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STRUCTURE AND EXPERIENCE IN THE MAKING OF APARTHEID

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'Deep Rumblings': ZK Matthews, 'culture contact' and the Eiselen Commission of Inquiry into Native Education, 1934 - 1949

Paper presented to the History Workshop, February 1990

by CJ Kros

Introduction

The chief problematic underpinning this paper is how to examine ideology, granting it its own internal dynamic, rather than understanding it simply as reflective of or as the handmaiden of material needs, without untethering it from its material constraints.

The paper begins with a brief review of recent literature on Bantu Education. Bantu Education has usually been treated from a liberal viewpoint as fixing and extending the ideology of racial segregation and white domination. Marxist scholars have tended to add that Bantu Education was intended to meet the more refined needs of 'Capital' in the 1950s.

Some recent scholars of Bantu Education have directed attention to the crucial material aspects of African urbanisation which the National Party sought to address in a new way. But most writers assume that the historical actors had a clear and coherent view of 'social reality' as well an axiomatic solution to the perceived crises. The overall project of which this paper is but a tentative beginning, intends to demonstrate that, for all apartheid's novelty, it is necessary to go back to the early days of segregation to find the roots of some of the ideas which bore fruit after 1948. By the end of the 1940s there was a vast accumulated body of 'wisdom' about the kind of education that was suitable for Africans. It had been shaped by a long intellectual discourse, as well as by conflictual debate. Why do certain ideas congeal and come to predominate after 1948? This paper attempts to suggest this kind of question, but looks specifically at the influence of ideas that were apparently defeated and repressed by apartheid.

Educationalist and politician ZK Matthews was an outstanding and respected intellectual, whose specific training nevertheless deeply influenced his way of seeing the world and of interpreting what the 'needs' of Africans were. His perceptions were modified by his disillusioning experiences as segregation stumbled on after 1946. What ideas did he bring to the Eiselen commission? How did his world-view shape the commissioners' outlook; in what ways did it sharpen their opposition to the kind of social ideal he proposed and on what points did they attempt to compromise so as to make their mission more palatable to Africans?

Christie and Collins' essay in the Kallaway collection (1984) was a landmark in the history of education since it was one of the first attempts to apply the insights of radical historians of the past decade to Bantu Education and insisted, in keeping with the theme of the work as a whole, that it could not be fully understood unless it were located firmly within the political economy of South Africa(1). In this essay Christie and Collins criticise the Liberal description of Bantu Education as the 'purveyor of racial ideology'(2). Their

argument is essentially that Bantu Education ought to be seen in the context of 'the broad set of economic interests' operative in the period (3). Drawing on Wolpe's work of the 1970s they depict the state as instrumental in the development of the capitalist mode of production and they write:'whites use the state to suppress blacks, not because of their racial prejudice, but because they require the latter to serve as non-competetive, cheap labour.''Central to the consideration of schooling in a capitalist state,' they claim, 'is a theory of the reproduction of labour' (4). Christie and Collins appear to conflate a survey of 'economic interests' with 'a class analysis.' This betrays a less than rigorous conception of 'class', which is profoundly problematic for their overall analysis because it prevents them from refining and particularising the 'economic interests' to which they refer.

Christie and Collins are self-conscious about 'economic reductionism,' but analytically they fail to rise above it (5). They allow reproduction theory to hog the centre stage and it succeeds in obscuring the other dramatis personae. In their portrayal' Capital' is anthropomorphised for it is 'Capital' that is accorded the motivation and the personality and the people who become its faceless 'agents' directed to perform its will (6). Whatever lip-service is paid to the significance of changing historical conditions, 'Capital' is represented as fairly immutable and, as if it simply refined its needs as it aged against the back-drop of the crisis in the reserves and rapid African urbanisation in the 1940s. The state is the automated and unpeopled mechanism of 'Capital's' control.

Christie and Collins' work is fraught with a manifest contradiction. They wrestle with 'economic determinsim,' 'reductionism' and the problematic of representing 'a simple one-to -one correspondence between changes in schooling and the needs of capital'(7). Analytically they remain bogged down in abstract and generalised categorisation. Yet, their bold argument that education ought to be seen as integral to the political economy has allowed us a vision of Bantu Education with a great deal more explanatory power than the Liberal account of an ingenuous doctrine of racial inferiority tacked on to a mass of discriminatory legislation. Christie and Collins' conclusion is that schooling under Bantu Education was intended to provide the working class with the particular skills required by 'Capital' in the 1950s, as well as an appropriate ideology of punctuality, industry and compliance with the place desiginated for it in the social relations masterminded by capitalism. The Christie and Collins account begins to suggest why it was that Bantu Education was to be contested in the explosive and intractable conflicts of later decades.

Recent academic seminars have rung with denuciations of functionalism and its monolithic conception of capital coupled with its crudely instrumental view of the state. But, because functionalist analyses, like that of Christie and Collins, do seem to provide some useful contours in the overall picture of the early apartheid era and many of the critics appear to cite only minor empirical exceptions to the laws of change and motivation established by functionalists, some discomfort has been engendered, so that we may ask: Is criticism of functionalism mere academic nit-picking? Part of Christie and Collins' difficulty appears to have been caused by their reliance on secondary sources, so that perhaps a more diligent approach to the

archives might have yielded a more subtle piece, with more nuances and more active historical subjects. Does the critique above merely demand more empirical filling; more attention to detail? One of the implicit assertions of this paper is that functionalist analysis not only tends to a disregard for empirical detail, but is also theoretically myopic. Christie and Collins were writing in an era when the location of Bantu Education within a wider political economy of South Africa was still a novel approach and they were using the fairly blunt tools of theoretical analysis then avaliable to them. One of the major sources of their inspiration was Wolpe's work of the early 1970s and they suffered from the misfortune of writing before Wolpe himself recanted his former functionalism. His latest work (1987) is suggestive of the ways in which functionalism can prevent important questions from being asked.

Avowedly following Nolutshungu,(with reservations)(8), Wolpe complains for example, that 'the political arena' has been overlooked by or excluded from functionalist analyses, since it is always presented merely as an appendage of the central material processes (9). Nolutshungu himself rather deftly cracks the base-superstructure model that has held many marxist scholars in thrall, by sketching a new landscape of interlocking and interdependent spheres which Wolpe calls 'the conjuncture', to indicate alignments of various forces which are capable of shifting and of altering their relative position to one another. Nolutshungu apparently views a grasp of 'the economic'in fairly broad terms as a kind of heuristic device for scholars to gain access to the inner workings of a particular society. His argument that the state is not reflective of a single class, which makes it possible to see the state acting against certain apparently dominant economic interests in times of crisis when the whole social order is under threat, is a useful one. His critique of analyses which employ 'the economic' to predict a linear kind of causality also seems to hold great potential value, but remains slightly elusive. Presumably because of the rigid linear model they have tended to adopt, functionalists, Wolpe laments, propound 'the continuity thesis'. They cannot see that 1948 represented a profound break and a radical shift in the conjuncture. Since 'the structural changes' that underpinned Apartheid are ignored in the continuity thesis it is nearly always represented as an intensification of segregation rather than as a transformation. In the context of continuity and intensification the advent of Bantu Education is treated very superficially, as reflective of the harsher form of segregation inaugurated by the electorally victorious National Party. Wolpe cites the lack of scholarly attention to quantitative expansion that Bantu Education facilitated, but he raises no questions about qualitative change or the elaborate intellectual intervention that preceded its introduction.

Theoretically, Wolpe's new work is as provocative as his old, but because he does not identify the 'structural changes' of apartheid upon whose existence his critique of the continuity thesis depends, he cannot offer a convincing negation of it. The conjuncture may alter, as he proposes, and a perception of it as a set of supervening constraints is obviously vital to strategists of oppositional politics, as he argues, but he gives us no key to understanding how or why the shifts take place or what exactly the elements of the conjuncture are. He gives us little to explain how changes of consciousness occur. He is also mistaken to take scholars to task for

omitting to ask about the quantitative expansion of schooling under Bantu Education; it is a question that has been addressed not infrequently in the literature. His may well be indicative of an important new theoretical direction that should be explored, but as it is, it remains at the level of abstract hypothesis and displays insufficient attention to ongoing research.

Hyslop (1986,1987,1989) (10) asks some of the questions that would interest Wolpe. Most notably, he applies himself quite carefully to the question of why a critical point had been reached in the 1940s which was shaking the current'hegemonic'order to its roots. He draws attention to the various facets of the crisis including mass urbanisation and the imminent collapse of the reserves which were leading to conditions inimical to the maintenance or extension of an adequate reproduction of labour and which posed a serious threat to the existing social order. Hyslop puts paid to more romantic visions by recalling vividly that the mission schools were themselves in a near state of collapse and catered only for a miniscule percentage of the African school-age population. Even the school-going elite had become bitterly alienated from mission education as the school disturbances of the 1940s reveal. Hyslop shows why a much more comprehensive education system was desperately required and also suggests that it would have to be a system, not only capable of exercising much more effective social control over growing numbers of disaffected youths, but also of securing a greater degree of popular support than were its antecedents.

Cameron (1989) attempts to demonstrate that Bantu Education was much more than a mere ideological back-up for apartheid, but was a cog in the machinery of influx control and Group Areas legislation, conceived to deal with the pressing problems of rapid black urbanisation (11). The closure of old schools and the establishment of Bantu Education schools in other areas helped to redirect groups of the population not settled in the designated 'group' areas of the western Cape which forms Cameron's focus.

Hyslop and Cameron both address the material aspects of rapidly increasing African urbanisation and they present the introduction of Bantu Education as a complex and multi-faceted response to the problems as they were perceived by the National Party. Although their work is subtle and carefully grounded in empirical detail, there is still a sense of the historical actors as a somewhat undifferentiated chorus, acting in concert, with a clear and coherent picture of 'social reality' and an axiomatic solution to the crises they perceived. Hyslop and Cameron's characterisation of massive and chaotic African urbanisation and the contingent problems it posed for those in power, lend to their portrayals that dramatic convention of inevitablity - almost as if no other scenario was possible, given the elements of the plot. It is at this point that Lazar's work (1987) really comes in to its own and provides wonderfully suggestive ways of proceeding. Lazar demonstrates how far Afrikaner nationalist ideologues were from being united and how, indeed, their theoretical differences could be razor sharp. Although not fundamentally at odds with a materialist analysis, Lazar criticises scholars like O'Meara for portraying apartheid policies as merely 'the product of the particular character of capitalist development in South Africa' and acting 'as a spur to rapid capital accumulation in a specific historical phase...' with Afrikaner nationalism serving to mask

essential class antagonisms between Afrikaners (12). For Lazar, it is unsatisfactory to regard Afrikaner nationalism as simply reflective of the ascendance of certain material interests because it makes it more difficult to explain the enduring power of Afrikaner symbolism as well as the strident conflict that marked much Afrikaner nationalist discourse (which did not necessarily correlate with material divisions within Afrikaner society) before it was officially codified in the middle fifties. Lazar does not hold with O'Meara comitting the Afrikaner intellectuals to the ivory tower as if their debates did not enter into the real life of politics and his thesis is, in large part, an attempt to prove the considerable influence of the Afrikaner intellectuals in the two decades preceding the victory and consolidation of apartheid and to show that the final political form of apartheid emerged from their conflictual dialogue.

Lazar's theme was worked on, perhaps less successfully, with regard to education policy specifically, by Shingler (1973) who states that the aim of his dissertation is 'to show how South Africans saw education as an instrument for forging political order.'(13). Shingler is intrigued by the power of ideas and traces the long, arduous process of shaping them, observing how at some periods certain voices are repressed, while at others they become dominant. He probes intellectual links and continuities. He shows how debates circulate through the years and repeat themselves; how early debates frequently anticipate later ones. Loram anticipates Eiselen, for example, and articulates the objectives of Bantu Education thirty years before the Bill. In one way this should be no surprise since many of the Eiselen commissioners like Eiselen himself and PAW Cook were suckled as young academics on the debates of the 1920s, but, in other ways, as will be suggested below, it is highly suspect. In attempting to locate the key to the lure that 'ethnos' (immutable ethnic idenity) held for the Afrikaner nationalist, Shingler reviews the personal history of the Afrikaner intellectuals who supported Malan. He observes that they had been born into a South Africa recently scarred by the Anglo-Boer War and its humiliating consequences manifested in Milnerism and argues that it was their painful experience of dislocation and wounded self-conception which involved them in such an intensive redefinition of the Afrikaner in the 1940s and which led them to think 'that Africans too should resolve the tensions of their entry into modernity on the basis of a specifically African culture'(14).

Shingler is an unashamed adherent of what Wolpe would call 'the continuity thesis;' indeed he goes so far as to call apartheid 'the linear descendant and spiritual heir of the policies of the founders of Union and its first rulers'(15). The value of Shingler's work lies in the links he is able to demonstrate and, in his presentation of the cumulative debate which suggests how much power intellectual debate and theory have in shaping people's perceptions of reality, for example the prevalent picture of the African slowly and painfully making his way into modernity. It is Shingler's contention, just as it is Lazar's, that these ideas made an impact outside the ivory tower and that their articulation and their capacity to be heard by those beyond the academy depended on the current material conditions. But, even so, Shingler leaves a lot of unanswered questions and tends to glide quite close to an argument which gives too much autonomy to ideas and incidentally, grants immortality to Charles Loram. Shingler

does not explain, for example, why the humiliation of Milnerism still had such power in the 1940s, or why it was that what he calls the 'secular intellectuals' like Eiselen, rather than the Christian Nationalists came to the fore in the creation of Bantu Education.

Dubow (1986) provides a fascinating and more convincing account of how theories like that of 'culture' which were generated by academics came to serve as vital 'organising principle(s) for the ideology of segregation'(16). Dubow's subsequent work has opened some exciting questions about the ideological transition from 'race' to 'culture', although, he too has been chided by his colleagues for forsaking the material base. (cf Dubow's presentation of ASI seminar paper at Wits, 1989.)

The review above suggests something of the treachery of these waters, with the Scylla of functionalism and the Charybdis of idealism looming on either side. The navigational charts provided by theorists have begun to map out certain areas more clearly, but there are still considerable obscurities and attendant hazards. This paper is the beginning of an attempt to examine ideas about African education; their evolution and divergence and their power to shape people's ways of perceiving and attempting to deal with social reality, without forfeiting the essential tenets of a materialist analysis. This particular paper focuses on the evolving ideas of ZK Matthews. His position was expressive of that of the African elite, but he was in touch with other classes of Africans. He also communicated his ideas on African Education to the Eiselen Commission of Inquiry into Native Education appointed by the Nationalist government in 1949. Repugnance for the outcome of that commission has made scholars overlook the possibility that, however the politicians may have distorted it in the end, the commissioners may well have paid heed to their African opponents. Their ideas may not have come only from esoteric German intellectuals and the pressing needs of 'Capital', but also from the 'deep rumblings' from below; a phrase used by Ellen Kuzwayo in an interview, recalling the mood of the years between the election of the National Party and the advent of Bantu Education(17).

The paper begins by looking at ZK Matthews' (hereafter ZK) intellectual influences, arguing that they shaped his way of understanding African urbanisation and the contingent needs of Africans. It goes on to look at ZK the politician and teacher, as he was caught up in some of the volatile struggles of the 1940s, demonstrating a comprehensive exasperation with 'Native Policy' and demanding a fundamentally different dispensation. It ends by briefly reviewing ZK's ideas on education for Africans and suggests the possibility that the Eiselen commissioners took them seriously and perhaps incorporated them into their final report. There were of course many thousands of other voices which composed 'the deep rumblings', that had to be reckoned with and which ought to be summoned. His class position makes ZK more immediately accessible and, if, as Lodge suggests, he was indeed one of the key intellectual influences on the ANC's evolution in the late 1940s and early 50s, it may well be pardonable to apostrophise him momentarily (18). Eiselen himself paused to listen to ZK, even hailing him as the embodiment of the 'naturellestem' (native voice); it was an embodiment which evidently provoked much unease, for Eiselen recognised it as coming from the 'robbed' intelligentsia (19). This paper is by no means an apology for Bantu Education, it merely seeks to understand how the

dominant classes in the society were forced to meet the uncomfortable challenges of the 1940s and, to some degree, had to accommodate demands from below to secure acquiescence from the voluble underclasses.

Shaping of the witness

ZK was born in 1901 near Kimberley and was educated at Lovedale and Fort Hare. In 1932 he was offered a scholarship by the Phelps-Stokes Fund to study at Yale University in Loram's Programme of Studies in Race Relations and Culture Contact. Loram had gone to Yale after having lost his job on the Native Affairs Commission in South Africa in 1930.

Loram often stands accused by opponents of Bantu Education as one of its early progenitors, chiefly for his recommendation that 'Native Education' should be designed to cater for the peculiar 'characteristics of Natives'(20). In mitigation, it should be remembered that Loram was writing in the 1920s at the height of 'swart gevaar' and that much of his magnum opus was consciously addressed to those whites who were so afraid of the putative movement led by educated Africans, which was to establish 'Black supremacy' that they rejected any kind of education at all for 'Natives'. To soothe these fears, Loram had to demonstrate that a useful education could be beneficial to both 'Native and European'..

Loram was also forced to respond to a fairly extensive scientific literature which proclaimed the inherent intellectual inferiority of the 'Negro race.' Although some of his critics believe the converse, Loram actually refuted this theory and also the persistent myth that the intellectual development of 'Negroes' suffered an irreversible arrest at puberty. Loram sought to prove that the so-called arrest was not the product of a natural malfunction, but of a meaningless and irrelevant school curriculum which could not compete for the adolescent's attention with 'sexual indulgence' and the other attractions of town life (21). It was in his quest for a meaningful curriculum that Loram began to assert the need for a course of study specifically designed to meet the interests and the needs of black students. It was an argument with a sound pedagogical defence, but it was bounded by the paramaters of segregation. For, even if he acknowledged them to be transient, Loram accepted the limits of the 'Colour Bar' and defined the current 'needs' of African students in the shadow of the limited job opportunities which it cast. Loram's ideas about suitable education for the 'Native' also rested on a false prediction about the direction the South African economy would take. Filled with the prevalent pessismism about the longevity of South Africa's mineral resources he believed they would soon be exhausted and that industrial development would be retarded, leaving South Africa a predominantly agricultural country for many years to come. This being the case, he could see no way forward for the whole nation unless blacks became vastly more'efficient' agriculturalists(22). He believed that this involved more than the mere transmission of technical skills, observing that 'the native' who successfully adapted on white farms to the agricultural practices of white farmers, was invariably drawn back to 'the kraal' and its agriculturally unsound ways. It was the ideology of 'individualism' which had somehow to be taught to blacks. By 'individualism,' Loram chiefly meant the principles embodied in the Glen Grey Act (1894),

which he much admired for its promotion and perpetuation of individual tenure and modified forms of local self-government. He held up the Glen Grey model as a successful contestation of 'individualism' against the ruinous backwardness of collective tenure and the arbitary chiefly authority that he associated with it (23). Perhaps it was his enthusiastic espousal of this model which led to his falling out with Hertzog at the end of the 1920s, just when Hertzog was boosting chiefly power. At any rate, it is clear that their ideas on the implementation and, perhaps the eventual outcome of segregation had diverged so significantly that Loram was dropped from the NAC, which sent him into voluntary exile at Yale. The break with Hertzog might lead us on to consider the liklihood of the exiled Loram bequeathing his views to later Nationalists, who were looking out at a South Africa, quite contrary to his expectations, in the throes of an industrial revolution. But, whatever the answer to that question, it is quite evident that Loram's views, particularly about the virtues of individualism, left their marks on ZK.

ZK's course at Yale culminated in the presentation of his masters thesis under the supervision of Loram, and one of the important sources he cites is the work of Henri Junod. Junod provided the impetus and the model for a generation of professional anthropologists writing in the 1930s and 1940s, as well as theories about the kind of education that was suitable for Africans which were elaborated on until the 1950s. Junod (born 1863) was the son of the founder of the Independent Protestant Church in Switzerland. He completed his training with semesters at Basle and Berlin, where it is surmised that he came under the influence of contemporary theories of positivism and social evolution. Patrick Harries has also drawn attention to the fact that Junod grew up in Switzerland at a time when European regional cities were rapidly disintegrating 'in the face of the new industrial infrastructures linking the peripheries of the nation states with their industrial centres' (24). Evidently, Junod saw this process as omniscient and brought to Africa a sense of simultaneous disintegration and social evolution which no doubt accounts for the contradictions in his thinking of which Harries convicts him.

Junod arrived at the Swiss Romande Mission in Mozambique in 1889, called to work in Africa by a god with a nice sense of historical timing, if we are to believe his 1962 editor who writes: 'He arrived at a watershed in African history, when the age of exploration, symbolised by Livingstone and Stanley was over and when the age of imperial settlement and conquest, represented by Rhodes and Johnston (British consul at Lorenco Marques) was about to begin'(25)

Subsequently, the'Ba-ronga' became the chief subject of Junod's studies, he having been converted from an earlier interest in lepodoptry. He produced various works on the 'Ba-ronga' language, ethnography and literature. In 1912 the first edition of his major work, The Life of a South African Tribe appeared and was revised in 1926.

If we accept the slightly schematic supposition that Junod really had arrived in southern Africa at a 'watershed,' it is easy to slip into his own perceptions, informed by his European experience, of the torrential current that was sweeping past, tossing and battering debris it had torn from the picturesque pre-imperialist African past

in its swollen course. Harries points out that mercantile capital had penetrated southern Mozambique hundreds of years before and that for more than 80 years workers had been migrating from southern Mocambique to the labour markets of South Africa (26). Yet, he appears to concede that the last decade of the nineteenth century saw an extension of Portuguese control over hitherto independent chiefdoms in Mocambique with the consequent intensification of forced proletarianisation. Although Junod may have failed to plot the exact co-ordinates of land alienations and forced labour, as Harries appears to expect of him, he can hardly be convicted of indifference to the general trends of dislocation and dispossession.

By the time of his second edition of Life, Junod noted that there were between 50 000 and 70 000 Thonga men working in Johannesburg's gold-mines and, with an ear attuned to the lyrical chants of the 'Ba-ronga', he once overheard one of his own Thonga servants responding to the distant rumble of a train with a lament accusing the train of being 'the debaucher' that bore the women away to town (27).

Junod paused often to consider what the end-point of the cataclysm would be. Despite his evangelical propensity for vivid apocalyptic imagery, the positivist aspect of his intellect disposed him to seek to apply a 'scientific' solution to the 'Native problem,' which had been disgorged by the violent dislocation of the old order.

Junod approached the family or 'clan' as the basic unit of his study, asserting contentiously that the 'Bathonga nation' is but an enlarged family. It was an approach that he was to bequeath to his professional sucessors, among them ZK. Junod believed that using the family as a unit of analysis would make it easier to discern what was indigenous to the 'Ba-ronga' and what extraneous. It was important for Junod to chisel away Zulu and Pedi sediment to expose the 'essential' Thonga, not only because it appeased his positivist expectations, but also because a large part of his thesis was that the 'Ba-Ronga' were law-abiding, possessed 'a strong sense of justice' and 'believed in the social order.' Their recently exhibited militarism,(in the 1894/5 war against the Portuguese) for which Junod had a curiously ambivalent admiration, he attributed to Zulu influence. But he exempted even the Zulu from natural aggression and militance, by repeating the myth that it had come via Dingiswayo's chance exposure to European regimental displays. Junod quoted from the Blue Book for Native Affairs of the Cape Colony of 1908 to prove how 'little addicted to crime the Native in his natural state really was'(28).

The truth was, that, for all the care Junod took to remain within the bounds of his particular ethnographical classification, particularly towards the end of Volume Two of his 1926 version of Life, he had begun to generalise outwards to the 'Bantu' or 'the 'Natives', which may have had to do with his rising prestige in missionary and wider European circles, where he was recognised as an expert and defender of 'Native' interests. But it was also an extension of his political ideology. The 'Ba-ronga', in itself, as Harries demonstrates, was largely a mythical creation for Junod's classification cut across many important linguistic, social and historical differences between societies which he tended to group together. But the homogenisation, which came from the scientific impulse to classify, served his

political purposes too.

Thus, Junod adduced the principle that the'Ba-ronga' were essentially moral. From here he eased himself into the proposition that not only the 'Ba-Ronga', but all 'Natives' were essentially moral beings (or so he expected case-studies of other 'tribes' for which he called, to reveal). It was the town, which like its accomplice, the train, in his servant's lament, figured as the villanous ravisher of the 'Native's' morals. A photograph of a tin town near Pretoria station built by railwaymen, which appears in Volume 11 of Life was for Junod a caricature of their natural inventive genius. It was a graphic statement of 'what happens when raw Natives get plunged suddenly into our twentieth century civilisation'(29).

Junod resolved the contradiction between seeing 'civilisation' as the rising tide which would engulf and destroy Africans and his faith in progressive social evolution by representing civilisation in an alternative metaphor as a mixed bag of fruits, some of them healthy for 'Native' consumption, others (like alcohol) fatal. He proposed that it was the duty of administrators, liberal minded colonists and 'educated Natives' to guide the hands of 'Natives' newly emerging from 'the savage state' to select the nutritious fruits and to reject the noxious ones (30).

From his observations of the 'Ba-ronga' social and political systems, Junod concluded that 'Natives' also had a sense of political responsibility, which, like their essential moral sense, had been impaired by their contact with whites and the dimunition of the power of traditional hierarchies by European jurisdiction. For those many thousands of Africans not eligible for the vote, there ought to be some form of representation; some means of consulting them on legislation that affected them. Junod proposed that for these there should be an opportunity to 'remain (as) responsible member(s) of their clan(s) (31).

'Let us retain all that is pleasing and moral in the picturesque circle of huts,' Junod pleads and goes on to enumerate respect for elders, the sense of family unity, the habit of mutual help and the readiness to share food with others (32). But then, in Junod's vision the twin edifices of Church and School must rise above the circle of huts to proclaim the virtues of individual morality against 'the dim notions of collective morality' nurtured by the inhabitants of the huts for centuries. The French Revolution, Junod reminds us, has come and gone, leaving its bequest of individual liberty in place of the anachronistic collective good preached by the ancients (33).

Ironically, Junod notes that individualism had already cut a swathe through 'Ba-Ronga' society with sad results - an observation ZK was to make later much more cogently in his field-work on the Baralong. Junod writes: 'Formerly, say my informants, you could see villages of up to 10 to 20 huts. Now the accusations of witchcraft have broken them up. Each man builds his own hut apart, from fear of being bewitched or because he is suspected of being a 'noyi' (witch) (34).

Junod's carefully amplified arguments about the essential morality and political responsibility of 'Natives' were mustered to support his rejection of permanent segregation. He sought to impress the 'essential' image of the 'docile Native' under responsible and

sympathetic 'European' supervision on the minds of those for whom integration was a terrifying thought.

The gravest problem for Junod was how to lead 'the Bantu' from 'the bush'to civilisation without corrupting him or injuring his mind and its innate morality. His solution lay in education. Junod did not think that blacks' intelligence was inferior or even essentially different from that of whites. He rudely dismissed the notion that black intellectual development was arrested at puberty and was wary of accepting Levy-Bruhl's conclusions about the fundamental structural differences in black and white intelligence. Junod argued that Blacks had been held in check by 'ennervating natural surroundings,' but once given the right opportunity were capable of masterful achievements in industry, literature and, even, rarely, in mathematics (35). Junod proceeded on the basis that language is 'one of the most complex manifestations of the mind' (36) and his study of the language of the 'Ba-Ronga' convinced him that, in certain areas, their intellectual powers were extraordinary. Junod conceded that praise-poetry 'may have real poetic value' (37), lamented the rapid disappearance of performance songs and heard in the rendition of folk-tales the nascent plaint of the individual calling out against a society 'in which he counts for nothing' (38).

But, his very understanding of the intellectual status quo of the 'Ba-Ronga', as well as the lessons he drew from his own teaching experience on the mission station, convinced him that 'Native children could not be taught on exactly the same lines as Europeans.' He thought his findings were corroborated by those of school inspectors and 'intelligent' Natives, who observed that the 'denationalisation' of Native children was buying them only a 'superficial and useless education'(39). In his proposals for a separate curriculum for 'Native Education', he elevated the vernacular and argued that literature in the vernacular should be read and studied throughout the school career of the African. This would, Junod argued, 'provide a sound evolution from the untrained bush life to adult and civilised life and will do as little as possible to destroy the character of the Native' (40). His ideas that 'natives' had to be prepared gradually for the shocks of civilisation was to be repeated endlessly until well into the middle of the twentieth century. His understanding of the intellectual development of blacks was elaborated on through the years too. And, perhaps most significantly of all for this work, the conviction that 'native' intelligence had to be nurtured and developed through a special curriculum which drew on their strength in linguistics and literature and which tried to repair their weakness in mathematics and all disciplines that called for reasoning and analysis endured. But how and why Junod's ideas were taken up at various points calls for careful scrutiny. ZK himself appears to have carried traces of Junod's theories of social evolution and controlled assimilation in his intellectual baggage until the 1950s.

Junod concludes his second volume of Life with the very invocation that was to be heard many times, from the lips of those whose fundamental intentions may have been quite different from those of the missionary-entomologist turned amateur anthropologist : 'Let us hope that the Africans themselves will understand that the kind of mental development at which such a course of instruction aims, in accordance with their character, their traditions and their actual

wants, is infinitely preferable for them to that servile imitation of the whites which is still the aspiration of some among them' (41).

ZK presented his masters dissertation successfully in 1934. The dissertation investigated Native Administration Act 38 of 1927 which formalised the chiefs' position as salaried officials of the bureaucracy and legalised 'Native law' in so far as it was not 'repugnant' to European standards of civilisation. ZK tried to evaluate its usefulness in the 'dispassionate' way that was demanded of him by his mentors and, tactfully, to question its relationship with segregation (42).

ZK, who consciously phrased himself as a student of 'culture contact,' argued that colonialism had disturbed the 'equilibrium of Bantu society' first by the wars of conquest and then by its'cultural' imposition of 'aggressive individualism'(43). Directed by the work of contemporary theorists, ZK held legal systems to be manifestations of 'underlying conceptions of the people regarding rights and duties'(44). In 'Bantu' society it was 'ubuntu' (humanness) that was most highly regarded - the collective ethic selectively appreciated by Junod - and it was this value which was enshrined in and protected by law. But the legal assaults of the individualist colonising culture had undermined many of the stays of the collective morality - marriage and chiefly power in particular.

The co-existence of incongruent cultures, as ZK saw it, was threatening to precipitate the 'collapse' of Bantu society with far-reaching consequences, since every individual inherited a cultural complex of morality which acted as a 'sheet anchor' in times of stress (45).

Although he did feel some ambivalence about its appropriateness for 1927, probably prompted by Loram, the Native Administration Act, as ZK interpreted it, was a bold move on the part of the government to arrest the disintegration of Bantu society and to provide for a smoother, less traumatic transition to modernisation. He thought the Act would 'graft our higher civilisation on the soundly rooted stock, bringing out the best of what is in Native tradition and moulding it into a form consonant with modern ideas and higher standards and yet all the time enlisting on our side the real forces of the spirit of the people'(46).

ZK's use of the pronoun 'our' suggests that he identified himself with the European civilisation and elsewhere in the dissertation he explicitly argues for individual exemption from Native Law on the basis of educational qualifications. Clearly all the benefits of Native Law were to accrue to the 'primitive groups.' ZK provides only vague sentimental reasons for imagining that Native Law should be retained in some diluted form after the assimilation of all groups into modern society had been accomplished. It is difficult to see how the 'profit-motive,' whose absence ZK suggests is a negative feature of Bantu society, could be made to co-exist with the gentle harmonies of 'ubuntu' as he sketches them (47). Indeed, ZK's own later field-work in South Africa, was to reveal how cruelly commercial individualism could twist and corrupt the machinery of 'ubuntu.'

ZK's most profound reservations about the Administration Act were about the system which it had set in motion - the validation of a

separate set of legal principles, appeal courts, courts of native commissioners and the power it gave to the Governor-General to rule by proclamation as Supreme Chief. ZK conceded that it was difficult for Parliament to legislate broadly for so many groups at differential stages of 'development,' but, he perceived that, for as long as Native Administration proceeded by proclamation without reference to parliament, it would be unavailable for criticism. In words which ZK was to repeat with greater anger after the events of the next decade, he pointed out that the 'Native Question' would never 'get any more than this tinkering (my emphasis) with it by means of proclamation until the Native has adequate representation in the supreme legislative authority (48).'Native Affairs are not a thing apart, but a matter essentially South African in all its ramifications' (49). For ZK then the Native Administration Act was acceptable only as a temporary stop-gap to soothe the traumas of transition for those who were still newly emerging from the bush. Like Junod and Loram, he hoped that the admirable spirit of ubuntu might live on, but that practically individualism would prevail.

After his sojourn at Yale, ZK travelled to London, where he registered for various courses at the LSE. The teacher who left the most obvious mark on ZK's immediate post-LSE work was the famous anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski (1884 - 1942) whose work ZK had already been reading at Yale.

During the First World War, Malinowski had gone further in undertaking sustained field-work than any other anthropologist before him by living for a more or less unbroken period of two and a half years on the Trobriand Islands. His tireless observation of the Trobrianders, had convinced him that all social relations could be understood in terms of the functions they fulfilled. His school of thought quickly earned the appellation 'functionalist.'

One of the bitterest accusations that has been levelled at Malinowski by post-colonial African scholars (cf. Onoge) is that he massacred the historical sense of his subjects by denying that their history had any validity as 'real' knowledge. However, a close reading of Malinowski's injunctions to the researcher does not support Onoge's charge that he deliberately tried to stifle the pre-colonial past in the interests of the colonial present (50). It was the methodology that Malinowski was wedded to; his insistence that the researcher assemble data from direct observation, which tended to discriminate against an historical approach. Malinowski's theoretical premise made him wary of reading past practices off present customs, for the logic of functionalism forced him to the conclusion that if behaviour ceased to have contemporary relevance it would die out (51). Therefore present customs were not necessarily capable of revealing anything about past practices.

According to some of his radical critics, the obdurate present-mindedness of Malinowski and his acolytes prevents them from being able to explain change, particularly in southern Africa, which Malinowski himself was keen to do. If the past was to be disallowed, his professed enterprise of showing how 'traditional' society interacted with 'modern' society to produce a synthesis that contained elements of both but which was recognisably neither, was doomed from the start (52).

The Malinowskian school tended to concentrate on how 'the savage' became an active participant in 'modern civilisation.' For all his patient and direct observation, Malinowski took the manifest status quo, like colonialism, as given and not in need of explanation or critical examination. So it was, that despite the tent he had pitched so fearlessly in the middle of 'savage' society, he managed to 'bypass the hub of social reality'(53). Perhaps that is why the work ZK embarked on, on his return to South Africa in 1936 seems so bland, so curiously out of touch with the dislocation and suffering it painstakingly records.

ZK's field-work focussed on the Batshidi branch of the Baralong, situated in the Molopo Reserve, with its administrative headquarters in Mafeking and he worked under the supervision of another Malinowskian scholar, Isaac Shapera. Shapera, like Junod, was imbued with the conviction that 'Native society' was 'a concrete phenomenon' available for 'objective study'(54) and in his on-going correspondence with ZK, while obviously acquiring increasing respect for the competence of his student, was not above chastising him for scientific inexactitudes whether of pre-historic periodisation or orthograpahy. Shapera was, however, more inclined than Malinowski himself, to make use of his subjects' memories of the past and from these attempted to isolate the agencies of change. He was also optimistic about the social role of the anthropologist in South Africa, recognised by the Native Economic Commission Report of 1932, and argued forcefully that anthropology was 'indispensable for bringing all the people of South Africa into a single social system'(55).

ZK began his work on the assumption, like Junod, that some aspects of modernity benefitted 'Natives' while others degraded and debauched them. ZK was particularly concerned, shadowed by Malinowskian preoccupations, to understand how Africans were effecting some sort of integration between the old and the new to give rise to an 'embryonic,' syncretic culture. For ZK the 'natives' were not the helpless victims of Junod's 'rising tide of civilisation,' but were in the process of generating a new culture to cope with the competition and pressures brought to bear on them by the 'modern' society.

Like Junod though, ZK chose the family as a unit of analysis. He thought of it as a kind of seismograph to register the shock waves of change, but he also set up the family as the gate-keeper of 'culture'. In his correspondence he refers to the family as 'the last stronghold of Bantu culture' and as 'the anchor of the social fabric'(56). It was the family which decided which new elements were admissable and which old ones were worthy of retention. ZK was asking: how is the straining social fabric being darned and patched and eventually re-woven?

ZK's meticulous field-notes are about dislocation, disruption and strife, relayed in a tone of scholarly detachment. In his designated area of study he recorded that peasant farming was extremely precarious. Government sponsored demonstrators were producing slightly better yields than their involuntary neighbours who were following 'traditional native methods.' No system of dipping had yet been developed, although it had been advocated and 'the dire necessity of water' was still the most pressing but neglected need

(57).

ZK made careful statistical analyses of the numbers of migrants drawn from the area and of the Lazarus Native Labour Organisation's methods of dealing out workers more or less indiscriminately to domestic service, farms, sugar estates, mills and mines. ZK observes that the old communal ethic was breaking down under the burden of commerical capitalism and migrant labour. Individuals were doctoring animals and seed, not to ensure communal prosperity as of old, but to do their neighbours in.

Like Malinowski himself, ZK could not deliver the product he had set out to discover. He showed the government demonstrators and the traditional peasant farmers working side by side - but he did not say what each was thinking of the other or what place each occupied in the wider society. He bemoaned the loss of the traditional 'breaking in' period of marriage due to the earlier independence men gained from their involvement in migrant labour, but he did not say how this affected the family, or how the family tried to compensate for the disruption occasioned by migrant labour. He observed how witchcraft had reshaped itself to accommodate competetive commerical individualism, but he left the overwhelming impression of dislocation and destructive mutual jealousy rather than that of a new integrated culture in embryo.

His supervisor, Shapera was intent on collecting praise-poetry and ZK himself appears to have advised Edison Bokako. Among ZK's papers are copies from Bokako's Tswana Heroic Verse. Bokako, writing on the Ratshidi observes that 'now their military life is dead...(they) lack the vigour of their fore-fathers. The men are content to remain peasant-farmers (their) regiments (now) serve as a labour battalion' (58). ZK seems to have found that that expressed something of his own sentiments. For him, as for Bokako, modern Tswana poetry had consequently been sapped of its vitality and was but an etiolated imitation of the old. ZK had an idea that some of the old ancestral pride and energy could be summoned through an earnest application to the development of literature in the vernacular. In 1938 ZK was berating the 'Native teachers of the Bechuanaland Protectorate' in a circular letter for the 'underdevelopment' of Sechuana literature and language, which had not even evolved a standardised orthography. 'How can we put our language and its literature on the map?' ZK asked the teachers and for once his acute sense of political geography appeared to have deserted him, for he did not say which map he meant (59).

But ZK was not deterred from his belief that a constructive synthesis of the 'two cultures' was possible. In his autobiography (1981) he holds up his own family as an example. 'My mother,' he writes 'had wholly blended into her own life the teachings of the Bible and Christian observance and a firm adherence to the familial and communal obligations of her own people's past' (60). His father, he explains, was the president of the Baralong Burial Society and insisted that Tswana only be spoken at home, yet he was one of the mere 11 000 Africans eligible to vote (61).

'My parents,' ZK recalled, thinking of his youth in the Kimberley 'Location' in the early part of the twentieth century, 'always talked about the other, better, older life on the land, looking after stock, eating the food you raised yourself, participating in rites and

ceremonies of lineage and chiefdom. This was a temporary stopping place; out there was home' (62). He goes on to describe how in the various homes in the Kimberley 'Location' of his youth, Sotho, Pedi, Xhosa and Zulu were spoken. But, he also points out that people were not confused. They kept the old and the new separate, 'compartmentalised' as it were. Frieda Matthews' addition to the biography is even more telling. She calls the mining town of Kimberley 'just one of those accidents in the history of the African people...they always (hoped) to return to their homes and to settle and die' (63).

ZK and his mentors applied a linear model to measure the differential progress of rural Africans into a commercially oriented world and, in many instances, also into an alien urban and industrial environment. Their assumption was that, gradually, all Africans would be assimilated into the dominant social and political system. Their way would have been smoothed by the pristine cultural artefacts and immutable social relations that functionalists were able to extract from the pre-colonial past because they largely discounted its own rendering of internal conflict and change. Their apprehension of 'European civilisation' as a higher social order also prevented them from seeing how, inherently, it disqualified the newcomers from full and equal participation. What ZK's work seems to have revealed, (although he himself did not articulate it precisely because of his particular social evolutionary and individualist bias) was that many of the features of the 'old' social system had been severely distorted. Old forms may have remained apparently intact, but their content had been altered radically by intrusive capitalism. What ZK says of his family and peers in the Kimberley Location, suggests that many of them hankered for 'the old days'; to turn their backs, in some measure, on 'the modern world.' There was some flaw in ZK's model that could not quite account for this 'regressive' impulse. The realisation of the dream of 'going home' invoked by Frieda Matthews, was being rendered materially more difficult all the time and was curtailed ever more sharply when the expectations aroused by the 1936 Trust and Land Act were dashed.

ZK: Teacher and politician

By the 1940s ZK's teaching and political commitments prevented him from doing any more academic research. He was professor of African Studies at Fort Hare by 1945; from 1942 onwards he was president of the Federation of African Teachers' Associations and from 1943 onwards was an executive member of the ANC. As an elected member of the NRC, itself a product of the 1936 Act, representing the Cape rural areas, he became deeply concerned with the government's 'rehabilitation' of the reserves in South Africa. He thought that the government's schemes were insensitively handled and that a more delicate approach might have yielded better results. He actively intervened with the Secretary for Native Affairs on behalf of victims of removals from Trust farms. ZK consistently made two points: current land purchases were inadequate and were failing to relieve congestion; and people were bound to reject stock limitation if they thought it was going to be permanent (64).

Zk had faith in the powers of agricultural training, which perhaps he had inherited from his old teacher, Loram. He argued with Secretary for Native Affairs, Smit in a letter written at the end of 1942, that

the salary scale for boarding master at Fort Cox Agricultural School was too low. 'As you know,' he wrote to Smit, 'I take a personal interest (in this school)...(it) means so much for the agricultural (improvement) of the African people' (65). It seems that ZK was still thinking in terms of a large African population engaged in full time agriculture - the sort of progressive peasantry that was not far removed from Eiselen's utopia.

As a member of the NRC, ZK was also in receipt of letters from workers pleading with him to help them. In 1942, for example, a letter from a railway worker in Cradock, Martin Ncayo, complains about inequitable wages and living conditions. 'We live in tin shanties,' he writes and 'we cannot raise any questions for fear of being dismissed.' Ncayo concludes by saying: 'We have great hopes in you' (66). In response, ZK tabled a notice of a question in Council asking for information about what steps the Railway Administration was taking to redress the grievances raised by Ncayo. ZK had a finger on the quickening pulse of worker discontent and rising militancy and it was this which ultimately turned him against the NRC itself.

In 1942 ZK was reassuring Senator Malcomess that the NRC would be neither 'crude' nor 'extreme'; that it realised that 'no good purpose (would) be served by antagonising 'either the government or the Department of Native Affairs'[67] But in 1946 he told the recently retired Smit that the ANC meeting at Bloemfontein had decided to boycott both the next NRC elections and the parliamentary elections and that 'by adopting this attitude they would in the end make it impossible for the Government to carry on the government of the country' . Smit was shocked by the blunt anger expressed by the usually affable ZK and his mind was not put at rest by ZK's comment that the members of the NRC had decided not to be bound by the ANC resolution. ZK was bitterly disillusioned by the ways in which the government had 'treated the body of its own creation'(68).

In August 1946 the NRC had adjourned because of the refusal of government officials to discuss with the Council the African Mine Workers strike which had been brutally repressed and ZK issued a press statement explaining the NRC's response. In October the ANC held its emergency meeting in Bloemfontein which brought forth the resolution which so shocked Smit. In November the Councillors met in Pretoria to hear deputy-prime minister Hofmeyr's reply to their adjournment resoution and, when he failed to meet their expectations, adjourned for a second time. Subsequently the Council was flooded with telegrams congratulating it for its stand by a variety of trade unions and the African Youth League of Newclare Congress. Many saw the moment as ripe to call for the abolition of passes and the recognition of African trade unions. The ANC endorsed the second adjournment and in March 1947 its executive committee (Cape) called on the prime minister to take steps to end the dead-lock. Many of the councillors, including ZK, nursed a deep suspicion about the subsequent 'Smuts proposals' that Smuts was simply playing for time until a new and more compliant Council could be elected.

ZK's anger during the crisis was remarkably stark. He talked of 'continued repression' and of the 'sense of frustration among the people.' He accused the government of failing to listen to the mine-workers' complaints and of a failure to act on resolutions of the NRC on the recognition of African trade unions and its

recommendations on taxation, representation, the Native Urban Areas Act, Pass laws, the Native Administration Act and African teachers' salaries and of a failure to do anything on its side for the improvement of the reserves (69).

'The main submission of the Council,' wrote ZK in an open critique of the Smuts proposals, 'has been and continues to be that the conditions of modern African life demand a reorientation of the whole of our Native Policy and not a mere tinkering with the framework of our existing Native Policy ... which is not calculated to integrate Natives into the general life of the country'(70). ZK characterised 'Native Policy' as 'static and'apparently unalterable whereas the conditions under which African people are compelled to live are changing more and more rapidly and cannot be adequately dealt with by a policy inspired by the outworn ideas and practices of 1936' (71).

ZK also claimed that 'Native Policy' lagged behind 'European opinion' and he cited 'leaders of commerce and industry and progressive farming and mining interests' as representative (72). It was now recognised on almost every side, including that of the government anxiously awaiting the outcome of the Fagan Commission, that Native Policy was, in ZK's words, 'bankrupt and outmoded' and that the 'makeshift solutions' which were adopted to sustain its creaking framework could no longer hold it together. Native Representative Margaret Ballinger, captured the feeling of impending doom by summoning the image of an 'abyss from which we shall not emerge without much tribulation'(73).

What was this almost palpable framework of Native Policy that was being invoked? ZK dated its construction from 1936 - possibly because he had been personally affected by the Representation of Natives Act of that year which had stripped him of his right to vote. It was also a reference to the 'Native Trust and Land Act' whose promise to compensate for disenfranchisement by increased land allocations was increasingly being exposed as hollow. There had also been legislation in 1937 and again in 1945 to tighten influx control of blacks into urban areas which had failed to '(yield) the peace and harmony' that were 'claimed' for segregation(74).

Smit and Booysen (1981) argue that the weaknesses of the 1923 Urban Areas Act haunted all successive legislation under segregation (75). It provided for exemptions from influx control regulations and it allowed far too much responsibility for the implementation of influx control to fall on local authorities who had neither the machinery nor the resources to cope with the demands made on them. Saddled with this legacy, subsequent legislation could not provide for effective influx control, especially as more and more Africans entered urban areas in response to the impoverishment of the reserves, the deteriorating conditions on white farms and the expansion of secondary industry. There was a tremendous backlog in the housing supply and by the middle of the 1940s many Africans lived in appallingly poor conditions, although there were also those who had become property owners in 'white' areas. It was clear that the state could not enforce residential segregation or control the 'problem of spontaneous settlement' in the greater metropolitan areas (76). The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 was designed to enforce residential segregation and to strengthen the supervision and control of blacks in urban areas by supplying the criteria for the

stricter control of admission of blacks into urban areas and a procedure to deal with 'redundant' blacks. But this Act was no more effective than its predecessors; it failed to establish an effective, overarching government policy since powers of discretion were still left, to some extent, in the hands of the individual labour official and the burden of responsibility was not substantively shifted.

Smit and Booysen's analysis vividly depicts a 'Native Policy' that was on the point of collapse by the mid 1940s because of its structural inadequacies and was no longer able to contain the conflict that segregation itself had generated. There were signs of this conflict in all spheres of society, including African educational institutions. The late 1930s and 1940s saw a marked rise of violent incidents in mission run schools for Africans, directed against school authorities as well as, on occasion, other pupils. Partly this may be explained by the infiltration of more radical graduates into the ranks of African teachers and by the influence of those African teachers who were returning servicemen and who were embittered by the education departments' failure to compensate them as promised for remuneration lost while they were serving in the South African army at pitiable rates of pay (77). But, at root, there is no doubt that the so-called 'disturbances' were manifestations of the conflicts that wracked the society as a whole.

In 1945 ZK was appointed to serve on the Union Advisory Board on Native Education, whose papers are an inelegant testimony to the chaotic disarray that prevailed in the provincial financing of Native Education. In 1946, on the Board's recommendation, a committee was appointed by the government to investigate 'the disturbances.' It included a range of educationlists from D McMalcolm to DDT Jabavu. ZK, in his capacity as professor at Fort Hare was a key witness. Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, WWM Eiselen was also cited.

In the Report which it produced in 1947, the committee stated that the 1936 Act was pivotal to the process of disillusionment and 'the sad deterioration of Africans' economic position' which had 'solidified and deepened African resentment against the European'(78). For the committee, 1936 had locked Africans into a miserable and constrained urban environment by barring their return to the land.

But, despite the committee and many of its informants' obvious bias against urban Africans - their popular invocation of 'the bumptious city lad' for example - in practice the respondents could not make any real distinction between the behaviour of rural and urban students at school. The committee itself observed that 'stick-fights' among rural boys often boiled over into dangerous battles which were explained as 'faction fights.'

The committee was puzzled by the participation of rural students in sometimes quite serious violence. But it overlooked the rural ramifications of its own point about the 1936 legislation. It was in the rural areas that the 1936 Land Act was bearing its bitter fruit. Black landowners in some cases (cf Murray) were finding themselves with little option but to sell off their land to the newly established Trust and thousands of blacks on land acquired by the Trust were suddenly transformed into severely circumscribed tenants

of the state (79) and, with the passing of time, the expectations of more land that had been excited by the 1936 legislation were dashed as the Trust dragged its heels or chose specious ways of defining its quota. Murray shows how organisations like the Baralong Progressive Association, consciously used pre-annexation history when 'the land of our fathers' was intact, as a rallying cry and consequently recreated a pre-colonial ethnic identity.

The Committee remarked that their informants were of the opinion that students from the Transkei were amongst the worst offenders in school disturbances. The works of scholars like Beinart and Bundy are highly suggestive of why this may have been the case, although much of their research is concentrated on the period before 1936. They have described and accounted for the processes of rural differentiation in a particular area of the Transkei and have argued that the cleavages cut more deeply as access to land became more fiercely competetive and that ethnicity was reconstituted to express and mobilise antagonism (80). Letsoalo, who demonstrates how little the 'released' areas amounted to, also points out that faction fights were a likely consequence in cases where the government's proclamation of a particular 'tribal area' dating from the legislation of 1927, intersected with the boundaries of an older tribal area (81). Beinart has also argued that schooling was becoming increasingly important for members of a particular class who wanted to secure a better position in rural society and if that were the case, rural rivalries in their reconstituted forms might surface if the school authorities appeared to favour one faction over another. At an incident investigated by the committee which took place at Healdtown in late 1939, 70 boys had rotested at the expulsion of the son of the regent of Thembuland in tne wake of a fight.

But Beinart's invocation of 'the domestic cycle' which portrays people as passing through migrant labour as one phase of a circular life pattern which brings them back to the rural areas, sometimes while still in their prime, also suggests that the committee may have narrowed its focus to only one area of what was a much wider social field (82). It may be that the committee's application of the categories 'rural' and 'urban' was too facile because it attempts to make hard and fast divisions, sealing off 'urban' from 'rural'- when perhaps even into the 1940s and beyond (cf Beinart) the situation was more fluid, making it difficult to distinguish between students' life experiences and their expectations of the future. Although the committee had some sense that it was the general experience of dispossession and discrimination which had infected educational institutions, it was still puzzled by the ferocity of some of the students' reactions to apparently minor problems so it asked, for instance:'What possible relation can there be between violence and bad cooking or shortage of sugar?'(83) To explain the intensity of student response, the committee drew on contemporary British psychology about adolescent aggression, even though the authors of the report confessed to being unsure about the average age-group of the participants in 'disturbances.'

The committee displayed a tendency to generalise derivative psychological theory of the adolescent under stress to the African people as a whole. Despite the revelations about rural participation in its analysis of the disturbances, the committee focussed on 'the emergent African,'(by which it usually meant 'urban') (84)

struggling to adapt to modern society. Furthermore, in its conclusions in the report, although the committee acknowledged that the 'urban African' was forced to occupy poor, squalid and unsanitary housing and that 'his' opportunities for advancement in the urban areas were severely curtailed, the disturbances were represented as 'symptomatic of the Africans' growing pains'(85). Among its recommendations were increased facilities for supervised recreational activities to provide an outlet for exuberant adolescence. In the end, despite the perspicacity of some of its insights, the Report leaves the impression of the half-grown African pulling impatiently and wretchedly at the 'missionaries' leading strings'(86).

The aims of African education

What was ZK's thinking on education, after he had been subjected to half a century of British functionalist school anthropology, a tour of duty as a member of a Royal commission appointed in the mid-1930s to investigate higher education for Africans in east and north Africa (not dealt with in this paper), a hectic teaching career and a decade of political turbulence and overwhelming frustration? What ideas did he bring to the Eiselen commission of Inquiry into Native Education and how likely was it that the commissioners would take note of what he said?

ZK's intellectual training had taught him to see cultures co-existing as 'incongruent circles' which bumped into and chafed at each other to the discomfort of both so that the challenge for their subjects became how to integrate them into one harmonious whole. ZK insisted that certain values and strengths of African culture should be acknowledged and preserved but he accepted that 'European civilisation' was of a higher order to which all people should eventually aspire. For years ZK's position had been that of a gradualist assimilationist and there is no evidence to suggest that it changed even as the 1950s dawned and, as an executive member of the ANC, he led it towards mass defiance.

By the mid-1940s there is potent evidence to suggest that there was a crisis of some magnitude threatening the current social order and its status quo social relations, as Hyslop argues. Across the political spectrum, although quite different solutions were proposed, the existing 'Native Policy' was perceived as being in tatters. The provisions of the 1936 legislation were manifestly inadequate to meet the challenge of the crisis in the reserves and urban influx controls were ineffectual. There was serious resistance to segregation from many quarters. ZK claimed - and a close reading of the evidence from the Committee Report of 1947 strengthens this claim - that African teachers were 'restive' and that they had considerable power in African circles (87). Their associations, he argued, were the best developed forms of organisation in African politics and lately they had begun to give serious thought as to how to co-ordinate their campaigns with the broader struggle. The largely moribund ANC was reviving, especially under pressure from the recently created Youth League in which teachers were well represented; the call for non-co-operation with government and after the 1948 election, for mass defiance was growing louder and being phrased ever more angrily and threateningly even by moderates like ZK.

It remains to be seen how various groups within the state and the

wider society chose to respond to the challenges of the 1940s and particularly, in this light, to reassess the significance of reproduction theory. Nolutshungu and Hyslop's suggestions that the analyst take cognisance of the conditions affecting the broad set of social relations and the reproduction of a particular kind of labour force, as well as attempting to determine the precise needs of capital in this period, will probably be of considerable assistance in this task. But these concerns are not part of this paper's ambit which focusses instead on the ideas of a section of the African opposition as represented by ZK.

One of the points ZK made several times in a consideration of how 'Native Policy' might be reformed, was that the Secretary for Native Affairs was ham-strung by departmental routine and that perhaps he ought not to be a civil servant, but a co-author of policy in consultation with the 'Natives.' It was almost as if WWM Eiselen were waiting in the wings for just the moment when this personification of the Secretary for Native Affairs should be called for and, in a sense, he was.

ZK saw Eiselen as somewhat out on a limb because he was a 'sane' and 'honest' advocate of apartheid among self-interested white supremacists. Relations between the two men remained cordial until well into the 1950s (88). ZK approved of Eiselen's recognition of the 'natural' rather than 'man-made differences' between blacks and whites, principally, it appears, because this perception allowed Eiselen to appreciate the values of African culture and not to esteem the 'Native of lesser potential value' than whites (89). Eiselen's assertion that each should be allowed to 'live out the wealth of his own culture' might well have found fragmentary echoes in ZK's thinking (90).

As far as African education was concerned, ZK argued that financing had to be a priority. Without a sound financial basis the Africans would never 'get a square deal'(91). Although the authors of Bantu Education found a solution that was abhorrent to ZK because, after the brief respite of the 1945 Finance Act, it shifted the burden of paying for African education back onto the African people themselves, clearly they recognised the necessity of generating a broader financial base.

ZK thought that African education should be the government's responsibility because the missionaries had failed in certain important aspects of their task, although he thought attaching African education to the Native Affairs Department would arouse African suspicion and distrust.

ZK took the missionaries to task for catering for 'European needs' rather than African 'customs.' In words that are irresistibly reminiscent of Loram and Junod, ZK talks about the necessity of recognising 'the special needs of the Bantu as a group in South Africa' which he defines as instruction on issues of 'health and sanitation' and 'the developments of industry and persistence in work whether for himself or others' and 'the general development of the character of the Native'(92).

It was a common supposition of the 1940s that the 'breakdown of tribal sanctions' had engendered the rise of the 'gang spirit'

manifest in the proliferation of 'tsotsis' and gangs like the 'Russians.' ZK subscribed to this idea and urged that substitutes for 'tribal sanctions' be created. While the African child should not be excluded from learning about 'the white man's heritage,' African culture ought to be taught too. The vernacular, which he had consistently revered, he saw, not only as an important pedagogical tool, but also as 'the vehicle of social tradition' (93).

One of the mistakes of mission schools, according to ZK, was that they had not consulted with the community and had sometimes transgressed against its values and wishes so he argued the case for increased parental and community control through school committees and parent teachers' associations. In a presidential address in the early 1940s to the Federation of African Teachers Associations he had also articulated what he claimed was an African demand for more African teachers and principals. Both these aspects were incorporated in the recommendations for Bantu Education (94).

ZK's understanding of 'culture,' although it was derived from quite different sources and was modified by highly dissimilar political experiences, overlapped with that of Eiselen. Eiselen's views were more tolerable to ZK than those of other Afrikaner nationalists because they explicitly valued African culture. But, at some points, their ideas obviously diverged because ZK's doctrine of assimilation made him look forward to the possibilities of a successful integrative culture, whereas Eiselen articulated an ideal of total, self-sufficient apartheid. Eiselen was self-consciously engaged in unpicking 'the transition' model that ZK had helped to create, which depicted the adolescent African gradually acclimatising himself to the modern world. If we accept the image of segregationist 'Native Policy' as a decrepit framework, we might conceive of Eiselen constructing a new scaffolding to sustain the 'profound structural changes' to which Wolpe so elusively refers. Construction metaphors are persistent. ZK, anticipating Wolpe, described Eiselen and his more pragmatic cohorts as 'refashioning the state.'

Conclusion

It will be argued in more detail in the future that Eiselen's brief was to help provide a solution to the crises produced by the changes in the South African economy and society in the 1940s. His task obliged him to accommodate some of the demands that reached his ears from the rising clamour of African dissatisfaction, but also to consolidate and fuse various intellectual strands to produce a new theoretical model capable of defusing the mounting conflict and of offering 'a sense of order, totality and moral purpose'(95). In 1948 ZK was already characterising the apartheid forces as 'seductive', suggesting that they held considerable appeal, albeit misleading, for the African people, and he portrayed Eiselen in particular as one of the 'most persuasive advocates of apartheid'.

It is possible (although much research remains to be done) that, because Eiselen and the other commissioners found some of ZK's theories congenial and because they accepted that he represented a large slice of significant African opinion, they may have been influenced by them, particularly those related to the desire for increased parental and community control over education and the retention of the vernacular and aspects of the 'African cultural

heritage.'

There was one point to which the commissioners resolutely turned a deaf ear. ZK exhorted those committed to reforming 'Native Education' not to sacrifice the few to the many. 'Let our slogan be better schools rather than more schools.' (96). The practical needs of the masses could be met outside the classroom in adult education programmes. But for the commissioners, because 'the youth were a central focus of the urban crisis' (97) the task was to bring as many students as possible into the regular schoolhouse.

ZK mistrusted apartheid itself immediately. Soon after the 1948 election he was urging his constituency to 'fight with every weapon at our disposal' (98). He recognised apartheid at once as yet another guise to retain 'European' supremacy and the maintenance of its interests. For him the new government was ignoring the advice of its 'expert' commission (99). Verwoerd's tactless introduction of the Bantu Education Bill as an explicit doctrine of racial inferiority, he read almost as a betrayal of Eiselen's 'honest' intentions and perhaps it was - but that is the subect of another chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. P. Christie and C. Collins 'Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction' in P. Kallaway (ed.) Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans (Johannesburg 1984) pp.160 - 183.
2. ibid, p.162
3. ibid.
4. ibid, p.163
5. cf ibid p.163 and following.
6. ibid, p.164
7. ibid.
8. S.C. Nolutshungu Changing South Africa (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1982) I have rendered his extraordinarily subtle argument rather crudely.
9. H. Wolpe Race, Class and the Apartheid State (London 1987) p.17.
10. J. Hyslop 'A destruction coming in: Bantu Education as response to social crisis.' (ASI seminar paper 25/9/1989.)
11. M. Cameron 'The introduction of Bantu Education in Cape Town 1948 - 1960' in Studies in the History of Cape Town (Centre for African Studies, UCT, 1988.)
12. J. Lazar 'Community and conflict in Afrikaner nationalist politics in South Africa 1948 - 1961.' (D. Phil. Oxford 1987.
13. J. Shingler 'Education and political order in South Africa 1902 - 1961.'(PHD Yale, 1973) p. 7.
14. ibid, pp.35,37.
15. ibid, p.25.
16. S. Dubow 'Race, civilisation and culture: the elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years.' (ASI seminar paper 3/3/1986.)
17. Interview with Ellen Kuzwayo, Soweto, June 1989.
18. T. Lodge Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945 (Johannesburg, 1983.)
19. W.W.M. Eiselen 'Gedagtes oor apartheid' in Tydskrif vir die Geesteswetenskappe. Universiteit van Pretoria No. 2, April 1949, Jaargang V1,p.5.Eiselen's tone is slightly ironic - I would argue to mask the 'unease' and p.6 Eiselen quotes Toynbee on the peculiar dispossession of the intelligentsia as proletariat.
20. C. T. Loram The Education of the South African Native (London, 1927) p. 192.
21. ibid, p.224
22. ibid, p.235
23. ibid, p.236
24. P. Harries 'The anthropologist as historian and Liberal: H.A. Junod and the Thonga.' in Journal of Southern African Studies vol. 8 1982. p.37.
25. H.A. Junod The Life of a South African Tribe (New York, 1962) Vol.1. p. vii.
26. Harries, op. cit. p. 40.
27. Junod, op. cit. vol.1 p.276.
28. ibid, cf. pp.33-34 and p.438.
29. ibid, vol 2. p.111.
30. ibid, vol 2. pp.609-613.
31. ibid, vol 2. p.546.
32. ibid, vol 1. p.539.

33. ibid.
34. ibid, p.535.
35. ibid, vol 2. p.151.
36. ibid, vol 2. p.153.
37. ibid, vol 2. p.194
38. ibid, vol 2. p.213.
39. ibid, p.213.
40. ibid, vol 2. p.618.
41. ibid, vol 2. p.621.
42. ZK's M.A. dissertation entitled:'Bantu Law and Western Civilisation in South Africa: A Study in the Clash of Cultures' (Yale, 1934) is stored on microfilm as part of the SAIRR papers. p. 6.
43. ibid, p.3.
44. ibid, p.8
45. ibid, p.27.
46. ibid, p.217.
47. ibid, p.194.
48. ibid, p.346.
49. ibid.
50. Omafume F. Onoge 'The counterrevolutionary tradition in African studies: the case of applied anthropology.' in The Politics of Anthropology G. Huiser, B. Mannheim (eds.) (Paris, 1979)
51. A.P. Cheater, Social Anthropology: An Alternative Introduction (Gweru, 1986)
52. cf. Malinowski's introductory essay in International Institute of African Languages and Cultures Memorandum XV entitled 'Methods of study of culture contact in Africa'(Oxford, 1938) pp. viii - xiii.
53. Onoge op. cit. p.49.
54. An address delivered by Schapera possibly at UCT entitled 'Anthropology and the Native Problem.' roughly dated 1938 Copy with ZK papers, SAIRR. p.15.
55. cf. Schapera's 'Contact between European and Native in South Africa' in Malinowski op. cit. pp. 25 - 35.
56. SAIRR, ZK papers A2.1 Letter from ZK to D.G.Brackett of the International African Institute, London. 13/6/1935.
57. Handwritten notes in ZK papers dated 16/1/1936. pp.7-8.
58. Edison M. Bokako An Anthology of Tswana Heroic Verse with Notes and Translations. Undated photocopy with ZK papers.
59. SAIRR, ZK papers, A2. 33. 'Circular letter to the Native Teachers of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1938.'
60. Z. K. Matthews Freedom For my People:The Autobiography of Z.K. Matthews with a Memoir by Monica Wilson (Cape Town, 1981) p. 11.
61. ibid, pp.9-10.
62. ibid, p.15.
63. ibid, p.90.
64. Z.K. Matthews 'The rehabilitation and development of the Reserves' in SA Outlook, November 1, 1945.
65. ZK, SAIRR papers. Letter from ZK to Smit 28/12/1942.
66. ZK, SAIRR papers. Letter from Ncayo to ZK, 1942. Ncayo gives his address as No. 30 Loco Camp SAR and H, Cradock.
67. ZK, SAIRR papers. Letter from ZK to Malcomess 28/12/1942.
68. ZK, SAIRR papers, B 1.2.1. 'The Smuts proposals: statement by African members of the NRC. November 1947.'

69. ibid, 'p.2. (?)'
70. ibid, p.2(?)
71. ibid, p.3(?)
72. ibid.
73. cited in P.Lewsen Voices Of Protest (Cape Town, 1988)
74. SAIRR, ZK papers B 4.8 'The political needs of the African' mimeo dated 1946, p.26.
75. P. Smit and J.J. Booysen Swart Verstedeliking: Proses, Patroon en Strategie (Pretoria, 1981)
76. ibid, p.22.
77. The dissatisfaction of African teachers who were returning servicemen over forfeited salaries emerges as a significant factor in Xuma's papers cf. especially SAIRR, ABX 4305 26a, 1943 and 1944.
78. SAIRR, AD 1759. Papers of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education. Report of the committee appointed to enquire into the disturbances at Native educational institutions, 1947. p.2.
79. C. Murray 'The Baralong Progressive Association:local politics and the struggle for land in the eastern OFS, 1928 - 1940.' in Africa Perspective:Agrarian Struggles in South Africa,1989 pp. 57-71.
80. W. Beinart and C. Bundy Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape 1890 - 1930. (Johannesburg, 1987)
81. Essy M. Letsoalo Land Reform in South Africa: A Black Perspective (Johannesburg, 1987)
82. W. Beinart A Political Economy of Pondoland 1870 - 1930. (Johannesburg, 1983) p.133.
83. Report of the committee op. cit. p.69.
84. ibid, pp.2 and 51.
85. ibid, p.4.
86. ibid, p.12.
87. SAIRR, ZK papers 'Racial antagonism' mimeo dated 1953.
88. SAIRR, ZK papers 'The crisis in South Africa' undated mimeo p. 18.
89. ibid, p.18.
90. ibid.
91. SAIRR, ZK papers 'The aims of Native Education' (1940s?) mimeo.
92. ibid.
93. SAIRR, ZK papers Rough lecture notes 'Problems of Adult Life.'
94. U.G. 53/1951 Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949 -1951 (Pretoria, 1951) cf. paras. 609, 697, 789, 790 and para 763.
95. cf. 'The aims of Native Education' and 'The next 25 years in race relations in South Africa' SAIRR 1948.
96. S.B. Greenberg Legitimating the Illegitimate: State, Markets and Resistance in South Africa (Berkeley,L.A. London, 1987) p.137.
97. Hyslop, op. cit. 1989, p.5.
98. ANC's Programme of Action, 1948,
99. SAIRR, ZK papers, 'Civil rights for Africans and the Tomlinson Report 1956.' mimeo. p.2.