a variety of "philosophies of education"; "philosophies of life" shape every people's educational aims and various peoples express their "philosophies of life" differently in educational practice.⁹⁴ Loosely defined as a world view, the philosophy of life of a group of people is assumed to be an indicator of cultural difference, of the presence of a group or national identity, which must be catered for in a differentiated way by the educational system. Strong criticisms, however, have been forthcoming from liberal and radical circles, particularly in English-speaking institutions which share more universal forms of thinking.⁹⁵

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to show how Afrikaner nationalists appropriated the concept of culture to develop and establish a political and educational framework which would eventually preserve and promote cultural differences, enhance "national" and "racial" identities, shape the ethnic consciousness of minority groups such as "coloureds" and Indians, and prevent interracial and cross-ethnic social and political identities. With the popularity of social anthropology and ethnography in the 1920s and 1930s, the concept of culture came to be used to construct notions of cultural difference and "Bantu culture". The concept of culture was very often invoked to describe patterns of daily living and features of family and kinship structures perceived as diverse. Then, as cultural diversity became the cornerstone of all major

⁹⁴ Luthuli, *What Ought to be...*, op cit, p.40.

⁹⁵ See PNG Beard & WE Morrow (eds.), *Problems of Pedagogics* (Durban-Pretoria: Butterworths, 1981); L Chisholm, 'Problems in South African educational research' (Association of Sociologists of South Africa Regional Seminar paper, Mafikeng, April 1985); L Chisholm & P Randall, 'Which history of which education? A critique of metagogics', *Perspectives in Education*, 7(2), 1983; Enslin, 'The role ...', op cit; Fidela Fouché, 'Pedagogics: A philosophic method or a parasitic ideology?', *SA Journal of Education*, 2 (4), 1982; WE Morrow, 'The voice of the people?', *Perspectives in Education*, 6 (2), Sep 1982; WE Morrow 'Philosophies of education in South Africa', Parts I and II, *SA Journal of Education*, 4 (1 & 2), 1984; and WE Morrow, *Chains of Thought - Philosophical Essays in South African Education* (Cape Town: Southern Book Publishers, 1989).

political decisions and culture became identified with nationality, all the ideological foundations were in place to ensure the "racial integrity" of families and nationalities. As it will be shown in the next chapter, South Africa ceased to be conceptualized as a multi-racial society and came to be seen as a multi-national society. The mechanisms to consolidate the development of the different nationalities were those pieces of legislation enforcing segregated structures in education; racializing social amenities and prohibiting sexual intercourse or marriages between people of different "population groups"; and introducing "self-governing homelands", some of which were granted independence.

CHAPTER FIVE

CULTURE, ETHNICITY AND "RETRIBALIZATION" IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1948-1986

The white race in South Africa has inherited two principles from its forefathers. The first is the realization that there are certain areas which must be granted to the Bantu so that he can be governed in his own territory. The second principle is the fact that the Bantu as worker is welcome in the white areas but that he can never share the white man's area.

This is the standpoint of the whole nation, and was already apparent at the time of the establishment of Union. Gens. Botha and Smuts also acknowledge this fact.[priv. trans.]¹

Introduction

From the early 1950s onwards the Nationalist government deliberately engaged in changing the African reserves into self-governing "homelands" and "independent" "national states". This policy became known as "bantustanization". It emerged out of several concerns, including: (1) the need for a counter-revolutionary culture that would eventually frustrate the growing national consciousness and political conscientization promoted by labour and African nationalist movements;² (2) the need to restructure, rationalize and consolidate the existing mechanisms of control of labour;³ (3) the need to minimize social, economic and political problems determined

¹ HF Verwoerd in Die Transvaler, 25.05.1959.

² See for example Tom Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa since 1945 (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983), Chapter 8.

³ See for example Pam Christie and Colin Collins, 'Bantu education: Apartheid ideology and labour reproduction', in P Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid and Education (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1988), Third Impression, pp.160-183; Jonathan Hyslop, 'The concepts of reproduction and resistance in the sociology of education: The case of the transition from "missionary" to "Bantu education", 1940-1955', Perspectives in Education, 9(2), September 1987, pp.3-25; and Jonathan

by the process of secondary industrialization, which brought about increasing social and economic integration with profound political and ideological implications.⁴ Official spokespersons placed emphasis on the need to preserve white dominance, Afrikaner hegemony and Afrikaner national identity in South Africa.⁵ In their view bantustanization would ultimately feed white-controlled industry with cheap labour in an orderly manner, while consolidating the foundations of white supremacy in South Africa and safeguarding Afrikaner and western culture.

With the deterioration of the economic and social conditions in the reserves from the 1920s onwards, which resulted in a massive migration to the towns, it became necessary for the National Party to rationalize, restructure and reinforce the mechanisms of control of labour. Thus, certain political functions previously performed by Pretoria's authorities were transferred to the traditional "homeland" leaders.

As in many other processes of industrialization, the industrial revolution in South Africa was not only an economic process but also a social and political process. Society became increasingly integrated, socially, economically, politically and culturally. New alliances and solidarities, which cut across traditional "tribal" divisions, began to emerge. This process gave birth to African nationalism and the development and radicalization of the labour movement at the beginning of the present century.

The apartheid state hoped to curtail these developments by boosting artificial ethnic-nationalisms out of traditional "tribal" divisions and rivalries. Its strategy was twofold. It applied a "stick and carrot" policy towards the African elite through fierce

Hyslop, 'State education policy and the social reproduction of the urban African working class: The case of the Southern Transvaal 1955-1976', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14(3), April 1988, pp.446-476.

⁴ See Frank Molteno, 'The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans', in P Kallaway (ed.), *op cit*, pp.45-107.

⁵ This issue will be dealt with in detail in this chapter. See the views expressed by Hertzog, Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd in the following section.

repression in the urban areas, and co-option, with political and economic accommodation, in the reserves or "homelands". It applied and extended influx control measures systematically and vigorously to regulate the reproduction and supply of cheap African labour to the urban areas.

This chapter discusses the images and metaphors promoted by Afrikaner nationalists in their attempts to marginalize blacks from mainstream economic and political life and promote separate ethnic identities among blacks. It focuses on the strategies aimed at consolidating ethno-nationalist consciousness.

Shaping separate African identities: some origins

References to the policy of bantustanization can be traced back to the early days of the Union. In 1911, General Hertzog was quoted as having said that white children and their posterity would "more and more feel the dead weight of lower civilization dragging them down to the level of their native environment", unless they abandoned the country and emigrated elsewhere, or unless they suffered themselves to be completely extirpated.⁶ In 1913, he captured the issue in more precise terms:

Let us not take the whole of the Union for ourselves but leave a portion to the natives. Let us leave them to develop there according to their own nature under supervision of the Union Government. In the native territories we should as far as possible not allow the white man to purchase or rent land from natives. We should impose the same prohibition in the white areas.⁷

In 1917, Hertzog reminded Afrikaner nationalist leaders that it was not the encroachment of whites into black areas which was a danger but the encroachment of blacks into the white domain.⁸ For Hertzog separation between the two races was the most effective means of preventing blacks from being granted the franchise;

⁶ Quoted in National Party, The Native Policy of the National Party under Hertzog, Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, n.d.), p.5.

⁷ Die Volkstem 21.01.1913.

⁸ Die Burger, 03.04.1917.

the most effective means of preventing blacks from being granted the franchise; Africans could not have equal rights in the white areas. About this, Hertzog gave the following account in 1925:

Within the native territory, the native should feel at home. As far as he was concerned, no other limitation should hold within his own territory as is necessary in every well-regulated family. It is my aim that as far as the native is fit for it he himself should lay down the rules by which he will order his affairs within his own territory in accordance with the requirements of civilization. Moreover, not only do I wish him to be responsible for his own laws within his own national economy, but also that he should conduct his own administration there through his own native authorities. There will thus be room in the native territory for the native statesman as well as for the native official.[priv. trans.]⁹

Similar views were expressed by Malan. He was also of the opinion that blacks and whites should not live together:

There are two points of view. The one is: Free the non-White from his own community, his language, habits and customs. Make him a European ... Wipe out the colour bar ... The other is that of segregation ... by which the native and the white person are kept apart each in his own domain. Let the native develop in his own territory.[priv. trans]¹⁰

According to Malan, the intention of the National Party policy was to establish and promote institutions for blacks in their own reserves, which would enable them to have a large measure of self-government and which would enable them at the same time to retain their own national character.¹¹ It was under his premiership that a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Dr FR Tomlinson was appointed in 1950 to investigate how the reserves could be developed as to serve as "national homes" for the Africans.¹² I shall return to this matter later.

⁹ Die Burger, 04.12.1925.

¹⁰ Die Transvaler, 17.04.1944.

¹¹ House of Assembly, Debates, 16.8.1948, no.64, col.227.

¹² See Chapter Four

Malan's ideas on "homeland" policy were reiterated by Strijdom, who, in his opening address as Prime Minister in 1955, stated that the National Party's policy was that where blacks had penetrated into white areas, they must be pushed out again to eliminate friction, and in equity be given the opportunity to develop their own areas.¹³ Further, more and more use must be made of migratory labour, and industries must be established as near as possible to the reserves.¹⁴ This policy came to be justified as a necessary strategy for "removal of the danger of conflict and friction between the two racial groups" and for the maintenance of existence of both groups "according to the systems which were best suited to their nature and tradition" in all the different spheres of their national life.¹⁵

The great ideal of the National Party is the preservation of the white people and [white] supremacy in South Africa, because only a very stupid or dishonourable person can plead political equality and then still say that the white man in South Africa can continue to exist as a white man. Therefore I say we fight for the preservation and extension of our country's traditional way of life and the policy of apartheid, viz. that everywhere where it is possible, there must be separation between white and non-white. This is the only way to safeguard the continued existence of the white man and eventually to avoid a bloody conflict between white and non-white.[priv. trans.]¹⁶

Further,

As a premise, the question may be put: Must Bantu and European in future develop as intermixed communities, or as communities separated from one another in so far as this is practically possible? If the reply is "intermingled communities", then the following must be understood. There will be competition and conflict everywhere. So long as the points of contact are still comparatively few, as is the case now, friction and conflict will be less evident. The more this intermixing develops, however, the stronger the conflict will become. In such conflict, the Europeans, would, at least for a long time, hold the

¹³ For the same reason these industries have been known as "border industries".

¹⁴ Die Transvaler 28.03.1955.

¹⁵ 'Address to the Congress of the National Party at Vryheid, 25 August 1955'. See also Die Transvaler 26.08.1955.

¹⁶ Die Transvaler, 27.03.1958.

stronger position, and the Bantu be the affected party in every phase of the struggle. This must cause to rise in him an increasing sense of resentment and revenge. Neither for the European, nor for the Bantu, can this, namely increasing tension and conflict, be an ideal future, because intermixed development involves disadvantage to both.[priv. trans.]¹⁷

The ideas advocated by Hertzog and Malan were refined and translated into policy under the leadership of Verwoerd. The fundamental premises of this policy remained the same:

The policy of the National party is to strive for a permanent White South Africa, whatever dangers are threatening it, whilst being prepared to develop the areas where the Bantu control may be extended under the leadership of the White man as the guardian and on the understanding that even if it should lead to Bantu independence, it would be ensured by wise statesmanship that development takes place in such a spirit and in such a way that friendship will remain possible although the White man will never be under any form of Bantu control, whether in Federal form or in the form of Union. That is the choice.¹⁸

Verwoerd rejected the idea of total separation and the concept of a "multiracial community with a common political society" as impracticable and undesirable; he favoured territorial segregation based on the principle of "supremacy (*baasskap*) of the white person in his own areas" and "the supremacy (*baasskap*) of the Bantu in his own area", the latter, however, under the guardianship of the white person.¹⁹

¹⁷ 'Address given by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr HF Verwoerd, in opening the 11th Session of the Natives' Representative Council in Pretoria', 5 December 1950, p.1.

¹⁸ House of Assembly, *Debates*, 20.05.1959, col.6241. See also HF Verwoerd, 'The Choice: A Racially Integrated Fatherland or A White South Africa?', speech to the House of Assembly, 20 May 1959, p.22.

¹⁹ *Die Transvaler* 06.12.1950; House of Assembly, *Debates*, 15.09.1958, col.3805; and House of Assembly, *Debates*, 27.01.1959, col.62 and 63. See also Address given by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr HF Verwoerd, in opening the 11th Session of the Natives' Representative Council in Pretoria on December 5, 1950, p.4. Verwoerd also emphasized that there was no policy of oppression in it, "but one of creating a situation which has never existed for the Bantu; namely, that, taking into consideration their languages, traditions, history and different national communities, they may pass through a development of their own".

In the long run I would prefer to have a smaller white state in South Africa which will control its own army, its own navy, its own police, defence force, and which will stand as a bulwark for white civilization in the world ... in other words, rather a white nation which can fight for its survival, than a bigger state which has already been surrendered to bantu domination.²⁰

The relationship between white and black territories could, in Verwoerd's view, assume the form of a commonwealth based on the British model:

I take as a comparison the British Commonwealth of Nations where the various constituent members of the Commonwealth are not represented in the mother parliament, but within which organization there are still links - economic and otherwise - by which co-operation is possible without a mixed parliament or government.²¹

As for blacks in white areas, their rights would be restricted to those of temporary sojourners.

The natives who then enter White South Africa to come and work here, if their labour is still needed, particularly in the cities, will be **migrant labour generally speaking**, although not migrant labour in the ordinary sense of the term, that is to say, labourers who come for periods of six months, a year or 18 months at a time. Large numbers of them will come and work and live here for a number of years as family units but will then be interchangeable. **They will remain anchored in their homelands**, and as they find uses and rewards in the developing Bantu areas for the skills which they have acquired in the white area in the meantime, they will return to the Bantu areas and reap the benefit of their knowledge. Those who will then have to seek work elsewhere again, will find employment here. In this way the Bantu, even if some of them remain in the White area for years, will nevertheless remain a changing group of workers' families ... In other words, it does not follow inevitably that there must be a permanent Bantu population, which will remain in the White area for generations ... They will even have the right, while they are in the White area, to take part in the Government of their Bantu homeland, of their ethnic unit.²²

²⁰ House of Assembly, *Debates*, 20.05.1959, col.6227.

²¹ House of Assembly, *Debates*, 27.01.1959, col.66.

²² Verwoerd, 'The choice: ...', op cit, p.6.

Verwoerd went on to say that provision would be made for limited self-government, not "full-fledged municipalities" "because the Bantu will always have to be under guardianship of the white municipality".²³

In summary, the following major points were shared by the four nationalist leaders: (1) that blacks and whites were culturally different and institutional measures should be developed to protect their different cultures; (2) that cultural protection and the promotion of racially and ethnically separate identities were essential for preserving white dominance and Afrikaner political hegemony in South Africa; and (3) that the reserves represented the most effective basis for the promotion of separate identities among the blacks and for safeguarding white supremacy in the region.

Framing separate ethnic identities: Policy and responses

The Tomlinson Commission rejected the policy of integration and reiterated the Government's policy of apartheid (separate development) and the development of the Bantu areas based on ethnic grouping. It argued that through separate development security would be ensured for white civilization and opportunities would be created for both racial groups, each in its own territory or among its own people.²⁴ It regarded the integration of Bantu Education in the life of the Bantu Community as of great significance in the development of Bantu national units.²⁵

The general attitude towards the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission within nationalist circles was well captured in 1959 by TE Donges, then Minister of Finance:

²³ Ibid, p.6.

²⁴ FR Tomlinson, Chairman, Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955), p.XVIII. See Chapter Four for more details.

²⁵ See Union of South Africa, 'Government decisions on the recommendations of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa', col.17.

Now the Government has come forward with the plan to leave a part of South Africa permanently in the hands of the white people ... We choose rather a smaller South Africa with the political power in the hands of the white people than a greater South Africa with the political power in the hands of the non-whites. It was not an easy choice, but the circumstances of the last few years and the events in Africa have forced us to look to the future and to devise this plan.[priv. trans.]²⁶

To implement the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission, the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act No 46 of 1959 delimited eight African territories, called "homelands". The policy outlined in the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill of 1959 was explained in an important memorandum. This document stated that the objective of the Union Government in setting aside the Bantu areas was to define and set apart separately the land to which the different Bantu communities were linked historically. The logical consequence of setting aside those areas was the recognition of separate European areas. It pointed out that partial deviation from these aims would allow the Bantu to move into European areas and vice versa, which constituted "a departure from policy which cannot be reconciled with the broad principle of separate development for European and Bantu in their respective areas". With the rapid industrialization process, this would lead to "the eventual integration of Europeans and Bantu on European soil", and the development of a single multi-racial community. Thus the Bantu Authorities Act (1951), the Bantu Education Act (1953) and allied administrative steps were to reaffirm the policy of separation that the previous segregationist governments had pursued in principle.²⁷

Particular attention was given to the role of the school: "the school, which formerly encouraged desertion from Bantu communities, has now, in their hands, become a powerful instrument of national progress".²⁸ This idea underlined the programmes of the Department of Bantu Education as illustrated by its 1965 Report:

²⁶ Die Transvaler 25.05.1959.

²⁷ Union of South Africa, 'Memorandum explaining the background and objects of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill, 1959', p.4.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.6.

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.²⁹

The following year the Department of Bantu Education insisted that its task was, by means of the school and the products of the school, to lead the various African nations to independence and self-reliance.³⁰ When the Jan H Hofmeyr School of Social Work was established it received "the task of helping to prepare young Non-Europeans to serve their own people in numerous social welfare fields".³¹ The Department of Bantu Education had also set itself the task of preparing Bantu children to serve their own people in numerous fields, not merely social welfare, but in all fields of activity, whether industrial, agricultural, commercial, educational, medical or other professional avenues.³² In the Europeans areas, it was argued, there was a big demand for unskilled labour but not for skilled labour.³³ This principle was repeatedly emphasized by the education authorities in almost idealistic terms. Agriculture, forestry, industry, building construction, commerce and trade, transport, medicine and hospitals, education, religion and government service, were seen as areas which would create opportunities for the "Bantu" in the "homelands". These areas, it was claimed, needed trained and skilled "Bantu" operators, including

²⁹ Bantu Education Department, Annual Report for 1965, p.1.

³⁰ Quoted by Muriel Horrell in 'Bantu school education, 1955 to 1968 - A review and assessment', theme paper presented at the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 16-17 January 1969, p.21.

³¹ Transvaal Education Department, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st March, 1954.

³² FJ de Villiers (Under Secretary for Native Affairs, Bantu Education), 'address delivered at the presentation of diplomas to the students of the Jan H Hofmeyr School of Social Work on 10 December 1954', p.2, African Library, Northwestern University. For further detail, see Bantu Education Journal, July 1955, pp.273-279.

³³ De Villiers, op cit, p.3.

foresters, business entrepreneurs, mechanics, surveyors, teachers, nurses and chemists.³⁴ These skilled people would find ample scope for their services in the "Bantu" territories, towns and villages, and not in European towns, where the supply of European skilled labour was equal to the need.³⁵

The principles underlining the homeland policy included: (1) systematic linking of each "Bantu" national unit to its own homeland; (2) "opportunity for full development" within the national unit and homeland; (3) the initiation of services and guidance to each national unit in order to develop its own territory systematically to the status of a true homeland; (4) full protection of the "Bantu's" interests and rights in their homelands; and (5) the creation of a link between the national unit in the homeland and its members working in the European areas.³⁶ The guardian - white South Africa - would meet these objectives on the basis of "creative self-withdrawal". Privileged status was to be granted to the chieftainship structure. Most importantly, white South Africa would develop an appropriate leadership by exploring the potentially strong mobilization power of traditional African chiefs. Consequently, chieftainship became an area of fierce political competition between the African nationalist movement, on the one hand, and the state, on the other.³⁷

³⁴ Ibid, p.2.

³⁵ F J de Villiers justified the policy of the Department as follows:

The charge has been levelled against the Department that we intend to consign the Bantu pupil to an inferior place in society, and therefore to equip him for life with an inferior schooling. Why should the employment of the Bantu in the service of the Bantu be less worthy than his employment in the service of Europeans.

People who level this charge apparently believe that you can only secure a superior position in society in the service of Europeans. They thereby imply that a social system in which the energies of the Bantu youth are to be harnessed in the service of the nine million Bantu people must be inferior. I must confess I cannot follow their reasoning.

You may as well argue that Japanese education is inferior because it is Japanese education, and not European and aims at serving the Japanese people. Or American education is inferior because it aims at serving the American people, and not Japanese. (Ibid, p.5)

³⁶ Union of South Africa, 'Memorandum ...', p.7.

³⁷ For details see for example Peter Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1912-1952 (London: Hurst, 1970).

Firstly, early African nationalists were aware of and did not ignore the intimate bonds that existed between the chiefs and their constituencies. When the South African National Native Congress (SANNC) - later the African National Congress (ANC) - was formed in 1912, the leading black elite remained very weak in size though strong in determination. The Congress could not successfully forge a national alliance without the help that traditional structures and leaders provided. In some cases the process of political mobilization became facilitated by these bonds and chiefs became active players in the process of political mobilization. This is related to the very nature of chieftainship, the solid links between the chief and the community, the accountability of the chief to the community and the loyalty of the community to him.³⁸ For Schoole, writing about Tswana traditional life, chieftainship offered an effective mechanism for nationalist mobilization to the SANNC/ANC, partly due to the dominant role that chieftainship enjoyed in traditional African communities:

The institution of chieftainship was indispensable for the equilibrium of a black tribal community. The unity of the tribe revolved around the chief. Traditionally the chief stood as the representative of the tribe and his word had to be honoured. A chief was not elected but born as a chief, i.e., his status was hereditary ... The chief was considered the father of the tribe, as such the chief was accountable to the tribe. He was assisted in his tribal duties by a secret council of close relatives. The traditional system had three layers of advisers to the chief: (1) the family council (*khuduthamaga*), (2) the tribal council made up of heads of different clans, and (3) the public assembly (*pitso*) ... The tribe owed allegiance to the chief. The power of the chief in the tribe was legitimated through oral history in the form of stories and, in some cases, written proverbs. Often the position of the chief in relation to the tribe was upheld almost to the level of infallibility. Thus any transgression of tribal rules or norms was severely punished. The fact that the unity of the tribe revolved around the chief ... made the chieftainship crucial in the process of political mobilization by the SANNC and political co-option by the architects of the Bantustans. By winning the chief, one had won the whole tribe.³⁹

³⁸ Trevor Molathegi Schoole, 'Ideology, ethnicity and social reproduction in education in Bophuthatswana, 1977-1990', MEd research report, University of the Witwatersrand, 1991, p.14.

³⁹ Ibid, p.15.

Secondly, the relations between the chiefs and the masses were legitimized through tradition and oral history, which, together with the family, constitute dominant ideological agencies in African societies. Ideology is transmitted from one generation to another in the form of short stories and proverbs - cultural heritage - with important moral lessons about human behaviour and justifications of prevailing social relations. As has been pointed out, this culture was accommodated by the liberation movement in its earliest stages of development in South Africa and the rest of the continent. It has been exploited by the apartheid regime and colonial rule. However, as will be shown, it has been neglected, marginalized and, in some cases, suppressed by modern liberation movements and post-colonial rule in their attempts to come to grips with the phenomenon of tribalism and the danger of national balkanization.

Thirdly, the apartheid government found in chiefs an alternative leadership that could be co-opted and used to dissipate the force of black resistance and gradually "retribalize" Africans through the revitalization and incorporation of traditional structures. Since the enforcement of repressive measures in the scattered "reserves" by white officials was becoming too costly and difficult, the Nationalist government adopted a policy of creating an intermediate cadre of African collaborators from among the chiefs and the rural elite, to mediate between the apartheid state and the oppressed majority.⁴⁰ Following the promulgation of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, a hierarchy of chiefs was established in the reserves according to customary genealogies or, where local chiefs resisted collaboration with the apartheid state, by direct appointment.

However, the co-option of traditional chiefs was not a new phenomenon in Africa. It had formed the cornerstone of the British colonial policy of "indirect rule".⁴¹ The

⁴⁰ This opinion is shared by ES Sachs in *The Anatomy of Apartheid* (London: Collets, 1965), p.265.

⁴¹ In South Africa, it had already been suggested by several colonial officials, including Dr Philip, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, who in 1843 said:

We have conquered some of the tribes in the Cape Colony, but the problem is how to govern them. We have annexed the territory up to the tropics. We have to establish a system of civil administration. For this we need the chiefs. (IB Tabata,

distinctive feature in the case of bantustanization is in that the co-option of chiefs represented a shift from the classical theory of "indirect rule" to a policy of national baikanisation as formulated by the Tomlinson Commission.

Thus the Bantu Authorities Act made provision for the recognition of Bantu national units, the appointment in respect of those units of Commissioners-General, the linking of Bantu working in urban areas with territorial authorities, the abolition of African representation in the highest white governing bodies, and the vesting in territorial authorities of legislative authority and the right to impose taxes, to undertake works and to give guidance to subordinate authorities. It was hoped that these measures would ultimately unite the members of each Bantu national group in one national unit, concentrated in one homogeneous and coherent homeland where possible.⁴² The main national units included Lebowa for the Northern Sotho, Qwaqwa for the Southern Sotho, Tswanaland later renamed Bophuthatswana for the Tswana, Kwazulu for the Zulu, Transkei for the Xhosa, Gazankulu for the Tsonga and Venda for the Venda. These units were to undergo a "gradual development to self-government". As Verwoerd put it, the bantustans "might develop to full independence, eventually forming a South African Commonwealth with white South Africa serving as the core guardian of the emerging Bantu States".⁴³ The following tables show the dates when these territories became "self-governing" or "independent" homelands.

The All African Convention, The Awakening of the People (Cape Town: AAC, 1950), p.105)

Further:

Had a few of the chiefs been subsidized by having small salaries allowed to them, we might by this time have the affairs of Kaffirland in our own hands (Ibid, p.104).

⁴² Union of South Africa, 'Memorandum ...', op cit, pp.7-8.

⁴³ See M Horrell, Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1978), p.40. See also Union of South Africa, 'Memorandum ...', op cit, p.6.

"Self-Governing" Bantustans

Gazankulu	1978
Kangwane	1978
Kwandebele	1979
Kwazulu	1975
Lebowa	1972
Qwaqwa	1974

"Independent" Bantustans (TBVC "states")

Transkei	1976
Bophuthatswana	1977
Venda	1979
Ciskei	1981

Responses to the "homeland" policy

Reactions to the policy of bantustanization varied. Most homeland administrations made the same claims used by apartheid officials to justify the policy of "separate development" and in particular the homeland policy. As articulated by Verwoerd in his inaugural speech, separation, whether it was residential, territorial or social did not envisage oppression; it envisaged full opportunities for all, to be enjoyed by individuals or groups to the extent to which their different stages of development fitted them. Verwoerd justified the policy of "separate development" as "designed for the happiness, the security and the stability provided by an own home, an own language and an own administration for the Bantu as well as the Whites".⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The Director of Information, South Africa House, Trafalgar Square, Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd and his Policies. Reports on the State of South Africa, no.12, p.3.

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) played a major role in marketing the policy of bantustanization as articulated by the Tomlinson Commission.⁴⁵ Generally SABRA could be seen as the Christian Nationalist alternative to liberal institutions such as the South African Institute of Race Relations. Comprising a group of academically highly qualified experts in various disciplines, it represented the intellectual mouthpiece of the Nationalist government. It held strong views against the idea of cultural integration between race groups. In May 1958, SABRA met at Stellenbosch under the Chairmanship of the Rev WA Landman⁴⁶ for an annual meeting to discuss the theme: "Our Task in Connection with Race Relations in South Africa". In the course of the debates, the Rev. Snijders (Dutch Reformed moderator, Natal) presented an original contribution which attempted to develop a possible scriptural justification for cultural separation. Snijders made a distinction between *erfskuld* (original sin) and *erfsmet* (propensity to sin). He argued that the punishment for original sin is the human propensity to sin. *Erfsmet* is the punishment for *erfskuld*. Although redeemed of original sin by conversion, the African ("a less developed type of man") does not "immediately get rid of his depraved (*bedorwe*) sinful nature", at least not as quickly as the highly developed white. The implication was that culturally less developed people were inherently more prone to sin while the culturally more developed were less prone to sin; hence the distinction, within the Church, of culturally-conditioned more sinful and culturally-conditioned less sinful, and a justifiable separation between them in order to protect the lesser sinful from being overwhelmed by the more sinful.⁴⁷ Snijders thought he had developed a Christian and theological justification for the separation and "retribalization" of black South Africans.

Snijders' argument was contested by Professor Kotze of Stellenbosch who said that the only permissible distinction was between believers and unbelievers and that

⁴⁵ See for example South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), Separation: The only Possible and Fair Solution (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, undated).

⁴⁶ Rev. Landman was an influential member of the Dutch Reformed Church.

⁴⁷ JF Holleman, 'SABRA Congress, Stellenbosch, 1958', Report presented to the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, 1958, p.5.

nowhere did Scripture warrant a distinction on the basis of colour or culture. Instead, Kotze argued that it was the duty of the Christian Church and all Christians to elevate the less fortunate and less developed to their own level, which is the "Christian" basis of the very principle of white *voogdyskap* (guardianship).⁴⁸ In general, however, the participants showed agreement with the proposals of the Tomlinson Commission.

In July 1956, the three Dutch Reformed Churches, SABRA and the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (FAK) convened a conference in Bloemfontein to discuss the Tomlinson Report. It was an all-white conference, which has very often been referred to as the "volkskongres". From the point of view of the Rev. WA Landman, Chairman of SABRA, the conference represented "the most important and decisive moment in the history of the people, overshadowing even Blood River".⁴⁹ The Tomlinson Report was seen by the conference as a positive hope of peacefully keeping the races apart. At its meeting on the 2nd May 1958, SABRA passed a resolution instructing its Executive Committee to proceed with arrangements "to participate in a Conference with Non-White leaders later in the year".⁵⁰ In contrast to the position held by government officials, SABRA believed that consultation with black leaders would be the best way to persuade them to accept the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission. Although SABRA had declared that it had no intention to invite chiefs and headmen, the initiative was opposed by Verwoerd in Parliament, who argued that a multiracial congress between white and blacks on a basis of equality could only sow confusion.⁵¹ Government's position towards the people for whom the policy was destined was, as Holleman put it, "make them swallow it, and you will see they will like it".⁵²

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp.5-6.

⁴⁹ Document 21. 'Reports on the Multiracial Conference, December 1957', Northwestern University Library, Africana, p.3.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.15.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.15.

⁵² Ibid., p.9.

The opposition United Party adopted a different approach to the matter. It challenged the promotion of self-governing homelands as a threat to white supremacy. Its leader Sir de Villiers Graaf, announced in Pretoria that: "The result of the Government's policies must be the partition of South Africa into a small multi-racial "white" state in which the Whites would be outnumbered by the non-Europeans and surrounded by Black States which might be unfriendly".⁵³

In 1966, the United Party presented a document entitled *Handbook for Better Race Relations*. The document contained proposals aimed at reforming current Nationalist policies in South Africa to bring about a unitary state, the loyalty of all, international goodwill and a sense of security for both whites and blacks. These proposals were to be implemented in three phases, if the United Party came to power:

Firstly, the United Party would review, amend or repeal all discriminatory legislation.

Secondly, a sort of traditional Cape franchise would be applied to all "non-white" groups and more liberal political strategies would be implemented to ensure "an orderly advance to a federation of races" in South Africa.

Thirdly, a Federation of Races would be established.⁵⁴ Such a Federation would be based on three fundamental principles: (1) that white leadership must be protected for the benefit of South Africans of all races; (2) that each race group should have a share in the government of the country; and (3) that the

⁵³ Rand Daily Mail, 3 June 1959.

⁵⁴ The idea was actually raised for the first time by General Smuts in May 1947, when he proposed to reform the Native Representative Council to give it administrative and executive powers over Bantu people in the whole of South Africa. The Native Representative Council was abolished by the Nationalists. In 1958, the United Party announced the 'Graaff Senate' which suggested that out of a total of 50 senators, 6 should be African representatives and 6 Coloured representatives. The proposal was rejected by the National Party as a threat to white supremacy. (National Party, Race Federation - Policies of Political Parties (Johannesburg: Information Service of the National Party, 1961)).

rights of each individual, each race group should be constitutionally protected through federal mechanisms.⁵⁵

As Marais Steyn, a United Party MP, explained:

Race Federation is a system of government primarily designed for multi-racial states under which the power of self-government devolves on each race in those matters which intimately concern itself, while a central parliament retains control over matters of over-riding common concern; each race is represented in the central parliament in accordance with the state of civilization it has reached so that the most advanced groups will retain political power although sharing it with the less-advanced.⁵⁶

The project proposed by the United Party, also known as the "Graaf-Racial-Federation Plan", was supported by the National Union, the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party, with minor differences. However, it did not have significant appeal to the mainstream Afrikaner nationalists, who had found a more effective and rational basis in a racialized concept of culture rather than in purely race terms. The National Party reacted to the project by stating that the "racial federation plan for a multi-racial parliament and government is tantamount to the destruction of white rule in the republic of South Africa, as in Kenya."⁵⁷ It went on to say that if a Race Federation was accepted, social separation, residential and educational segregation, and the ban on mixed marriages would have to be relinquished. As a result, it pointed out, the white nation would eventually be replaced by a coloured nation. The National Party restated that every racial group should govern its own people so that "the white man [could] also govern his own country and retain his own government".⁵⁸

⁵⁵ 'Document 6. The United Party. From Handbook for Better Race Relations', in EH Brookes (ed.), Apartheid - A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), op cit, pp.27-32.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.33.

⁵⁷ National Party, Race Federation ..., op cit, p.4.

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.3-4.

For the Christian Nationalists South Africa had evolved from being a multi-racial country to a multi-national country. Eiselen in particular challenged the idea that South Africa was a multi-racial country in the same sense as the United States of America:

It is in fact a reiteration of what Aggrey expressed so forcefully in his well-known comparison of multi-racial America with a piano on which you could produce music of sorts by playing either on the white keys only or on the black keys only but that to produce worthwhile music you had to make use of both.

Now the piano is construed as an entity and whether you touch a white key or a black key you always strike a chord properly aligned to fit into one and the same scale of musical values, the colour and the level of the keys are there to aid the performer and are no indication of a significant difference. This may be perfectly true of the American people also where, if you pick a black or a white man, you find basically the same American language, culture and way of life underneath the different colour of skin.

In South Africa conditions are entirely different. There your piano simile falls flat because in this instance you would have to demonstrate that good music cannot be produced unless you strike the keys of a piano and those of a marimba simultaneously, and that, I think, would not be a success.⁵⁹

Eiselen went on to say that in the light of the political developments in Africa over the sixties, South Africa was no longer a multi-racial but a multi-national country, which required a multi-national alternative and a policy of self-determination.⁶⁰

African traditional leadership became divided in its reactions to the bantustanization project. Some chiefs associated with the African nationalist movement such as Albert Luthuli rejected collaboration with the government and were consequently ostracized by it. There were cases of massive upheavals led by African chiefs such as the Bambata revolt in Pondoland and Paramount Moroamoche Sekhukhune in Lebowa. Those who accepted collaboration with the apartheid government either supported bantustanization as part of the apartheid policy or assumed ambiguous and

⁵⁹ WWM Eiselen, 'Opening address', 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 16-17 January 1969), p.18.

⁶⁰ Eiselen, 'Opening address, op cit, p.19.

contradictory positions. For example, the former Chief Minister of Transkei, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, told students of Rhodes University in Grahamstown that in his view representation of blacks in a predominantly white parliament was doomed to failure, as such representation

is not the expression of the autonomy of my people, or of the self-determination of the country which is ours, the Transkei, or, for that matter, any other homeland in South Africa.⁶¹

Addressing the university's World Affairs Society on "Why I am in Favour of Separate Development", Chief Matanzima argued that an integrated system of representation nullified the opportunity for black people to pursue their specific economic and cultural demands. The integration of whites and blacks in South Africa would lead to "total demolition" of both whites and blacks and the creation of a coloured race in which the worst characteristics of both races would merge into a national character of a new community without a culture of its own.⁶²

It would be the silliest imaginable thing to attempt this, as it will not only create endless conflict in our heterogeneous community in South Africa, but it would bedevil the peaceful progress of all races, and the country, in such a way that it would be more of a retrogressive than a progressive step to take.

The Bantu race in South Africa and ... in the whole of the African continent is proud of its own heritage and does not regard it as an unblemished and unmixed blessing if, and when, the White politician condescends to invite him to integrate with the White community, politically and socially.

It must be a very ignorant Bantu who does not realize that such integration with the White people will call for the sacrifice of those national and cultural possessions that are more precious to him than any questionable and temporary relation he may experience at being able to indulge in everything in which the White man can indulge in his own areas.

On the other hand, it must be a very ignorant and foolish White man who does not realize that such integration, while being unpalatable to him in the first instance, will demand from him the sacrifice of those

⁶¹ African Express International News Service, Separate Nationhood - Notable South African Speech, Chief Matanzima Condemns Integration (Bristol, St. John Williams, 1965), p.1.

⁶² Ibid, p.2.

national and cultural attributes which he cherishes as much as the Bantu does his.⁶³

Matanzima became known in South African politics for regurgitating Verwoed's ideas and by his consistency in implementing apartheid policies for the sake of the "self-determination" of the Xhosa people. Chief LM Mangope followed the same path as Matanzima. When he was appointed as the chief councillor of the Tswana Territorial Authority in 1968, he said:

Mr Chairman I want to ask that what I am going to announce should not be broadcasted through the Radio "Bantu". I want to say something in regard to the position in which I was elected yesterday. The procedure and everything done by this government is based on Government policy, namely, Separate Development. We have already indicated our acceptance of that policy of the government. It was indicated that the policy of Separate Development is based on our traditions. We embraced it because we favoured it and we like our traditions.⁶⁴[sic]

In the case of Kwazulu, the King sent the following message in August 1968 to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

... I believe that with the establishment of a Territorial Authority, a new and historic day will dawn for the Zulu people. I believe this will be a step in the direction of giving my people the self-determination, self-government and eventual independence and freedom which is the natural ambition of every nation. I believe also that this will be a step that will enable our people's interest and advancement to be cared for and promoted as never before, because today we shall have a machinery whereby our own people can, with your department and government's assistance, play a part in finding the needs of my people, and devising means to meet them.⁶⁵

⁶³ Ibid, pp.1-2.

⁶⁴ 'Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Reconstituted Tswana Territorial Authorities, 1968', Montshiwa, p.41.

⁶⁵ Quoted by Chief MG Buthelezi, Speech at the Inauguration of the Zulu Territorial Authority, Nongoma, 11 June 1970, p.1.

Some chiefs such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi adopted a policy of using the system to challenge it. They were very ambiguous in their approach to issues of national nature. In practice, their activities in many ways enhanced ethnic-nationalism as expected by government officials. Celebration of Zulu nationalism soon became a dominant feature of Buthelezi's rule in Kwazulu. It was alluded to in almost every single official speech delivered by chief Buthelezi, particularly the official annual celebrations of the homeland.

More radical positions were assumed by newcomers such as Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the most outspoken of South Africa's homeland leaders, who told delegates at a conference in Egypt that he was using his Transkei powerbase as a "lethal sword against the very system which created it".⁶⁶ He explained his position as follows:

It is not an anachronism that we air these views from a Transkeian administration which is a creation of the apartheid system. We did not devise the system which tried to balkanise our land and people to guarantee white domination over a divided and desperate African community.⁶⁷

Besides the degrees of opposition or acceptance of the homeland policy there is another important dimension in which their responses must be understood. In some cases they are apparently able to win the hearts and the minds of significant numbers of "homeland" population by refining the apartheid policy and adding a much more appealing rationale or justification to it. As illustrated above, this was made possible by resorting to a nationalist discourse which emphasized a sense of identity among the "homeland" population. To consolidate this process, education was used as an instrument for nation-building within the ideological and political parameters set by apartheid. This is for example the case of Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu under the leadership of Mangope and Buthelezi. In this respect, I shall briefly illustrate how education came to play a major role in shaping ethnic identities in the "homelands" by examining the post-independence education policy in Bophuthatswana. I shall

⁶⁶ *The Star*, 9.1.1981, p.6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.6.

highlight the particular educational and cultural policies designed for nation-building or the entrenchment of Tswana ethno-nationalism. In doing so, I shall use two key concepts, namely the concept of *displaced rationale* and the concept of *authentic rationale*.

Displaced rationale refers to the rationale put forward by apartheid authorities (e.g. Verwoerd and Eiselen) and earlier statements by some homeland leaders (e.g. Matanzima), which sought justification of homeland policy outside the cultural setting and cultural language (values, meanings and institutions) of the population to whom those policies were destined. Their rationale emphasized the outer features of the homeland people or the interests of the white minority. As such they were seen as an imposition and obviously met with strong opposition. *Authentic rationale* refers to the rationale developed by some homeland leaders who were able to explore the inner motives of their societies (history, culture, traditions, language and lifestyles), to justify the need for autonomy and self-determination and in some cases independence of the homeland people, though within the framework of apartheid. In these processes, the ideal of *popagano* in Bophuthatswana has played a crucial role.

Education for *popagano* and nation building in Bophuthatswana

In October 1977 the government of Bophuthatswana appointed the Bophuthatswana National Education Commission, also known as the Lekhela Commission, under the chairmanship of Ernest Fela Lekhela.⁶⁸ The Commission was to evaluate the existing system of education in Bophuthatswana, to investigate the question of the medium of instruction, to assess the Bophuthatswana Education Act of 1973 (the first and failed attempt to move away from the Department of Bantu Education), and to make recommendations for the reform and reorganization of the educational system

⁶⁸ The Commission included a variety of enlightened white and black scholars with a moderate outlook: EP Lekhela (Chairman), CN Lekalake (Vice-Chairman), DJ Bauster, Gertrude C Rodenstein, FW Hans, HH Dammie, KB Hartshorne, LM McDonagh, I Mokoena, Nancy W Motlhalo, Mary M O'Brien, S Sidney Seane, Jonah SM Setiloane, J Tau and JJ Tlholoe.

and for the development of an educational system "worthy of an independent, self-respecting, autonomous nation".⁶⁹

The Commission starts by recognizing that though the "tribe" has always played a dominant role as the traditional unit of organization and the centre of cultural development, there has been a shift of emphasis from tribalism to nationhood, and "the challenge of reconciling the old and the new, the traditional and the modern, has been accepted as central to the task of the building up a new nation".⁷⁰ The Report stresses that the people of Bophuthatswana are set on a course where their own culture "will not be preserved but nurtured so that it flourishes rather than decays".⁷¹ As such, the Report highlights the distinctiveness of this culture by examining the oppositional history of Batswana people and most importantly the "World-and-Life views" of the Batswana of Boputhatswana. This philosophical distinctiveness, which was to constitute the point of departure of a new education system, was characterized through a multiplicity of principles which according to the report are shared by Batswana. The first is Christian faith or belief in the Holy Trinity as expressed in the words *Re bana ba Modimo* (We are children of the Lord). The second is the principle of the equal status of each individual and the rejection of discrimination and superiority and inferiority complexes. It is reported that the Batswana usually say *Bana ba thari e ntsho - karolo ya lobopo lotlhe - ba a tshwana* (Children of the black "kaross", part of the whole of humanity, they are all alike). The third principle is the belief in the "communalistic philosophy of life", which mediates any social activity of the individual, in harmony, however, with individualism. Communalism and individualism, it is argued, need not be antagonistic but are rather supplementary to each other. This made it possible for "the Batswana to keep pace with the challenge

⁶⁹ EP Lekhalu, Chairman, Report of the Bophuthatswana National Education Commission (Government of Bophuthatswana: August 1978), p.1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.2.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.13.

of modernization and the changing circumstances of life without losing the essential Batswana consciousness".⁷²

On the basis of the above philosophical premises the Commission set itself to design an educational ideal in which the culture, the beliefs, and the world-and-life view, as well as "national" aspirations of the Batswana, would be crystallized. Having investigated the history of Bophuthatswana, the Commission concluded that since 1951 steps had been taken to mould the different Batswana tribes into one nation. It also concluded that the concept *popagano* (moulding) which has directed "the highest aspirations of families, tribes and groups among Batswana, hence the concept of *education for popagano*, which the Commission recommended. According to the Commission, inherent in this concept was "the belief of Bophuthatswana in the ideas of national cohesion and unity, creative renewal, purposeful reconstruction; the reconciliation and interdependence of individuals and peoples; as well as faith and confidence in its people and its future".⁷³ It embraced the following elements: (1) the creation of a new self-reliance and confidence; (2) building up, progress and development in a common and shared determination; (3) the creation and building of a new nation, based on a dynamic cultural heritage and accepting the challenge of innovation and modernization; and (4) the co-operation and interdependence of all the people of Bophuthatswana so that all are involved in its national life. *Education for Popagano* also provided goals for the community such as "mutual moulding of individual by individual, of group by group, co-operative and emulative activities between groups and communities for the benefit and development of not only the individual groups and communities, but also of the nation as a whole".⁷⁴ The educational goals for Bophuthatswana as a whole included primarily the search for and discovery of a national identity, the nurture and development of this identity and the development of a strong sense of oneness of the Tswana nation. Thus the educational system in Bophuthatswana was to seek and find those habits and customs

⁷² Ibid, p.17.

⁷³ Ibid, p.18.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.19.

in Tswana culture worthy of preservation so that they could constitute the cornerstone in educational programmes. The traditions and cultural history of the Batswana were also to be given particular attention in the curriculum. The Commission concluded that:

The goals of our national system of education should be to integrate the individual with the community and the environment; to integrate the community with the nation and its potential; to integrate the nation with the world community in its various aspects. Again the idea is to equip the individual for productive work and active participation in the transformation, the revitalising, the renewal of the community and the nation. In the same way education should also seek to motivate the community in the first instance, and the nation in the final analysis, in productive and progressive activities. The reform of educational structures is inevitable if education is to be made relevant, not only to the goals sketched above but also to the work to ensure better preparation for citizenship, active participation in change, the strengthening of cultural identity, and the understanding of major world problems and international co-operation.⁷⁵

As has been shown, the main thrust of the Bophuthatswana homeland authorities was their ability to provide an **authentic rationale** for the "homeland" policy, i.e. their ability to reconvert the basis of the homeland policy by developing more grounded a rationale and philosophical premises, without however, moving significantly from the boundaries of apartheid policy.

The crisis of the homeland policy

The "homeland" policy would soon show its contradictions. As Auerbach put it in 1969,

It is not, of course, the fault of education, or of any specific education department, that economic development in the Bantu homelands has been much slower than the spectacular five or six per cent growth rate of the country as a whole. But it is a fact of African life in South Africa. Where you can earn a fair living, African culture and languages are of relatively little use. Where they are of value, there are few economic possibilities. As long as this so, any non-Bantu who stresses the importance of Bantu

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.20.

culture in education is likely to be suspected of wishing to retard the African's participation in the economic progress of South Africa.⁷⁶

There were however strong obstacles to the development of ethnic identities in the "homelands". Some of these were economic and political in nature. As Stoffel van der Merwe indicated, in implementing the homeland policy three major problems arose: those of development, international resistance and domestic opposition.⁷⁷ It soon became obvious that the under-developed areas set aside for the homelands could not accommodate all of the black people. Despite influx control measures and forced removals the tide of black people streaming to the white areas increased to uncontrollable proportions. Since their inception the homelands had been an object of increasing internal opposition. Van der Merwe recognized that even those who were in favour of independent states in principle, began to withdraw their support from the policy because of the problems encountered in the fields of development and international recognition. The form of franchise that the independent states offered to the homeland populations was "ineffective and consequently ... rather meaningless".⁷⁸ These factors led increasing sectors of "homeland" population to contest the fragile basis of homeland nationalism and the separate identities it tried to promote as part of the apartheid system.

Past images and new ideals: The search for a new identity

Nonetheless, "retribalization" through bantustanization resulted in new loyalties and shaped new identities among the homeland people. New images about the past, new meanings about social life, new history texts have been forged in people's minds in the

⁷⁶ FE Auerbach, 'School curricula in relation to community needs', presented to the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, 16-17 January 1969, p.7.

⁷⁷ Stoffel van der Merwe, *NP ... and What about the Black People?* (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, April 1985), pp.2-3.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p.4.

course of the bantustanization process. Racial and ethnic differences, portrayed as "fossilized", and self-perpetuating systems transmitted from generation to generation have framed people's outlook. As South Africa moves towards a united, non-racial and democratic society, these images, meanings and texts mediate the different ways people see their place, role and status in the emerging South African society. With the collapse of the apartheid system and the centrality of nation building, the question arises for example as to what should be done about the so-called "traditional" chiefs, culture and institutions, which for many years formed the cornerstones of the homeland policy. What role, if any, should they play in the process of transition and beyond?

Chieftainship and "traditional" institutions constitute a complex area in African politics, which is greatly underresearched. The experiences of independent African countries on this matter have generally been disastrous. In many cases, their policies have led to social dissatisfaction and have been criticized by oppositional groups as being against national interests.⁷⁹ One can classify their policies in three major categories: (1) the "back to the roots" approach; (2) total rejection and challenge; and (3) incorporation and re-conversion according to newly-set political ideals.

In countries that were subjected to colonial systems of "indirect rule" such as Swaziland and Lesotho, African leaders not only made use of the existing colonial institutions but also engaged in a crusade of re-discovery and promotion of "pre-colonial" traditions: kingship, chieftainship, lifestyles, rituals, and so forth. This was done with an almost blind celebration of traditional institutions, values and symbols for the sake of national pride and identity. As already discussed, a similar approach has generally been adopted by the bantustan bureaucracy in South Africa. Genealogy constitutes the main criterion for political appointments and national administration.

⁷⁹ This is for example the position assumed by RENAMO in Mozambique in its war against the ruling party, FRELIMO. RENAMO has very often accused FRELIMO for having marginalized the traditional leadership from Mozambican politics. Similarities could be found in UNITA and FNLA in Angola.

In countries subjected to assimilationist policies such as Senegal and Guinea-Conakri, this process assumed passionate dimensions and led to "negritude" movements, though with little social impact in practice. In both cases, emphasis was placed on a return to original or typical African ways of life dominant before colonial rule." Politicians found their source of inspiration in pre-colonial histories. However, this approach seems to have been superseded by the desire to pursue modern and Western political and administrative styles.

Total rejection is the strategy of challenge and marginalization of "traditional" chiefs adopted by socialist-oriented countries such as Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola. Most aspects of African cultural traditions and the whole colonial legacy came under fire as incompatible with the ideals of a socialist society. For example, chiefs were seen as vestiges of colonial rule or "traditional" oppressive institutions and, as such, were prevented from playing any political role. In Mozambique, those who had actively collaborated with the colonial administration were subjected to a re-education process. Chiefs were also seen as uneducated, outdated and tribalist. This explains why chiefs are among the main recruits of counter-revolutionary organizations such as RENAMO and UNITA, which have been fighting the present administrations of Mozambique and Angola.

The third approach involves the selective incorporation and re-direction of tradition, including chieftainship, according to newly-established political ideals. Only those chiefs and traditional institutions that can enhance effective leadership within a democratic set-up are integrated. This approach has been popular within liberation movements including the ANC, where personalities such as Chief Luthuli have played important political roles.

The above approaches are interconnected with the controversy surrounding the concept of tradition, particularly with reference to African chiefs, culture and institutions. Tradition is a general and vague concept that has been highly obscured in South African political culture. It has been used by both the apartheid authorities and the African

opposition to promote or justify their political ideals. It has been readily used by the mass media to show in what ways Africans are really **different**, by displaying differences that are manifested in their lifestyles, rituals, and customs.⁸⁰ As Spiegel and Boonzaier put it

Those presently in power are able to justify their policies by appealing to their "traditional" characteristics; those in the vanguard of resistance can be expected, increasingly, to appeal to "tradition", and to point to assaults on, and betrayals of, "tradition", as a means of mobilizing support for their cause.⁸¹

The dominant concept, promoted by the media and state socialization agencies, portrays tradition as any form of behaviour, attitude or lifestyle among African people seen as backward, tribal, "primitive" or uncivilized, and taken for granted as typically African.⁸² This involves for example hair style, food, clothes, dance, gestures, *lobola*, initiation rituals, the authority of chiefs, the activity of witchdoctors and belief in ancestors.

In its popular sense, "tradition" refers to the way of life in African societies before colonial domination. In this sense, people very often confuse the reality of the past with recreated images of the past and read each tradition as a coherent and self-perpetuating or unchangeable text. Spiegel and Boonzaier define "tradition" as follows:

In a limited sense, "tradition" refers to the transmission of culture - the repeated handing down of ideas, conventions and practices which humans need in social interaction. Popular understanding of the term goes beyond this neutral sense. Thus when people are told something is "tradition" they will assume that it is age-old and unchanged since its inception. Any behaviour which is thought to have

⁸⁰ The TV Channels one and two have been outstanding in this regard.

⁸¹ A Spiegel & E Boonzaier, 'Promoting tradition: Images of the South African past', in E Boonzaier & J Sharp (eds.), *The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts* (Claremont: David Philip, 1988), p.56.

⁸² Note that no attempt has been made to problematize the concept of tradition although several accounts have been made on African food, music, social and political traditions.

originated long ago and to have been handed down from generation to generation is thus placed in the category "traditional".⁸³

A similar sense is linked to the theoretical developments inspired by the restructuring of the world capitalist system and increasing capital investments in the colonial world during the first half of the 20th century, which produced visible changes on the structure of colonial economies.⁸⁴ As the influx of capital into colonial territories increased so did the existing social and economic infrastructure (railways, roads, stores, hospitals, schools, etc.), and as a result, better, though limited, opportunities for Africans in education and administration became available. The result was a proliferation in colonial literature of a new terminology emphasizing "progress", "development" and "modernization", repeatedly used to show the "benefits" brought about by colonialism for the colonized. African "traditional" societies were conceptualized as being in a process of Westernization or modernization as a result of a common sharing of basic Western values like the freedom of the individual, Western democracy and social order, values the West had already achieved and the rest of world had not or, at least, not yet. From this perspective, development embodied two complementary movements which determine its eventual direction and outcome: one towards **modernity**, a linear movement along pre-determined historical stages founded in the exemplar of the West; the other away from the **traditional** - the indigenous, the totalitarian, the barbarian.⁸⁵

"Modernization" was the term which captured the dynamics of the process of development, and was perceived as a process of change towards the condition of

⁸³ Spiegel & Boonzaier, op cit, p.40.

⁸⁴ See for example Andrew Walther, Introduction to the Sociology of Development (London: Macmillan, 1984), pp.44-63.

⁸⁵ See for example T Parson, Societies (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966); D Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (New York: Free Press, 1964); and P Bauer, Equality, the Third World and Economic Delusion (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1981). These authors held the view that modernisation is primarily a cultural process which involves the adoption of values and attitudes suited to the entrepreneurial spirit in place of the contrary values and lifestyle of "traditional" society.

modernity - an abstraction of the existing state of affairs of the countries of Western Europe and North America. The point of departure, "non-modernity" or "tradition", was seen as a residual category.⁸⁵ Tradition in this sense refers to those features of African life or practice that have not yet undergone a process of modernization.

Based on the dichotomy tradition/modernity (or First World/Third World) South Africa was seen by analysts as a constellation of cultures with a Western or modern culture dominating the main urban areas, particularly the so-called "white South Africa", and a periphery of "traditional" cultures.⁸⁷ The former is dynamic, diverse and individualistic. The latter is unchanging, homogeneous and communal. It is assumed in this conceptualization: (1) that traditions are handed down from past generations in an essentially unchanged form; (2) that, where traditions had suffered any form of change, these have been restored and preserved by the policy of "separate development" and constitute the basis of the present cultural diversity; and (3) that traditions are an attribute of "traditionalist" outlook, typical of backward groups resistant to modern ways of life.

As has been stressed, a common problem in such conceptions is a tendency to portray tradition as a "fossilized" and self-perpetuating system transmitted from generation to generation. Traditions do not necessarily remain the same. Although they emphasize the cultural peculiarity of a particular social group, traditions do change as culture changes in society. African institutions and practices such as *lobola* (a bridewealth payment for the transfer of a woman's reproductive, productive and sexual services) and the tribute to the chief have changed in form and meaning with the increasing monetarization of society. The present chieftainship in South African "homelands" represents one of those institutions that are said to be "traditional", but which, on closer inspection, turn out to have been imposed from outside. They have a semblance of continuity with the past only

⁸⁵ See DC McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (New Jersey: D van Nostrand Company, 1961) and H Bernstein, 'Sociology of Development versus Sociology of Underdevelopment', in D Lehmann (ed.), *Development Theory: Four Critical Studies* (London: Cass, 1979).

⁸⁷ JK Coetzee, *Development Models in the Third World* (Societas: NRA, 1980).

because they are described as such.⁸⁸ After the founding of the bantustans, chiefs' roles and accountability and the sources of their authority changed radically. They often became bureaucratic administrators controlled by the Nationalist government and a means of enforcing oppressive and discriminatory apartheid policies. They came to be seen as instruments of an alien control. The same applies to the historical institutions incorporated in the tradition of their ethnic groups. These have been in many cases re-created to serve new political ends in the "homelands".

It is not argued that tradition does not exist at all. It is argued that tradition in South Africa should be understood with reference to the constraints imposed by the apartheid administration. This is of crucial importance in the process of national reconstruction.

One way of minimizing the problem is by accommodating traditional institutions, particularly chieftainship, within a dynamic political framework in which effective leadership skills and commitment to a democratic mission constitute criteria for recruitment. It implies a conception of "leaders", not as God-given entities or simple occupants of such roles (who enjoy the powers inherent in the role of "leaders"), but as persons who have developed the necessary resources for exercising effective leadership. These can be intellectuals or chiefs. They must however enjoy trust and acceptability in their constituencies, and possess or be committed to developing the necessary ingredients for the good of all. On these lines, Mr Lesolang, a member of the Opposition Party in Bophuthatswana, asked the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly

whether the time has not come that the Tswana nation should lay emphasis on the merits of leadership [rather] than ... speak so much about chiefs.

I am not challenging the status of the chief, I am by no means undermining the position of the respect that we should give to the chief. My point is that so much development is taking place around us and everywhere that I think we as a nation should lay emphasis on the best human material we have which can take up the leadership in our national development. Today we have men ... equal to any

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.48.

leaders. What is important for us as a nation, is to get men who can lead us irrespective of whether a chief or not. We must have best leaders, not best chiefs but the best leaders be it chiefs or non-chiefs, but they should be the best leaders.⁸⁹

In this case, the attributes of age, experience, familiarity (stressed in traditional moral codes), militancy and intellectual ability, all together, can be used not for self-interest but for the benefit of the people as a whole. Wherever necessary, the bonds linking the chiefs and their communities must be taken seriously.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the apartheid state used culture and education to promote ethnic-nationalisms in the so-called "homelands" and "national states" or "bantustans". It has argued that culture and tradition and the historical past have been romanticized and manipulated to inculcate ethnic-nationalist identities dividing South African society. In this process, the concept of culture, which emerged in the 1920s and 1930s in social anthropology as a function of race, acquired yet another meaning, that of a fossilized "ethnic identity" or the peculiar way of life of an ethnic group. Culture, which was seen as an instrument and an indicator of social upliftment in the Victorian age, came to be seen as a timeless body of values, lifestyles, norms and beliefs, a philosophy of life or world view of an ethnic group. Culture became a God-given gift to be preserved and protected through political, educational and social instruments. The Christian National Education principle that cultures, languages and traditions of the various ethnic groups that constitute the South African society should be preserved and institutionally protected, and develop separately, emerged as the basis of apartheid educational and cultural policies. Paradoxically, while the colonial process in the rest of Africa had the

⁸⁹ See Constitution of Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly, 1972, Chapter III, Part V, 13(1), p.130. Note that CONTRALESA, an association of traditional chiefs, released a press statement in July 1993 demanding representation of "traditional" leaders at all levels of parliamentary structures in the new political dispensation.

contradictory impact of breaking down ethnic and tribal barriers to bring African societies into modern forms of national identity, the policy of bantustanization attempted to consolidate those barriers and develop a sense of nationalism within the parameters of the traditional ethnic and tribal boundaries. Ironically, this could only be achieved through apartheid and oppressive protective instruments, that is, through institutional cultural protection.

Against this background, it has been noted that the inability to accommodate tradition and traditional institutions within a dynamic political framework has been a catalytic factor in the political crisis faced by many African countries. This is a lesson that South Africa cannot for a moment ignore. Among the causes of the crisis is the tendency to accommodate traditional institutions in a blind and uncritical way or without accounting for the alien and inimical elements embedded in those institutions throughout history. There is also a tendency to marginalize those institutions and ignore their value as sources of inspiration and base for future social and political practice. The problem is aggravated by the fact that the role of traditional institutions in the context of national reconstruction has been largely neglected by modern social scientists who tend to concentrate almost exclusively on liberation movements, mass movements and other more easily measurable phenomena.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CRISIS OF CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION, 1981-1992

Suppose that an independent Zulu State, an independent Xhosa State and an independent Sotho-Tswana State were set up, would African opinion in general be prepared to accept the little white state which would remain in a corner of Southern Africa to embody Afrikaner Nationalism in political institutions?¹

This chapter examines the increasing identity crisis amongst Afrikaner nationalists in the 1980s in response to the changing political, economic and social South African and international context and discusses the consequent emergence of new discursive identity formations. It shows how the decline of the Christian National Education philosophy as a cornerstone of Afrikaner nationalism can be linked to an identity crisis within the *volk*. The chapter focuses on several major and interrelated themes: tensions between the old and the new discourses in Afrikaner Nationalism, the forging of new identities and the implications for Christian National Education. Particular attention is given to the role played by the clergy, academia and universities, and student and youth movements.

I shall argue in this chapter that the crisis of identity within the *volk* has led to two contending approaches to the question of Christian National Education. On the one hand, there are those who have been searching for a reformed rationale and ideology for old-style Afrikaner nationalism (based on the concepts of the forties and the fifties) with Christian Nationalist foundations. On the other, there are those who seek new foundations for Afrikaner nationalist and cultural identity within the broader

¹ EH Brookes, *Law, Right and Love - A Study in Political Values*. A series of eight lectures delivered at the University of Cape Town Public Summer School, February 1962, p.3.

concept of "New South Africanism". "New South Africanism" is derived from the current concept of the "New South Africa", which refers to South Africa beyond apartheid and in which the members of all its "population groups" are recognized as citizens with full political and civil rights. For example, one of the proposals presented to the De Lange Commission in 1981 stated clearly that "while education should afford recognition to the diversity of the religious cultures of the people of South Africa, the ideal of a common South Africanism should be promoted",² [My emphasis]

Organizations, in particular cultural and political organizations, academics, businessmen, and radio and television, have been mobilized to address the question of identity crisis within the *volk*. The *Afrikaner Broederbond* and *Ruitervag*, teachers' organizations, parents' associations, church organizations, schools and universities, and organizations such as the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, the *Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut*, and the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings*, played a central role in the process.

General background

In a book entitled *The Second (R)evolution*, Willem de Klerk, brother of the former State President FW de Klerk and also a declared reformist Afrikaner, uses the concept of (r)evolution to suggest that "the Afrikaner is a nation-in-transition to a new identity, while retaining features of the old identity".³ This transition, he argues, involves profound changes within Afrikaner society, namely transition: (1) from uniformity to pluriformity; (2) from isolation to communication; (3) from Teuton to

² Quoted in F van der Stoep, Chairman, *Report of the Work Committee: Education Principles and Policy* (Pretoria: HSRC, July 1981), p.111. The document went further and suggested that education should preserve its Christian character as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. However, no reference was made about its "national" character. Also note that the concept of South Africanism - including both whites and blacks - used by De Lange was not the same as the white exclusivist South Africanism of Smuts.

³ Willem de Klerk, *The Second (R)evolution - Afrikanerdom and the Crisis of Identity* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1984), pp.1-29.

African; (4) from insecurity to security; (5) from acceptance to examination; and (6) from problems to solutions.⁴

As a result, the Afrikanerdom is "breaking the walls of its own definitions".⁵ The description of the Afrikaners as self-contained, "bound to their own culture", is no longer valid. The Afrikaners are no longer necessarily Calvinist. They are increasingly open to influences of "humanism, liberalism, methodism and pietism".⁶ There are those with the "laager mentality" and those who pragmatically widen their identity and reject "pre-cooked and pre-packaged" answers, i.e. the *verkrampste* and the *verligte*.⁷

The distinction between *verligte* and *verkrampste* nationalists has been studied elsewhere.⁸ I want only to stress that this distinction is based on a manifestation of a dispute over two conflicting principles within Afrikaner nationalist leadership: (1) the inclusive thinking of those who believe that Afrikaners cannot survive politically and must therefore share power; and (2) those who advocate that the self-preservation of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a barrier between their political and community life and those of other "population groups".⁹ The *verligte* are thus those who sounded the alarm that the apartheid model was no longer capable of solving all the country's problems.

The political symptoms of the dispute between the *verligte* and the *verkrampste* can be illustrated by several events in the last two decades. These include for example the

⁴ Ibid, p.12.

⁵ Ibid, p.10.

⁶ Ibid, p.10.

⁷ Ibid, pp.10-11.

⁸ These terms were coined by Professor W de Klerk and have become anglicized in South Africa. *Verligte* literally means enlightened. *Verkrampste*, which is not even in the *Tweetalige Woordeboek*, means narrow or cramped. What they actually mean is moderate and extremist. *Verligte* has been associated with liberalism in its modern sense.

⁹ De Klerk, op cit, p.31.

formation of the *Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)*, in 1969, the creation of the Conservative Party (CP) under the leadership of Dr AP Treurnicht in 1982, and ideological dissensions within the Dutch Reformed Churches.

Regarding the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK), Beyers Naude split from the NGK in 1964 and founded the Christian Institute which criticized the politics of the NGK and the policy of apartheid. In 1980, eight well-known theologians of the NGK published a testimony in *Die Kerkbode*, the official mouthpiece of the NGK, which suggested that the NGK must show compassion, a spirit of reconciliation, and indignation over the poverty, discrimination and exploitation experienced by blacks. This was followed by the book *Stormkompas*, published in November 1981 by twenty-four theologians and members of the NGK.¹⁰ This book argued that black and white churches of the NGK should unite and criticized the separation of the two churches as artificial and ideological. It also heavily criticized the policies of apartheid. In June 1981, 123 office-bearers of the NGK published a letter and once again called for unity and challenged artificial separations in church and society.

The definitions of Afrikanership, and how it was assumed by Afrikaners, began to be questioned within the Afrikaner nationalist establishment:

The questioning was applied to virtually all areas. Questioning ... the definitions of "Afrikanership", the untenability of the South African isolation, the attachment to Africa and Afrikaner security and maturity. Questioning the Afrikaner concept of self ... Questioning the one-sidedness of the policy of apartheid which finds its leitmotif in the homelands, underlining in particular the failure of homeland development and the problem of absorption of blacks who were supposed to go back to their homelands and border industries. Questioning labour demands in South Africa and the economic feasibility of the basic concepts of the policy. Questioning the political rights of the urban blacks and the senselessness of shunting them back to the homelands to exercise these rights. Questioning the absurdity of rigid divisions in sport and in other unnecessary areas. Questioning Coloured and Indian rights and citizenship. Questioning the statutory

¹⁰ See NJ Smith (ed.), *Stormkompas* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 1981).

entrenchment of apartheid and structural discrimination. Questioning the whole moral basis of the concept of apartheid.¹¹

Of considerable importance was the realization by the *verligtes* that the concepts of diversity, ethnicity, differentiation, self-centredness, self-aggrandizement, separation and separateness, "Afrikanerness", which dominated Afrikaner politics during the Great Trek and resistance to anglicization during the Anglo-Boer conflict, and the practices used to widen the gap from other "population groups", could no longer be assumed as unproblematic.¹² Thus the second "(r)evolution" also involves a review or the dismantling of these concepts to give way to new concepts such as commonality of all in South Africa, cohesion, collectivity, interdependence, and to change the "monologue-style" into "dialogue-style" in Afrikaner politics.¹³

Prof CWH Boshoff, founder of the *Afrikanervolkswag* (AV), discussed some of these developments in an emotional speech delivered to its second congress in 1986. The tone and the words were carefully selected to create the sense that the Afrikaners in South Africa were at a crossroads and had to face the challenge of a new beginning in their history: "Today we are facing a crisis as great as that which our forebears experienced 150 years ago when they decided to trek".¹⁴ He linked the causes of the crisis to the very same foundations on which the apartheid system had been built - which he described as "false realities":

Our stability and prosperity of nearly two decades was based on a false reality. Our stability was founded on an intolerable situation where a white minority was successfully dominating a black majority. It was a false stability because it could not continue indefinitely. That is why

¹¹ De Klerk, op cit, pp.23-24.

¹² De Klerk does not use the term 'kaffirization'. This term was very popular amongst Afrikaner nationalists in the 1930s and was used to describe the fear of being swamped by the African majority.

¹³ De Klerk, op cit, pp.15-16.

¹⁴ The words imply the need for a "Second Trek", CWH Boshoff, 'A people's right: What has been achieved and the road ahead', address to the second congress of *Die Afrikanervolkswag*, 11th and 12th July 1986, p.1.

the policy of developing the various black states separately was specifically designed to break away from this false reality.

Similarly our prosperity was built on false reality. Prosperity in South Africa was a result of the exploitation of the natural resources of this country through capital which came from large financial concerns controlled by a small number of money magnates, instead of through the capital of the people of the country, and was extracted by a black labour force which has now become part of the freedom movement in South Africa.[priv. trans.]¹⁵

The recognition of these "false realities", he argues, led to another extreme, i.e. the acceptance of economic liberalism with its chain of consequences detrimental to the survival of Afrikanerdom: "common economy", "economic integration", "economic equalization", "political equalization".¹⁶

De Klerk takes a slightly different approach. He associates the crisis with the political developments of the 1970s. For example the resistance movement, which started with the events of 1976 in Soweto, highlighted that blacks could no longer tolerate apartheid. The 1978 Information Scandal, which involved the purchase of American newspapers through state funds to promote political propaganda in favour of the National Party, also created the awareness in Afrikaans circles that a blind loyalty to leaders was dangerous. These events culminated in P W Botha's "adapt or die" declaration in 1978, in which he stated that apartheid was outdated and radical changes had to be made.¹⁷ In August 1986, five motions were presented at a federal congress of the National Party urging the abandonment of the doctrine of apartheid in favour of a power-sharing strategy, i.e. full participation for all South Africans at all levels, and acceptance of South Africa as one united country.¹⁸ As President de Klerk was to put it in 1990:

¹⁵ Ibid, p.1.

¹⁶ Ibid, pp.1-2.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp.22-23.

¹⁸ See for example Stoffel van der Merwe (Compiler), NP Position Paper No 1: Power-Sharing (and related concepts) (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, July 1986), pp.1-3.

The change of policy to one of full participation for all South Africans, all races, came about as a result of our realization that the grand design of the old policy, namely to build so many states, to make a little Europe out of South Africa, was not attainable.¹⁹

The white election of 6 May 1987 gave a mandate to the National Party to pursue this new policy and in a somewhat ambiguous manner the guidelines for the negotiation of a new political dispensation were outlined in 1989. The guidelines emphasized "the protection of the rights of **groups** on the basis of maximum **self-determination** for each group and **joint responsibility** in regard to **matters of common concern** in such a way as to eliminate **domination** of any group by another".²⁰ Among other things, the guidelines proposed: (1) own government institutions for whites, "coloureds" and Indians within the framework of a tricameral Parliament; (2) autonomy of self-governing "homelands"; (3) the right to full-fledged independence on the part of self-governing "homelands"; and (4) own autonomous local government institutions for all "population groups".²¹ The guidelines recognized that it had been a mistake from the beginning to believe that independent homelands for blacks could be the sole solution to South Africa's race problems.

In considering the factors which led to this policy shift, firstly the progress made by the liberation movements in Southern Africa (Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola) had increased the vulnerability of the South African minority regime. Secondly, widespread resistance to apartheid made the policy of "total repression" of the 1960s less effective. Important concessions had to be made to the labour movement, the developing black middle class, youth and students. Thirdly, the economic recession of the 1970s and the growing flight of capital called for liberalization of the economy as had been suggested by liberal criticism since the sixties.²² Fourthly, the inability

¹⁹ Arnaud de Borchgrave, "The mandate for a 'New Society'", interview with President Frederik W de Klerk, *Insight*, 2 July 1990, p.36.

²⁰ Boy Geldenhuys, *Position Paper No 4: Partition* (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, June 1989), p.6.

²¹ *Ibid*, p.6.

²² Liberal responses will be dealt with in the following chapters.

of the Nationalist government to respond to these pressures in a positive and effective manner led to increasing tensions within the Afrikaner leadership, the symptoms of which included shifting loyalties among the Afrikaner leadership and a consequent search for new identities. These developments were precipitated by the events in Eastern Europe and in the ex-Soviet Union. I shall now turn to the two main conflicting movements within the *volk* and their implications for the future of Christian Nationalism.

A second trek? "Organized culture" and the struggle for the survival of Afrikanerdom

The concept of a "second trek" is used here to refer to the strategies and processes whereby the conservative wing of Afrikaner nationalism has attempted to overcome the crisis of identity, re-unite the *volk* and reconstitute the Afrikaner nation on foundations deeply rooted in Afrikaner orthodoxy. So far, this development has assumed the form of a movement towards the creation of alternative cultural and political organizations and the reinterpretation of Afrikaner traditions, value system and institutions. This will be referred to as the *Volksunie*.

The *Volksunie* in South Africa does not constitute a coherent whole. Apart from the parliamentary rightwing parties - the Conservative Party and the *Herstigte Nasionale Party* - there are a variety of cultural and church organizations and shadowy ultra-militant "armies" committed to a "Third Freedom Struggle" for the Afrikaners. More inclined to the idea of a violent "Third Freedom Struggle" are for example the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) led by Eugene Terreblanche, the *Boerestaat Party* (BP) led by Robert van Tonder and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, the *Wit Boereleer* and the *Wit Wolve*. For example the leader of the BP, Van Tonder, was quoted by the Afrikaans newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* as saying:

If you cannot solve your problems at the polls, you have no other option but to organize, mobilize and get power through armed struggle. I trust that in the case of a revolution, we shall have the

support of the majority in the SAP [South African Police] and the SADF [South African Defence Forces].[priv. trans.]²³

Although most of these organizations had been active for several decades in South Africa, they became more prominent after President FW de Klerk's parliamentary speech on 2 February 1990, which announced the unbanning of African political organizations and the release of political prisoners, and paved the way for a negotiated settlement between the Nationalist Government and other political actors. For the purpose of this chapter, I shall focus only on the underlying discourses on culture and identity propagated by these organizations. Underlying all their discourses is the commitment to an orthodox Afrikaner nationalism, very often mixed with anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish sentiments.²⁴

In the words of Prof EM Hamman, this trend is articulated by those "Afrikaners who refuse to relinquish their aspirations in exchange for mere South Africanism, and who are concerned about the future of the Afrikaner people".²⁵ It is led by an influential intellectual group which includes Prof Boshoff, leader of the *Afrikanervolkswag*, MJA Marais, leader of the *Herstigte Nasionale Party*, Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* Professor JC Schabert, leader of the *Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB)*, and Dr Ben de Klerk and Prof Hamman, founder members of the *Afrikanervolkswag*.²⁶

Hamman, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pretoria from 1970 to 81, and one of the promoters of the *volksstaat* idea, argued that the leaders of the

²³ *Vrye Weekblad* 27.04.1990 and *Rapport* 24.06.1990.

²⁴ Various anti-Semitic incidents were reported such as a bomb explosion at a synagogue in Rosettenville where anti-Semitic slogans were sprayed on the walls of the synagogue in red paint (1 July 1990), a pig's head placed at the gate to a synagogue in Brakpan (25 June 1990), and another pig's head placed at the gate of a Jewish family's Parktown home (18 June 1990) with the words "Jews out" and "Swastika" on it. (Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression - IBIIR, 'Memorandum on extreme rightwing organizations in South Africa', August 1990, pp.2-3).

²⁵ EM Hamman, 'Proposal to establish the *Afrikanervolkswag*', undated, pp.1-2.

²⁶ Dr AP Treunicht, former leader of the Conservative Party, participated in this group before his death.

existing cultural organizations to which most of the Afrikaners are affiliated had taken sides in party politics, a step which caused great confusion amongst Afrikaners and contributed to the identity crisis and threat to the survival of Afrikanerdom.²⁷ Afrikaner identity was threatened by what he called "liberalistic winds of integration", i.e. integration in sport, universities, parks, theatres, hotels, restaurants and central city areas as well as in parliament, the cabinet and civil service.²⁸

Against this background, Hamman proposed the founding of the *Afrikanervolkswag* (the Afrikaner People's Guard),²⁹ an organization which would give priority to the interests of the Afrikaner and of the "white man", reiterate Afrikaner ideals, national pride and will to survive, and inculcate "the conviction that defeatism and pessimism will get us nowhere".³⁰

Those of us here present in large numbers this morning wish to found the *Afrikanervolkswag*, a voluntary cultural organization, formed on a family basis, with no party political affiliations, its principal aim being to mount guard over the entire sphere of the Afrikaner's existence and continuing survival as a distinctive nation, and including also fellow citizens from other cultures who have chosen to identify themselves fully with the Afrikaner people.³¹

The aims of the *Afrikanervolkswag* involve: (1) to strengthen the Afrikaners sense of national awareness and the awareness of their unique position as a white nation in Africa; (2) to preserve their own language and identity in their own fatherland; (3) to maintain and strengthen the religious and moral foundations of Afrikaner culture within the context of Calvinistic principles; (4) to promote national consciousness in the community, families and schools; (5) to promote appreciation for Afrikaner

²⁷ Hamman, op cit.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Its 'founding principles and aims' document stated that "the *Afrikanervolkswag*... will maintain the struggle for national survival, which will involve Afrikaners from all walks of life and call on them to combine forces in a cultural organization which is striving towards their continued existence as a sovereign nation".

³⁰ Ibid, pp.2-3.

³¹ Ibid, p.1.

history; (6) to fight for the Afrikaner's right to live and rule in his own land as a free and white nation in Africa; and (7) to encourage creative and performing arts as a means of expressing Afrikaner ideals.³² It thus emerged as the "cultural wing" of the Right, formed in opposition to the mostly Government-supporting *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (FAK).³³

Similarly, a group of right-wing Afrikaners created the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) in 1974 under the leadership of Eugene Terreblanche, a former police sergeant and Prime Minister John Vorster's bodyguard.³⁴ Its objectives as outlined in its policy document are: (1) to maintain and carry out consistently the policy of separate development; (2) to fight for a nation-state in which the president is elected by whites; (3) to "consolidate all Christian whites" who are prepared to say that the "coloureds" are a nation in its own right and their geographical territory would be located in the Western Cape and that the Indian population "is an extraneous body in the South African tissue and cannot lay claim to an independent parliament, to sharing the government with the Whites, or to having a territory of their own".³⁵

³² The *Afrikanervolkswag*, 'Founding principles and aims', undated, p.2.

³³ In 1988, the *Afrikanervolkswag* organized its own Great Trek festivities with the support of the CP and the AWB, in opposition to the official centenary of the Great Trek of 1838, organized by the FAK.

³⁴ In 1989, Terreblanche lost some of his personal popularity after his name was linked with that of *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allen. A dissident group broke away to form the *Gesuiwerde Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (Purified Afrikaner Resistance Movement), which later became the New AWB and then the *Boere-Weerstandsbeweging* (Boer Resistance Movement). For the same reasons Professors Chris Jooste and Alkmaar Swart created the *Boere Vryheidsbeweging* (Boer Freedom Movement) on 23 May 1989. (*Beeld* 11.07.1990, 25.06.1990, 13.06.1990; *The Star* 13.06.1990; *Business Day* 25.06.1990)

³⁵ In a letter dated 21 January 1982 addressed to Mr Daniel Britz, librarian of Northwestern University, E Terreblanche wrote: "although this organization (the *Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging*) is itself not a political party, we have created a political party called *Blanke Volkstaat Party* and this has been registered with our Department of Internal Affairs". (Letter from Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the AWB, Pretoria, 21 January 1982, to Mr Daniel Britz, Bibliographer of Africana, Northwestern University Library. The letter includes a copy of the policy document outlining the aims of the AWB.)

The document also explains the meanings of the AWB's symbols. The AWB symbol consists of three interlinked 7's, black on a red background - strongly reminiscent of the Nazi Swastika. Terreblanche claims that the biblical three sevens of the emblem represent completion and final victory, as opposed to the three sixes, the symbol of the Anti-Christ. The colour red symbolizes "the blood of the Christian, of the white man and of our forefathers spilled over centuries to ensure our survival".³⁶ The white is the ideal of racial purity and the pride of the white race and the black represents "valour", "the heraldic meaning of the colour".

In 1987 Professor JC Schabert, formerly a member of the Rand Afrikaans University, established the *Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging* (White Freedom Movement). The movement was banned under Emergency Regulations. The *Blanke Nasionale Beweging* (White Nationalist Movement) was formed by Wynand de Beer in response to the banning of BBB. Both organizations were unbanned in 2 February 1990. Many of their members have allegedly joined the Conservative Party.³⁷ Active amongst Afrikaner youth was the *Odal Clan*, formed in 1979 by Rudolph Schmidt, a former member of the Hitler youth, to recruit white children to work for racial domination and white purity.³⁸

Several vigilante groups aimed at patrolling towns and protecting whites were also formed such as the *Blanke Front*³⁹ (White Front or BF) in Pretoria in June 1990, the *Blanke Veiligheid* (White Security) in Welkom in February 1990, the *Brandwag* (Sentinela/Sentry) in Brits, the *Flaminke* (Flamingos) in Odendaalsrus and Virginia.

³⁶ AWB's policy document, op cit.

³⁷ *Pretoria News* 08.05.1990; *The Star*, 08.05.1990.

³⁸ *Rand Daily Mail* 21.11.1979 and *Sunday Times* 18.11.1979.

³⁹ Its leader Oscar Hartung had also formed the *Magsaksie Afrikaner-Nasionalisme* (Power Action Afrikaner Nationalism), *Beeld* 14.05.1990.

in May 1990, and the *Wes-Randse Blanke Gemeenskapswag* (West Rand White Community Guard) in April 1990.⁴⁰

The ultimate goal of the *Afrikanervolkswag* and other right-wing organizations such as the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) is to reconstitute the Afrikaner nation with new geo-political and economic foundations, within however the confines of the doctrine of Christian National Education. This is to be achieved through "total territorial apartheid" or "partition", i.e. the division of South Africa into two or more separate states, a process which would necessarily imply division of land and a resettlement of people.⁴¹ As an alternative to a unitary state, those organizations strive for a re-creation of a sovereign Afrikaner state under Afrikaner rule, populated by Afrikaners and other white people who identify themselves with the Afrikaner ideals, guided by the Afrikaner's protestant beliefs and by the principles of Christian National philosophy.

In April 1993, a day after the funeral of the assassinated leader of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani, a secret "Committee of Generals" (COG) was formed in Pretoria, to seize control of the right-wing constituency.⁴² The Committee included former senior officers from the South African Police and South African Defence Force.⁴³ Although the aims of the Committee were not clearly stated, it was known that the generals aimed to establish an *Afrikaner volkstaat*. Note that Groenewald has been a leading figure of the *Volkseenheidskomitee* (VEKOM), an umbrella organization of groupings committed to the establishment of an Afrikaner homeland

⁴⁰ *Pretoria News* 18.06.1990; *Pretoria News* 15.06.1990; *Beeld* 14, 15.06.1990; *Beeld* 02.03.1990; *The Star* 28.03.1990; and *Sunday Star* 24.06.1990; *Beeld* 10.04.1990; *Business Day* 09.04.1990; *Beeld* 29.03.1990; *Rapport* 27.04.1990.

⁴¹ For a discussion of this model see for example Geldenhuys, *op cit*.

⁴² *Weekly Mail*, 30 April to 6 May 1993, pp.1-2.

⁴³ The Committee includes General Constand Viljoen, former chief of the South African Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling, former deputy commissioner of police, Lieutenant-General Cobus Visser, former Central Intelligence Division chief, Lieutenant-General Koos Bischoff, former army chief of operations, Lieutenant-General Tienie Groenewald, former head of military intelligence. (*Ibid*, p.1)

wedging northwards from Pretoria and encompassing large areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, and also a member of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) involved in national negotiations.⁴⁴ Cosag set itself to lead the right wing from parliamentary politics towards acts of defiance ranging from passive resistance and political mobilization of the labour movement to armed struggle. It was claimed that in times of crisis Afrikaners have traditionally been led by generals.⁴⁵

The *Boerestaat Party* in particular has the restoration of the old Boer Republics - Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Northern Natal - as its stated goal.⁴⁶ The *Oranjerwerkersvereniging* (Orange Workers Society) together with the *Orandee Onstwikkelingskorps* (Orandee Development Corps) aims to establish a white "homeland" or *volkstaat* called Orandee around the Orange River, comprising large parts of the Northern Cape and the Orange Free State. The state would embrace towns such as Upington, Saldanha Bay, Graaff-Reinet, Colesburg and Beaufort West.⁴⁷ Only whites would have work opportunities and no political parties would be allowed in such a state.⁴⁸ Liberalism would be systematically rejected.⁴⁹ Note that the effects of liberalism on the tradition of Christian National Education became a matter of concern to the right wing. Boshoff sees liberalism as one of the factors leading to the decline of Christian National philosophy:

Many Afrikaners have changed beyond belief. Liberalism has also taken its toll amongst us and our characteristic Christian National philosophy has been weakened to the same extent. As long ago as 1967 ... the nature of our educational policy was indicated as broadly

⁴⁴ COSAG was an organization constituted by right-wing groups and some homeland leaders who opposed the attempts by the National Party to strike a unilateral deal with the African National Congress.

⁴⁵ *Weekly Mail*, op cit, p.2.

⁴⁶ IBHR, 'Memorandum ...', op cit, p.13.

⁴⁷ Note that the concept of a "white homeland" based on total territorial segregation was rejected as not practicable by the regimes of DF Malan, JG Strijdom and H Verwoerd.

⁴⁸ *Beeld* 13.06.1990; *The Star* 20.08.1986.

⁴⁹ Boshoff, op cit, p.10.

national. "Christian" and "national" are words that have changed in meaning and are no longer compatible with Afrikaner tradition. For instance, "Christianity" has come to mean a kind of humane sympathy, even an irreligious or communistic Christianity bound up with integration, whereas separate development is condemned as heretical; "nationalism" is no longer a nation's pride in itself, it is a broader geographical nationalism, for instance South African nationalism. This onslaught on the Afrikaner's philosophy is weakening the bonds which bind our youth to their own people and is fostering a spirit of internationalism. [My emphasis]⁵⁰

Several committees have been working on an economic strategy, geographic delimitation and a suitable political dispensation for the establishment of the new Afrikaner state.⁵¹

After the NGK decided to open its doors to all races and renounce apartheid within the church, a group of rightwing clergymen formed their own church, the *Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk* (Afrikaans Protestant Church or APK), under the leadership of Nico van Rensburg. This church is guided by traditional Calvinist values and is exclusively for whites.⁵² This is also the case of the *Gemeente van die Verbondsvolk* (Congregation of Chosen People), a far rightwing religious grouping based in the Western Transvaal, which adheres to the belief that the "twelve lost tribes of Israel" were not Jews, but Afrikaners.⁵³

However, the *Volkstaat* movement has been marked by uncertainties and tensions amongst its protagonists, particularly since the emergence of General Constand Viljoen as its most influential leader. Since then two views of an Afrikaner *Volkstaat*

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.8.

⁵¹ Note that this has been a matter of great controversy within the *volk*. In his speech to the second congress of the *Afrikanervolkswag* in 1986, Boshoff suggested that the greatest geographic delimitation that could possibly be considered would be "the white areas of the Transvaal, of the Free State and of Northern Natal, the Northern Cape, the Cape Midlands as far as the coast and then from Port Elizabeth to the west of Mossel bay, and the southern parts of SWA" (Boshoff, op cit, p.14).

⁵² IBIR, Memorandum ..., op cit, p.6.

⁵³ IBIR, Memorandum ..., op cit, p.15.

have been advocated within the movement, based on two different concepts of self-determination. One is advocated by those loyal to General Viljoen, who favours an Afrikaner self-determination and identity within the general framework of South Africanism, more or less in line with the concept of self-determination accepted during the 1993-94 constitutional negotiations for the Zulu Kingdom. The details have not yet been spelled out. Another is shared by those associated to Eugene Terreblanche, who have been pressing for an independent white *Volkstaat*. There is speculation that a concept of self-determination as proclaimed by Viljoen's followers could still be negotiated and accommodated after the 1994 elections.⁵⁴

The new intelligentsia and the search for a new identity

Developments in recent history clearly indicate a growing ferment in the political and intellectual thinking of the young "enlightened" Afrikaner elite. These developments assumed the character of a new nationalist movement, which articulated criticisms of aspects of government policy and, in some cases, the rejection of apartheid's fundamental premise: racial division. This new nationalism attempted to reconstitute the Afrikaner identity within the framework of what I have called "New South Africanism", i.e in co-existence and reconciliation with other South African groups. It came from the most enlightened sectors of the Afrikaner intelligentsia and youth in the Afrikaans campuses. Feeding into this movement were many Afrikaner academics who, through their contributions in discussion groups, publications, speeches, journal and newspapers article, have shaped a liberal and reformist thinking

⁵⁴ After his election as the leader of the Volksfront in 1993, General Constand Viljoen became popular in the Freedom Alliance, opposed to the multi-party negotiations, and mainly as the leader of the Freedom Front. The Volksfront was an umbrella organisation of all Afrikaner groupings committed to the idea of an Afrikaner *Volkstaat* and the Freedom Front emerged as a splinter of the Afrikaner Volksfront to struggle for a *Volkstaat* through constitutional means and to participate in the 1994 elections.

amongst Afrikaners.⁵⁵ As De Klerk has pointed out, "the academics" contribution is their provision of the scientific rationale for the necessity of change".⁵⁶

At a congress, held in Johannesburg in 1980, a group of Afrikaner students decided to break away from the conservative politics of the *Afrikaanse Studentebond* and found the Association of Political Students (Polstu) - the *verligte* Afrikaans students political body,⁵⁷ with membership open to all races. Polstu wanted to provide a political outlet for all Afrikaner students and youth willing to fight for a just and free South Africa.⁵⁸ It stressed in its strategy the need for "conscientization of Afrikaans students to prepare them for a new South Africa".⁵⁹ Polstu wanted a Bill of Rights, freedom of movement, speech and association, economic justice, and full citizenship for all South Africans.⁶⁰ Most importantly, the founders of Polstu held an optimistic approach to Afrikanerdom and African nationalism and believed that these two movements could reach a compromise before resorting to a full-scale war.⁶¹

⁵⁵ For example the Wieham Commission proposed liberalization of labour policy in South Africa; the Cillie Commission criticized Bantu Education and called for reform in black education; the De Lange Commission challenged Verwoerdian education discourse and proposed new guiding principles and educational concepts for education of blacks and so forth.

⁵⁶ De Klerk, op cit, p.57.

⁵⁷ The *Afrikaanse Studente Bond* emphasized cultural rather than political action.

⁵⁸ *Eastern Province Herald*, 15.09.1980 and 18.09.1980; *Citizen*, 08.03.1980; *The Star*, 22.07.1980 and 08.08.1980.

⁵⁹ *Eastern Province Herald*, 15.09.1980.

⁶⁰ Dominant apartheid ideologies had considerable impact on the consciousness and practices of university students. The predominant sentiments expressed by the largest organizations, representing Afrikaner, English-speaking and black students in the 1970s, accurately reflected a more idealistic version of those ideologies. For example the Afrikaner students organized in the *Afrikaanse Studentebond* seek a racially separated society, in which each community would be able to express its values in all its institutions, including the schools. The black students organized in South African Students Organization (SASO) also proposed to separate themselves from other racial communities. For this reason the emergence of student organizations, which pursued non-racialist organizational politics such as Polstu and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) represented a considerable shift in student politics and a matter of great concern for the government.

⁶¹ Polstu's initiative was met with massive protest by right-wing students in Afrikaans campuses (*Rand Daily Mail*, August 12 1980, and *Sunday Tribune*, 21.08.1980).

At the same time, student leaders at the University of Stellenbosch issued a statement calling for the elimination of all legislation that separated South Africans on racial grounds, namely the Population Registration Act, the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, the Pass Laws and the Group Areas Act, which they described as "basic elements of a 'sick society'".⁶² Underlying this incipient intellectual rebellion within the *volk* there seemed to be the idea that cultural or linguistic affinity need not determine political thinking and allegiance. This constituted a denial of the role attributed by orthodox Afrikaner nationalists to "organized culture" in binding together and solidifying the Afrikaner nation. "Organized culture", initially seen as minimizing political tensions within the *volk*, came to be seen as compatible with political and ideological difference.

"We must make a new beginning. We must make a new start to a new future."⁶³

In so far as the doctrine of Christian National Education was concerned, the emerging movements examined above reflected the crisis of Christian Nationalism and its philosophical and religious foundations. They expressed the development of a liberal discourse within Afrikaner ranks as manifested in the De Lauro Report (1982), the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) and the Curriculum Model for South Africa (ACUMSA), both of 1991.⁶⁴ Traditional notions of "total racial segregation" and separate and unequal education were gradually being phased out in favour of concepts of unity in cultural diversity, separate-but-equal education for all and education of equal quality. Of considerable importance was the shift from the concept of Christian

⁶² Eastern Province Herald, 18.09.1980.

⁶³ Words pronounced by the State President PW Botha at Morija on Easter Sunday, 1984 (S van der Merwe, NP... and what about the black people? (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, April 1985), p.16).

⁶⁴ Department of National Education, Education Renewal Strategy: Discussion Document [ERS] (Pretoria: DNE, June 1991; Committee of Heads of Education Departments, A Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa [ACUMSA] (Pretoria: DNE, 1991).

National Education⁶⁵ as formulated by the fathers of Afrikaner nationalism to the concept of Christian National Education as proposed by the new intelligentsia.

While maintaining the Christian character of education, the new approach to Christian Nationalism shifted the focus from the "national" character of each cultural group or ethnicity to the national character of South Africa as a whole. This can be illustrated by the proceedings of the De Lange Commission, appointed in 1981 to investigate strategies to minimize the increasing crisis in education. The Commission convened on 13 February 1981 to discuss the comments received from various bodies on the draft proposals of educational principles and policy formulated by the Work Committee. One of these comments warned that generally speaking the Committee had not given enough emphasis to the Christian philosophy of life and had also totally restrained from constructing "a principle which strives at fostering a national spirit (South Africanism)".⁶⁶ Other comments proposed alternative formulations which included the idea of nationalism/South Africanism and, in one instance, a request for

⁶⁵ Some of the comments on the draft report of the Work Committee of the De Lange report capture nicely its impact:

The tendency in South African education in the post-war period has been to stress diversity at the expense of commonality, so much so that the people of South Africa find themselves unilaterally defined not as one nation but as several nations who happen to live in common geographical area - in this regard the use of inhabitants (*elke inwoner*) rather than citizens ... is interesting. This diversity has been legally enforced by a multitude of laws and regulations, and in education by the establishment of racially and linguistically segregated institutions almost invariably of a totally closed nature. Similarly, the curricula offerings required within these segregated institutions have also been determined unilaterally by the "white" decision-makers, the result being a wide-ranging distortion of curricula content in favour of an exclusively White Afrikaner Nationalist definition of reality. Moreover, attempts have been made to create distinctive cultures for each of these unilaterally defined "nations", and for this purpose education has served merely as one of the agencies involved in the process.

Unfortunately for the proponents of this strategy, the great mass of South Africa's people does share the government's interpretation of the existence of these groupings as the fundamental reality of the South African situation, and therefore rejects as illegitimate and discriminatory all attempts to create, promote and maintain such "separate identities", especially if the purpose of the exercise is seen to be basically one of protecting the interests of only one section of the population. (Quoted in HSRC, Report of the Work Committee, op cit, pp.228-229)

⁶⁶ Report of the Work Committee, op cit, p.130.

a principle in which the fostering of patriotism or a common South Africanism could be incorporated.⁶⁷

The Commission decided to settle for more general formulations which did not make reference to any national character, South Africanism or patriotism, but made provision for recognition for a common culture.⁶⁸ This view was held by its Chairman, JP de Lange:

Our life situation is one of many peoples and cultures in interaction. Two processes in action can be observed: one is of an assimilatory nature and one is of a primordial or pluralistic nature.

As far as assimilation is concerned there is some evidence of a common South African culture evolving. A common core is larger between some of the cultures than between others. For instance the common core between the Afrikaans and English versions of Western culture is larger than the common core between say the English and the African culture groups. The extent to which these common cores constitute part of the common South African core is a difficult matter to judge. However, the evolving South African core culture is dependent upon these diverse common cores moving nearer to each other.⁶⁹

The main report outlined three important principles concerning culture and education. First, it stated that education must afford 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.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.133 and p.138.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.133. This omission must not be taken at face value as it indicates an increasing questioning of the orthodox overtones of Christian Nationalism. Subsequent reports clearly indicate a marked shift from traditional notions of Christian National Education.

⁶⁹ JP de Lange, 'The task of a school system', in M Shear (ed.), South Africa's Crisis in Education: The Senate Special Lectures (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1978), p.113.

⁷⁰ JP de Lange, Chairman, Report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Education: Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1981), p.33.

Second, it stated that education must give recognition to the freedom of choice of individual parents and the organization in society.⁷¹ With regard to language policy, the report favoured the use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction during an introductory phase and thereafter of either English or Afrikaans.⁷² Whites were given the option of choosing between Afrikaans and English as the medium within a variety of options, depending on their proficiency in these languages and their mother tongue.⁷³

Most of these principles seemed to meet some of the concerns of the various stakeholders in education, including the black community. However, the attempts by government to translate these principles into meaningful educational practice fell short. A major issue which received strong reaction from the Government was the decision by the Commission not to engage with the philosophical connotations of the "principles of education" which it recommended. Presumably the Government was concerned here with the Christian National foundations of education in South Africa. As such it reaffirmed that it stood by "the principles of Christian character and the broad national character of education as formulated in ... the National Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act 39 of 1967), in regard to White education and as applied in practice or laid down in legislation with regard to other population groups".⁷⁴ It stressed that any changes or renewal in the provision of education should take these principles into account in regard to the right of self-determination for each "population group".⁷⁵ It also emphasized that in terms of its policy each "population group" should have its own schools and its own education authority/department and that the principles of freedom of choice for the individual and for parents in educational matters and in the choice of career would only be acceptable within the

⁷¹ Ibid, p.14.

⁷² Ibid, pp.142-144.

⁷³ Ibid, p.143.

⁷⁴ Interim Memorandum on the Report of the Human Sciences Research Council on the Inquiry into the Provision of Education in the RSA (Pretoria: October 1981), p.3.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.3.

framework of separate schools for each "population group". It stated that all decisions to be taken in the light of the report would have to take due account of, and fit in with, its segregationist constitutional framework.⁷⁶ From the Government's reaction it thus became clear that the doctrine of Christian National Education was still regarded as the basis for the provision of education in South Africa. The chairman of the *Transvaal Onderwysersvereniging* (TO), Professor Hennie Maree, issued a statement which emphasized that teachers should be trained on the basis of their own nationality and culture.⁷⁷ The TO had the impression that the HSRC investigation into education would be based on parallel research for different "population groups" with each group's educational needs handled separately.⁷⁸

Despite general dissatisfaction from black people, the Government went on to implement the principle of "own and general (common) affairs", which reinforced the principle of school and curriculum separation.⁷⁹ Matters such as education at all levels became "own affairs of the White, Coloured and Indian population groups respectively".⁸⁰ This meant that all educational matters that related solely to a specific group were "own affairs" of the population group concerned.⁸¹ Thus education as "an own affair" had to take place within "the context of the particular group's own culture and frame of reference".⁸² The problem with these policies is that they attempted to implement new educational principles within the framework of apartheid education

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.3.

⁷⁷ Cape Times 30.06.1981.

⁷⁸ Ibid. See also Progressive Federal Party - National Advisory Committee on Education, 'Education cuttings comments', No.48, September 1981, p.2.

⁷⁹ Government's policy at the time was based on the assumption that individuals exist in groups, i.e. individuals must have a group identity, and that none of the groups should be seen as a majority. As such South Africa came to be seen as a country of minorities which must agree to live together without losing their group identity in one state where no group dominates another.

⁸⁰ See the 1983 Education White Paper, p.5.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

or segregated schooling, where race represented a major feature of the provision of education.

In an interview given to *Insight* in 1990, President FW de Klerk declared that he hoped to eradicate discrimination in South Africa within six months and he wished to pave the way for a "multicultural" society based on the US model.⁸³ The political framework for such a society was defined as a system of full power-sharing with a built-in system of protection for minorities.⁸⁴ This concept was pursued by the liberal and reformist Afrikaner establishments and embodied in subsequent commission reports and policy documents on the future of education in South Africa, namely the ERS and ACUMSA.⁸⁵ These documents urged for "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".⁸⁶ Attention was also given to the principle of mother tongue education as pedagogically valid during an introductory phase and thereafter of either English or Afrikaans. Despite this reformist approach the state insisted on its principle of "own and general (common) affairs", which reinforced cultural, school and curriculum separation.⁸⁷ The policy implemented by the 1983 White Paper prevailed.

⁸³ De Borchgrave, op cit, p.36. This idea was also articulated as a basis for a "power-sharing" concept in Stoffel van der Merwe, op cit, p.1.

⁸⁴ President de Klerk paraphrased Madison in the 10th Federalist Paper where he referred to the "superior force of an interested and overbearing majority as the cause of instability and injustice" (De Borchgrave, op cit, p.37).

⁸⁵ This should however be stated with caution. The education crisis was one of the major problems facing South Africa which was not adequately addressed by President de Klerk during the earlier years of his administration. De Klerk's policy was characterized by (1) a slippery movement towards desegregation of state white schools and white tertiary institutions; (2) the recognition in 1989 by the government that it was unable to implement a ten-year plan for greater parity in education, which was announced in 1986; and (3) an increase of the share dedicated to education in the 1990/91 budget (the largest single item or a fifth of total spending).

⁸⁶ P. Bennell et al, *The Education Renewal Strategy: An Agenda for Negotiations*, (University of the Witwatersrand: EPU, February 1992); P. Bennell & N. Swainson, *Education and the 'New Right' in South Africa*, University of the Witwatersrand: EPU Occasional paper, 1990; and the De Lange Report, op cit.

⁸⁷ See the 1983 Education White Paper (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1983).

The ERS and the ACUMSA documents represented however the most significant shift from traditional state education policies in that they questioned the acceptability of the framework within which education policy and practice had operated. For example the ERS document stated in its introduction that the existing education model enjoyed "little support among the majority of South Africans who find its racial base, as expressed in separate education departments for the various population groups, unacceptable".⁸⁸ It suggested that against this background solutions had to be found through which the education system became acceptable to the majority of South Africans and through which equal educational opportunities for all entrants to the education system could be achieved.⁸⁹

The ERS document also noted that the present education model did not measure up to the principles of "equality of opportunity", "balance of commonality and diversity" and "freedom of choice". Race, which was still entrenched in the existing educational model, was not an acceptable basis for accommodating diversity. Instead, the ERS recommended that "race should not feature in structuring the provision of education in a future education model for South Africa and that justice and educational opportunities must be ensured".⁹⁰ It also acknowledged that diversity in South Africa was a reality and would, "together with unity, have to be accommodated in a new model irrespective of the future constitution".⁹¹

In this perspective, the ERS recommended (1) that the new education model should visibly promote and express national unity and freedom of association, (2) that adequate satisfactory allowance should be made for the accommodation of diversity (such as language, religion or culture), (3) that together with the accommodation of diversity, allowance would have to be made for decentralized control to eliminate bureaucratic inertia and to encourage community involvement, and (4) that the new

⁸⁸ ERS, 1991, para. 1.4.

⁸⁹ Ibid, para. 1.6.

⁹⁰ Ibid, para. 2.1, p. 20.

⁹¹ Ibid, para. 2.2, p. 22.

education model should provide for the existence of a central education authority as well as departments of education, possibly regionally based.⁹²

The principles formulated for the provision of education were translated into specific aims relevant to the various education phases and types (e.g. pre-tertiary phase, junior and senior primary phases, etc.) in A Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa, produced by the Committee of Heads of Education Departments. For example pre-tertiary education was to develop in learners "an awareness of themselves as people among other people, and their responsibilities towards themselves, their fellow human beings, their environment and their country". This included not only the principle of human rights and the adoption of values accepted by society but also the right to analyze critically and to evaluate and question.

In relation to language, the report stated that the multilingual nature of broad South African society required the acquaintance of all learners with at least three languages (Afrikaans, English and a regionally dominant African language) during the course of their school career.⁹³ Translated into policy, this would mean for example that pupils in Durban could be required to learn Afrikaans, English and Zulu.

However, the most significant shift in approach, concepts and educational principles appeared in the ERS II published in 1992.⁹⁴ This document appropriated most of the education objectives pursued by the main oppositional organizations,⁹⁵ including the ANC and the NECC. These included: (1) equal opportunities; (2) the promotion of national unity; (3) the recognition and accommodation of language, cultural, religious and other legitimate interests; (4) the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour and gender; (5) the provision of manpower for national needs; (6) the

⁹² Ibid, pp.22-23.

⁹³ ACUMSA, p.27.

⁹⁴ Department of National Education, Education Renewal Strategy (ERS II), (Pretoria: DNE, November 1992).

⁹⁵ See Chapter Nine, 'African nationalism, schooling and identity ...'.

forming of whole human beings; and (7) the sharing of responsibilities for the provision of education between the state and interested sectors, such as parents and the broader community, the organized teaching profession, industry and commerce and other employer groups, as well as learners.⁹⁶

The document also noted that the existing education model did not measure up to this set of objectives and enjoyed little support among the majority of South Africans because it was based on race as expressed in its structure.⁹⁷

This is not so much because the education system attempts to accommodate diversity in society, but rather because an unacceptable and educationally irrelevant basis for accommodating diversity, namely race, has been used in providing education instead of different bases arising naturally from society itself. This has given rise to the demand for one education authority, both as a guarantee against unacceptable statutorily-prescribed ways of accommodating diversity based on race, and also as a means of ensuring equality of expenditure on learners in various education departments.⁹⁸

Thus the ERS II suggested a new set of principles for the basis of a new education system. First, the document reiterated the principle that race should not feature in structuring the provision of education in a future education system for South Africa. Second, it suggested that a new education system should promote and express national unity. Further, bearing in mind the non-racial basis of a new education system, provision should be made "for the accommodation of diversity based on internationally recognized and educationally relevant basic human rights such as mother tongue education, freedom of religion and the practice and transmission of an own culture".⁹⁹ Freedom of association should also form a cornerstone of the new education system.

⁹⁶ ERS II, p. 17 and p. 24.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 8.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 16.

⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 16-17.

This was the first policy document emanating from the state structures to embody concerns with promoting national unity in its wider sense, i.e. South Africanism. In contrast to previous documents, the ERS II also emphasized the need not for reforming the existing education system but for building a new education model based on a new set of educational principles. This new education system was to provide for the existence of a central education authority and regionally-based departments of education. The central authority would bear responsibility for policy on norms and standards, for categories of institutions of a more national character which would enjoy a very large degree of autonomy. Other functions relating to education would fall under the jurisdiction of the regional departments.¹⁰⁰ Different categories of schools falling under different levels of management autonomy and accommodating diversity wherever it was needed were to be established.

The race/class dilemma in the public school system

The crisis of Christian National Education in South Africa was also illustrated by state reform initiatives in the public school system and its concomitant discourses. The Nationalist Government adopted more subtle desegregation strategies to shift colour boundaries within the public school system while preserving white privilege and maintaining traditional patterns of school ethos. In this context, a formula was sought in attempts to selectively desegregate schools through privatization and devolution of decision-making to school communities.

The Minister of Education and Culture (House of Assembly), Mr Piet Clase, announced in September 1989 the decision to allow the conversion of the Johannesburg High School for Girls (JHSG) into a private, co-educational non-racial high school, known formally by what had been a nickname for years - Barnato Park High School. This school serves the neighbouring communities of Berea, Yeoville and Hillbrow.¹⁰¹ A fee system was introduced and the state was to provide a subsidy of

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, pp.23-24.

¹⁰¹ Sue Valentine 'Barnato School', *The Star*, 9 December 1989.

up to 45% of the school's operating costs.¹⁰² For those parents, pupils and teaching staff, particularly the Save Our School (SOS) campaigners, who had fought the decision by the state to close Johannesburg High School for Girls because white pupil numbers had dropped and who petitioned the Department of Education and Culture to open JHSG to all races, the creation of a new private school came as something of a defeat. However, it became clear that the decision regarding JHSG was to become a general strategy for addressing the crisis of most white schools which could not keep acceptable numbers of white enrolments.

In March 1990, Mr Piet Clase announced that the Department was considering introducing a formula whereby white public schools would be able to decide which pupils to admit. The new formula was presented to various white educational bodies by 15 June 1990 for comment. The announcement made by the Minister, characterized by the Press as a "dramatic turn for mixed schools", initially gave the following options to all schools seeking to desegregate: (1) to privatize and then receive a 100% state subsidy (the highest state subsidy for private schools was 45%); (2) to re-register with another education department - black, "coloured" or Indian - and negotiate with the responsible minister a status of "open" school; or (3) to become a multiracial state school in "free settlement areas".

Having accepted the principle of "open" education, the Minister proceeded to outline the conditions under which schools would determine their own admissions policies and theoretically provide mechanisms by which they could become non-racial. His proposals became known as the "Clase's polls". Three models were offered to parents:

Model A - to close the existing state school and apply for registration as a private school with state funding reduced to a level of 45% of operating costs and decide its own admissions policy;

¹⁰² David Cray, 'The state is fostering illiteracy among our kids', *Sowetan*, 6 December 1989.

Model B - to remain a state school with a different admissions policy within the framework of the constitution, with the same subsidy, provided that the majority of pupils would remain white and provision would not be made for additional facilities, accommodation or transport schemes;

Model C - to close the existing school and apply to become a "State-aided" school, operated by a managing body with a subsidy of 75% of operating costs for staff salaries.

However, under the guidelines issued to schools, to change a school to any one of these models, 72% of parents in a poll of at least 80% would have to sanction it before it could be adopted and even then the minister would have the right to veto their decision.¹⁰³

Traditional education principles would remain in force within the proposed models, particularly the Christian National Education concept, the traditional values and ethos of the school, mother-tongue (English or Afrikaans) instruction, the use of an approved curriculum "which has its point of departure the culture of the target group", and preference to pupils from the feeder area of the school (predominantly white). The second model was to be introduced in 1991 and the other two models in 1992. In an attempt to encourage the policy of free settlement, the government linked opening schools with "free settlement areas".¹⁰⁴

Clase however justified his proposals on different grounds, particularly on what he called "practical difficulties", namely the inconvenience stemming from the geographical siting of schools, transport difficulties for black children, problems associated with mother-tongue tuition, changes in the ethos of schools where other groups gained admission, social tensions and the provision of additional staff, and

¹⁰³ Argus 3 July 1990.

¹⁰⁴ Natal Mercury, 30 September 1989.

resistance from white parents who fear that desegregation would lower education standards.¹⁰⁵

One of the principles suggested by the De Lange report was that "Education should afford positive recognition to the commonality as well as the diversity of the religious and cultural way of life of the inhabitants",¹⁰⁶ Within this framework, private schools appeared as the institutions which could pursue particular educational philosophies and cater for cultural diversity. As O'Dowd pointed out:

It is recognized that in view of the great complexity of the South African population it will not be feasible for the public education system to accommodate the cultural interests of all groups. In order to ensure that those groups which are too small or too unusual to be accommodated in the public system are not deprived of their rights, the right of any self-constituted group to establish private schools is recognized and it is further recognized that those who choose to make use of private schools must not, on that account, be deprived of their fair share of the public funds available for education.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, De Lange affirmed that state schools should be open to all if they were to provide positive recognition of the commonality of all South Africans. Racially divided schools could not but attribute primacy to or over-emphasize diversity. However, Clase's proposals provided for a systematic privatization (Model A) or semi-privatization (Model C) of public schools as a means of affording "positive recognition" to cultural diversity, which contradictorily represent indeed a subtle way of reproducing the legacy of apartheid by promoting and maintaining "separate identities".

In November 1989, the SAIRR reported that 196 white schools had been closed and that remaining white schools had more than 250 000 vacant places, while an estimated 1 million black children had no schools to attend. Of those schools, a handful had

¹⁰⁵ The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, in the House of Assembly, Citizen, 16.05.1989.

¹⁰⁶ Van der Stoep, Report of the Work Committee ..., op cit, p.224.

¹⁰⁷ MC O'Dowd quoted in the De Lange report, op cit, p.71.

been given to the education departments for Indians and Coloureds, but most had been given to other Government agencies, while 42 remained unused.¹⁰⁸ According to the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly in 1988, a high school in Bloemfontein had been let to a private construction company as a block of offices, and one school in Lichtenburg was being rented by a farmers' association. In Johannesburg, La Rochelle Primary School was leased to the SADF, John Ware and Booysens primary schools were leased to the Post Office, Hoerskool Hans Moore in Benoni was under consideration for alienation to Metal Industries Corporation, and so forth.¹⁰⁹ Further, of the 1 170 000 places at white schools throughout the country only 871 000 or 74% were being taken up.¹¹⁰

The announcement of the proclamation of the first four free settlement areas by the State President in 1989 failed to include details about provision for schooling and implicitly sanctioned Clase's policy.¹¹¹ However, Clase's policy was doomed to failure for several reasons. First, as was common practice among apartheid officials, they excluded the black majority from decisions about where their children should go to school while allowing the minority to make decisions for them. Second, they did not constitute a departure from the segregationist tradition based on Christian National Education. There are also other important factors such as: (1) the changing political economy as the racial mix of suburbs changes and as dwindling populations threaten high schools in small towns with the exodus of white families to major urban areas;¹¹² (2) the increasing struggle for open education waged by progressive parents, teachers and pupils and by organizations such as Save Our School (SOS) and All Schools for All People (ASAP); and (3) the realization of the heavy price of separate schooling based on the concept of "own affairs". Note also that in April 1989 twenty-one of

¹⁰⁸ Sowetan, 6.12.1989.

¹⁰⁹ The Sunday Star, May 22 1988.

¹¹⁰ The Star, 25.11.1989.

¹¹¹ The Star, 1.12. 1989.

¹¹² See for example Claire Pickard-Cambridge, Sharing the Cities (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1988).

South Africa's oldest and best known white schools formed an association of "open" schools to fight for the right to admit pupils without reference to race or creed.¹¹³

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the crisis of identity within the *volk* as part of the broader crisis of the apartheid system assumed the form of a dispute between old and new values and philosophical bases of Afrikaner nationalism. On the one hand, there were attempts to reconstitute the eroding Afrikaner identity on the basis of old-fashioned and orthodox nationalist philosophy and practices. On the other, efforts have been made to reformulate traditional foundations of Afrikaner nationalism in the accordance to the pressures and the demands of the changing South African society. As a consequence of this trend, the policy of white exclusivity and its Christian National Education foundations have been increasingly wearing away from the mainstream Afrikaner thinking. This was shown by reference to government education reports and developments within the public and private school systems in the last years of the apartheid government.

¹¹³ Argus, 23 May 1989.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIBERALISM, CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter scrutinizes the images of social identity and modes of representation embodied in liberal discourses in education. It examines the principles and values which underlined these discourses, the general features of the "scientific practice" which informed them and, most importantly, the way particular historical situations were confronted by the "liberals". An attempt will also be made to critique and reassess the way the specific nature of liberalism in education has been conceptualized. The chapter argues that liberals in South Africa have been persistent in striving for more rational and moderate discursive modes of representation, particularly in the construction of white liberal identity *vis-a-vis* black people. Their discourses always emphasized the need to shift the dividing lines separating blacks from whites as imposed by segregationist and apartheid policies.

However, by overemphasizing diversity and difference (more precisely degrees of difference) on grounds of "civilization" and culture, liberal discourses did not go beyond the framework of exclusivism of the dominant block which they contested. To pursue this line of argument, the chapter examines the continuum from the concept of "the educated franchise" during the Victorian era, the discourse of "adaptation", particularly the concept of "adapted education" in the 1920s and 1930s, to the economic pragmatism inspired by the economic pressure of the 1960s and 1970s and by the "free market" ideology of the 1980s. The most important feature of this pragmatism was the change of concerns or emphasis from "white identity" to commitment to a South African society, free from racism and apartheid and based on free-market economy and western democracy.

Liberalism: The concept

The concept of liberalism, within the South African context, has been the object of several studies.¹ Legassick distinguishes two main meanings in its general use. In one sense, the concept of liberalism is used to characterize "those who give priority to the freedom of law, an independent judiciary, a free press, freedom of speech and association and conscience".² In this sense, the "Cape liberal tradition" has been regarded as the historical embodiment of these principles.³ The concept of liberalism is also used in an economic sense to define those "who believe in laissez-faire, the free interplay of market forces untrammelled by the state".⁴ These general meanings change and assume different nuances in different societies and at various stages of their historical development. In the South African context, however, liberalism has developed a specific meaning. Legassick characterizes this as follows:

In South Africa "liberal" too, has acquired another meaning ... that of "friend of the native" ... In this sense "liberalism" is, in some sense, identifiable with "tender mindedness" or, in the context of the view of South African society and "native policy" ... a force trying, on the one hand, to minimize or disguise the conflictual and coercive aspects of the social structure, and, on the other, to convince selected Africans that grievances they felt could be ameliorated through reforms liberals could promulgate.⁵

¹ See for example Janet Robertson, *Liberalism in South Africa, 1948-1963* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Paul Rich, *White Power and Liberal Conscience, Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism, 1921-1960* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984); RM Godsell, 'Liberal ethics in South Africa since 1948: Power, principle and responsive action', MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1985; and L Marquard, *Liberalism in South Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1965).

² Martin Legassick, 'Ideology and social structure in 20th century South Africa', Postgraduate Seminar Paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, p.1. See also Martin Legassick, 'Liberalism, social control and liberalism in South Africa'; and Martin Legassick, 'British hegemony and the origins of segregation in South Africa, 1901-1914', University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, February 1974, mimeo.

³ J Leatt, T Kneifel and K Nummerger (eds.), *Contending Ideologies in South Africa* (Cape Town, Johannesburg: David Philip, 1978), p.54.

⁴ Legassick, 'Ideology and social structure ...', op cit, p.1.

⁵ Ibid, p.1.

The notion of reforming the conditions of oppression of blacks has been a consistent thread in liberal ideology; it has acted as a basis for the creation of a harmonious democratic society based on the principles of political and economic liberalism. This "benevolent paternalistic" attitude, to use the words of the historian Shula Marks, was at no point concerned with the complete abolition of the basic conditions of that oppression. Legassick has also noted, as a common ideal, the "desire to transcend a repressive policy which gives no outlet for African expression of grievances without granting to Africans significant political power to determine white destinies".⁶ Note that in its approach to this issue, indeed, some liberals maintained that there was an essential incompatibility between capitalism and racism in South Africa. Apartheid as a relic of the past would be eliminated by capitalist modernization.⁷

Robertson has made the point that in South Africa liberalism has been determined by the context in which different groups have found themselves, namely the Afrikaners, English and Africans. She points out that, in general, early liberals advocated two alternative solutions to the South African "colour problem": total separation and parallel institutions. The theory of parallel institutions (e.g. separate-but-equal education) was liberal orthodoxy until about the 1930s.⁸ Within the liberal logic of difference and diversity, "equality in separation" and "unity in diversity" appeared as the most appealing solutions to the "colour problem". Rich shares the view that the "separate-but-equal" tradition was a part of the "liberal tradition" during the 1930s and 1940s. The liberals, he argues, "looked, as did the government itself, via a strategy of territorial segregation, to the rural reserves as the main repositories for African political and economic rejuvenation".⁹ This was to change as the National Party became the chief advocate of segregation and as its effects became manifest.

⁶ Ibid, p.3.

⁷ See for example a critique by Ernesto Laclau in New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time (New York, London: Verso, 1990), p.23.

⁸ Robertson, op cit, p.10.

⁹ Rich, op cit, p.123.

However, a general feature in the existing literature is the tendency to regard liberalism as a body of universally-valid principles and values, which within the South African context have assumed particular connotations.¹⁰ This body of principles and values includes: (1) the defence of certain principles like those of "equality", "rejection of racist discrimination" and "defence of certain rights"; and (2) opposition to the Apartheid policies of the Nationalist Government.¹¹ Some radical theorists have linked liberalism with certain methodological characteristics such as the emphasis on white education, a neglect of the study of black education, a descriptive, uncritical character, oversimplicity and an inability to show the relationships between education and other features of South African society.¹² This chapter contends that any assessment of South African liberalism requires not only the identification of certain political values and general features of liberal academic practice but also an understanding of the way particular historical situations were confronted by the "liberals" and how they dealt with the question of political identity, with particular reference to variables such as time, place and social context.

To put it differently, an assessment of the liberal discourse in South Africa must grasp the dialectical development of liberalism, its specific nature, shape and particular forms of expression in each historical moment, amongst different communities and social strata. This means that though the individual as a subject of knowledge is not, epistemologically speaking, a passive reflector of outside stimuli, we cannot ignore the complexity of human experience and its influence in the development of human thought and human choices.

What is meant by human experience here is the whole complex totality constituted by factors such as the social environment in which human beings live, the pressures

¹⁰ See P Enslin, 'Is the dominant tradition in studies of education in South Africa a liberal one?', *Perspectives in Education*, 8(3), 1985; and also M Cross, 'Open the parcels and check inside before you stick on the labels: Remarks on P. Enslin's "Is the dominant tradition in studies of education in South Africa a liberal one?"', *Perspectives in Education*, 8(3), 1985.

¹¹ Ibid, p.133 and p.156.

¹² Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), pp.4-15.

exerted by generations, schools, the economy: a totality which is not static and harmonious but rather dynamic, contradictory in nature and always in a changing process. The interaction of an individual with that totality changes and so do his/her ideas and identity imagery even if these seem to remain the same in their basic principles. For example recent developments in educational literature indicate that there has been a certain radicalization of the so-called "liberal" positions in South Africa. The literature also indicates that there has been significant mobility between liberal and radical groups. For example the De Lange initiative, which embraced influential Christian Nationalist protagonists, arrived at conclusions that cannot adequately be understood within the discursive frontiers of orthodox Afrikaner nationalism. These clearly reflected the increasing hegemonization of the liberal discourse across the boundaries. Therefore, liberal discourses will be considered within the historical context from which they have emerged. This idea is elaborated by Rich when he points out that

the overall assessment of South African liberalism must not be guided by, as many liberal historians have imagined, the simple ability to keep certain political values intact, but by the way particular historical situations are confronted. As Eric Voegelin has warned, "[liberalism] is not a body of timeless valid scientific propositions about political reality, but rather a series of political opinions and attitudes which motivates them, and are then overtaken by history and required to do justice to new situations".¹³

The development of liberal discourses in South African education can be divided into the following main periods: (1) period 1881-1910, dominance of the Cape assimilationist tradition; (2) 1910-1948, critique of total segregation and promotion of "adaptation" discourse; (3) 1948-1976, economic liberalism and the emergence of the manpower development discourse; and (4) 1976-1992, the struggle for hegemony in education.

The first period reflected the strong influence of the Cape assimilationist tradition and the Cape franchise, whereby educated blacks could be selectively granted political

¹³ Rich, *op cit*, pp.27-30.

rights.¹⁴ Increasing criticism of the policy of total segregation, the recognition of the peculiarity of the culture of the Africans and the American-inspired concept of "adapted education" formed the main features of the second period until the advent of Nationalist rule in 1948. These reflected the growing ideological and intellectual influence from educational research and anthropology, which provided a new basis for the reassessment of "native policy". The third period saw the resurgence of liberalism in a transformed form, with a particular concern with the needs of the expanding economy. This characteristic also dominated the last period. I shall briefly set into historical sequence some of the social features of liberal discourses during the four periods.

Period 1881-1910: The influence of the Cape liberal tradition

Liberal imagery of identity in early periods of South African history was bound up with the history of racial prejudice which dominated social science and colonial accounts during the Victorian era. This is explained by several factors, namely "the spectacular explosion of biologically based racial science (scientific racism) in the second half of the nineteenth century",¹⁵ social Darwinism and eugenics, and social practices based on the assumption of superiority of "Western civilization", and the fear of racial mixture with "tribal" and "heathen" African peoples, which encouraged white cultural exclusivism. The Social Darwinist idea of a natural hierarchy according to which the world's races could be classified had considerable influence on liberal thinking. The same can be said about the eugenics movement, which suggested that to safeguard Western civilization, radical measures of social and biological engineering such as the control of genetic pools or "racial stocks" were essential.¹⁶ The racial imagery which emanated from these intellectual contexts was readily

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Saul Dubow, 'Race, civilization and culture: The elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years', in S Marks & S Trapido (eds.), The Politics of Race and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa (London and New York: Longman, 1987), p.70.

¹⁶ GR Searle, Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914 (Leyden, 1976).

transferred to the colonial terrain where it was applied to questions of race, civilization/culture and identity by white settlers and the missionaries.¹⁷

The "assimilationist" policies of George Grey in the Cape Colony, the segregationist strategy of Shepstone in Natal, the discourse of the Victorian civilizing mission and Milner's reconstruction policy should be understood against that intellectual background.¹⁸ The same applies to the differentiated church work for blacks and whites, justified on grounds of culture and civilization.¹⁹ Liberal discourses sought to accommodate some Africans who passed the test of "civilization" or education. Liberalism in the old Cape Colony thus described the commitment to bring "civilization and the vote to those who succeeded in assimilating the basics of western culture as transmitted in education. As a result, the Cape Colony since its first Constitution in 1852 had admitted "coloured" and African voters to the roll on the same qualification as all other voters, i.e. with reference to property ownership, educational test and so forth. These developments during the Victorian era set the ideological and intellectual context for the debates on culture and education policy after the Anglo-Boer War.

¹⁷ See for example N Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest (Cape Town, 1952); J Cock, 'Education for domesticity' chapter in Maids and Madams (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980); and K Crehan, 'Ideology and practice, a missionary case: The London Missionary Society and the Cape frontier 1799-1850', in A Akeroyd and LR Hill (eds.), South African Research in Progress, Collected Papers (York University: Centre for Southern African Studies, 1979).

¹⁸ See JW Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and M Cross, 'The foundations of a segregated schooling system in the Transvaal, 1900-24', History of Education, 16(4), 1987.

¹⁹ Culture was often seen as an important factor for differentiation of missionary work. For example, Canon Farmer, the most experienced priest in mission work in the Diocese of Pretoria, reporting to the Synod of 1904 on mission work, argued that "European and Bantu were so essentially different that it was almost impossible for one priest to tackle both efficiently" [My emphasis]. Quoted in A Winter, Till Darkness Fell (Mirfield: House of Resurrection, Easter 1962), pp.8-9.

Period 1910-1948: "Adaptation" versus total segregation

From the 1880s up to the 1920s, the South African industrial revolution took place under the dominance of mining capital. Large sectors of the African population were drawn to the mines as migrant workers. Amongst whites, the process of proletarianization involved the rise of the so-called "poor white" problem, i.e. unemployed unskilled white labour. From the 1920s onwards, the large-scale proletarianization of blacks began as a result of the 1913 Land Act and the emergence of a manufacturing industry. The main urban centres became crowded with black proletarians seeking jobs. This created serious social problems. Liberal discourses, at this stage, were directly or indirectly responding to these social changes.

During the early period of the mining revolution, some criticism of the new policy of segregation developed in terms of nineteenth century liberalism as explained above. It was expressed as a recognition of individuals on the basis of "civilization" rather than race. But such criticism, as already mentioned, did not go beyond the framework of segregation and was mainly concerned with the alleviation of the effects of this policy. The education of blacks was left in the hands of missionaries, even if the "missionaries could be somewhat irritating with their mildly assimilationist tendencies".²⁰

Social and educational research, 1920-1948

The process of industrial revolution had profound implications for the educational debate of the 1920s and 1930s. One was the shifting of responsibility from the missionaries and the church to the state in addressing educational matters. A second was the movement towards the professionalization of educational activities manifested in a more structured training of teachers, curriculum planning and inspection of schools. A third was the increasing importance of social and educational research as

²⁰ R Hunt Davis, 'The administration and financing of African education in South Africa, 1910-1953', in Peter Kallaway (ed.), *op cit*, p.135.

a basis for policy formulation and educational practice. This led to the constitution of a very important identity group: the academia. A fourth involved unsuccessful attempts to de-racialize science, particularly "race psychology" and the anthropology of "Bantu people". Liberals attributed racial bias in social science to the meddling of "politics" in matters which required "scientific" treatment. The last two will receive particular attention in this section. The chapter will show how these developments impacted on the formation of liberal discourses in the 1920s and 1930s.

Many liberals argued for the adoption of methods of scientific research to address more effectively the problems emanating from the mingling of several races in South Africa and the great variety of geographical and economic conditions. These problems began to be seen as a matter of science and expertise, which escaped the eye of the politicians, rather than a "matter of politics".²¹ For example the so-called "native question" could be solved "by taking it out of politics and by enlisting for its study a body of experts".²² As Malherbe pointed out, the actions of the state should thus be based upon "scientifically proved principles" rather than dictated by the "political expediency" of the moment:²³

²¹ The Council for Educational and Social Research formed towards the end of 1934 played a central role in the promotion of social research in South Africa. Its executive was the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, established in July 1929, under the Union Education Department and under the directorship of Dr EG Malherbe. Its functions included: (1) to act as a central clearing house for educational statistics and ideas overseas and in South Africa; (2) to act as a liaison office between the various education departments; and (3) to conduct research on educational problems in co-ordination with universities and other agencies (EG Malherbe, Educational and Social Research in South Africa, Pretoria: SAESR, 1939, p.49). The Bureau was closed for the period 26 June 1940 to 30 September 1945. Dr PAW Cook re-opened the Bureau on 1 October 1945. On 1 April 1969, its staff were transferred from the Department of Higher Education to the Human Sciences Research Council. On 1 April 1973, the Government approved the establishment of the Human Sciences Research Council (EG Malherbe, 'National Bureau of Educational and Social Research and the Human Sciences Research Council', Killie Campbell Africana Library, Document 56983 (179)).

²² CT Loram, 'Circular letter to my friends', Pietermaritzburg, June 30, 1931, in EG Malherbe, Killie Campbell Africana Library, File 619/1 KCMS57030.

²³ Malherbe, Educational and Social Research ..., op cit, p.2 and p.22.

If we do not try for a scientific solution of the problem, we shall have an unscientific one forced upon us, in the shape of Fascism, or revolution, or just chaos and drift.²⁴

The industrial revolution in South Africa and the First World War created conditions for the use of scientific methods within the domain of industrial and technical inquiry. However, they also determined a disintegrating process in the field of human relationships, which disrupted human institutions, like family and the church, to an unprecedented extent. This process, according to the protagonists of social research, led by EG Malherbe, required research urgently, "both from a **psychological** (i.e. individual) and a **sociological** (i.e. institutional or social) point of view"[My emphasis].²⁵ Sociological research could concentrate on the adaptability of the school as an institution to the changing social and economic context and psychological research on the mental growth of the individual child under modern conditions.²⁶ The emphasis on social research was accompanied with a slowly increasing appreciation of the fact that African cultures were worth studying and understanding before an attempt was made to change them.²⁷ For this purpose, an appropriate representational system based on scientific methods was to be developed through which the complexities of African cultures and identities could be understood.²⁸

Educational research received the task of promoting efficiency, eliminating waste throughout the educative process and placing the workings of the system on a scientific basis by means of curriculum studies, diagnosis of individual intricacies among pupils, and a more vital conception of the function and teaching methods and

²⁴ Ibid, p.7.

²⁵ Ibid, p.5.

²⁶ Ibid, p.24.

²⁷ T Jesse Jones, 'Essentials of civilization', document found in the file of 1935-6, File 480/1 KCM 56980 (only pages 15-26), p.16.

²⁸ An important point to be made here is that representation was not just a transmission of something that had already been constituted but the construction of something new, as expressed by categories such as the "educated kaffir", "Bantu culture", and so forth, propagated by social science.

application of levels of intellectual ability.²⁹ A matter of major concern for educational research was the question of "the educability of the native". Rheinallt-Jones, former official of the Witwatersrand Council of Education and a proponent of an enlightened approach to native policy, stated the problem as follows:

1) Is there evidence of qualitative differences between the European and the Bantu mind? 2) If so, are these differences inherent and ineradicable? If so, to what extent? ... The direction which native policy should take is, therefore, dependent upon the view we take of the place which the primitive races are destined, by their inherent capacities, to have in modern civilization. A definite responsibility rests upon scientific workers in the field of anthropological and psychological research to collect the data from which general principles may be deduced.³⁰

"Race psychology" and African educability

In the early 20th century the polemical battle within liberal ranks was still dominated by concern with the nature of the whole mental furniture of the African's mind. The principle of difference structuring liberal discourse in "race psychology" drew upon a variety of available debates upon the nature and character of African mentality articulated in the context of colonial supremacist ideologies. Those debates provided several images and metaphors on African educability and his propensity for manual work such as: "the educated kaffir" as a lazy individual, the idea of "arrested development" and so forth.³¹ The imagery constructed in such debates did much to

²⁹ EG Malherbe, 'Memorandum on the provision for the training of research workers under the Faculty of Education', submitted to the Faculty on 26 October 1927, University of Cape Town. Killie Campbell Africana Library, document 56973, file 425/2.

³⁰ JD Rheinallt Jones, 'The need of scientific basis for South African native policy', *South African Journal of Science*, 23, 1926, pp.79-91.

³¹ An important source was Natal's myth of the "educated kaffir" as illustrated in the following quotation from a Natal newspaper:

The "raw kaffir" is usually held to be more manageable, reliable, and useful than one who has been educated up to a certain degree of consciousness of the value of his services. The colonist, therefore, would, if pressed, give his vote in favour of the "ignorance" that is "bliss" for the native, and prefer that his servants should enjoy their servitude, to their being educated into competitors. (*Natal Witness*, 27 October 1871)

bolster liberal conceptions of cultural difference and identity construction, articulated by psychologists and anthropologists of the day. Further, it was on such imagery that liberal discourses of the 1920s and 1930s were based.

The view that there were innate qualitative differences between the mental endowment of the European and that of the African had a profound influence on the course of the debate on policy options for African education. A major trend in this debate was the explanation of African educability on biological grounds or on grounds of "race psychology". It is at this period that the hypothesis which postulated the "arrested development" of the African at puberty found favour. This view was represented by Loram's theory of the "native's mental apathy" and "mental arrested development", an approach he formulated in 1917.³²

According to the theory of "mental arrested development", the "native" might exhibit intelligence during childhood, but his/her intellectual development was arrested at the adolescent stage.³³ This was described by Loram, who assumed the role of chief ideologist of white liberalism, as follows:

In the case of the Bantu people the weakness of the higher mental processes compared with the strength of the earlier processes of sensation and memory, coupled with a lessening of these earlier powers more noticeable than in the case of the whites, has led to the generally accepted hypothesis that there is a marked arrest in the mental development in the case of the negro. This arrest, occurring for the most part in the early stages of adolescence, has induced the further hypothesis that the arrest takes place at, or shortly after, the pubertal period.³⁴

³² CT Loram, The Education of the South African Native (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1917, 1927).

³³ Ibid, p.223.

³⁴ Ibid, p.209.

This theory was supported by intelligence tests undertaken by Dr ML Fick which were published in 1939 under the title The Educability of the South African Native.

Systematic data collection and many tests were run by other institutions with the same purpose.³⁵ The results of these tests were used to support the arrested development theory.³⁶ They were also used to denounce the arrested development theory.³⁷ It was argued that there was nothing in the constitution of the African's mind to prevent him/her from performing intellectually as an European person. Further, the validity of the tests was also severely questioned.³⁸ In many cases these tests were used to justify the argument that the "native" was not capable of education, or at best, could hardly benefit by it.³⁹

³⁵ See Canon Crisp, 'The mental capacity of the Bantu', in Report of the 75th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, South Africa, August and September, 1905 (London: John Murray, 1906).

³⁶ AT Bryant, Mental Development of the South African Native, Eugenics Review, 9, 1917; RH Loades and SG Rich, 'Binet tests on South African natives - Zulus', Pedagogical Seminary, 24, 1917; JT Dunstan, 'Retarded and defective children: Native mentality; mental testing', South African Journal of Science, 20, 1923; ML Fick, 'Intelligence test results of poor white, native (Zulu), coloured and Indian school children and the educational and social implications', South African Journal of Science, 26, 1929; LE Oates, 'The Goodenough drawing test and its application to Zulu children', MA thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1938; JAJ van Rensburg, The Learning Ability of the South African Native compared with that of the European, South African Council for Educational and Social Research, Research Series no.5 (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1938).

³⁷ SG Rich, 'Binet-Simon test was given to a number of pupils at a missionary school in Natal', South African Journal of Science, 14, 1917-18; SM Molema, The Bantu - Past and Present (Edinburgh: W Green & Son, 1920), pp.322-335; P Nielsen, The Black Man's Place in South Africa (Cape Town: Juta, 1922); WG Bennie, 'The education of the native', South African Journal of Science, 1924.

³⁸ See EH Brookes, Native Education in South Africa (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1930), pp.46-63; GH Welsh, Chairman, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-36 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936), pp.112-113.

³⁹ See ML Fick, 'The educability of Native children of the Transvaal compared with other groups on the basis of intelligence tests', in EG Malherbe, JIG Carson & JD Rheinallt Jones (eds.), Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society: Report of the South African Educational Conference Held in Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1934 (Johannesburg: Juta, 1937), pp.448-456; ML Fick, The Educability of the South African Native, South African Council for Educational and Social Research; Research Series no.8 (Pretoria: SACESR, 1939). This position was severely criticized in TJ Jones Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, 1922).

The New Fellowship Conference held in Johannesburg in 1934 added a further dimension to the question of educability of Africans: the anthropological dimension of culture, more precisely culture conflict, in the moulding of the mind of an individual.⁴⁰ According to this view, the mind or mentality of an individual may reflect either innate equipment of mental qualities or learned equipment in the context of a certain culture. The difference between African and European mentalities is not a congenital or racial difference but a difference of culture milieu; it is a difference of social heritage rather than a difference of constitution or capacity between the average individual minds.⁴¹ As Hoernlé, whose ideas had considerable impact on white political liberalism from the 1930s, pointed out:

No convincing evidence has so far been produced that the minds of Bantu and Whites differ essentially in congenital endowment. That there are differences, in some respects great differences, in the ways in which Bantu minds and European minds work, I admit. But I hold that these differences are due - mainly, if not altogether - to the influence of different cultures. They are not differences of innate mental equipment, but they are divergent developments of the same type of innate mentality under the pressure of unlike conditions. There is ... no deep-going difference of kind of innate mentality, though there may be a slight difference of degree.⁴²

Hoernlé's view point was finally accepted by the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (1935-36), which stated that the "scholastic backwardness" of the

⁴⁰ See for example HP Junod, 'Anthropology and missionary education', paper read at the meeting of the Superintendents' Association held at Pretoria on the 25th of October 1934, KCM 56973 (329); HP Junod, 'How should the African negro be assessed?', *Africa*, 4, 1931, pp.330-342.

⁴¹ RFA Hoernlé, 'Prolegomena to the study of the black man's mind', *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, 2, 1927, pp. 52-61; B Ross, 'The learning ability of Africans and Europeans', *South African Outlook*, 69, 1939, pp.143-144; S Biesheuvel, *African Intelligence* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1943); EH Brookes, 'African mental ability', *Journal of the (Royal) African Society*, 43, 1944, pp.171-177; A Lee, *Colour and Cleverness* (Cape Town: The African Bookman, 1944); JG Taylor, *Intelligence and Education* (Cape Town: The African Bookman, 1944); KB Theunissen, 'A Preliminary Comparative Study of the Development of Motor Behaviour in European and Bantu Children up to the Age of One Year', MA thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1948.

⁴² RFA Hoernlé, 'The educability of the bantu', in Malherbe et al (eds.), *Educational Adaptations ...* o cit, p.446.

African pupil was due to factors of environment. Only when these handicaps were removed could African and European intellectual ability be compared.⁴³ Also opposed to the school of the "primitive mentality"⁴⁴ of the "native" was Rheinallt-Jones, an influential figure within the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and related institutions. He attacked such conceptions as "scientific pretensions of racism".⁴⁵ Other social scientists and educationists like McKerron, historian of education at Rhodes University, supported these views. McKerron himself argued that theories of "arrested development" could scarcely be regarded as scientific either in conception or in application.⁴⁶ She challenged those who argued that black criminality could be attributed to "overeducation" and maintained, instead, that it was due precisely to its opposite, inadequate education.⁴⁷ Her main concern was rather different:

Our main problem today is not to weigh the arguments for and against Native education, but to devise a system of education which will give scope for the highest development of the Native, and effect a happy co-ordination between European and Native life.⁴⁸

⁴³ Welsh Report, op cit, pp.112-113. For further details see also GR Dent, 'Applicability of certain performance and other mental tests to Zulu children', in EG Malherbe et al (eds.), Educational Adaptations ..., op cit, pp.456-465; JJ Ross, 'Mental traits and attitudes towards learning', in EG Malherbe et al (eds.), Educational Adaptations ..., op cit, pp.465-466; and TMH Endeman, Die Intelligensie van die Naturel in die lig van Pedagogiese Bevindings aan die Bothsabelo Opleidingskool vir Naturelle (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1937); CG van den Berg, 'A Comparative Study of European, Indian and Zulu School Children in Natal as regards Intelligence and Learning and Memory (An Investigation based on the Results of the Army Beta Test and Three Memory and Learning Tests)', MEd thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1938).

⁴⁴ For literature about "primitive mentality" theory see L Levy-Bruhl, How Natives Think (London: Allen & Unwin, 1926); L Levy-Bruhl, Primitive Mind (London: Allen & Unwin, 1923); L Levy-Bruhl, The Primitive Mind (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935); R Allier, The Mind of the Savage (London: G Bell, 1929); and F Boas, La Raison Primitive (New York: Macmillan, 1911).

⁴⁵ Paul Rich, op cit, p.57.

⁴⁶ ME McKerron, A History of Education in South Africa. 1652-1932 (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1934), pp.174-175.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.175.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.177.

Brookes⁴⁹ took these debates further. Indeed, he expressed views remarkably similar to those of neo-Marxists in South African education:

Education is resisted because it would produce more claimants for the franchise, because it would reduce the available number of farm labourers, because it would upset the social structure of South Africa, because it would encourage miscegenation.⁵⁰

In contrast to the dominant views of the time, Brookes believed that:

the problem of Native education is, in essence, whatever it may seem, much more of a class problem than of a race problem; for the objections made to it are precisely the objections made to the education of the European masses during the last century.⁵¹

These are some of the ambiguities of behaviour and ideology typical of the 1920s and 1930s discourses, which reflect not simply personal psychology (individual consciousness) but the structurally dependent position of liberal individualities within the colonial political economy and the contradictory nature of the colonial order itself, particularly in periods of rapid social change or crisis.⁵² This can be illustrated by the life of EG Malherbe.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Malherbe remained aloof from debates about schooling for blacks. His first volume of Education in South Africa⁵³ was concerned with the promotion of South Africanism, conceived of as comprising a white *volk* which

⁴⁹ R F A Hoernlé, Charles T Loram, E H Brookes and J D Rheinallt Jones were major figures in South African liberalism. They had considerable influence in liberal institutions such as the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and the University of the Witwatersrand.

⁵⁰ EH Brookes, Native Education in South Africa (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1930), p.10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁵² Shula Marks, The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-century Natal (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), p.vii; see also Neville Hogan, 'The posthumous vindication of Zachariah Gqishela', in Shula Marks & Anthony Atmore (eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa (London: Longman, 1980), p.277.

⁵³ EG Malherbe, Education in South Africa, 1652-1922 (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta, 1925), 2 vols.

promotion of South Africanism, conceived of as comprising a white *volk* which included all whites and excluded blacks. On the one hand, his political views fell within the moderate Afrikaner nationalist group, which around Botha and Smuts favoured policies conducive to the promotion of South Africanism. On the other, he led a strong group of new intellectuals who advocated the rationalization of policy formulations through scientific research. Later, through his work in the Carnegie Commission of Enquiry into Poor Whites, and the South African Council for Educational and Social Research (SACESR), of which he was the Director, his main commitment was the national development and rationalization of methods for scientific study of social problems. In the SACESR, predecessor of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), he played a key role in the formulation of national policy, and in particular educational and social policy. When, in the 1920s, the inflow of the black proletariat to the towns became a serious problem for the dominant classes, he was one of those who relied on social research as the basis for the formulation of a rational policy. Thus by 1930 his interest in white education made way for a concern with the study of black education:

One [topic] which urgently needs investigation ... [is] the social effects of the urbanization of South African Natives. The work of the two commissions of 1883 and 1905 should be carried further with a view to assessing the degree of disintegration of Bantu life as a result of their increasing industrialization and detribalization. Social workers tell me that their family life is disintegrating to an amazing degree and that the incidence of illegitimate births amongst the natives is over 80 per cent in some of the urban locations in the Transvaal. These children are growing up. The educative and disciplinary influences of the normal Native family are totally absent. The result is an appalling rise in criminality amongst Native juveniles in these cities.⁵⁴

The dislocations experienced by Africans in response to the rapid industrialization and urbanization at the beginning of the century increased the possibility of African incorporation into a social structure grounded on the liberal principle of "equality" on the basis of education or civilization. Thus Malherbe regarded socialization through education as the most effective way of materializing this principle while

⁵⁴ EG Malherbe, *Educational and Social Research* ..., op cit, pp.40-41.

minimizing criminality and "juvenile delinquency". As conditions changed during the 1960s, his views and priorities became more crystallized. The increasing concern with the question of economic growth and the role of black education as a catalytic factor led Malherbe to identify himself more clearly with liberal ideals and principles.

Rapid social change during the 1920s and 1930s and the intellectual and ideological influence of social and educational research increased interest in the "natives" and, in particular, the education of blacks. Basically, two main factors contributed to this new development: first, the emergence of an African urban proletariat and, secondly, the growth of mission-educated Africans who were beginning to emerge as an identifiable elite. On the one hand, it was considered necessary to formulate proposals for the education and integration of the African proletariat into the new economic order and new forms of life. On the other hand, the crucial mediating role which the emerging petty bourgeoisie could play in this political context was recognized. According to Rich, one of the key issues was to "instil in them some form of political accommodationism linked to alternative political outlets through the rural reserves".⁵⁵

One liberal answer to these problems was to try to control the leisure-time of adults and youth, through the promotion of different kinds of cultural and educational institutions. This made possible the revitalization of South African liberalism in the 1920s and 1930s by a small but influential group of liberal professionals, nicknamed "friends of the native" by Legassick.⁵⁶ In 1921, they established Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans and welfare institutions to promote inter-racial justice, co-operation and understanding. They also created research institutions such as the South African Institute of Race Relations and research programmes in liberal universities to handle the so-called "Native question". These initiatives had the support and participation of African leaders and exerted a strong ideological influence on

⁵⁵ Paul Rich, *op cit*, p.18.

⁵⁶ See M Legassick, 'Ideology and social structure in 20th century South Africa', postgraduate seminar paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, p.1. See also M Cross, 'A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment', *Comparative Education*, 22(3), 1986, pp.186-193.

them. These were to act as channels of communication with the African elite. Thus the South African Institute of Race Relations, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, the Union Government Advisory Board on Bantu Studies, Vacation Courses in Native Affairs, Bantu Study Circles in connection with the Universities and a number of social welfare institutions such as the Gamma Sigma Club, the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the Helping Hand Club for Native Girls, the Joint Councils, and the Bridgman Memorial Hospital and various newspapers became the means through which liberals tried to meet the problems of an African elite and effect a compromise between black aspirations and their ameliorative goals.⁵⁷ Most of these initiatives were based on the philosophy of Booker T Washington, a school of thought which was strong in the 1920s and 1930s and had great appeal for moderate liberals in South Africa.⁵⁸

Loram and Rheinallt-Jones began to take over the Native Welfare Societies (purely European in membership) and turn them into Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans. By 1929 there were 34 Joint Councils, on which Rheinallt-Jones had direct influence.⁵⁹ As with many other early South African social institutions, the SAIRR appears to have arisen from Loram's experience of the Interracial Councils sponsored by WW Alexander in the Southern States of the USA.⁶⁰ The SAIRR was intended to serve as a connecting link between the considerable number of bodies (e.g. Joint Councils, Welfare Societies, Missionary Conferences) engaged in various forms of activities among the Africans. It was to initiate investigations upon social, economic

⁵⁷ Tim Couzens, 'Moralising leisure time: The transatlantic connection and black Johannesburg, 1901-1936', in Shula Marks & Richard Rathbone (eds.), Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870-1930, (Harlow: Longman, 1983), p.318; or Paul Rich, *op cit*, pp.11-17. See also CT Loram, 'Circular letter ...', *op cit*.

⁵⁸ Booker T Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, saw industrial training for rural black farmers and sharecroppers as the most effective way to promote the participation of ex-slaves in the economy. For details see Louis R Harlan, 'Booker T Washington and the white man's burden', American Historical Review, LI(2), 1966, pp.441-467.

⁵⁹ E Brookes, 'A neglected figure in Natal education - CT Loram', Neon, 24, September 1977, p.3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.3.

dissemination of knowledge upon matters affecting racial relations in South Africa. These included the encouragement of agricultural development, the extension of health organization, and the provision of recreational, educational and religious agencies.⁶¹

At the same time, a new force came to reinforce liberal activities: the universities. These included programmes of social and educational research designed to minimize ignorance and maladministration in resolving the 'native question'.⁶² Couzens provides the following picture:

In the universities, departments of Bantu Studies were formed. In 1918, the University of Cape Town appointed a Professor of Bantu Philology; and in 1921, A Radcliffe-Brown became Professor of Social Anthropology; in 1921, Rev AT Bryant was appointed Research Fellow and Lecturer in Zulu History at the University of the Witwatersrand, and in 1923 CM Doke was made Senior Lecturer in Bantu Philology and Lecturer in Social Anthropology. In Pretoria, at the Transvaal University College, Dr Edgar Brookes taught similar courses. The University of the Witwatersrand started publishing its magazine *Bantu Studies* in 1921 with Rheinallt-Jones as editor.⁶³

The most controversial problem, however, remained that of educating the African working class. Having accepted the principle that the Africans were capable of benefiting by education and schooling, liberals remained divided in their conceptions about the type of education appropriate for blacks.

⁶¹ For details see The Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations, 'South African Institute of Race Relations - Preliminary Announcement, August 1929, Kilie Campbell Africana Library, EG Malherbe Collection, Item Kim 57016 (37) in File 550/7. The Committee had the following composition: Dr CT Loram (Chairman), Mr Howard Pim (Treasurer) and Mr Rheinallt Jones (Secretary and Convenor).

⁶² Legassick, 'Ideology and social structure ...', op cit, p.13.

⁶³ Couzens, op cit, p.318.

The concept of "adaptation" in African education

Despite differences in viewpoint amongst liberals, the main solution to "native education" was in the provision of some form of "adapted education" which, it was thought, would unite different races without sacrificing the individuality and social position of any one of them. Drawing its inspiration from American Tuskegeeism and the Phelps-Stokes Inquiry of the 1920s,⁶⁴ "adapted education" had, as its main purpose, the provision of skills suitable to rural life.⁶⁵ It was based on what Jesse Jones called "the whole school plan" whereby the school is part and parcel of the village and its life.⁶⁶ Loram defined "adaptation" as "the use of the school and the whole machinery of education to fit natives for the life they will have to live today and tomorrow".⁶⁷ This concept of "adaptation" was elaborated into the following:

Believing ... that full citizenship is the Native's destiny, I would advocate a "two string" policy for Native education in South Africa. In the elementary schools I would stress the indigenous Native cultures with, of course, English and Dutch, but my objective would be to prepare the mass of the people for homesteading on the Reserves and for subordinate positions where the Natives came in contact with the whites ... At Fort Hare I would quite definitely prepare leaders for

⁶⁴ In 1920-21 and 1924, the African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund undertook two studies on education for Africans. The first study dealt with West and Central Africa and the second focused on East, Central and South Africa. The reports pursued the argument that to be useful to African communities, school subjects should be integrated with community values and environmental needs.

⁶⁵ See TJ 1, 13, Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Central Africa by the African Education Committee under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Foreign Missionary Societies of N. America and Europe (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1924); RT Hunt Davis, 'Charles T Loram and an American model for African education in South Africa', African Studies Review, 19, 1976, pp.87-99, also in DG Scollon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Columbia University, 1964); and Paul Rich, 'The Appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the Fortunes of South African Liberalism, 1906-1930', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 20(2), 1987, pp.271-292.

⁶⁶ T Jesse Jones, 'Essentials of civilization', op cit, p.21.

⁶⁷ CT Loram, 'South African native education vacation courses - First course, to be held by kind permission of the authorities at Marietahill Training College, Natal, July 1 - July 20, 1928' in EG Malherbe's Collection, Killie Campbell Africana Library, Document 56956 (392)b, p.1.

the current and impending struggle by stressing the subjects which we include in our study of culture contacts and race relations at Yale.⁶⁸

Re-defining the nature of liberal identity

The general election of 1948 culminated in the political victory of a white Afrikaner alliance of farmers, teachers, ministers and workers, moved by the ideals of Christian Nationalism.⁶⁹ Thereafter, the strategy of the dominant bloc involved, on the one hand, the intensification of state intervention to control the circulation of labour through its redistribution and repulsion, and on the other, a decisive challenge to progressive liberal trends. Special legislation was promulgated (such as Influx Control, Bantu Authorities, and Group Areas Acts) aimed at controlling the rapid and growing influx of proletarianized Africans into urban areas. As was explained in chapters three and four, in education, state control was asserted over missionary schooling and black education was segregated through the fragmentation of the education system and the differentiation of curricula in a process initiated during the reconstruction period (1902-1924) and consolidated by the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Similar legislation was promulgated for "coloured" and Indian "population groups" during the 1960s. The education system was further fragmented with the implementation of the policy of bantustanization. The ultimate purpose of these policies was to promote separate racial and ethnic identities as part of a Nationalist strategy aimed at preserving white supremacy and Afrikaner political hegemony in South Africa. How did liberals react?

As far as whites were concerned, liberalism had suffered a strong defeat. Rich interprets the establishment of the Liberal Party after 1953, replacing the South African Liberal Association,⁷⁰ as "only a somewhat tardy and defensive reaction by

⁶⁸ CT Loran, Letter to EG Malherbe, February 12, 1936 in EG Malherbe File 6/3/1 KCM 57030 (83), Killie Campbell Africana Library.

⁶⁹ See Chapter Four.

⁷⁰ The Liberal Party started with two members of parliament and two senators, who had become famous by their opposition to the 1936 law which took African voters off the common roll. Each of them was elected to represent the Africans of the Cape Province, before being removed

liberals concerned with the political consequences of the government's exclusive nationalism" and merely an attempt to revive the Cape-inherited franchise for the educated African minorities.⁷¹ In terms of identity construction, there are however important dimensions added by the Liberal Party to the tradition of liberalism in South Africa. Firstly, it introduced the now inflated concept of "New South Africa" based on the principles of liberalism and with most of the connotations attached to it today.⁷² This was to a large extent inspired by liberal understanding of the events on the continent in the 1960s:

It [any political movement wishing to play a part in events in the new Africa] must realize that the days of privilege based on skin colour are gone. Any person who wants to play a part in building the new South Africa must see that here, as in the rest of the continent, Colour Bars, obvious or concealed, are going to disappear.⁷³

"New South Africa" was conceived of as "a country in which all its citizens will live together in peace and happiness", thus as an opposition to the Nationalist exclusivist policy of "grouping of our people into races".⁷⁴ It represented the image of a new identity which cut across the racial dividing lines.⁷⁵ Secondly, liberalism was also associated with the ideal of national freedom as opposed to the coercive grouping of

from Parliament.

⁷¹ Paul Rich, White Power and Liberal Conscience ..., op cit, p.129.

⁷² For example the "freedom to move about, to live where one chooses, to think or say what one chooses, to marry whom one chooses, to work at what or where one chooses, without harming others". (Ibid, p.4)

⁷³ Peter Brown, 'Chapter for the Natal Mercury', 07.03.1962, p.3.

⁷⁴ Liberal Party, 'Liberalism & the New South Africa', undated, mimeo, Northwestern University Library, Africana Collection, p.1.

⁷⁵ This image was also present within the Congress Alliance and the Women's Defence of the Constitution League created in the late fifties to campaign for civil rights and liberties. It was later referred to as The Black Sash because, as a distinguishing mark, the women wore black sashes across the right shoulder. (See 'The Black Sash, 'Its aims and objects - reasons for its formation', undated, C/37/1, Northwestern University, Africana Library, pp.2-3. See also 'The Black Sash, 'Constitution of the Black Sash', undated, Northwestern University, Africana Library).

individuals into race or ethnic groups, what it called "communism or nationalism based on race".⁷⁶

Liberalism is the organization of liberty. Liberals are those who put liberty above everything else. Liberty is the freedom by which a man can decide a thing for himself and the freedom by which he can act as he decides. Liberty also means national freedom, but only if each citizen has his own liberty when the nation is free. Liberty means equality, but only if all the people are not forced to be exactly the same. Liberty means economic freedom, provided that there is not too much economic power in the hands of a few people.⁷⁷

In this sense, the Liberal Party emerged as the first predominantly white political party committed to promoting a new South Africanism beyond racial boundaries "by ending the wicked but powerful use of racial differences which separates us and sets us against one another, to raise up the South African people".⁷⁸ The identity of the South African people would be facilitated by "integration" in education, the use of English as a common language and through promotion of "understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all national, racial and religious groups".⁷⁹

When it does become the Government, the Party will make its first task in education the righting of the wrong done by the present Government's "Bantu Education" policy. By their isolationist policies of putting people into pockets of tribalism the present rulers are attempting to ensure that a generation of Africans will grow up with hardly any knowledge of the English language. This new generation will scarcely have met their fellow white human beings in friendship and kindness. The Party will therefore be faced with the task of integration in education on a vast scale.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Liberal Party, 'Liberalism & the New South Africa', undated, mimeo, Northwestern University Library, Africana Collection, p.2.

⁷⁷ Ibid, pp.1-2.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p.3.

⁷⁹ Liberal Party of South Africa, 'Education policy', undated, Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library, p.4.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.4.

To meet these objectives, schools and all subsidized universities and colleges were to be open to all, irrespective of race, colour or religion. Having pursued a liberal policy shared by most of the Congress Alliance members, a question arises as to whether the Liberal Party had an identity of its own in political terms rather than racial or ethnic terms. The Liberal Party disbanded in 1968 because of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill which made multi-racial political parties illegal. Its rhetoric was continued in the Progressive Party, which later became the Progressive Federal Party and then the Democratic Party.⁸¹ Multi-ethnic political representation, the amelioration of apartheid in urban areas, the relaxation of influx control and the establishment of a black middle class remained the pillars of South African liberalism. Most importantly, the need for co-operation and the idea of interdependence between the various race groups superseded the selective and exclusivist approach (on grounds of "civilization" or education) of early South African liberalism. Liberal identity assumed a form of a political identity, the frontiers of which were defined with reference to universally accepted liberal principles. This can be illustrated by the events concerning the 1957 "Multiracial Conference".

The 1957 "Multiracial Conference"

The Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF) convened a meeting of some 400 African delegates and about 400 observers in October 1956, drawn from a wide cross-section of cultural, religious, occupational and political organizations to discuss the Tomlinson Commission Report.⁸² The IDAMF Conference strongly rejected the Report. It argued that the solution to the South African problem does not consist of only two alternatives - "ultimate complete integration or ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu" - as advocated by the Report. The

⁸¹ The Liberal Party issued a notice to its members stating that in view of the publication of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, the party had decided to dissolve itself rather than reform as a uni-racial party (The Liberal Party of South Africa - *Ibandla Lenkululeko Lase South Afrika* - 'Important notice to members on The Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill', pamphlet, Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library).

⁸² Note that SABRA, the FAK and the three Dutch Reformed Churches had also convened a Conference in July 1956 to discuss the Tomlinson Commission Report (see Chapter Five).

Conference maintained that the situation calls for co-operation and interdependence between the various races.⁸³ It called upon all national organizations to mobilize people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to form a united front against apartheid and in defence of Christian and human values.⁸⁴

The IDAMF, under the Chairmanship of Rev Z R Mahabane, was given a mandate to work towards the calling of a multi-racial conference. This decision was welcomed by the Labour party, the Liberal Party and other white liberal individuals. It was strongly opposed by Government as "positively dangerous" and by the United Party as impracticable in view of the steadily increasing rigidity of the ideological policies of the Government.⁸⁵ To provide a forum for the full and free exchange of views, it was agreed that the most satisfactory results would emerge from a conference of individuals not tied to the policies of the organizations to which they belonged, rather than from one of delegates representing organizations. The Conference, which took place at the University of the Witwatersrand in November 1957, was described as "the turning of the tide in South Africa" and as having showed that it was still possible in South Africa for those of various ethnic groups and holding divergent views to speak reasonably with one another.⁸⁶

Important points were made by the Conference. First, the liberal concept of South Africanism gained support among the participants. South Africa, it was argued, must choose between the concept of a "common society", or a bitter conflict between the two wills, between co-operation and irreconcilability, which could only result in collision.⁸⁷ Second, attempts were made to deconstruct the myth of "black danger" or the image of blacks as a threat to white identity and survival. Policies based on

⁸³ 'Document 21. Reports of the Multiracial Conference, December 1957', Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library, p.3.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.5.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.5.

⁸⁶ The Rt Rev Ambrose Reeves in a closing speech, Ibid, p.9.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.9.

fear offered no real security to white people and drove white South Africa into more and more dangerous policies. Thirdly, the Conference rejected apartheid educational policies which sought to perpetuate white domination, accentuate ethnic differences and "resuscitate tribal nationalism".⁸⁸ The aim of education should be to promote "a common patriotism, common citizenship and the welding of the various elements in South Africa of a peaceful multi-racial society".⁸⁹ The Conference also reasserted the main liberal principles and goals, including universal suffrage and non-racial democracy.

The rise of economic liberalism

The traditional bastions of liberalism, the English-medium universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, and the SAIRR, reacted to apartheid policies through reaffirmation of the principles of political liberalism. On the initiative of the SAIRR, a study was undertaken by EH Brookes and JB Macauley which resulted in the publication of Civil Liberty in South Africa, which could be seen as an authentic "liberal manifesto".⁹⁰ Here they protested against the violation of various "freedoms", including that of education. Following rumours that a University Education Act would be promulgated, preventing the admission of black students to these "open universities", they organized a Conference consisting mainly of senior members to prepare and publish a statement on the value of the open university. The conclusions were published in 1957 as The Open Universities in South Africa.⁹¹ The work drew extensively on the American experience of integrated education, particularly the 1954 Brown/Board of Education dispute.⁹²

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.12.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ EH Brookes and JB Macauley, Civil Liberty in South Africa (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1958).

⁹¹ The Open Universities in South Africa (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1957).

⁹² See The Open Universities ..., op cit.

The 1960s saw a rather different and changing stand within liberalism in South Africa, exemplified by the Education Panel of the University of the Witwatersrand and prominent academics such as Horrell and Malherbe. Horrell's concern, like that of the SAIRR for which she worked, was mainly to document the effects of education for blacks. She undertook the invaluable task of summarizing and simplifying bodies of legislation into a series of books which have become standard source-material for students of Bantu Education.⁹³

By overemphasising the importance of the economy in political reform, the Education Panel heralded a new era in liberalism in South African education, the era of what could be called "economic liberalism".⁹⁴ The political premises of economic liberalism were well stated in the economic and social policy of the Liberal Party of South Africa:

The doctrine of apartheid and permanent white supremacy has lost South Africa a unique opportunity to lead and assist in the economic development of Africa as a whole. The policies of the Liberal Party, when adopted, will enable the Union to assume its proper place as the industrial leader of the continent.⁹⁵

Economic liberalism essentially sustained that certain apartheid practices were "archaisms" and ought to be removed. Bantu Education, it stressed, would lead to a dire skills shortage and steps had to be taken to prevent this from occurring. In addition, it favoured the promotion of black leadership through education. The main thrust of this emerging economic liberalism was well pinpointed by EG Malherbe in his address to the 1966 National Congress of the Progressive Party. Here, with a high sense of humour, he compared the situation and conceptions of the 1930s with the present and future reality. He maintained the separate-but-equal strand in his thinking,

⁹³ Muriel Horrell, The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652-1980 (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1970); and Muriel Horrell, Bantu Education to 1968 (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1968).

⁹⁴ The 1961 Education Panel First and Second Reports (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1966).

⁹⁵ The Liberal Party of South Africa, "Economic and social policy of the Liberal Party of South Africa", mimeo. Northwestern University, Africana Library, p.4.

but he was much concerned with liberalization of the education system. He argued that: "the demands of the economy of South Africa are stronger than the colour bar with plenty of evidence out of the past to support and, indeed, to prove this view".⁹⁶ These ideas were echoed at the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, organized by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Another important feature of economic liberalism was the increasing concern with occupational fitness and labour efficiency and productivity, and the implications for labour relations of the Africans' "transition from a primitive culture to westernization".⁹⁷ This was explained by Biesheuvel as follows:

As Africans are being called upon to play an increasing part in the domestic affairs of various African territories, it is necessary to obtain a more reliable assessment of their potential abilities than that provided on the basis of everyday experience.⁹⁸

And,

⁹⁶ EG Malherbe, 'Into the seventies: Education and the development of South Africa's human resources', paper delivered to the 1966 National Congress of the Progressive Party of South Africa, 1966), p.66. See also EG Malherbe 'Bantu manpower and education', theme paper delivered on 17 January at the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, Johannesburg. The views formulated by the Education Panel and by Malherbe were reiterated at the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, convened by the South African Institute of Race Relations, involving, *inter alia*, EG Malherbe, M Horrell, AL Behr and R Tunmer. The factual background to the Conference was provided in the book Bantu Education to 1968 (op cit), prepared by M Horrell. The Conference raised some objections to the 'separate-but-equal' strand:

Although it is recognized that the immediate educational and social needs of the different groups of South African people may require ... variations in educational control and administration in teaching techniques and in language medium, Conference re-affirms the thesis that education is ultimately not divisible. Conference therefore looks forward to the time when the administration of education will be on a regional basis, with responsibility for the education of all the people in an area being vested in one authority. (The Report of the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, 1969, p.6)

⁹⁷ S Biesheuvel, 'The study of African ability. Part I: The intellectual potentialities of the Africans. Part II: A survey of some research problems', African Studies, 11, 1952, pp.45-58 and 105-117; LW Doob, 'An introduction to the psychology of acculturation', Journal of Social Psychology, 45, 1957, pp.143-160.

⁹⁸ S Biesheuvel, 'The occupational abilities of Africans', Optima, 2(1), 1952, pp.18-22.

Despite the confident assertions of those who claim to know the native, we do not yet know, as a matter of scientific fact, whether Africans differ basically from Europeans in respect of intelligence, skill and attributes of hard work. There are many environmental and cultural circumstances which could account for such inferiority as has hitherto been observed. Whether there are also racial factors which affect the power of the African's mind, or the skills which come most easily to him or the energy and the determination which he can bring to bear on his daily task, or the character qualities by means of which he can learn to control his conduct, is a matter for further research.⁹⁹

As in the 1920s and 1930s, once again social anthropology, psychology and a variety of tests for the selection and classification of African labour into categories according to trainability, the possession of particular skills, and potentiality for leadership, came to dominate programmes of social research.¹⁰⁰ Of particular importance in this regard was the work undertaken by the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, which became the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR), and by the National Development Foundation.¹⁰¹ Several theses were produced in South African universities on the same theme.¹⁰² Regarding African industrial work, the

⁹⁹ S Biesheuvel, 'Utilisation of manpower in South Africa', Journal of the South African Institute of Personnel Management, 8, 1953, pp.1-12.

¹⁰⁰ See for example S Biesheuvel, 'Personnel selection tests - A means of improving the productivity of Native labour', Municipal Affairs, 19 (220 & 221), 1953-54.

¹⁰¹ See for example S Biesheuvel, Selection and Classification Tests for Native Labour on the Gold Mines, confidential report (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1948); W Hudson, Native Underground Labour Transfers and their Relation to Classification Tests and Efficiency, confidential report, (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1948); National Institute for Personnel Research, The Construction of Classification and Selection Tests for Native Mineworkers, confidential report (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1948); EW Stanton, Native Labour on Repetition Work (Johannesburg: National Development Foundation, 1948); S Biesheuvel and W Hudson, The Validation of Boss Boy Selection Tests, confidential report, (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1950); AJ Fox, 'Some aspects of labour problems in industry', Journal of the South African Institute of Personnel Management, 5, 1950, pp.5-21; S Biesheuvel and W Hudson, A Further Study of the Transfer Rate of Native Underground Labour on some Witwatersrand Gold Mines and its Effects on Lashing Efficiency, confidential report. (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1950); S Biesheuvel, Manpower and Productivity in Africa South of the Sahara (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1954).

¹⁰² N van der Walt, 'The influence of incentives on the performances of African native mine-workers on a psychomotor test', MA thesis, University of Pretoria, 1952; Esther F Adeadorff, 'The influence of tribal origin on the psychomotor test performance of African native mineworkers', MA thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1953; W Hudson, 'The occupational classification of Africans', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1953; N Mkele, 'The validation of test procedures for the selection of African mechanical operatives on the Witwatersrand gold mines', MA thesis, University of South Africa, 1953; AS Labuschagne,

question was put as to whether "African intelligence" was of the quality demanded by the world of industry and commerce.¹⁰³ The reaction of African labour to the mechanization process also constituted a matter of concern. Aptitude surveys and studies of the primary mental abilities of Africans at different age groups and under a variety of cultural and social environmental conditions were undertaken to determine the type of manpower available for industrial and agricultural development, and the possibilities of training African youth.¹⁰⁴ A commonly-shared argument was that "it is not lack of intelligence, or ineducability which causes his inefficiency [African] in industry, but the lack of adequate training".¹⁰⁵

The significance of economic liberalism to the question of identity is that it created an appropriate environment for the questioning of earlier liberal images and modes of representation of African social life. If given the same opportunities, Africans, as proved by "race psychology", had the same capabilities and intellectual potential and work performance as whites. It led to the realization that the economy had led to a high degree of commonness between whites and blacks. The needs of the economy were stronger than the colour bar.

Two main factors seem to have determined the emergence and rapid development of economic liberalism in the 1960s: (1) the unprecedented rise of the organic

'Perceptual tests for distinguishing differences in ability among natives of Central Nyassaland', MA thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1955; JC [unclear], 'An investigation into educational and occupational differences in test performance: a battery of adaptability tests designed for Africans', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1956; CO Murray, 'The structure of African intelligence: A factorial study of the abilities of Africans', MA thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1956; GK Nelson, 'The significance of malnutrition for racial differences in mental development; an electroencephalographic study', MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1958; CF Kruger, 'Die keuring van voorjongens in die goudmyne', PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1959.

¹⁰³ See for example Natal University, *The African Factory Workers* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp.96-102; EG Matherbe, 'Occupation and intelligence', *The Manufacturer*, 1(4), 1951, pp.22-26.

¹⁰⁴ S Biesheuvel, 'The measurement of intelligence and aptitudes of African peoples', *African Regional Scientific Conference, Johannesburg, October 1949*, Vol.2 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1950), pp.339-344.

¹⁰⁵ J Fox, 'Some aspects ...', op cit, p.5.

composition of capital during the 1960s and 1970s, followed by considerable changes in the structure and nature of the labour force; and (2) the influence of human capital theory, associated with modernization theory, which led to an emphasis on the economics of education. "Manpower planning" was a central feature of thinking within this school. There is a large and rich literature on human capital theory; only its application to South African education will be dealt with in this chapter.¹⁰⁶

Throughout the sixties, the South African economy experienced massive economic expansion and deep qualitative changes in the form of capital accumulation. The rapid centralization and concentration of capital, at the expense of high rates of exploitation of labour, was fuelled by large injections of foreign capital which made possible the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. The rise of the organic composition of capital led to two contradictory processes. On the one hand, it accelerated the expulsion of workers from the productive process; on the other, it expanded the need for suitably qualified skilled workers. This proceeded more rapidly than the supply of skilled labour trained by the educational system. The state tried to minimize the shortage of skilled labour by recruiting skilled white immigrants and by "floating" the colour bar and allowing limited numbers of blacks into semi-skilled and skilled occupations.¹⁰⁷ As Malherbe stressed in 1966, it was assumed that "further economic growth was quite impossible without the constant shifting of boundaries

¹⁰⁶ For an overview of the human capital theory see: Finis Welch, 'The human capital theory approach: An appraisal', *American Economic Review*, 65, 1975, pp.63-73; Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis, 'The problem with human capital theory: A Marxian critique', *American Economic Review*, 65, 1975, pp.74-82; I Solve, 'The human capital revolution in economic development: Its current history and status', *Comparative Education Review*, 22, 1978, pp.278-308; A Westoby, 'Economists and human capital', in D Holly (ed.), *Education or Domination?* (London: Arrow Books, 1979); and M Blaug, 'Economics of education in developing countries', *Third World Quarterly*, 1979, pp.73-90. For a brief survey of the influence of human capital theory on South African education see: Johan Muller, 'Some assumptions underlying the provision of educators in South Africa', in David Freer & Peter Randall (eds.), *Educating the Educators* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1982); Johan Muller, 'Much ado: "manpower crisis" and the De Lange Report', undated unpublished seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand; Pam Christie, 'The De Lange Report and ourselves as ideologists', paper presented to the ASSA Regional Seminar, 1985; and Elias Liziks, 'Racial discrimination and change in the South African labour market', conference paper, University of the Western Cape, 1984.

¹⁰⁷ Rob Davies, 'Capital restructuring and the modification of the racial division of labour in South Africa', *Journal of Southern Africa Studies*, 5, 1979, pp.181-198.

between the work done by whites and work done by non-whites".¹⁰⁸ However, the limitations and price of recruitment of external manpower could not be maintained indefinitely. It had to be accompanied by the expansion of education. It was, in part, the increased recruitment of black students to secondary schools, without any comparable increase in expenditure on the expansion and extension of facilities, that led to the conditions of over-crowding, double-shift, and so forth, during the early 1970s, and to the dramatic growth in the students' frustration with the quality of schooling.¹⁰⁹

As a result of the above developments, the 1970s saw the beginning of a period of marked instability of social identities and political frontiers as the discourses of apartheid increasingly lost their hegemony in favour of liberal ideals. To protect and expand the threatened white hegemony a new chain of equivalences gained momentum - a multi-racial state as "white suicide", the danger of black domination as exemplified in black Africa, "total onslaught" as an expression of increasing influence of liberalism - while through a strategy of inclusion and exclusion new forces were co-opted into the apartheid system. Homeland leaders were incorporated into the system while radical urban blacks were portrayed as inspired by communist influences. The co-option of moderate blacks culminated in the tri-cameral Parliament which brought sectors of the "coloured" and Indian communities into the system. Urban blacks were recognized as permanent residents in "white South Africa". Black trade unions were legalized. Liberalization and the increasing "deracialization" of the economy resulted in the relaxation of influx control and job reservations. Further, the apparent appropriation by the National Party of liberal notions of "free enterprise", a "free market society" and "western democracy" blurred the contours of white identity. As Norval has indicated, these measures led to the opening up of the dominant bloc to other racial groups, which resulted in a fundamental reconstitution of the nation which had previously accommodated only whites in the privileged

¹⁰⁸ EG Malherbe, 'Into the seventies ...', op cit, p.36.

¹⁰⁹ See J Kane-Berman, Soweto: Black Revolt and White Reaction (Johannesburg and London: Ravan Press, 1978).

inside.¹¹⁰ The foundations of white and Afrikaner identity finally crumbled when the ruling party, under FW de Klerk, began to consider a democratic alternative to apartheid.

Conclusion

Moderate though critical of some aspects of the dominant ideologies, liberal discourses had the effect of promoting political and social identities disarticulated from Afrikaner nationalist discourses. From their inception in the late nineteenth century, liberal discourses assumed the form of some criticism of aspects of the policies of segregation and apartheid. They emphasized the centrality of the recognition of individuals on the basis of "civilization" or culture rather than race.

Following the rapid social change during the 1920s and 1930s and increased interest in the "natives" and, in particular, the education of blacks, liberals set themselves the project of fixing the political and social identities of the various social agents in a non-antagonistic manner. This project entailed different tasks. First, liberals challenged the most obsolete aspects of the policy of apartheid and exposed their effects on the lives of black people. Second, they set institutions to socialize Africans into liberal values and thus shift the dividing lines between white and black identities. By shifting the frontiers that divided whites from blacks they built bridges to co-opt into the dominant bloc and accommodate the growing mission-educated African elite, which began to emerge as an identifiable group. Third, the crucial mediating role which the black elite could play in this political context was recognized. However, this approach excluded the wide majority of "unassimilated", uneducated and tribal Africans, towards whom the liberal discourse adopted a different approach.

In the 1950s and 1960s, liberal discourses laid considerable stress on conditions of economic stability and growth through the deracialization and liberalization of the

¹¹⁰ A J Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', in E Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (London and New York: Verso, 1990), p.144.

economy, labour and educational facilities. The conception of white identity became less important than the notion of free enterprise and economic growth based on a western mould. In the 1970s and 1980s, liberal educationists and the reformist wing of the Botha government, which took over much of the 1960s discourse in its De Lange Report, continued to express the view ever stridently that lack of educational reform, state interventionism and rigid racial policies were having a damaging effect on economic growth, and that the resolution of South Africa's educational problems must involve paying greater attention to the advantages of a "free enterprise" economy. Particularly from the 1980s, liberal discourses were able to reassert themselves as the apartheid ideology lost its hegemony. Consequently, political frontiers shifted and social identities changed. Today dominant discourses have incorporated liberal concepts of liberty, freedom, democracy and identity. This explains why liberalism was seen as one of the major threats to Afrikaner identity.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEO-MARXISM¹, THEORY AND IDENTITY, 1970-1990

The schools crisis between 1976 and 1980, triggered by the student uprising against apartheid education, appears to have had the effect of radicalizing an important sector of the liberal establishment. As pointed out in the previous chapter, many South African liberals were engaged from the 1960s in an attempt to revitalise the economy, 'deracialize' society and bring about western democracy in South Africa by promoting pragmatic technocratic ideas concerning manpower development. They emphasized the importance of the free-market economy, 'manpower planning' and training and de-emphasized the 'politics' which go with them. This caused much concern within radical circles and led to the emergence of radical discursive formations among academics and the political Left, drawing extensively on neo-Marxism and radical sociological theories. Dominating this process was a new generation of educationists and historians of education with a viewpoint startlingly opposed to the 'liberal' and 'nationalist' traditions.² They set themselves the task of challenging liberal and nationalist discourses by reviewing their approaches, and redirecting modes of thinking about education to meet the challenges of transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa. They argued that any objective analysis of an education system must be accomplished with the use of the tools of

¹ This school of thought has been referred to as Marxist, neo-Marxist, radical and revisionist. As Johnstone puts it, "The labels are not so important and each has its virtues and limitations. Radical and revisionist are rather unspecific theoretically, but then, on the other hand, some of the new work is only partially or tangentially Marxist. Talking about a Marxist school is in many ways more appropriate, since the distinctive feature of this work has been that, in one way or another, it has taken the approach of historical materialism and class analysis" (Frederick Johnstone, "Most painful to our hearts": South Africa through the eyes of the new school", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 16 (1), 1982, p.1).

² For example Peter Kallaway, Pam Christie, Richard Levin, Linda Chishelm, Tony Fluxman, Jonathan Hyslop and Frank Molteno.

political economy and with reference to the contradictory nature of the colonial order itself, particularly in periods of rapid social change or crisis.³ They emphasised that the liberal approach, which presented education or schooling as an independent field of enquiry, divorced from the wider economic, political, social and cultural context within which policies are formulated, was no longer acceptable. Further, an attempt merely to describe the development of educational policy, without at the same time trying to problematise either the process of schooling or the historical context of which it forms part, was also criticised.⁴ In short, the view of South African educational developments broadly accepted by liberal academics for some time came to be seen as inadequate.

Not only did this new school argue for the use of the tools of political economy; in addition, it maintained that those social scientists of the early 1970s who had pioneered this approach in the broader fields of history and sociology had either neglected education and culture or had examined it solely in relation to the economy. Thus the new school of thought within educational studies could, at the same time, be seen as a 'revisionist front' of the early political economy tradition in South African studies.⁵

This chapter examines the modes of representation embodied in radical/neo-Marxist discourses and their implications for identity construction in the 1970s and 1980s in South Africa. To promote emancipatory ideals and political practices, radical/neo-Marxist discourses emphasized the centrality of Marxist categories of 'class' and 'class struggle' and the role of the working class, as the basis for the construction of an anti-capitalist and anti-racist political identity embracing all those who shared working-class values and principles and were committed to the interests and the struggles of the working class. Embedded in these discourses were popular signifiers such as 'people's education for

³ Peter Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid and Education (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), p.1.

⁴ Ibid, p.5.

⁵ See, for example, Tony Fluxman, 'Education and economy: A critique of S. Bowles & H. Gintis' "Schooling in capitalist America" ', Perspectives in Education, 5(3), Nov 1981, p.3.

people's power', 'people's history' and so forth.

This chapter shows how the frontiers of identity which vacillated between race and ethnicity in liberal and Afrikaner nationalist discourses, shifted to class and gender in radical/neo-Marxist discursive formations. The chapter involves two levels of analysis. First, it shows how the crisis in education in the 1970s led to radicalisation of approach within both liberal and radical circles, which resulted in a paradigmatic shift towards the adoption of neo-Marxist frameworks in educational analysis and policy formulations. In so doing, it explores the following main themes: (1) the advent of neo-Marxist historiography in the early 1970s and its increasing influence on social studies; (2) the emergence of a radical/neo-Marxist school of thought in educational studies in the early 1980s; (3) theoretical metamorphoses within this school; and (4) the crisis of revisionism in the 1990s as well as the prospects for a post-revisionist phase, or in Laclau's terminology, 'post-Marxist' phase. This will highlight the processes of formation and the main tenets of radical/neo-Marxist discourses. Second, it discusses the imagery embodied in radical/neo-Marxist discourses and its implications for identity construction.

The chapter argues that the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid society must be thought about within a horizon of possibilities different from the rigid paradigmatic tradition in which radical change was conceptualized by the short-lived radical-neo-Marxist school in South African education. It shows that the imagery of the Left which has dominated resistance struggles and radical discourses in education for about two decades has itself been put into question, forcing neo-Marxist movements to rethink their aims, strategies and theories. For example, South African history has already proved the fallacy of the historical role attributed to the working class as the main agent of social change. 'Privileged subjects' in historical change are not pre-determined by any laws of social change but determined by the complex and unpredictable dynamics of political struggle.

From "history without politics" to "history without passion": The historiographical revolution of the 1970s

Through a critique of the classical political economy of capitalism, Marx came to a radically new approach to social phenomena whereby economic questions could no longer be reduced to technical questions⁶ - How is production organized? How to increase productivity with no further investment of capital? - and so forth. Economic questions came to be seen as having profound social, political and cultural implications and as addressing issues concerning an integrated whole/totality of phenomena.⁷ In whose interests is production organized? Who benefits? What are the ultimate goals in the process of distribution of wealth? By asking holistic questions about economic phenomena, Marx distinguished himself in the history of radical economics as the founder of Marxist political economy, which built its philosophical foundations in dialectical materialism and its theoretical foundations in historical materialism.⁸ Class and class struggle are its main analytical categories. The founders of neo-Marxist political economy in South African studies in the 1970s followed a similar path.⁹ For them, the nature and the dynamics of South African social formation could only be understood within the framework of a Marxist political economy.

⁶ For details see K Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (London: Penguin, 1971) and K Marx, Capital 3 Vols (Moscow: Progress, 1962).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ See K Marx, 'Manifesto of the Communist Party', in K Marx and F Engels, Marx-Engels Selected Works, Vol I, (Moscow: Progress, 1969) and G.A. Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

⁹ See for example Harold Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid', Economy and Society, 1(4), November 1972, pp.424-456; F.A. Johnstone, 'Class conflict and colour bars in the South African gold mining industry, 1910-1926', in Collected Seminar Papers (University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, October 1969-April 1970); F.A. Johnstone, 'White prosperity and white supremacy in South Africa today', African Affairs, LXIX (1970), pp.125-140; F.A. Johnstone, Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); Stanley Trapido, 'South Africa in a comparative study of industrialization', Journal of Development Studies, 7 (1970); M. Legassick, 'South African capital accumulation and violence', Economy and Society, 3(3), 1974, pp.253-91; M. Legassick, 'The making of South African "native policy", 1903-1923: The origins of segregation', in Collected Papers (University of London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1974).

What specifically characterizes this school of thought? There is no simple answer to this question. Political economy does not represent a single method or theory. There are different methods and theories in the political economy tradition. The distinctive feature here is that neo-Marxists drew on Marx's method of historical and dialectical materialism and on theories of social change produced by Marxist political economists.¹⁰ Within this paradigm society is conceptualised not as a motionless body of structures or objects, but as dynamic and in a constant process of change and flux as water in a river. Class is assumed as the basis of social organisation and class struggle as the driving force of history. Generally economic relations are assumed as determining every sphere of social life, particularly the political, ideological and religious upper-floors of society.

Neo-Marxism in South Africa: Its theoretical frontiers

As already pointed out, in South Africa the neo-Marxist school represented a challenge to liberal and nationalist paradigmatic assumptions concerning the nature and the future of South African society and its economic and racial systems, which dominated Southern African studies.¹¹ Liberalism came to be regarded as a discourse of identity construction, a voice of conscience rather than a mode of explanation: "the liberal tradition in general is long on morality and short on explanation".¹² Several liberal assumptions came under

¹⁰ FA Johnstone, 'Most painful to our hearts': South Africa through the eyes of the new school', Canadian Journal of African Studies, 16 (1), 1982, pp.2-26, p.6.

¹¹ For a review of the debate see Harrison M Wright, The Burden of the Present: Liberal-Radical Controversy over South African History (Cape Town: David Philip, 1977); K R Hughes, 'Challenges from the past: Reflections on liberalism and radicalism in the writing of Southern African history', Social Dynamics 3 (1), 1977, p.47; Basil A Le Cordeur, 'The reconstruction of South African history', presidential address delivered to the tenth biennial conference of the South African Historical Society at the University of Cape Town, 15 January 1985; Shula Marks, 'Towards a people's history of South Africa? Recent developments in the historiography of South Africa', in R Samuel (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp.297-308; F Johnstone, 'Most painful to our hearts ...', op cit; Frederick Johnstone, Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); Anthony Atmore and Nancy Westlake, 'A liberal dilemma: A critique of the Oxford History of South Africa', Race 14 (1972), pp.107-136; and John W Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy - The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

¹² Hughes, 'Challenges from the past...', op cit, p.47.

fire, namely: (1) the assumption that the categories in which social life is lived in a particular society - e.g. race, ethnicity, racism, nationalism, prejudice - are the correct categories in terms of which social life should be analyzed and explained;¹³ (2) the assumption that segregation and apartheid were residual phenomena from a pre-industrial stage in South African history;¹⁴ (3) the assumption that as South African society developed into a modern, industrial/capitalist or free-market stage, segregation/apartheid as outdated phenomena, would consequently fall away;¹⁵ and (4) the assumption that segregation/apartheid are incompatible with a modern industrial society.¹⁶

To support their criticism, neo-Marxists pointed to the fact that South Africa has developed one of the most powerful industrial sectors in the world and an increasingly autonomous financial sector.¹⁷ The economic boom of the 1960s discredited the liberal argument that apartheid and growth were incompatible. The so-called Second Great Trek - the reintegration of 'poor whites' into mainstream urban and industrial society - had been successfully completed.¹⁸ Fewer than 10% of South African whites remained employed in agriculture.¹⁹ However, segregation hardened into apartheid and the prospects of its final abolition were still uncertain. Apartheid came to be seen not as a pre-capitalist phenomenon, but as a recent phenomenon, an organic part of modern, industrial and capitalist South Africa.²⁰ Once again, the relationship between the apartheid system and the economy came to the centre of debates between liberals and radicals,

¹³ Johnstone, 'Most painful to our hearts ...', op cit, p.6.

¹⁴ Ibid., p.7 and Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy..., op cit, p.7.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.8.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.9.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p.81. For discussion of this argument see also Laclau, New Reflections ..., op cit, p.23.

paving the path to the development of a Marxist social theory, in which concern with theoretical rigour has very often led to the neglect of empirical evidence. An important theme was whether race or class constitutes the appropriate category of analysis to understand the complexity of South African process.

Analytical concerns focused on those questions which appeared fundamental to a Marxist political economy:

Who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? Who does what to whom? Who does what for whom? How are who does what and who gets what linked to who owns what and who controls what? How is all this linked to what is going on in society and history?²¹

Therefore, the neo-Marxist school concentrated on the functional linkages between capitalism and racial domination in terms of class analysis based on a conception of capitalism as a class-divided, exploitative and conflictual system.²² It also took economic relations and structures as having an overwhelmingly determining effect on the social structures of society.²³ The themes included issues such as periodisation, the state, class fractions and alliances, class hegemony, imperialism and national capital, the white workers, the role of gold, and the importance of economic and political factors in capital accumulation process.²⁴

A major weakness remained the inability to grapple with non-economic factors in history

²¹ Johnstone, 'Most painful to our hearts ...', op cit, p.8.

²² Johnstone, 'Most painful to our hearts ...', op cit, pp.8-9. For further details see for example Martin Legassick, 'South Africa: Capital accumulation and violence', *Economy and Society* 3 (1974), pp.253-91; S Trapido, 'South Africa in a comparative study of industrialisation', *Journal of Development Studies*, 7 (1971); Harold Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid', *Economy and Society*, 1 (1972), pp.425-456.

²³ S Hall, 'Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance', in UNESCO, *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism* (Poole: Sydenham Printers, 1980), pp.306-7.

²⁴ Johnstone, 'Most painful to our hearts ...', op cit, p.22.

and society such as subjectivity, identity and culture, particularly the power of Afrikaner nationalism over the political and social life of the various groups. Johnstone argued for example that "the historical and sociological significance of Afrikaner nationalism cannot be entirely grasped merely in these new and important terms of its class instrumentality".²⁵ The neo-Marxist school thus faced the challenge of combining its strengths with sensitivity to the cultural and subjective dimensions of social life, human agency and actors' choices in real and complex historical situations, which other approaches offered.²⁶ As Le Cordeur pointed out, "the absence of the human dimension in this 'history without passion' invests it with an air of unreal lifelessness".²⁷ What was required was a synthesis which combined structuralist and interactionist perspectives.²⁸

Against economic reductionism: Social history or 'history from below'

During the second half of the 1970s, revisionists started questioning their initial analyses. A new approach emerged representing a shift from the 'economic' to social relations, relations between different racial, ethnic and cultural groups. Its general feature was the fact that it stressed the autonomy, the non-reductiveness, of race and ethnicity as social factors - the relative autonomy of ideology, politics, race, culture. This is what has been described as "writing history 'from the bottom up' or history from below".²⁹ Neo-classical studies produced by early radical and Marxist social scientists such as Johnstone, Davies and Wolpe, and early works of Legassick, Trapido and Marks, were followed by a remarkable proliferation of Marxist-sounding 'social history' works in the main liberal

²⁵ Ibid., p.24.

²⁶ Ibid., p.25.

²⁷ Basil A Le Cordeur, 'The reconstruction of South African history ...', op cit, p.2.

²⁸ For a review of this trend see Christopher Saunders, 'Reflections on the state of South African History at the beginning of the 1980s', in DI Ray, P Shinnie and D Williams (eds.), Into the Seventies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of African Studies (Vancouver, 1981), pp.233-240.

²⁹ Hughes, 'Challenges from the past ...', op cit, p.45.

institutions (the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town), supported by progressive publishers such as Ravan Press and David Philip.³⁰ Rex's work represents an important attempt to analyze race and class phenomena within a Weberian framework and a radical non-conflict model.³¹ In the 1980s, neo-Marxism became almost a standard paradigm in the main Centres for African Studies and the History and Sociology departments of the English-speaking universities. In 1980, Charney quoted Charles van Onselen, director of the Wits African Studies Institute, as expressing his satisfaction with the victory of the Left in this way: 'We've largely won our battle against the liberals. In the social sciences, we dictate the terms'.³²

Revisionism in education: The political economy of education

However, it is noteworthy that neo-Marxist political economy did not penetrate the educational field before 1980. Webster's claim, in 1977, that any analysis of the history of education should be located in the political economy of its time seems not to have produced any immediate echo.³³ Shortly thereafter, historians and sociologists of

³⁰ S Marks and S Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South State', *History Workshop Journal*, 8, 1979; B Bozzoli (ed.), *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); B Bozzoli (ed.), *Class, Community and Conflict* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987); Burman & Reynolds (eds.), *Growing up in a Divided Society*, op cit; Alex Callinicos & John Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto* (London: Pluto Press, 1978), 2nd edition; M Swilling & T Lodge, 'The year of the Amabutho', *Africa Report*, January-February 1986; M Swilling, 'Because your yard is too big': Squatter struggles, the local state and dual power in Uitenhage, 1985-1986', unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; M Swilling, 'Stayaways, urban protest and the state', *South African Review*, (3), 1986, pp.20-50; J Seekings, 'Why was Soweto different? Urban development, township politics, and the political economy of Soweto, 1977-1984', African Studies Seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.

³¹ See for example P van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1965); J Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); J Rex (ed.), *Apartheid and Social Research* (Paris: UNESCO, 1981); J Rex, *Race Relations in Sociological Theory* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1970); and L Kuper, *Race, Class and Power* (London: Duckworth, 1974).

³² Craig Charney, 'Thinking of revolution: The new South African intelligentsia', *Monthly Review*, 38, December 1986, p.16.

³³ E Webster, 'Brigid Limerick's abstracted empiricism', *Perspectives in Education*, 2(3), 1977, pp.193-197.

education were drawn into a revisionist debate against the economic reductionism and structuralism which dominated early neo-Marxist studies in the political economy of South Africa. As the notion of relative autonomy was applied to the ideological sphere, it became clear that issues such as education, culture and politics could be dealt with in terms of their particular logic, i.e. as relatively independent from the determination of the material basis. This opened new horizons to the Left, which saw neo-Marxist analyses of education as providing a basis for the realization of the project of radical or socialist democracy in South Africa. The critique of economic reductionism was followed by the debate about the uses and limitations of 'reproduction theory' in education, in an attempt to explain the nature and role of Bantu Education in society. This debate was conducted locally in the journals Perspectives in Education and Africa Perspective, followed by Social Dynamics, between 1980 and 1982. In 1984 the major expression of this new mode of thinking was found in the publication of Peter Kallaway's Apartheid and Education,³⁴ which drew on a wide range of scholars. Bill Nasson's work for the Carnegie Commission of Enquiry into Poverty in South Africa involved a significant evaluation of the debate.³⁵

Different reasons can be advanced for the emergence of the radical/neo-Marxist school. Among these must be the heightened conflict in education, demonstrated by the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement, based primarily in schools and universities during the early 1970s, the uprisings of 1976 and the school boycotts of 1980. These developments generated the view that the priorities and questions which were popular amongst educationists and other academics during the sixties and seventies were irrelevant

³⁴ Apartheid and Education involved a somewhat different project. It attempted to demonstrate how Marxist political economy and historical materialism, applied to the educational field, could provide a better understanding of educational developments in South Africa than the earlier liberal approaches. The book is devoted to a critique of the liberal interpretation of education within apartheid, African responses to Bantu Education, and state strategies in education. It provided both an historical-philosophical and a contemporary analysis of South African education. The introduction suggested a reorientation of the approach to education in the light of political economy.

³⁵ Bill Nasson, 'Education and poverty: Some perspectives', Carnegie Conference paper No. 94, 1983; and Bill Nasson, 'Bitter harvest: Farm schooling for black South Africans', Carnegie Conference paper No. 97 (undated).

in the light of new developments. Their theoretical emphasis was, in addition, profoundly conditioned by both the neo-Marxist political economy tradition in Southern African studies and the repercussions of the influence of 'reproduction theory' in the sociology of education. The main sources of 'reproduction theory' in the mid-1970s were Althusser, and Bowles and Gintis.³⁶ I shall return to this point in subsequent sections.

The case against liberal discourses in education

Of particular concern for the neo-Marxist school was the 'manpower planning' discourse promoted by many liberals since the early 1960s. Neo-Marxists argued that posing educational problems as questions of manpower planning produced technicist solutions, rather than the political and economic changes that were required. They maintained that, beneath this apolitical formulation, lay the assumption that the removal of the more backward features of apartheid would lead to the emergence of a liberal capitalist democracy. This approach, they argued, would lead to notions of equality of opportunity but not to equal education. Kallaway interpreted it as a strategy 'designed to change and modify social conditions that have become widely regarded as unjust and unacceptable' and as serving to 'strengthen and perpetuate essential power relations (class relations) ... if introduced on their own, without corresponding economic and political changes'.³⁷ In addition, drawing on the 'new sociology of education' and radical critiques of schooling in capitalist societies, neo-Marxists criticised the liberal school for treating educational development as a neutral and independent process. It was

presented as a process of 'natural' and 'unproblematic' growth ... rather than as the outcome of a complex historical process in which each new development is contested by the interested parties ... while conflicts over

³⁶ See Althusser, 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses', in BJ Cosin (ed.) *Education, Structure and Society* (London: Penguin, 1977) and S Bowles & H Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

³⁷ Kallaway (ed), *op cit*, p.15.

the form and the content of educational policies are masked and struggles between the various interested parties are hidden. The dominant tradition of educational research hides a belief in some simple history of educational progress, a history with no costs, no struggles, no ambiguities.³⁸

A third criticism made was excessive concentration on the history of white schooling and on empiricism.³⁹ These assumptions, claimed the radicals, led liberals to overlook crucial questions in educational research such as: What are schools for? Whose interests do they serve? What kinds of knowledge or skills do they reproduce? What is their relationship to the labour market?

The main implication of neo-Marxist criticisms of the liberal school for the analyses of education is that any attempt to grasp the history and dynamics of education in South Africa must be done with reference to broader economic, social and political processes. General formulations about the intentions of educational policies are of little use unless we examine what they come to mean in practice, against the background of the process of class differentiation and relations. The key aspect to be noted here is that colonization also entailed cultural and ideological transformation, in which schools - whether conducted by missionaries or by agents of the colonial government - were major agents. Another implication is that while schools were to a large extent instruments of incorporation they were also systematically appropriated by colonized peoples and played an important historical role as sites of struggle in the colonial context. Also, in terms of South African future, educational planning or policy that fails to locate educational issues within the broader framework of economic and political change, it is argued, runs the risk of naivete and irrelevance. However, this chapter argues that the main limitation of the neo-Marxists was that they overemphasized the 'class determination' and the role of 'class struggle' in the development of progressive or radical consciousness. By doing so, they neglected a wide range of possibilities that the arena of politics offers to the same

³⁸ Ibid, p.15.

³⁹ Ibid, pp.4-5.

category of social agents and, most importantly, the role that the articulation of different kinds of hegemonic struggles over a variety of interests plays in shaping social and political identities. Before exploring this argument, it is pertinent to put into perspective the neo-Marxist debate on schooling and society in South Africa.

Culture, schooling and society

Of significant relevance to this debate was Althusser's theory of social reproduction as outlined in his Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In summary, Althusser distinguishes in that article between (1) state power as control of the state and (2) the state apparatus as those instruments of the state which help to secure conditions necessary for capital accumulation. Within the state apparatus he distinguishes between the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatus. The former includes the government, administration, courts, police and army, while the latter comprises all cultural and educational institutions such as schools, religion, the family, and trade unions. The repressive state apparatus functions largely by violence and the ideological state apparatus largely by ideology. The reproduction of the social relations of production is ensured through a dialectical interaction of the two state apparatuses. The outstanding feature of Althusser's theory is that it considers the school as transmitter of culture to occupy the dominant position within the ideological state apparatus.⁴⁰ The school is thus assumed as having a critical role in the reproduction of relations of domination and subordination.

Althusser's work evoked a considerable response in South Africa. One of the first reactions amongst South African scholars came in 1978 from Chisholm, who considered it in relation to South African textbooks. She questioned his conceptions in the light of student resistance in South Africa, arguing that he failed to provide an adequate

⁴⁰ See Althusser, *op cit.*

theoretical base which could account for such resistance.⁴¹ Indeed, if the function of schools was of reproducing subservience as a prerequisite to maintaining relations of subordination, how does one explain the political identity which mobilized school children to challenge the system of Bantu Education? However, Althusser and Chisholm had in mind different historical realities. A stronger response came from Levin in 1980. For him there was a distinct economism implicit in Althusser's formulations about the nature of the state, which he conceived of as homogeneous. Using Poulantzas' contribution that the dominant classes are not monolithic, but are organised at different points in time by different fractions which attain hegemony within the state, Levin argued that the functioning of education is correspondingly more complex than that suggested by Althusser. Furthermore, he argued that Althusser failed to elucidate the specific relationship which educational institutions have with the economic level of a social formation. He adopted the position of Hussein, who attributes to the labour market the crucial role of providing the link between education and the economy.⁴² Despite, for example, his criticisms of the functionalism of Althusser's argument, he provided an essentially functionalist understanding of the origins and purposes of Bantu Education.

Bowles and Gintis then developed the Althusserian thesis, positing that the social relations of the school reproduce the social relations of economic life. Their book discusses the failure of educational reform in the USA to alter socioeconomic and educational inequalities. It argues that the causes for the persistent failure of reform lie in the constraints that the capitalist economy imposes on the educational system.⁴³ Their arguments came under strong attack from Fluxman, who argued that Bowles and Gintis fell into a double reductionism: on the one hand, a reductionism of structure (all social

⁴¹ L. Chisholm, 'Ideology, legitimization of the status quo and history textbooks in South Africa', Perspectives in Education, 5(3), 1981, p.135.

⁴² R. Levin, 'Black education, class struggle and the dynamics of change in South Africa since 1946', Africa Perspective, 17, 1980, p.18.

⁴³ Bowles and Gintis, *op cit*.

institutions are conceived of as possessing the same social structure, that of production) and, on the other, a reductionism of the class struggle (the struggles in education and the economy are reduced to the effects of simple contradiction between capital and labour). He concluded by formulating some of the conditions which a non-reductionist theory of schooling in a capitalist society would have to fulfil. Reasoning closely along the lines of Althusser and Poulantzas, he suggested that such an analysis would have to take into account the specificity of the structure of the educational apparatuses as well as the complex nature of the class struggle.

Since education is an ISA [ideological state apparatus], it is subject to the effects of the struggle between classes, class fractions, social strata and categories which are constituted at the level of the economy, of politics in general, specifically the state, as well as being subject to the effects of struggles occurring at the level of the economy. Thus an adequate analysis of education would have to incorporate an investigation of the role the educational ISA in any specific social formation plays in the production of the ideology of the hegemonic fraction in the state. It would also have to allow the possibility that ideologies that contradict the hegemonic ideologies (either the ideologies of rival fractions of capital or fractions of working class) might develop and even become dominant within the educational ISA. Furthermore, it would have to take account of the other social fractions, social strata and categories which would have specific effects on the production of ideology in the educational ISA ... bureaucracy ... intellectuals ... and petty-bourgeoisie.⁴⁴

Shapiro applied a combination of the above analyses to the introduction of Bantu Education.⁴⁵ In her article she stressed that education cannot be understood apart from the social context within which it operates. Her main contribution was an attempt to theorize conflict in education. She did so by arguing that there is a contradiction between the function of education and the knowledge that is provided through it.⁴⁶ This is a

⁴⁴ Fluxman, 'Education and economy ...', op cit, pp.166-167.

⁴⁵ Janet Shapiro, 'Education in a capitalist society: How ideology functions', *Perspectives in Education*, 5(2), 1981.

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp.100-101.

contradiction at the heart of any ideological state apparatus. There followed an attack from Chisholm and Sole whose main concern was the by now unproblematic acceptance of the 'ahistorical and mechanistic accounts of education', which paid 'little heed to class struggle as a fundamental feature of class society', produced by the Althusser/Bowles and Gintis problematic. They urged, instead, concrete analyses of the way in which educational institutions in South Africa have mediated complex class and social struggles. They also called for recognition of the possibilities of 'ideologies of the exploited' resulting in transformative practice.⁴⁷

This debate was also played out by Collins and Christie, and also Hyslop again using Bantu Education to exemplify the usefulness of reproduction theory.⁴⁸ Frank Molteno, in his work on the 1980 student boycotts in Cape Town, summed up the debate, arguing that:

So long as the burden of selection/sorting/examination is placed on schooling in an unequal and class society, then 'reproduction' perspective must be taken into account... This does not mean that schooling has to do with nothing apart from the role in social reproduction or that schooling plays whatever role it does in this regard because social reproduction requires it to.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ L. Chisholm & K. Sole, 'Education and class struggle', *Perspectives in Education*, 5(2), 1981, p.115.

⁴⁸ See Pam Christie & Colin Collins, 'Bantu Education: Apartheid ideology and labour reproduction', in P. Kallaway (ed.), *op cit*; J. Hyslop, 'The contradictory class location of African teachers', seminar paper, ASSA Regional Seminar, Mafikeng April 1985; J. Hyslop, 'Teachers and trade unions', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 11(6), 1986; J. Hyslop, 'Aspects of the failure of Bantu Education as a hegemonic strategy: School boards, school committees and educational politics 1955-1976', *History Workshop*, 9-14 February 1987; J. Hyslop, 'School student movements and state education policy: 1972-1987', Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, April 1987; J. Hyslop, 'Food, authority and politics: Student riots in South African schools, 1945-1976', *Africa Perspective*, (4), 1987; J. Hyslop, 'Let us cry for our children: Lessons of the 1955-6 school boycotts', *Transformation* 4, 1987; J. Hyslop, 'State education policy and the social reproduction of the urban African working class 1955-76: The case of the Southern Transvaal', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14(3), April 1988, pp.445-476.

⁴⁹ Frank Molteno, 'Reflections on resistance: Aspects of the 1980 students' boycotts', *Kenton Conference Proceedings*, 1983, p.56.

Nonetheless, he added the important rider that reproduction theory 'renders any notion of failure inconceivable', since such failure 'must imply the failure on the part of theories of reproduction too'.⁵⁰ Briefly, social conditions and resistance and reform in education in South Africa prompted considerable debate about the usefulness of the reproduction theory. Applied to the specific context, its weaknesses became manifest. Attempts at theoretical refinement have recently been accompanied by a systematic scrutiny of the American resistance theories developed by Giroux and Aronowitz. This was in response to the need to formulate adequate frameworks for an understanding of the increasing social conflict in South African education.⁵¹

People's History

In South Africa, the 'economic' fever of the 1970s was superseded by the advent of 'social history' which focuses on the complexity of the superstructural features of South African society - culture, ideology and politics.⁵² The most outstanding feature of this approach was the development of 'peoples' history', which had an increasing impact in the main fields of social inquiry, particularly history, sociology, political science and educational studies. 'People's history' is one of several signifiers appropriated by popular movements in Britain and South Africa and then given a theoretical meaning as a framework for production of a particular kind of history. Its origins are bound up with

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp.55-56.

⁵¹ See Henry A Giroux, *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983); Henry A Giroux, 'Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis', *Harvard Educational Review*, 53(3), August 1983, pp.257-293; and Stanley Aronowitz & Henry A Giroux, *Education Under Siege* (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1985).

⁵² B Bozzoli (ed.), *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); B Bozzoli (ed.), *Class, Community and Conflict* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987); Alex Callinicos & John Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto* (London: Pluto Press, 1978), 2nd edition; M Swilling & T Lodge, 'The year of the Amabutho', *Africa Report*, January-February 1986; M Swilling, '"Because your yard is too big": Squatter struggles, the local state and dual power in Uitenhage, 1985-1986', unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; M Swilling, 'Stayaways, urban protest and the state', *South African Review*, (3), 1986, pp.20-50; J Seekings, 'Why was Soweto different? Urban development, township politics, and the political economy of Soweto, 1977-1984', African Studies Seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.

the 1976-1980 school crisis. The crisis in education precipitated by the tragedy of Soweto in 1976 culminated in a nationwide mobilisation of popular movements. Out of these movements emerged the call for 'people's education for people's power' in 1986 as a counter to Apartheid education and as a vision for an alternative education system. This was followed by a call for 'people's history' in 1987.

People's history is essentially anti-apartheid history, i.e. history written explicitly as a counter to the racist and elitist stereotypes and perversions that have characterised the history propagated, especially in government schools. It is 'popular' history in that 'it deliberately seeks to bring the black undermasses into South African history, and at the same time is written primarily for a readership drawn from those classes'.⁵³ People's history is thus an alternative to the perspective of the 'Great Man' approach to history. It is the history of the 'ordinary people', the oppressed and exploited masses, viewed not as simple objects of a particular intellectual activity but as active subjects of the very same activity. The main thrust of people's history is that it recognizes, though sometimes it tends to overemphasize and reify, the 'lived experience' of ordinary people. Most importantly, the people's history perspective draws on popular discourses of South African history, thus accounting for the various and complex ways ordinary people process and make sense of their past, in dance, art, songs and so forth. As pointed out in Chapter Two, this project could widen the frontiers of the domain of history and cultural production and diminish the silences which have prevailed in this activity.⁵⁴

⁵³ John Wright, 'Popularising the pre-colonial past: Politics and problems', *Perspectives in Education*, 10(2), 1989/90, p.47. For more details see: L Callinicos, *Gold and Workers* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980); New Nation, 'People's History series', issue of 23 October-5 November 1986, onwards; C Hamilton & H Webster, 'The struggle for control over the voices of the past and the socialising role of pre-colonial history: Perspectives on the production of pre-colonial education materials', *Perspectives in Education*, 10(2), 1988/9, pp.53-60; History Commission, 'What is History? A New Approach to History for Students, Workers and Communities', (Johannesburg: Skotaville Educational Division, 1987); L Callinicos, 'The People's History Workshop', University of the Witwatersrand, February 1987, Report, *Perspectives in Education*, 10(1), 1988, pp.84-86; Cynthia Kros, 'The making of class: Beyond model curricula - A preliminary critique of the presentation of history in South African schools', *Perspectives in Education*, 10(1), 1988, pp.87-100; and Leslie Witz, 'Write your own history' (Johannesburg: SACHED Trust/Ravan Press, 1988).

⁵⁴ See Chapter Two section on 'Texts and silences...'

Perhaps the main weakness of radical/neo-Marxists was their almost complete inability to locate cultural phenomena in domains which do not follow strictly on the logic of class relationships and the social stratification determined by the changing South African political economy. This can be illustrated by a brief foray into histories of working class cultures in South Africa. Erlman considers that Coplan was one of the first researchers to show interest in African working-class culture when he initiated his research in South Africa on 17 June 1976. He points out however that in the decade following Coplan's fieldwork, revisionist historiography expanded and consolidated itself, and 'whatever merits Coplan's book may have as one of the first attempts to explore the complex issues of class and culture in South African black performing arts, they are impaired by his failure to incorporate the current debates on ideology and class cultures'.⁵⁵ Frankel's conceptualisations of African political culture in South Africa cannot escape this charge either.⁵⁶

Revisionist historiography of class cultures gained momentum with works by authors such as Bundy, Glaser, La Hausse, Nkomo, and, in particular, Bonner.⁵⁷ A common concern in this literature is the need to fill the vast space between the broad processes of proletarianisation and the different cultural expressions including organised political action. Some literature has undertaken the task of tracing the 'contours of community,

⁵⁵ Veit Erlman, 'Review: "In Township Tonight" ', *Africa Perspective*, 1(3), 1987, p.126.

⁵⁶ P Frankel, 'Political culture and revolution in Soweto', *Journal of Politics*, 43, August 1981, pp.831-849.

⁵⁷ C Bundy, 'Street sociology and pavement politics: Aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town, 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13(3), April 1987, pp.301-330; C Bundy, 'South Africa on the switchback' and 'Schools and revolution', *New Society*, 3 & 7, January 1986; Paul la Hausse, ' "Mayihlome!" : Towards an understanding of Amalaita gangs in Durban, c.1900-1930', African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987); MO Nkomo, *Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities* (Westport: Greenwood, 1984); MO Nkomo, 'The contradictions of Bantu Education', *Harvard Educational Review*, 51 (1), 1981; PL Bonner, 'Black urban cultures and the politics of black squatter movements on the rand, 1944-1955', unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; PL Bonner, 'Family, crime and political consciousness on the East Rand 1939-1955', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14(3), April 1988, pp.393-423 (for this chapter I used the 1987 unpublished version); and C Glaser, 'Students, *tsotsis* and the Congress Youth League: Youth organisation on the Rand in the 1940s and 1950s', *Perspectives in Education*, 10(2), 1988/9, pp.1-15; M Swilling & T Lodge, 'The year of the Amabutho', *Africa Report*, January-February 1986.

class and culture'.⁵⁸ For example, Bonner argues that a distinctive black urban culture on the Rand seems to have been distilled out of a diversity of sources in the second decade of the 20th century, involving cultural elements from the Afrikaans, Malay, 'coloured', Afro-American, British missionary and Oorlams communities.⁵⁹ He distinguishes three main sources: (1) the educated Christian black middle class; (2) the Cape 'coloured' and Oorlams community; and (3) the vast proletarian mass that laboured in the mine shafts, the kitchens and stores, particularly the section of these migrants that failed to remain anchored in either homestead or compound and became cultural brokers and innovators in the towns.⁶⁰ The exchange of cultural experiences between these groups, fermented by external influences from the neighbouring countries and Afro-American elements, was behind the creation of the black urban cultures.

Bonner concentrates on working-class cultures which seem to incorporate street gang cultures. Middle-class cultures are somewhat neglected or remain as simple sources of the black urban culture - this can possibly be justified by the limited significance of this social stratum in the 1940s and 1950s, the period dealt with in his work. In general his work points to a close relationship - which should not be assumed unproblematically - between, on the hand, the process of class stratification and class subculturalisation and, on the other, parent class cultures and youth subcultures. What remains obscure is the role played by race in the process. What emerges in his work is an idea of the process of acculturation and subculturalisation as a 'melting-pot' where class rather than ethnicity and race assume dominance. Nonetheless, Bonner's contribution represents an important innovation in South African cultural studies.

⁵⁸ PL Bonner, 'Black urban cultures and the politics of black squatter movements on the rand, 1944-1955', unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988, p.1. For further details see PL Bonner, 'Family, crime and political consciousness on the East Rand 1939-1955', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14(3), April 1988, pp.393-420.

⁵⁹ Bonner, 1988, 'Black urban cultures ...', op cit, p.1.

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp.2-6.

Class analysis revisited

What Marx defined as the historical role of the working class, that is, the centrality of the working class as the fundamental social agent in bringing about a socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie, has considerably influenced many South African cultural studies.⁶¹ However, there seems to be no indication that the working class has ever filled the historical role attributed to it by Marx. The political centrality of the working class requires that the working class comes out of itself, to transform its own identity by articulating to it a plurality of struggles and democratic demands. However, this articulatory role seems to have been assigned to it by the economic base.⁶² As already pointed out, this absence of human dimension and human passion invests the history of the working class with an air of lifelessness.⁶³ The role of the working class within emancipatory struggles cannot be understood in isolation, outside the terrain of other social struggles and antagonisms in society and without reference to possible mediations. Further, the direction of the workers' struggle is not uniformly progressive. It depends, just as with any other social struggle, upon its forms of articulation within a given hegemonic context. By articulation here I mean any practice establishing a relation between elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. From this point of view, the very orientation of the working class depends upon a political balance of forces and the radicalization of a plurality of democratic struggles

⁶¹ See for example the following extract by Alexander:

Because of the peculiarities of capitalist development in South Africa, the only way in which racial discrimination and racial inequality, i.e. national oppression, can be abolished is through the abolition of the capitalist structures themselves. The only class, however, which can bring into being such a (socialist) system is the black working class. On it, by virtue of its unique historical position, devolves the task of mobilizing all the oppressed and exploited classes for the abolition of the system of racial capitalism (Neville Alexander, 'Approaches to the national question in South Africa', *Transformation*, 1, 1986, p.84.).

⁶² See E Laclau & C Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: The Thetford Press, 1985), p.70.

⁶³ See Chapter Eight p.8.

and cultural practices, which are decided in good part outside the class itself.

As Laclau and Mouffe have pointed out, the era of 'privileged subjects' - in the ontological not practical sense - of the anti-capitalist struggle has been superseded.⁶⁴ No class or social movement can be taken *a priori* as progressive by virtue of its class nature. Its progressiveness depends upon its hegemonic articulation with other struggles or demands. It is a question that requires further elaboration within the world socialist movement. Recent South African history is rich in examples to illustrate this argument: the history of conflict between white and black working class agents, tensions between the different political groups (AZAPO, PAC and Inkatha), rivalry between youth organizations and so forth. Certainly workers organized within COSATU have played a central role in the struggle for democratic and non-racial South Africa; but other forces not emanating from a working-class background have also played an important role. Furthermore, there are other working-class trade unions, which have played a very reactionary role in the process.

Radical discourses in South Africa: Future prospects

This chapter is not a case against neo-Marxism and class analysis,⁶⁵ but warns against the limitations of class reductionism in analyses of social activities and discursive formations which are not necessarily determined by the logic of class or class struggle. In 1985, at the moment when the antagonism dividing nationalist, liberal and Marxist identities was at its climax, asked to make a choice between liberal and Marxist approaches, I replied with the following comment:

⁶⁴ Ibid, p.86.

⁶⁵ For this purpose see the debate on Post-Marxism: Ernesto Laclau & Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony & Socialist Strategy - Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: The Thetford Press, 1985); Norman Geras, 'Post-Marxism?', *New Left Review*, May/June 1987; Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, 'Post-Marxism without apologies', *op cit*; and Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections* ..., *op cit*.

It is not clear that there is any advantage in labelling different social scientists, whatever the labels (conservative, liberal, radical, Marxist, neo-Marxist, right-wing liberal, left-wing liberal, extreme-right-wing liberal or radical, or conservative, etc., etc.). Like many other labels, they probably conceal as much as they reveal. They tend to obscure the fundamental differences between those who think dialectically, and those whose thinking is criterion-based or categorical [refers to analytical philosophy of education]. Rather, it seems that what is important for a social scientist is his/her ability to critically discern, select, and develop or use the theoretical tools provided by the different schools of thought which can more easily and safely lead to the intelligibility of the social reality, without being arrested by unnecessary scholarly apartheid.⁶⁶

The interpretation of this passage in the context of the objectives of this chapter is, in Laclau and Mouffe's words, that "there is not one discourse and one system of categories through which the 'real' might speak without mediations".⁶⁷ To be or not to be Marxist in terms of identity construction represents a continuous process of making and re-making ourselves, and ourselves in relation to others. Nobody is born 'Marxist' or 'Socialist'. This is a product of life-choices and contingencies. If the Left's current rethinking of traditional social theory is to be helpful in actually changing anything, it must do more than regurgitate Marx in different ways. It has to set a whole new transformatory project which takes seriously the question of identity. This is not to suggest that the Left should start again on a clean sheet or more precisely that class analysis and class struggle must be finally buried. Certainly the project must include elements of continuity and elements of discontinuity. In this regard, I would like to reiterate Laclau's observations about paradigmatic changes and epistemological breaks:

⁶⁶ M Cross, 'Open the parcels and check inside before you stick on the labels: A response to P Enslin's "Is the dominant tradition in studies of education in South Africa a liberal one?", *Perspectives in Education*, 8(3), July 1985, pp.163-164. To avoid misunderstanding the article added the following comment:

However, there are some labels which are conventionally accepted as terms of reference of the different schools of thought. In this sense, the terms 'liberal' 'radical' or 'conservative' and others have a place. But before we stick on the labels why not open the parcels and check what sort of commodities are inside?

⁶⁷ Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony ...*, op cit, p.3.

The surpassing of a great intellectual tradition never takes place in the sudden form of a collapse, but in the way that river waters, having originated at common source, spread in various directions and mingle with currents flowing down from other sources. This is how the discourses that constituted the field of classical Marxism may help to form the thinking of a new left: by bequeathing some of their concepts, transforming or abandoning others, and diluting themselves in that infinite intertextuality of emancipatory discourses in which the plurality of the social takes shape.⁶⁸

There is also a need to recognize difference and a plurality of possibilities in a transformatory project in which class and class struggle may be one possibility or mere contingency.

In intellectual history, the important epistemological breaks have not occurred when new solutions have been given to old problems, but when a radical change in the ground of the debate strips the old problems of their sense. This is what seems central to me today if one wishes to push forward the political debate of the left: it is necessary to construct a new language - and a new language means, as you know, new objects, new problems, new values, and the possibility of discursively constructing new antagonisms and forms of struggle.⁶⁹

To put it differently, the Left to survive must be able to mobilize new constituencies. Radical women, racial and ethnic minorities, ecological, gay and anti-institutional movements are new political subjects which neither derive necessarily from the logic of class interests nor follow the logic of class struggle. They are however part of a wider project of radical democracy. The discourses of the Left can no longer be restricted to the working community. The Left also needs to move beyond a defensive intellectual culture of criticism, towards a creative, risk-taking intellectual culture, which is dynamic, open and energized. The risks are obviously greater, as to bring in new identities entails many struggles, and perhaps a few celebrations, with the possibility of antagonism,

⁶⁸ Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony ...*, op cit, p.5.

⁶⁹ Laclau, *New Reflections ...*, op cit, p.162.

contradiction and complexity.⁷⁰ The fact is that the transformatory process in the New South Africa involves the questioning and re-articulation of the political identity of all the actors involved and no identity is left pure and intact.

Conclusion

All identities are subject to change. Identities are shaky, unstable and open to articulation and re-articulation in a context of constant struggle where there is a weakening of frontiers between discourses and a proliferation of new signifiers. This has been the case of the metamorphoses undergone by the liberal school since the 1970s, which led to the emergence of a radical neo-Marxist school. The liberal discourse held the view that apartheid must be explained in terms of an irrational racial logic. This irrational logic, it was argued, would fall apart as a result of progressive modernization of the economy. As Norval puts it, whites would choose to be rich and mixed rather than poor and separate.⁷¹ However, the inability of the liberal school to deliver a satisfactory solution to the increasing contradictions of apartheid and the crisis faced by South Africa since the 1970s and increasing oppositional struggles - the growth of the black trade union movements, the 1976 uprising, the explosion of youth and student movements - resulted in a deep crisis of identity within liberal forces, which culminated in the emergence of revisionism. Revisionist theorists replaced the racial logic with class logic, which also led to another form of reductionism, class reductionism. The chapter has shown that the complexity of South African society, particularly the question of identity, cannot adequately be understood in terms of class reductionism as has been suggested by neo-Marxist analyses. There are important factors which require a review of these analyses: (1) the emergence of new subjects, the location of which, is not within the boundaries of

⁷⁰ Similar argument is articulated by Rosalind Brunt in 'The politics of identity', in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds.), *New Times - The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1989), p.158.

⁷¹ Norval, 'Letter to Ernesto', *op cit*, p.138.

class - radical women, racial and ethnic minorities, ecological, gay and anti-institutional movements; and (2) the nature of struggles carried out by these subjects, which do not respond to the logic of class struggle. The chapter suggests that for the Left to survive it must be able to mobilize these new subjects and articulate their demands, a task that cannot be undertaken within narrow Marxism.

CHAPTER NINE

AFRICAN NATIONALISM, SCHOOLING AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1884-1990

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, since the inception of the "political economy" school of thought in South African educational historiography in the early 1980s, educational issues in progressive circles have largely been debated with reference to wider social, economic and political developments. However, while there has been some sensitivity towards the dialectics between education and politics, the complexity of South African politics in its relationship to education has not been adequately addressed. So one cannot see, for example, how the important field of African politics has impacted on education. One cannot see how struggles in African politics conditioned developments in education, itself a site of struggles and in South Africa the centre of wider social struggles. More precisely, one cannot see how the imagery which accompanied African nationalist and identity discourses have impacted on education.

This chapter is thus an attempt to examine critically and assess the evolution of African identity discourses as articulated by the black intelligentsia, African nationalists and creative artists in the 1884-1990 period. It scrutinizes the images of identity and modes of self-representation developed by the African elite in response to dominant discursive formations. It argues that different demands such as demands for political participation, for racial equality, for access to education, for economic equality, for equal political rights, for control of working conditions, and so forth, combined diversely in different circumstances, have created an identity or, to use

Laclau's words, popular bloc opposed to the apartheid regime.¹ It highlights the complex processes through which the system of differences and the symbolic universe of apartheid was increasingly disrupted by the imagery of the oppositional movements as these reconstituted the negated African identity.

The major political and ideological forces which played a central role in the construction of African identities involved: (1) Christian liberal reformism and moderation, 1884-1943; (2) pragmatic nationalism and Africanism 1943-1976; and (3) critical nationalism and Africanism, 1976-1990.² Christian liberal reformism and moderation was dominated by discourses of Christianity, Christian morality and liberal ideals as formulated by the missionaries and contemporary white liberals. It was expressed amongst Africans through elitist politics, relative tolerance of the existing political system - though critical of some of its aspects - and liberal moderation later combined with strong scepticism towards radical perspectives on issues concerning South Africa, particularly Marxism and socialist ideologies. Marxism was rejected and, very often, portrayed as 'atheist' or a 'foreign ideology'. This is partly due to the pragmatism and dogmatism that dominated Marxist analyses of South African society and popular resistance at the beginning of the century, originating almost exclusively within the white ranks of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).³ Christian liberalism promised the black elite a common platform with white liberals on grounds of education. For white liberals and moderate African intellectuals the dividing lines between white and African identities became momentarily blurred as they strove to discover a common ground and common interests within the colonial system. Through co-operation and joint efforts, the latter hoped to be incorporated

¹ Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (London, New York: Verso, 1990), p.166.

² This periodization is not informed by particular events in South African history but by major changes in South African political economy and dominant patterns of African discourses which accompanied them.

³ The Communist Party regarded South Africa as a capitalist country comparable to Western Europe or North Africa. They considered class analysis as providing a key theoretical basis for African liberation and regarded nationalism as reactionary. This position changed only in the 1930s when the Executive Committee of the Communist International insisted that the CPSA should promote the idea of an independent Black Republic as a step towards a socialist South Africa.

into the dominant bloc and have access to colonial privileges by virtue of their educational status. In education, the black elite seemed attracted by the concept of 'adapted education' as the most suitable form of education for the African masses. Accordingly, education for the African masses had to be considered as much as possible from the point of view of the African's 'own possibilities, needs and aspirations'.⁴ To put it differently, African education was seen as having to conform to the social and economic roles which African people were expected to perform within the logic of difference which separated (uneducated) Africans from Europeans.

The 1943-1976 period brought about the celebration of an almost mystical Africanism and nationalism that, as had happened to Marxism in the previous period, were pragmatically incorporated into the struggle, without the necessary criticism. The emerging images and ideas of 'negritude' that had dominated earlier nationalist formulations were uncritically incorporated into the struggle. Old-fashioned Christian liberalism and reformism came under fire. The anti-liberalism of the 1940s and 1950s and the increasing radicalisation of the African intelligentsia led to the rejection of the elite's accommodationist strategy. Bantu Education and the concept of equal-but-separate education were severely criticised. Marxists depicted their theories with a much higher sense of flexibility and self-criticism than their predecessors had taken in their approach to African politics, which does not invalidate the criticisms made in the previous chapter. African identities reflected by and large the emerging nationalist and emancipatory discourses in the continent. In practice, African activities assumed the form of a search for a lost identity.

Benefiting from the contradictions that arose out of the struggles of the 1950s and the unprecedented crisis of the 1970s, the 1976-1990 period showed an increasing theoretical and ideological refinement. Paradoxically, the political vacuum created by the bannings of political leaders of all persuasions in the 1960s had the effect of widening participation in the debates by the different sections of the middle class, including those affiliated to no political organisation

⁴ See Udo Dube, 'The concept of adaptation in British colonial Africa', *Comparative Education*, 19 (3), 1983.

or without any established political identity. This democratisation of thought played a crucial role in creating a spirit of self-criticism within and outside the resistance and liberation movements. It made possible the achievement of higher levels of political militancy and ideological and theoretical sophistication among black intellectuals. Radical and Marxist ideas were broadened and creatively adjusted to the specific circumstances of the existing social and political movements, namely the Black Consciousness, Africanist and Charterist traditions.⁵ Critical thinking and theoretical exercises were finally institutionalised in African politics and education. They became important tools in the pursuit of national undertakings amongst black intellectuals and the masses.

Moderation and liberal reformism, 1886-1943/8: Early African 'modernisers'

A common feature amongst African pro-nationalists in Africa is that they were well-educated and elitist and could take advantage of the existing circumstances to pursue their 'petty bourgeois' politics. Generally they were great doctors, lawyers, priests and pastors, and made use of the media more extensively than the later nationalists, who adopted more mass orientated politics. They were however respected by the masses because they spoke good English, French or Portuguese. They were articulate and very often enjoyed a privileged economic status. Politically, what distinguished these early 'modernisers'⁶ from the later activists is that they tended to operate within the existing oppressive system and not to challenge it. They knew that the chances of rejecting the system successfully were limited or hopeless. Thus, they favoured the accommodationist policy advocated by the liberals as realistic and more in line with their middle-class identity, which included access to individual material and social privileges. Essentially, they claimed rights and equality with white settlers on the grounds of their privileged condition within the colonial system as an educated elite. In this respect, the early African middle class in South Africa was not an exception. Though more militant than its counterpart

⁵ See the section on the Freedom Charter.

⁶ The term refers to the role they were expected to play within their communities as promoters and transmitters of Western culture.

in most African countries, the early African elite in South Africa displayed a similar political style: reformism and Christian liberalism.

The ideas propagated by white liberals had considerable influence among educated middle-class Africans.⁷ From 1886 to around 1950, mainstream African thought remained essentially reformist and moderate; it embraced a liberalism that sought equality of opportunity within the existing social, political and economic framework. This despite the fact that sections of the African intelligentsia had been exposed to Marxist ideas since the early 1920s. Josiah Tshangana Gumede,⁸ Bransby Ndobe and Elliot Tonjeni, W Nkomo, Moses Kotane⁹ and James La Guma,¹⁰ in the 1930s and the 1940s, emerged as the most knowledgeable blacks who assimilated Marxist ideas and made some impact on African thought. The overwhelming majority of African leaders however continued to be indifferent or even hostile to radicalism and Marxism¹¹, which was promoted mainly by white intellectuals, particularly those affiliated to the CPSA.

⁷ See Chapter Eight.

⁸ J T Gumede was a founding member of the ANC, who took part in the drafting of the 1919 constitution of Congress. He participated in the 1920 African Mine Workers strike as an organiser and in 1927 travelled to Brussels to attend the first International Conference of the League Against Imperialism. In June 1927, he became President-General of the ANC, taking over from Reverend Z. Mahabane, and later that year he attended the Moscow celebrations of the Russian revolution. He returned to South Africa in 1928 to intensify the struggle against imperialism, which culminated in a serious ideological and class conflict and repudiation of the ANC association with the CPSA. He was made President of the CPSA's League of African Rights in his private capacity while President-General of the ANC. Gumede lost the presidential election in 1930 to Dr Pixley ka I Seme.

⁹ Moses Kotane joined the ANC in 1928 and the CPSA in 1929. In 1930, he attended the Lenin School in Moscow. In 1939, he was elected General Secretary of the Party, a position he held for many years. In 1946, he was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC.

¹⁰ James LaGuma was a trade unionist who joined the CPSA in 1925 and promoted the idea of an independent Black South African Republic as a stage towards workers' and peasants' rule, an idea condoned by the Communist International.

¹¹ B Ndobe and E Tonjeni were members of the CPSA from the early 1920s until about 1929. Around the same time they were forced to leave the ANC by the conservative leader of the Cape branch, James M Thaele, self-named 'Professor'. In November 1930, they formed a new organisation called the Independent African National Congress which urged support of African trade unions and promoted the idea of a Black Republic.

Four main reasons seem to have determined this apathy to Marxism amongst the African educated elite: (1) the impact of the Cape liberal tradition; (2) the influence of Christianity; (3) the activities of white liberals during the first half of the present century; and (4) most importantly, the mechanistic and dogmatic form of early Marxist thought in South Africa. From the early 1880s, Africans in the Cape Colony were placed on the common voters roll on the basis of a qualified and non-racial franchise.¹² This offered some hope to those educated and successful Africans who believed that British liberal principles of equality before the law, civil rights, freedom of the press and an independent judiciary would be extended to the provinces of Natal and the Transvaal. These hopes were heightened after the Anglo-Boer War in 1902 with the increasing influence of a human rights discourse. When South African capitalism was consolidated, Cape liberalism formed a basis for liberal criticism of the policy of racial segregation. As pointed out in Chapter Seven, liberals demanded the recognition of individuals based on 'civilization' rather than race and expressed the desire to transcend repressive policies that allowed no expression of African grievances. Given the existing political and economic constraints, liberalism appeared to be the most realistic and attractive political strategy for the black intelligentsia.

Liberal perceptions were also strengthened by missionaries and Christian educators, who preached that all human beings were born equal, and propagated universal concepts of peace, love, justice, equality and the common brotherhood of all, as well as obedience to authority, tolerance, patience and sacrifice for those who suffered injustice and oppression. It is against this background, Ranuga argues, that it was ideologically very difficult for the African elite to accept Marxist ideas.¹³ Marxism claimed a revolutionary strategy and ideal not popular within the ANC. The leaders of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC - later the African National Congress), created in 1912, while taking the Christian liberal principles as part

¹² See Chapter Seven.

¹³ Thomas K. Ranuga, 'Marxism and Black Nationalism in South Africa (Azania): A comparative and critical analysis of the ideological conflict and consensus between Marxism and Nationalism in the ANC, the PAC and the BCM, 1920-1980', PhD thesis, Brandeis University, 1982, pp.10-12.

of their tradition and way of life, denounced Marxism as 'foreign' and 'atheistic'.¹⁴ This approach prevailed within the ANC, which adopted peaceful means and constitutional policy as its main strategy to redress economic imbalances and achieve political reform. Its 1919 constitution explicitly stated that resolutions, protests, constitutional and peaceful propaganda, deputations, petitions and other forms of representations and passive action including the investigation of grievances, education, lectures and distribution of literature would be the means employed for the achievement of its goals.¹⁵

Of no less importance was the dogmatism which overshadowed initial attempts to apply Marxism to the struggle in South Africa. Exposed to the version of Marxism articulated by the Third International, early Marxists tended to play down the racial aspects of the South African society and its struggles. They focused on the class nature of the conflict. They saw national liberation as a class struggle, with the aim of establishing a non-racial class identity, which would link the working class across race boundaries in a common struggle against capitalism. They regarded nationalism as a reactionary ideology with a minimal role to play in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class irrespective of race. The concept of class was generally understood, within the framework of Marxist-Leninist principles, as a colour-blind category.¹⁶ Marxists shared the principles of proletarian internationalism under the banner 'Workers of the World Unite'. This lacked appeal for black nationalists, who saw race and racial oppression as a fundamental aspect of their social experience and, as such, part of the conflict. Black Marxists such as Gumede, LaGuma and Kotane tried to overcome the problem by adding a nationalist dimension to mainstream Marxism-Leninism. For example, LaGuma suggested that before a

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Constitution of the South African Native National Congress, September 1919, quoted in Thomas Karis & Gwendolen M Carter (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford: Hoover Institute Press, 1972), Vol I, p.77.

¹⁶ See the Communist International, 'The South African Question' (Resolution of the ECCI), 15 December 1928.

peasants' and workers' republic could emerge a national 'Black Republic' should be established.¹⁷

LaGuma was a trade unionist who joined the CPSA in 1925 and the ANC in 1927 as secretary of the Cape branch. He visited Moscow as a CPSA delegate in 1927, when the Comintern was trying to come to grips with the 'colonial question'. From the discussions he had with the Comintern, a resolution was drafted on the nature of the struggle in South Africa. It was later adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International after consultation with the CPSA. The resolution urged the constitution of 'an independent Native Republic, as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government', i.e. a stage towards the achievement of socialism.¹⁸ The Central Executive of the CPSA opposed the resolution on the grounds that its strategy would exclude all whites and the land would entirely belong to the Africans. In this regard, Kotane argued that although lessons could be drawn from Europe, they should however not lose sight of the fact that Europe differed historically, politically and economically from South Africa.¹⁹

In addition, the traditionally hostile attitude of white workers to black labour made it difficult for the left to explicate the applicability in real labour relations of the principle of working-class solidarity propagated by Marxist ideology. This led the main white organisations to concentrate their efforts on white workers while neglecting the potential role of the black working class in the struggle against capitalist and imperialist domination. The South African Labour Party (SALP), which emerged as a white organisation, ruled out any non-racial approach to working-class struggles. Progressive white trade unions promoted socialist ideology almost exclusively

¹⁷ See Edward Roux, S P Bunting: A Political Biography (Johannesburg: Published by the author, 1944), p.89.

¹⁸ Ibid. See also Edward Roux, Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956).

¹⁹ MM Kotane, 'Letter to the Central Committee' in A. Leramo (pseud. of Michael Harmel), Fifty Fighting Years: The Communist Party of South Africa 1921-1971 (London: Inkululeko Publications, 1971), p.133.

amongst white workers. The CPSA, which was formed in 1921 in Cape Town, had no significant black membership.²⁰ Only the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), a militant trade union founded in January 1919 in Cape Town by Clements Kadalie from Malawi, developed a favourable climate for the proliferation of socialist ideas amongst African workers. Its constitution held out as an ultimate goal a colour-blind socialist society. However, no healthy relationship existed between the ICU and the CPSA as existed between the ANC and the CPSA. These factors had some bearing on the tradition of moderation and liberal reformism shown by the early African modernisers.

The role of the press

With few exceptions, African intellectuals expressed their opinions through the press.²¹ Journalism was the first vehicle of communication that Black South Africans made use of to express their anxieties in their encounter with the missionaries and colonial authorities.²² African views appeared in several periodicals and newspapers such as the Christian Express (later called South African Outlook) which acted as the mediator between the overbearing section of colonial opinion, on the one hand, and the African elite, on the other. The English newspapers The Star, Cape Mercury, Cape Times, Eastern Province Herald, Daily Dispatch and Natal Advertiser provided channels of communication between the liberal viewpoint and the African educated elite. More important than these were the African newspapers such as Imvo Zabantsundu (Native Opinion) (1884-1908), the first bilingual weekly and the second oldest newspaper published in any of the indigenous South African languages. It represented perhaps the most moderate and even conservative section of the African elite, reflecting to a large extent the

²⁰ The CPSA was formed in 1921 on the basis of the 21 points of the Communist International in a unity conference involving the Social Democratic Federation, the Durban Marxist Club, the Cape Communist Party and the Jewish Socialist Society.

²¹ For a detailed review see T J Couzens, "The black press and black literature in South Africa 1900-1950", English Studies in Africa, 19, 2, 1976, pp. 93-99.

²² John Knox Ntsikana (1855-1922) and Tiyo Soga (c.1829-1871) used Xhosa Journalism to make a case against heathenism.

political ambiguity of its editor John Tengo Jabavu, whose politics were a symbiosis of opposition and collaboration. It provided an important forum for the debate and expression of African opinion on education policy. When Jabavu and his close friends created the first South African Native College at Fort Hare (initially Inter-State Native College) in 1916, the newspaper came to be looked upon as the mouthpiece of the College and the College itself as *I Kolijii ka Jabavu* or *Sekolo sa Jabavu* (Jabavu's College). Jabavu was joined by John Knox Bokwe, a hymn writer, and by Walter B Rubusana. Besides several poems and articles, Rubusana wrote a History of South Africa from the Native Standpoint.²³

The moderation of Jabavu, which made him 'the best bantu patriot' according to the Christian Express, placed Imvo Zabantsundu in a heated war with the more radical Koranta ea Becoana (The Bachuana Gazette), and in particular Tsala ea Becoana (Friend of the Batswana), later renamed Tsala ea Batho (Friend of the People) edited by Sol Plaatje and Silas Molema, outstanding African writers.²⁴ Of particular importance was Abantu-Batho, the official organ of the ANC until the early 1930s. Other important African papers were AK Soga's Izwi la Bantu (The Voice of the People) in East London, written in English and Xhosa and published from November 1897; the South African Spectator, edited by FZS Peregrino, a West African journalist residing in South Africa; Umteteli wa Bantu, funded by the Chamber of Mines and run by the Native Recruiting Corporation, a paper with a wide readership and influence among educated Africans; Ilanga lase Natal (The Natal Sun), founded by the Rev John L Dube in 1903, and published in Ohlange, Natal; and the Johannesburg newspaper, The Bantu World, created in 1931 to enable white businessmen to reach the growing African market. The conflicting interests represented in these newspapers frustrated the unifying attempts made by Sol Plaatje and FZS Peregrino to create a South African Native Press Association.²⁵ The differences and

²³ E Mphahlele, "Landmarks of literary history in South Africa - A black perspective", in Chapman et al (eds.), Perspectives on South African English Literature (Johannesburg: Ad Donker, 1992), p.43.

²⁴ See for example, Sol Plaatje, Native Life in South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982), pp.193-210. (First published by PS King and Son, London, 1916)

²⁵ The South African Native Press Association, founded in 1904, had a very short existence.

antagonisms which existed between these periodicals illustrate a very important feature in identity construction. Identities do necessarily precede the development of strategies or form the basis for the development of strategies. It is the strategies developed by particular social agents through several means including newspapers, which create 'collective wills' and shape social identities. The newspapers mentioned above reflect the multiplicity of identities and discursive strands among the black elite, which however shared a great deal of liberal-reformism and commitment to building a national identity. Factors which shaped African discourses at the time are varied. Mphahlele gives us the following picture:

There were other events that conditioned and redefined the culture of the African people in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to which the writers responded. They were right in the concourse of violent cross-currents of history: frontier wars; vehement missionary evangelism and the establishment of church schools, teacher-training institutions and presses; the upsurge of journalistic writing, the entrenchment of the white man's political supremacy, and apparent negation of the Christian faith as the new converts understood it; the conflict between Christian and traditional values at a time when the missionary had established in the minds of the convert the idea that to be Christian was to be civilised and vice-versa; the dramatisation of self by the newly-converted Christians; the formation of Union; the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and the Natives Land Act of 1913; the founding of Fort Hare College in 1916 and the South African Native Congress in 1912, following closely upon, and responding to, the end of the Boer War and the formation of Union. There was also the impact of John Bunyan *Pilgrim's Progress* and an allegory, for the writer, of the African travails and so on. The visits of men like J D K Aggrey from the Gold Coast (1921) and the contact between African and Afro-American students in the United States also left their imprint on the intelligentsia throughout South Africa.²⁶

In 1909 several African leaders initiated a process of political mobilization culminating in the formation of the South African National Native Congress on 12 January 1912, which challenged the Act that had established the Union of South Africa and excluded black people from the franchise.²⁷ Through regional and national conventions, social and religious organizations²⁸ and

²⁶ Mphahlele, *op cit*, p.43.

²⁷ See A Odendaal, *Black Politics in South Africa to 1912* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984), pp.233-235.

the African press, the SANNC developed co-operation, national solidarity and African unity to establish a solid nationalist movement. The African press, in particular, channelled the potential of the missionary-educated elite to educate and represent African opinion and thus enlighten the emerging nationalist consciousness. In the words of Daniel Letanka, Saul Msane and LT Mvabaza, editors of the Xhosa/English *Umlomo*, the African press succeeded in unifying all the African tribes into one people and improving the education of African children. When the SANNC was established in Bloemfontein in 1912, Pixley Seme made it clear that the conference 'was called so that we can together devise the means and ways of forming a national union for the purpose of creating a national unity and defending our rights and privileges'.²⁹ He argued that the formation of the Congress represented an important step for solving the so-called 'native problem', and for uniting people who had until then been separated by tribal jealousies.

In education, the African liberal-reformist tradition carried different nuances according to the changing social, economic and political circumstances. From the late 19th century to the early 1950s, one can identify three main features that dominated the educational ideas and practices of the African intelligentsia: (1) the struggle for access to educational opportunities; (2) the struggle for social, political and economic accommodation; and (3) the struggle for political legitimacy. In all cases, moderation and reformism prevailed. The African intellectuals, particularly those involved in education, showed the heavy influence of the outlook of white liberals to whom they owed their academic education. This can be illustrated by examining the biographies of three prominent African educators and political activists, namely John Tengo Jabavu, Davidson Dengo Jabavu and John L Dube. This will highlight important features concerning the identity of the African elite of the 1920s and 1930s: Where did they come from? What did they think about themselves and others? How did they translate their ideas into practice? What were their hopes and frustrations? And so forth.

²⁸ For example the Bechoana Mutual Improvement Society (BMIS), and the African Brotherhood and Commercial Co-operation Society (ABCCS).

²⁹ RV Seloape Thema, 'How Congress began', *Drum*, August 1953, p.41.

JT Jabavu (1859-1921) appeared to be more concerned with setting conditions for the training of an African elite or leadership by widening opportunities for higher education. His efforts and campaigns culminated in the opening of the South African Native College, the first institution providing higher education to Southern African blacks. His son, Davidson Jabavu, who lived when an identifiable African elite already existed, turned his attention to the social condition of this elite and its role in the existing political dispensation, without however blinding himself to major educational issues affecting African people. These efforts were complemented by John Dube (1871-1946) who turned his attention to the role the educated elite could play vis-à-vis the wider African masses, thus addressing the issue of accountability. He created the first industrial training institution for Africans in Inanda, based on the American model of Tuskegee.

JT Jabavu was a pioneer and a key figure in the shaping of African educational thought in South Africa.³⁰ He was one of the first African matriculants, who could not go further because the existing system made no such provision for black South Africans.³¹ Many African matriculants had to travel to the USA or Britain to seek higher education. According to Davidson Jabavu, it was once estimated by the Cape Department of Education that between ninety and a hundred black young matriculants had gone to America from the Cape Colony alone for education during the period 1898-1908.

³⁰ Literature produced by Tengo Jabavu includes speeches scattered in different publications, and mainly articles and editorials published in Invo Zabantsundu (1884-1908). Files of this paper were destroyed in an unfortunate accident. Several extracts of his writings appeared in the Christian Express and the Cape Argus, to which he became a regular correspondent before creating his own newspaper.

³¹ John Tengo Jabavu (1859-1921) was the pioneer of the African press, an impressive editor and a teacher. He was born on 11 January 1859 and concluded his elementary schooling at the Wesleyan Methodist Mission School of Healdtown. In 1875, he gained the Government Teachers' Certificate of Competency and Honours and became a teacher at Somerset East in 1887. The rest of his life involved: correspondent to the Cape Argus (1877-1881); editor of Isigidimi Sama-xosa and teacher at Lovedale (1881-1883); founder of an evening school at King Williamstown; member of the Native Educational Association (1877-1895); editor of Invo Zabantsundu at Lovedale (1884-1914); provided evidence before the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-1905); member of a deputation to London to fight the Colour Bar clause in the Union Constitution (1909); elected to attend the Universal Races Congress in London (1911); founder of the South African Native College, Fort Hare (February 1916); one of four Africans in the Native Education Commission of 1919; passed away on 10 September 1921.

An important factor gave inspiration to Jabavu's thought: the refusal of Dale College, a school for white children at King Williamstown, to accept the enrolment of his son Davidson (then studying at Lovedale) after the discontinuation of the Matriculation class at Lovedale.³² It appeared to JT Jabavu that what was required was an institution of higher education to cater for black matriculants. Taking a moderate stand, JT Jabavu made the project popular within the colonial officialdom. The idea was supported by the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903, which recommended the establishment of a Central Native College to afford opportunities of higher education for African teachers.

JT Jabavu remained essentially moderate and highly influenced by white liberal views. His son Davidson described his political life as alternating between the offensive and the defensive. While JT Jabavu often criticized the policies of the conservative Cape Department of Education, which opposed the project of a Native College, he did not entertain the opposition of those on the left like Sol Plaatje who saw him as a collaborator: 'It is no secret that influences are at work among the Natives which seek to alienate them from their European friends and implant in their minds a distrust of all Government proposals whether framed for their benefit or not.'³³ More radicalised African leaders condemned JT Jabavu's 'pragmatic collaboration'. For them the state had the responsibility of providing compulsory state-subsidised education.³⁴ He was left aside when progressive African leaders, among them JL Dube and Sol Plaatje, in response to Pixley ka I Seme's call, formed the SANNC.

However, JT Jabavu remained one of the most prominent educationists of his time. Fuelling his desire for higher education was an outstanding philosophical insight. While the dominant conception among the authorities was that education should commence at the bottom, with a concentration on primary education based on manual labour, and gradually work upwards,

³² These reactions appeared in different articles published in the Cape Mercury, Uitenhage Times, Daily Dispatch, Cape Argus, and Cape Times. Ibid, pp.71-75.

³³ Ibid, p.82.

³⁴ Karis & Carter, From Protest to Challenge ..., op cit, p.9.

Jabavu contended that education should work from the top downwards. There must, he argued, be an educated elite with higher education to teach and uplift the masses, 'for the light comes from above'. The solution to the problem of African education consisted in providing the masses with basic education, while concentrating on the few who were to be the leaders and uplifters of the rest.³⁵ Explaining the rationale behind the project of a Native College he said: "it is required to fully qualify the handful who are to labour among the mass of their people as uplifters - missionaries, teachers, and leaders along right lines."³⁶ For him, the tradition of "half-education" or "little education" would lead to a situation where the masses would have to be led by "blind leaders, or, worse still, by leaders with mental eyes so insufficiently opened as only to be able to see 'men like trees', to the danger of the country both for white and black".³⁷ Black upliftment would come about through a sophisticated education and the empowerment of a group of black "modernisers". This elitist conception of education was in line with the ideas propagated by white liberals at the time. James Henderson, an influential liberal missionary, also argued strongly that education should proceed 'from above downwards' since 'a few really well educated Natives have more influence upon this people than hundreds of semi-educated ones'.³⁸

When JT Jabavu came to the end of his career in 1921, his son DD Jabavu had already completed his degree at London University, in October 1912, and had been appointed the first lecturer of the South African Native College in March 1915.³⁹ DD Jabavu inherited the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.88.

³⁶ Karis & Carter, *op cit*, p.93.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.93-94.

³⁸ *The Christian Express*, 1 November 1917; see also Paul Rich, 'The appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the fortunes of South African liberalism, 1906-1930', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 20(2), 1987, pp.271-292.

³⁹ DD Jabavu concluded his elementary studies at Lovedale Missionary Institution. Having been denied admission to Dale College, King Williamstown, for being a black child, he was sent to a boarding school at Colwyn Bay, North Wales, in April 1903, where he remained until he entered London University in 1906. He completed his degree in October 1912. He undertook supplementary studies at Birmingham University in 1912-1914. During these two years, he visited Booker T Washington's Industrial and Agricultural School for Black

Jabavu contended that education should work from the top downwards. There must, he argued, be an educated elite with higher education to teach and uplift the masses, 'for the light comes from above'. The solution to the problem of African education consisted in providing the masses with basic education, while concentrating on the few who were to be the leaders and uplifters of the rest.³⁵ Explaining the rationale behind the project of a Native College he said: "it is required to fully qualify the handful who are to labour among the mass of their people as uplifters - missionaries, teachers, and leaders along right lines."³⁶ For him, the tradition of "half-education" or "little education" would lead to a situation where the masses would have to be led by "blind leaders, or, worse still, by leaders with mental eyes so insufficiently opened as only to be able to see 'men like trees', to the danger of the country both for white and black".³⁷ Black upliftment would come about through a sophisticated education and the empowerment of a group of black "modernisers". This elitist conception of education was in line with the ideas propagated by white liberals at the time. James Henderson, an influential liberal missionary, also argued strongly that education should proceed 'from above downwards' since 'a few really well educated Natives have more influence upon this people than hundreds of semi-educated ones'.³⁸

When JT Jabavu came to the end of his career in 1921, his son DD Jabavu had already completed his degree at London University, in October 1912, and had been appointed the first lecturer of the South African Native College in March 1915.³⁹ DD Jabavu inherited the

³⁵ Ibid, p.88.

³⁶ Karis & Carter, *op cit*, p.93.

³⁷ Ibid, pp.93-94.

³⁸ The Christian Express, 1 November 1917; see also Paul Rich, 'The appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the fortunes of South African liberalism, 1906-1930', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 20(2), 1987, pp.271-292.

³⁹ DD Jabavu concluded his elementary studies at Lovedale Missionary Institution. Having been denied admission to Dale College, King Williamstown, for being a black child, he was sent to a boarding school at Colwyn Bay, North Wales, in April 1903, where he remained until he entered London University in 1906. He completed his degree in October 1912. He undertook supplementary studies at Birmingham University in 1912-1914. During these two years, he visited Booker T Washington's Industrial and Agricultural School for Black

experience of early 20th century African politics led by his father and outstanding personalities such as Sol Plaatje and Walter B Rubusana. However, his political and educational thought as well as that of John Dube must be understood with reference to the particular historical circumstances of their time. They were brought up when the proliferation of institutions of training and the increasing process of social stratification culminated in the emergence of an identifiable black educated elite during the first decades of the present century. This urged them to turn their attention to the social and political condition of this elite, without, however, blinding themselves to the major educational issues affecting the mass of African people.⁴⁰ This social category was initially seen by both the ruling class and the liberal establishment as a potential political threat, particularly after the foundation of the SANNC in 1912. By the late 1930s, conservative circles saw total segregation as providing a framework for solving these problems while some liberals favoured partial segregation and the alleviation of social ills in the urban areas with the help of rural reserves. Both regarded 'adapted education' as an adequate solution for the integration of the African working class into new forms of social and economic life. Liberals also showed some sympathy for the concept of equal-but-separate education.⁴¹

Through his paper Umteteli wa Bantu, DD Jabavu dealt with different matters relating to the so-called 'native question': from education for Africans, African unrest and labour reserves to the 'native bills', particularly the question of racial segregation and the problems it created for the accommodation of the African elite.⁴² The 'native question', he argued, was 'a misnomer

Americans at Tuskegee, Alabama, USA. He returned to South Africa in October 1914 to be appointed, in March 1915, the first lecturer in the newly-created South African Native College, where he taught African languages and later Bantu Studies. During his professional career, Jabavu occupied important positions in African organisations, namely: President, Cape Native Voters' Convention; President, South African Teachers' Federation; Organizer, Ciskei & Transkei Native Chiefs' Convention; Chairman, Non-European Conference; Founder, South African Native Farmers' Congress.

⁴⁰ For further details see M Cross, 'A historical review of education in South Africa: towards an assessment', Comparative Education, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1986.

⁴¹ See for example E H Brookes, Native Education in South Africa (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1930).

⁴² See his writings and compilations, namely: D D Jabavu, The Black Problem, Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1920); D D Jabavu, The Segregation Fallacy and Other Papers (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1928); D D Jabavu and Others, Criticisms of the

for what would be better understood if we renamed it "Inter-racial Relationship",⁴³ for a "native" is not a question, a question is the way whites deal with the "native". How was this problem to be resolved? D D Jabavu believed that existing liberal organisations including the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, universities, and student and welfare organisations formed effective instruments to minimize racial tensions and pave the path to racial harmony between whites and blacks. Hoping that the educated elite would eventually be exempt from the practice of segregation, he viewed education as the key to attaining racial harmony. African people, he suggested, must replace untrained leaders with a number of intellectual spokesmen of the type of Booker T Washington and J.E.K. Aggrey.⁴⁴ He regretted the fact that the mismanagement of 'race relations' had led to a situation where 'the best educated Bantu never come into touch with the best educated Europeans until they have adopted toward each other an attitude based on theoretical and preconceived notions'.⁴⁵ Karis and Carter characterize his position as reflecting 'the orientation of the educated African elite, who suffered most directly from the failure of the system to fulfil the liberal promise of the 19th century nonracial franchise in the Cape'.⁴⁶

Similar views were also expressed by one of the most influential members of the SANNC (Cape Province Branch), the Reverend Zaccheus Mahabane.⁴⁷ In his presidential address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province Native Congress in 1920, Mahabane stated that the

Native Bills (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1935); D D Jabavu, The Native Teacher out of School, paper read at the Natal Teachers' Conference and published for circulation by the Natal Education Department (Natal: Education Department, 1918); D D Jabavu, 'Native disabilities' in South Africa (Fort Hare: Lovedale Press, 1932); and D D Jabavu and others, Native views on the Native Bills (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1935).

⁴³ Ibid, p.26.

⁴⁴ Booker T Washington's ideas were translated into programmes of industrial training for black Americans at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, USA. See footnote 57 in chapter seven.

⁴⁵ Ibid, pp.85-86.

⁴⁶ Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol I, p.66.

⁴⁷ Rev Richard Zaccheus Mahabane was a Methodist minister who joined the Cape Province branch of the SANNC in 1917. In 1919, he was elected President of the Cape branch of the SANNC and twice became President-General of the ANC, in 1924 and 1937. He was a moderate leader who believed that Christian principles could be effectively invoked in efforts to bring about meaningful change in South Africa.

for what would be better understood if we renamed it "Inter-racial Relationship",⁴³ for a "native" is not a question, a question is the way whites deal with the "native". How was this problem to be resolved? D D Jabavu believed that existing liberal organisations including the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, universities, and student and welfare organisations formed effective instruments to minimize racial tensions and pave the path to racial harmony between whites and blacks. Hoping that the educated elite would eventually be exempt from the practice of segregation, he viewed education as the key to attaining racial harmony. African people, he suggested, must replace untrained leaders with a number of intellectual spokesmen of the type of Booker T Washington and J.E.K. Aggrey.⁴⁴ He regretted the fact that the mismanagement of 'race relations' had led to a situation where 'the best educated Bantu never come into touch with the best educated Europeans until they have adopted toward each other an attitude based on theoretical and preconceived notions',⁴⁵ Karis and Carter characterize his position as reflecting 'the orientation of the educated African elite, who suffered most directly from the failure of the system to fulfil the liberal promise of the 19th century nonracial franchise in the Cape'.⁴⁶

Similar views were also expressed by one of the most influential members of the SANNC (Cape Province Branch), the Reverend Zaccheus Mahabane.⁴⁷ In his presidential address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province Native Congress in 1920, Mahabane stated that the

Native Bills (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1935); D D Jabavu, The Native Teacher out of School, paper read at the Natal Teachers' Conference and published for circulation by the Natal Education Department (Natal: Education Department, 1918); D D Jabavu, 'Native disabilities' in South Africa (Fort Hare: Lovedale Press, 1932); and D D Jabavu and others, Native views on the Native Bills (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1935).

⁴³ Ibid, p.26.

⁴⁴ Booker T Washington's ideas were translated into programmes of industrial training for black Americans at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, USA. See footnote 57 in chapter seven.

⁴⁵ Ibid, pp.85-86.

⁴⁶ Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol I, p.66.

⁴⁷ Rev Richard Zaccheus Mahabane was a Methodist minister who joined the Cape Province branch of the SANNC in 1917. In 1919, he was elected President of the Cape branch of the SANNC and twice became President-General of the ANC, in 1924 and 1937. He was a moderate leader who believed that Christian principles could be effectively invoked in efforts to bring about meaningful change in South Africa.

removal of the 'Colour Bar' was the key to what was commonly seen as the 'Native Question'.⁴⁸ In 1922 he pointed out that the Joint Councils had a 'body of white men ... who have taken practical steps in the right direction of removing this artificial colour bar'.⁴⁹ Among many of the elite at that time, the Joint Councils were highly appreciated and publicly acknowledged as an adequate method for minimising racial friction and promoting racial justice.

The concept of 'adapted education' had great appeal in Jabavu's thought. He endorsed the proposals of the report of the Native Education Commission of 1919, which emphasised the need for adjusting African education to the culture of the 'Bantu'.⁵⁰ He believed that the cure for the successive failures of peasant agriculture lay 'firstly, in the educational training of headmen and chiefs who will encourage the pursuits of agriculture; secondly, in the multiplication of Native farm demonstrators, on the American style, to teach dry farming methods, and, thirdly, in the establishment of Agricultural Schools for Natives'.⁵¹ These convictions were consolidated after his visit to America in 1913, where, under the request of the Minister of Native Affairs (Union Government of South Africa), he compiled a detailed report on Booker T Washington's ideas and discussed their applicability to South Africa. Only the outbreak of the World War prevented the Secretary of Native Affairs, Mr. Edward Dower, from putting it into a Blue Book form.⁵²

After the passage of the Hertzog segregationist legislation in 1936, DD Jabavu and Pixley ka I Seme, President of the ANC, called a meeting of Africans from all shades of the political

⁴⁸ Rev Zaccheus Mahabane, 'The colour bar', presidential address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province Native Congress, Queenstown, May 1920.

⁴⁹ Rev Z Mahabane, 'The evil nature of the colour bar', presidential address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province Native Congress, 1922.

⁵⁰ DD Jabavu, 'Native Unrest', paper read before the Natal Missionary Conference, July 1920, in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol I, p.124.

⁵¹ DD Jabavu, 'The causes of our discontent', in Francis Wilson and Dominique Perrot (eds.), *Outlook on a Century: South Africa, 1870-1970* (Lovedale: SPRO-CAS & Lovedale Press, 1973), p.243.

⁵² See DD Jabavu, 'Booker T Washington, his methods applied to South Africa', *The Black Problem ...*, *op cit*, pp.25-67.

spectrum to form a new national umbrella organisation, with the original purpose of uniting opposition to the legislation. They formed the All African Convention (AAC). Leaders of the ANC, members of the Communist Party, members of the declining ICU, tribal chiefs and professional and church dignitaries took part in the gathering. The delegates drafted important resolutions on African grievances. The resolutions, particularly those concerning education, to a large extent reflected DD Jabavu's liberalism. For example, the AAC's policy statement only stressed the 'axiomatic fact' that the education of the Africans was essential to their efficiency in employment and their progress in agriculture. It demanded better financing of African education and equal pay for African and European teachers.⁵³ This differed from the views expressed by those who were under the leadership of the ANC. A deputation from the ANC to the Minister of Native Affairs in May 1939 challenged the segregated nature of African education. The Reverend A M'timkulu, who presented the resolution on education, said: 'We want our education to be on the same basis and on the same lines as the education of other peoples, under the direction of a specialist body with the right attitude'.⁵⁴ Another delegate, J M Lekhetu, stressed that 'Education is a universal thing and should not be segregated'.⁵⁵ They were accused by the Minister of 'arguing along theoretical lines' without tackling the problem 'in the most practical way', i.e. as a Native problem quite distinct from that of the Europeans.⁵⁶ The educational principles spelt out by the ANC's deputation were systematically elaborated in the Bill of Rights formulated by the ANC in 1943 as a response to the signing of the Atlantic Charter between the USA and Great Britain. Once again the idea of a special type of education for Africans came under fire and free compulsory primary education was demanded.⁵⁷

⁵³ 'Policy of the AAC', statement issued by the Executive Committee of the AAC, December 1937, in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol II, p.62.

⁵⁴ 'Report of a Deputation from the ANC and Congress of Urban Advisory Boards to the Minister of Native Affairs, May 15-17, 1939', in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol II, p.139.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.140. See also Rev. JA Calata, 'presidential address', Cape African Congress, June 25-27, 1939, in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol II, p.148.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.145.

⁵⁷ 'Bill of Rights', in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol II, p.220.

What DD Jabavu achieved in theory had materialized in the practice of Rev JL Dube, who after study-visits to the USA established the Zulu Christian Industrial School in 1899 in Ohlange, Natal. This was the first industrial school of American type founded by a professionally trained African educator.⁵⁸ Like DD Jabavu, Dube had experienced a privileged education and was conscious of his status as an educated African. He knew that he possessed a solid knowledge and skills that the authorities and the white community in general should have made use of: 'I think the white race has a tremendous responsibility to lead us on the right lines. But that leadership must come from the experience of give and take. We have a lot to learn from the white man and he has a lot to learn from us'.⁵⁹ In this sense, Tabata is right when he says that the 'earliest African modernisers, men such as John Dube, Pixley ka Izaka Seme, Tengo Jabavu, Simon Peter Sihlali and Walter Bencon Rubusana, had dreamed of an African Renaissance'.⁶⁰ They placed great stress on the assimilation and adaptation of European culture by Africans through formal schooling as it had been run by the missionaries since the 19th century.⁶¹ However, Dube's involvement in the ANC's politics made him perhaps the most radical of the three educationists examined here. From its inception the ANC showed concern for the need for a free, compulsory and public system of education for the whole Union of South Africa.⁶² Generally, African educational thought of the 1920s and 1930s reflected the prevailing elitism

⁵⁸ Born in Natal in 1871, son of the Reverend James Dube, one of the first ordained pastors of the American Zulu mission, John L Dube was educated at Inanda and Amanzimtoti Theological School (later Adams College). In 1887, he attended Oberlin College at Rochester, New York, for five years. Between 1896 and 1899, he returned to the USA for training in industrial education and to raise funds for a Zulu industrial school based on the Tuskegee Institute established by Booker T Washington in Alabama. His other activities included: founder of Inanda Industrial School (1901), the first African-founded educational institution; founder of the Zulu-English weekly newspaper *Ilanga Lase Natal*; present at the Conference of African opponents to the Act of Union in 1909; first President of the South African Native National Congress (African National Congress) until his death in 1946.

⁵⁹ Quoted by Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), p.44.

⁶⁰ IBTabata, 'Education and Political Order in South Africa, 1902-1961', PhD thesis, Yale University, 1973, p.285.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² See for example the 'Resolutions of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress', May 28-29, 1923, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol 1, p.298.

and petty bourgeois politics. In many cases, wittingly or unwittingly, African educationists mediated the dominant colonial conceptions, particularly those propagated by the liberal establishment. This was recognised by Dr AB Xuma, President of the ANC, in his presidential address in 1941:

Today you and I, the better trained we are, seem more disposed to work under orders and direction of others against and away from African organisations. Someone said to me one day, with some degree of truth, 'We uneducated Africans feel that the educated African is lost to us. He is afraid to identify himself with his own people. We do not know whether the education you get puts fear in you.' I was dumbfounded; but was somewhat ashamed because you and I, outside our jobs for which we are paid, have not done the best we can to assist our people.⁶³

In summary, the views expressed by JT Jabavu, DD Jabavu and John Dube cannot be discussed meaningfully outside the context of the social forces that shaped their thinking. JT Jabavu was concerned with the education of the emerging elite while DD Jabavu and Dube focused on the accommodation of the elite and the education of the masses. DD Jabavu and Dube distinguished between education for the masses and education for the elite. For them, while the elite should be nurtured with higher levels of academic knowledge and skills to enable it to uplift the masses, the latter should be provided only with those skills that could turn them into a more productive force. JT Jabavu represented the concerns of an emerging minority whose survival was uncertain unless social conditions for its reproduction were immediately created. Their biographies form an important chapter of the history of a socially and ideologically dislocated social group in search of an identity. Thus, the Government's educational strategy of concentrating the curriculum for African schools on industrial or manual training had some appeal to the educational thinking of JT Jabavu and Dube.

Christian liberalism and white liberal institutions constitute the framework in which their identities, outlook and practices gained shape. Liberal institutions, particularly the Joint Councils, translated into practice their lobbying politics, particularly their commitment to a

⁶³ AB Xuma, 'Presidential Address', in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol. II, p.173.

constitutional policy of peaceful co-existence and liberal reforms within the existing system. Liberal institutions also reinforced the belief and hope that white opinion could be modified and prevailed upon through education and debate to extend justice to the African people. By promoting racial co-operation, these institutions contributed towards delaying the early emergence and growth of an assertive and radical African nationalism, which became the distinctive feature of the Congress Youth League in the 1940s.⁶⁴ Thus the shaping of African identities and discourses in the first half of the century must be seen within the framework of Christian liberalism which dominated African thought and practices in the 1920s and 1930s.

Africanism and Charterism, 1948-1976

Throughout the African continent, the post-World War II era marked the transition from pro-nationalism to militant nationalism and struggles for national liberation. In South Africa too there was an increasing radicalisation of the black middle class, and the widening of the democratic movement, culminating with the banning of political organisations in 1960. An outstanding feature of this nationalism was its anti-liberal spirit in contrast to the reformism and moderation of the 1920s and 1930s. White sympathisers - first the missionaries and then white liberals - were accused of always using their 'friendship' to break African unity. Consequently, some Africans chose to go it alone.⁶⁵ Co-operation between left-wing organisations, particularly between the ANC and the CPSA, made possible the promotion of radical ideas including Marxism in black politics. The dogmatism of the 1920s gave way to a more critical Marxism. Educational opinions voiced by black intellectuals can only be correctly interpreted with reference to the emerging political and ideological mood within the opposition. In education, they focussed on one major issue: segregated schooling, particularly the system of Bantu Education introduced by the apartheid regime in 1953. Strong opposition to Bantu Education came mainly from the group of Africans who had generally assimilated and come to value much of Western culture, and who considered education along Western lines a key element for the

⁶⁴ Ranuga, 'Marxism and Black Nationalism ...', op cit, p.105.

⁶⁵ See PAC, Speeches of Mangaliso Sobukwe (New York: PAC Observer Mission to UN), n.d.

place that they envisaged for themselves within South African society and economy. In this context, names such as DGS M'timkulu, LL Sihlali, IB Tabata, P Ntantala, JEB Msomi, RM Sobukwe, Zeph Motopheng and E'skia Mphahlele, spring to mind.⁶⁶

From the mid-1940s onwards, Africans, 'coloureds', Indians and progressive whites developed their ideas towards issues of common concern, particularly the issue of active resistance to apartheid oppression and the struggle for national liberation. The most radical sections of the African intelligentsia sharing developing ideas in the ANC, CPSA and the white democratic movement, laid the foundations for the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Four main factors played a crucial role in this ideological shift: (1) the establishment of the African National Congress Youth League (CYL) in 1944, which brought militant radical politics into the ANC and the democratic movement; (2) the spirit of cooperation between the ANC and CPSA and other progressive organisations created during the 1946 strike; (3) increasing scepticism about the meaningfulness of the slogan 'Africa for the Africans' within the ANC senior leadership; and (4) the accession to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948, which unleashed a spirit of defiance and the need for a united action against apartheid, particularly between the CYL and the CPSA. The League brought together prominent personalities such as A M Lembede (president), Oliver R Tambo (secretary), Walter SiZulu (treasurer), A P Mda, Nelson Mandela and W Nkomo. Two main theoretical and ideological traditions emerged from this body: Africanism and Charterism, which will be discussed now.

Africanism: 'Africa for the Africans by the Africans'

Lembede, whose short life ended in 1947 when he was only 33, became the pioneer of the nationalist movement known as 'Africanism'. The slogan 'Africa for the Africans by the Africans' captures precisely the nationalist ideology shared by the Africanists. As stated in the CYL Manifesto of March 1944, Africanism held that: (1) the African should 'determine his own

⁶⁶ See DGS M'timkulu, 'The African and Education', *Race Relations Journal*, 16(3), 1959; and L L Sihlali, 'Bantu Education and the African Teacher', *Africa South*, 1(1), 1956.

future by his own efforts' without relying on white tutelage, for 'no nation can free an oppressed group other than that group itself'; (2) the African should strive to achieve African liberation and African unity; and (3) the African should borrow useful ideologies from outside but reject the wholesale importation of 'foreign ideologies' into Africa.⁶⁷ It assumed that:

The Africans are a conquered race, their oppression is a racial oppression, in other words, they do not suffer class oppression. They are oppressed by virtue of their colour as a race - as a group - as a nation! In other words they are suffering national oppression.⁶⁸

Africanism has also been seen as an 'attitude of mind', a way of life, an act of consciousness emphasising a sense of pride in being an African and, consequently, a commitment to the promotion of the ideals of the continent. Africanism dominated the policy of the CYL and penetrated the highest ranks of the ANC, where it co-existed with a developing Charterist tradition until the formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1958. With regard to education, these developments did not bring about significant policy shifts within the ANC. Education was regarded as a means to ensure the realisation of an effective democracy. The strategies for achieving this ideal included the implementation of free compulsory education for all children and mass adult education.⁶⁹

When the PAC broke away from the ANC in 1958, it reasserted the Africanist philosophy as outlined by Lembede and later by Sobukwe. In the PAC's view, an ideology of multi-racialism within the liberation movement lacked the emotional appeal to mobilise African support. Only an ideology based on orthodox or exclusive African nationalism could be dynamic and powerful enough to attract the African masses to the struggle. African socialism based on traditional

⁶⁷ 'Congress Youth League Manifesto', March 1944, in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol II, p.300. See also AM Lembede, 'Some Basic Principles of African Nationalism', in *Inyaniso*, February 1945, reproduced in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol III, p.315.

⁶⁸ Letter on the Youth League, from AP Mda to GM Pitje, August 24, 1948, in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol II, p.330.

⁶⁹ 'Basic Policy of Congress Youth League', Manifesto issued by the National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League, 1948, in Karis & Carter, *op cit*, Vol II, p.323.

African communalism became popular among Africanist leaders.

The Freedom Charter: 'A people's charter by the people for the people'

Despite the initial isolationist attitude of the CYL, the intensification of state repression and the promulgation of the Suppression of Communist Act necessitated a common strategy between the ANC, the ANC Youth League, the Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the Communist Party. For this purpose, a Joint Planning Council was established in May 1950 as a co-ordinating body. The ANC finally adopted the Programme of Action designed by the CYL in 1949, which called for active boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non-co-operation in the struggle for national freedom. All these developments together resulted in a favourable atmosphere for the Defiance Campaign of 1953-5. This in turn generated the right climate for the staging of a multi-racial alliance uniting the ANC, CYL, the newly-formed Congress of Democrats and SACTU, which provided a forum for the drafting of the 'Freedom Charter' on 25-26 June 1955 at Kliptown, near Johannesburg.

The Freedom Charter represented a unifying symbol for all those blacks and whites who had firmly committed themselves to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It marks the beginning of the formulation of alternative policies to the existing political dispensation in South Africa. Thus the concept of 'people of South Africa' was redefined to encompass not just blacks or Africans, but 'all who live in it, black and white'.⁷⁰ Most importantly, a clear policy for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa was formulated. Broadly speaking, this had as its goals: (1) the replacement of all bodies of minority rule by democratic organs of government; (2) equal rights for all national groups; (3) redistribution of wealth to all South Africans, including nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry; (4) the sharing of land amongst those who work it; (5) equality before the law; (6) equal human rights; (7) employment, housing and peace for all; (8) free, compulsory, universal and equal education for all children

⁷⁰ See the 'Freedom Charter' in JA Polley, *The Freedom Charter and the Future* (Cape Town: IDASA, 1988), p. 134.

as well as the abolition of the colour bar in cultural life, sport and education.⁷¹

The last of these goals provided the basis for the ANC's educational programme developed in the course of the liberation struggle. This aimed at preparing cadres to serve in the national liberation struggle and the post-liberation phase, and at training them to be able to serve society in all fields of social activity.⁷² The programme embodied the following principles: (1) the ANC education policy was to be geared towards producing a new type of society 'dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole' i.e. irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; (2) the ANC educational programme would draw on the most advanced scientific knowledge of the people of South Africa and the world; (3) education would combat the division between mental and manual training and the artificial separation of the arts and sciences; and (4) democratic practice was to prevail among students, teachers and the community in all educational activities.⁷³

The Freedom Charter also marked the beginning of a new tradition in African thought and politics: Charterism. Drawing extensively on Marxist theory and African nationalism, Charterism identified the working class as the main and leading force within the struggle for democracy in South Africa. This position distinguished between two major camps in the struggle: (1) the enemy and (2) the mass democratic movement, made up of 'the overwhelming majority of South Africans - the black working class, the rural masses, the black petty bourgeoisie (traders), and the black middle class strata (clerks, teachers, nurses, intellectuals), and those whites who stand shoulder to shoulder in struggle with the majority' . A practical implication of this approach has been the initiatives such as the intensification of trade unionism, worker education and literacy programmes to empower the working class, all of them developed

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² See 'African National Congress (SA) Education Policy', paper presented to the Seminar on Education, Development and Social Transformation (Gaborone: National Institute of Research, 1982), pp.218-219.

⁷³ Ibid, pp.220-221.

on a non-racial basis.

However, neither the Congress alliance nor the Freedom Charter was accepted by the Africanist section of Congress. The Africanists argued that, because of its multiracial character, the Freedom Charter was irreconcilable with the ideology of Africanism formulated by Lembede and the 'Nation-Building' spirit proclaimed by the 1949 CYL Programme of Action. They considered the involvement of white liberals and left-wing groups in the national liberation movement unacceptable.⁷⁴ In 1958, this section broke away to form the Pan-Africanist Congress under the leadership of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.⁷⁵ They restored the Africanist philosophy. Their principles were outlined in the 1959 Africanist Manifesto, known as the Madzunya Manifesto after Josias Madzunya, who was known for his criticism of the Congress Alliance and who later played a leading role in the founding of the PAC.⁷⁶

Black Consciousness: 'Black man you are on your own'

Two main factors led to the emergence of Black Consciousness in the late 1960s: (1) the political vacuum left when the ANC and the PAC were banned in 1960; and (2) the dissatisfaction of black students with white student politics in the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a predominantly white student body that viewed the problems of black people from

⁷⁴ Ranuga, *op cit*, pp.221-224.

⁷⁵ RM Sobukwe was born in 1924 at Graaff-Reinet in the Cape Province. As a student he won a scholarship to Haultown where he graduated in 1947. He entered Fort Hare University College where he distinguished himself as an outstanding student and activist. As an activist he became a member of the Fort Hare branch of the ANC Youth League. In 1949, he became the President of the Students' Representative Council and National Secretary of the Youth League. After graduating in 1949, he taught in Standerton in the Eastern Transvaal where he was temporarily fired by his involvement in the 1952 Defiance Campaign. In 1954, he took a teaching post at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. It was here that Sobukwe became involved with the Orlando Africanists - the core of the Africanist movement. His Africanist ideology was nurtured by the ideas of Anton Lembede, Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and others within the Pan-Africanist movement.

⁷⁶ See Chris More, 'One man's struggle', an interview with Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng, in *Tribute*, March 1989, pp.13-17. Madzunya was banished to Sibasa in 1962 after serving an 18-month jail term for incitement after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. He played a leading role in the Alexandra bus boycotts.

a white liberal perspective. However, Black Consciousness can also be seen as a peculiar and complex response to three main forms of social control: (1) attempts to inculcate conformist modes of behaviour, passivity and a psychological and cultural predisposition to accept the oppressive apartheid system through various agencies of control, particularly Bantu Education; (2) the past historical experience of blacks under apartheid; (3) broader political, economic and social circumstances to which blacks have been subjected. Under the leadership of Stephen Bantu Biko, black students formed the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in Turfloop in 1968.⁷⁷ Their ideas soon reached beyond the limits of campus life to involve the wider black society. In 1972, the Black People's Convention was created in Pietermaritzburg as an umbrella organisation representing a variety of educational, cultural, trade union, community and church organisations, operating under the banner of Black Consciousness.

Black Consciousness places emphasis on the overriding importance of the psychological aspects of the oppressed as a precondition to national liberation.⁷⁸ It is concerned with the liberation of the self or the colonised mind in the first instance.⁷⁹ This is how Biko defined Black Consciousness:

It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change is these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity; to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is the definition of 'Black Consciousness'.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ S Biko was born in December 1946 in Kingwilliamstown, in the Cape Province. He received his early education in the Cape and attended St Francis College in Natal where he matriculated in 1965. He entered the medical school of the Non-European Section of the University of Natal, where he interrupted his studies in 1972 to pursue his political career. He then dedicated the rest of his life to the promotion of Black Consciousness ideology. Biko was murdered in prison during detention by the South African police on 12 September 1977.

⁷⁸ S Biko, *I Write What I Like* (London: Zed Press, 1979), p.68.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.49.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p.29.

As with Africanism, Black Consciousness dismissed integration before liberation for it would allow white liberals to control the way blacks responded to the system.⁸¹ While white liberals were seen as carriers of 'complexes of superiority', blacks suffered from a chronic disease of inferiority that could degenerate into total apathy if there was integration in the liberation struggle. Yet white liberals had plenty of work to do in educating their community. However, other important factors seem to have contributed to the growing anti-liberalism within the liberation movement in South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s: (1) the disillusionment with the failure of pre-1948 liberalism to fulfil its promises to minimise the increasing social and economic contradictions faced by Africans; (2) the emergence of 'economic liberalism' in the 1960s, which emphasised a 'human capital' approach to South African economic, social and educational problems following the rise of the organic composition of capital and consequent mechanisation of the industry. Liberals tended to be seen as siding with capitalist exploitative interests. Of significant importance also were the successes achieved by the African liberation movement in the struggle against colonialism in the continent.

Black Consciousness organisations also declared their commitment to a socialist ideal. For example, a Black People's Convention (BPC) congress taking place in King William's Town in 1975 appealed for the need for building a 'strong, socialist, self-reliant economy'.⁸² The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), the 'external wing' of the BCM launched in London in April 1980, assumed a more radical position. In its declaration of principles, the BCMA adopted 'the theory and practice of scientific socialism to guide it in the struggle'. Although there seems to be some ambiguity about the concept of socialism as proclaimed by both the Africanist and Black Consciousness traditions, socialism is in both cases the stated goal.⁸³ The two traditions do not seem to be colour blind, though the Africanists assumed a more

⁸¹ Ibid, p.66.

⁸² Ibid, p.31.

⁸³ Mothopeng puts it this way: 'Socialism is a broad subject. It cannot be tackled from a simplistic premise. There are various strands of socialism, and Karl Marx - the man who propounded theories on socialism - did not prescribe a model for how it should be implemented. He laid the broad principles, philosophies and economic outlines. Socialism depends ultimately on the peculiar circumstances of those who

restrained attitude and focused on the issue of national oppression.⁸⁴ However, they rejected the argument that the situation was one of class struggle rather than racial struggle.

The ideology of Black Consciousness did not remain unchanged. From 1976 the concept of class began to find its way into the thinking of some Black Consciousness leaders. Evidence shows that during the 1976 Soweto uprising, students not only expressed more radicalised attitudes, but, more importantly, they finally recognised that in the cause of liberation 'the power for change lies with the workers'.⁸⁵ Apartheid began to be seen not just as a racist system but as an organic part of capitalism. Diliza Mji, the president of SASO, in his presidential address in 1977, referred to the issue of class or stratification in these terms:

The need is therefore to look at our struggle not only in terms of colour interests but also in terms of class interests; skin colour in fact has become a class criterion in South Africa.⁸⁶

What remained specific to Black Consciousness was the assumption that only black social agents and not white liberals or the white working class could bring about meaningful change in South Africa. The black working class enjoyed a unique position within the system in that its class condition was not only determined by economic factors but predetermined by skin colour. The BCMA reiterated similar principles in 1980: (1) the recognition of national oppression as a direct result of capitalism and imperialism and, consequently, the conceptualisation of the struggle as anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist; (2) the adoption of the theory and practice of scientific socialism in the struggle; and (3) the realisation of the black working class, the most oppressed

wish to implement those broad principles.' In Chris More, 'One man's struggle', an interview with Zeph Mothopeng, *Tribute*, March 1989, p.14.

⁸⁴ Cunningham Ngcukana, quoted by Seleane, 'The Nactu Congress ...', op cit, p.32; see also Es'kia Mphahlele, 'Towards a humanistic philosophy of education', in *The Capricorn Papers*, 1, December 1982, pp.19-50; C Manganyi, *Looking through the Key-hole* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981); and Sam Mabe, *Star Africa News*, 30 July 1987.

⁸⁵ No Sizwe, *One Nation One Azania* (London: Zed Press, 1979), p.193.

⁸⁶ Diliza Mji, 'Presidential address to the 8th GCs', in *SASO Bulletin*, 1 (1), June 1977, p.2.

and exploited section of South African society, as the major force in the struggle.⁸⁷ However, the theory of scientific socialism was not entirely accepted by the internal wing of the Black Consciousness movement. Nonetheless, to the embarrassment of the South African Government, which considered the ANC an extremist organisation, subsequent developments in the 1980s brought about an increasing radicalisation of the Black Consciousness and Africanist leaders.

Educational ideas produced by African educationists were bound up with these ideological trends. Depending on whether class was recognised as an analytical category and on the role attributed to the working class, particularly the black working class, in the struggle for liberation, educational writing by black South Africans vacillated between a Neo-Marxist/Charterist tradition⁸⁸ and an Africanist/Nationalist tradition.⁸⁹ However, mainstream literature produced by African writers still reflected the considerable influence of Africanist and Black Consciousness concepts. This was for example the case of the Council for Black Education and Research and its discussion forums.⁹⁰ Very few black intellectuals can be said to have engaged in a truly Marxist discourse.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, 'Policy Statement', *Solidarity*, (4), October 1980, p.4.

⁸⁸ Es'kia Mphahlele, 'Alternative education as process and goal', in Peter Randall (ed.), *Addressing Educational Crisis and Change*, Conference Papers (University of the Witwatersrand: Centre for Continuing Education, September 1987), pp.85-93; *Education for Affirmation*, Conference Papers (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1988); S Qgubule, 'Education for liberation in South Africa', *South African Outlook*, 112(1335), September 1982, pp.137-138; SACTU, 'Education for liberation', *Workers Unity* (24), February 1981; Lebamang Sebidi, 'A brick in the process of alternative education' in *Funda Forum*, 12(1), March 1986; Buti Thagale, 'Education, liberation and empowerment', in Peter Randall (ed.), op cit, pp.143-155; and Mokgethi Motilabi, *Black Resistance to Apartheid: Theory and Practice* (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1984).

⁸⁹ N Alexander, *Sow the Wind: Contemporary Speeches* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1985); E Molobi, 'Academics and the struggle for a democratic education', in *Kenton on the Rocks*, Kenton Conference, November 1987, pp.7-16; and Z Sisulu, 'People's Education for People's Power', keynote address, NECC Conference, March 1986, in *Transformation*, (1), 1986.

⁹⁰ Harry Mashabela, *Black South Africa: A People on the Boil, 1976-1986* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1986); Es'kia Mphahlele, 'Alternative education as process and goal', in Peter Randall (ed.), op cit, pp.85-93; S Qgubule, op cit, pp.137-138.

⁹¹ N Alexander, op cit; N Alexander, 'Nation and ethnicity', *Work in Progress*, (28), August 1983, pp.6-13; John Samuel, 'The education context: Crisis and change', in P Randall (ed.), op cit; Eric Molobi, 'People's education: Learning and teaching under a State of Emergency', 20th Feetham Memorial lecture, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986; and Eric Molobi, 'South Africa: Education under apartheid', Keynote

Seeking to recreate a lost identity, 1948-1976: The role of the arts

Literature and other forms of artistic expression have a central role in the constitution of identity. Through them black South Africans emerged from conscious and subconscious subjugation to rescue their psyche from alienation and near obliteration and forge a collective will to carry out the task allotted to them by history. For this purpose, they had to appropriate language to articulate their people's demands to take charge of their own lives and their political destiny. This section will examine the role of the creative arts in the history of the search for identity amongst black South Africans from the 1950s.

The 1950s and early 1960s represented the golden age of African literary renaissance. Drum Magazine and its sister publication The Golden City Post brought together a group of talented writers including Can Themba, Nat Nakasa, Lewis Nkosi, Bloke Modisane, Todd Matshikiza, Arthur Maimane, Bessie Head, IB Tabata, ZK Mathews and E Mphahlele.⁹² Through essays written in a humorous tone they celebrated the culture of the sheeben and the unique experience of life in Sophiatown, though they never claimed to represent the masses or the struggles of the masses, nor had they important affiliations to the political movements. Theirs was a literature of knowledge and fantasy processed in an outstanding scholarly manner. This is what characterized what came to be known as the Drum generation of South African black writers. Tabata, who produced important essays on black education, considered "the power of the written word", when used properly, one of the two most powerful "weapons of struggle", the other being the boycott.⁹³

Gordimer argues that by the 1960s prose writing by black South Africans was among best in

address, Conference on United States Initiatives for the Education and Training of South Africans and Namibians, Michigan State University, 23 November 1986.

⁹² Jane Watts, Black Writers from South Africa - Towards a Discourse of Liberation (Oxford: Macmillan, 1989), p.2.

⁹³ Letter: the National Anti-CAD Conference, 1943, UCT Ms and Archives, BC 925, UMSA, 1943-44.

the continent.⁹⁴ However, police reaction to the peaceful demonstrations at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, the banning of African political organizations, the proclamation of a State of Emergency, and the Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963, forced most writers into exile. This marked the end of the 'Drum' generation. What was left was a potpourri of history and fantasy, fiction and autobiography, prophecy and scholarly perception, and above all, testimony of the inside story on the experience of the black people and on the meaning of being black in South Africa.

However, after the banning of African nationalist organizations in 1960, many writers were jailed and fled into exile. Black performers and audiences were barred from city venues and restricted to townships. Using more accessible oral forms such as music, song and dance and sometimes making use of tsotsitaal patois (street slang), black performers re-created episodes of hope and frustration in township life, giving birth to popular theatre.⁹⁵ Poetry and drama were given prominence and used as a means of political and cultural communication, or as Sole puts it, a means of conscientization to unite and mobilize people under the rubric of their black identity.⁹⁶ Committed writers expressed protest and demand, drawing on the experiential reality of blackness. Fermenting this cultural renaissance were cultural and political organizations such as the Cultural Committee of the South African Students' Organization (SASO), the Theatre Council of Natal (TECON), the People's Experimental Theatre (PET), the Mhloti Black Theatre Group and the Music Drama Arts and Literature Institute (MDALI). Of considerable importance was also the influence of black theology, particularly liberation theology, under the leadership of prominent religious personalities such as Bishops Desmond Tutu and M Buthelezi. The following description by Gordimer captures the picture of development:

Disaffected intellectuals use the autobiographical form as a catharsis for the

⁹⁴ Nadine Gordimer, The Black Interpreters (Johannesburg: SPRO-CAS/Ravan, 1973), p.51.

⁹⁵ K Sole, "Oral performance and social change in contemporary black South African literature", in TriQuarterly 69, Spring/Summer 1987, p.255.

⁹⁶ For further details see for example, Gordimer, op cit, and K Sole, op cit.

sufferings of second-class citizens with first-class brains; ex-political detainees create a prison literature; exiles have created a small but significant category - 'Escape' books. Many novels and stories deal with the humiliations - social, sexual, economic - of life seen from the dark side of a colour bar.⁹⁷

An important trend in African writings from the late 1960s was undoubtedly the shift from prose and literature of knowledge to artistry, performance and the literature of power. It was also a shift of the concept of a black person as a sort of imitation of a white person towards the concept of a black person who had developed a sense of self-esteem. Most important is the dominance of the political struggle as the main theme or what Gordimer calls the "Let My People Go" theme.⁹⁸ The discourse in which this cultural revolution took place was that of unity in racial terms or unity of the 'dispossessed' and black identity. The mood was simple and primitive in what it expressed and often in the manner of expression. As Davis et al described the New Negro Renaissance in America:

It was primitive in the sense of stripping experience - the experience of blackness as interpreted by black poets and novelists, essayists and editors, singers and composers - down to the quivering marrow of emotional content, psychological relevance, and racial insight.⁹⁹

Populist orientation which dominated the post-1960 generation encouraged writers to seek alternative media and distribution systems and "turn from white-directed protest to black-directed conscientization".¹⁰⁰ Thus oral tradition gained prominence as authors targeted their audiences by performing at gatherings, meetings and funerals. Poetry re-flourished and poets such as Oswald Mtshali, Sipho Sepamla, Mongane Serote, Mafika Gwala and Don Matara published their work. This is not to say that scholarly work came to an end. The poems of Dennis Brutus and Arthur Nortje, the novels by Bessie Head, Mphahlele and Nkosi, Mongane

⁹⁷ Gordimer, *op cit*, p.7.

⁹⁸ Gordimer, *op cit*, p.8.

⁹⁹ Arthur Davis et al, The New Cavalcade: African-American Writing from 1760 to the Present, I (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1991), p.325.

¹⁰⁰ Watts, *op cit*, p.4.

Serote and Mthobeni Mutlootse, Mbulelo Mzamane and Ndjabulo Ndebele, Richard Rive and Alex La Guma, and many others, remained in the mainstream of English literature.

After 1976 new groups emerged including groups such as Mpumalanga Arts in Natal, the Guyo Book Club, Bayajula, Khauleza and the Creative Youth Organization in the Transvaal to promote literature, performance, sculpture, painting and other forms of political art, particularly when some city venues such as The Market in Johannesburg and The Space in Cape Town became available. The foundation of the literature magazine *Staffrider* in 1978 and cultural groups linked to the trade union movement also played a catalyst role. Efforts have been made to establish black publishing houses such as BLAC Publishing House and Skotaville Publishers and organizations such as the African Writers Association, formed in 1981, later to become the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW), which have had considerable impact on promoting African literature. As will be shown in the next chapter, the concerns of artists, writers and performers at this stage were with the need for a national resistance culture and a sense of national identity, particularly amongst youth.

Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that there has been a relatively direct correlation at each historical stage between dominant black politics, educational discourses promoted by the African intelligentsia and identity formations amongst Africans. Early African 'modernisers', politicians and writers within and outside the SANNC/ANC, tended to share the political and moral values and educational ideals propagated by the white liberal establishment. In their perspective, these ideals could be entirely and satisfactorily fulfilled within the existing political dispensation. They constructed their social and political identities within the framework of Christianity and liberalism. Writers such as Sol Plaatje and Thomas Mofolo, Benedict Vilakazi and HIE Dhlomo were brought up under the influence of Christian liberalism, and converted to Christianity and to the cultural values of the West propagated by the missionaries and other white liberals, which they came to cherish and appropriate. Their writings which appeared in the 1930s, followed by

Peter Abraham's novels and Ezekiel Mphahlele's short stories in the 1940s, reflected initial attempts at self-discovery and self-representation within a hostile social and political order. They also reflected the political ambiguities and the identity crisis faced by the educated elite during the first half of the century. The moral tone of Christian liberalism and the liberal tolerance of the 1930s expressed by contacts between whites and blacks nourished the illusion of improvement in the political situation and the hope and optimism about the breaking down of racial barriers. Consequently, racism and the experiences it imposed on black individuals received particular attention in their writings.

It was not until the 1950s and the 1960s that the liberal and reformist perspective came under fire within an emerging atmosphere of militant anti-liberalism and commitment to national liberation. Accommodationist strategies were finally defeated. Elements of an orthodox nationalism were incorporated and developed into three main intellectual and ideological traditions with different implications for education: Africanism, Black Consciousness and Charterism. They all came under an increasing influence of Marxist theory by which they differently explain the role of class and race in the struggle for national liberation.¹⁰¹ This is partly due to the failure of orthodox Africanist theories to come to grips with the complexity of the crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. The new political identities were stimulated by the unprecedented development of literature and creative arts in the 1950s and 1960s. After the interregnum of the mid-sixties, determined by increasing political repression, Africans found their expression and new modes of self-representation in popular arts - poetry, music and sculpture - which followed the emergence of Black Consciousness in the late 1960s.

¹⁰¹ Ranuga, *op cit*, p.3.