

IMAGERY OF IDENTITY

IN
SOUTH AFRICAN
EDUCATION

♦
1880-1990

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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.¹

Thereafter, dominant discourses of culture became characterized by notions of "race/civilization" in the early missionary period and concepts of "Bantu culture" as 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 on South Africa and enforcing a Calvinist and Christian National Ed-

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: Cassell, 1933), p. 467; K.R. Brueckner, "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. 252ROBP, Cape Archives; and R.E. Philips, *The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1938), pp. 12-13.

ucation philosophy, whereby different cultural groups were to have different and separate schooling systems. As white supremacist ideologies dominated education policy, the ruling group came to see culture as an important factor in 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 imposition of "colour bars" between 1905 and 1908, curriculum reforms in the following decade 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 of the Afrikaners and white supremacists 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 re-constituting the Other—the black majority—as the Self's shadow in the white minority became notorious.³

The education reform which followed the publication of the reports of the Eiselen (1953) and Tomlinson (1955) Commissions reflected the changing social identities and the newly-forged constructions concerning the nature of "Bantu culture."⁴ Drawing on the accounts of "Bantu culture" provided by certain social anthropologists, such as Eloff, Nel and Cook, and inspired by the doctrine of Christian National Education (CNE), apartheid policy-makers began to paint a fragmented picture of "Bantu culture" and to privilege the

2. Representation here is used in the sense of "speaking for" as in politics. For further details about this concept see G.C. 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.

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 the role therein of Africans, became increasingly important among the 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 book 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 the years.⁵ Its focus is 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 intellectual construction of a group's Self and a group's Other are not a neutral intellectual activity. They are also action and prac-

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 Allera 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.

tice with profound implications for the affirmation of desire, power and interests within society. The book will show 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 that white nationalist 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 *swartgevaar*—black danger—introduced by Malan in the 1948 election, the idea of "total onslaught," the notion of opposition as 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

6. I borrow these terms from a debate between Norval and Laclau. See Aletha 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.

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.

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 members of 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 structures, a variety of responses developed among blacks, ranging from the radicalization of political cultures and worker activism, to *tsotsi-ism* (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 representation or the discursive formations generated by these responses reflected concerns with the apartheid discourse, meant that they took on a relatively national flavour. Notions of a common national identity came to transcend the dividing lines of their identities. Nonetheless, new trends have emerged with recent political competition.

I 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. I will show that repre-

sentational 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 and 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, an attempt will be made 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, trends which have concentrated almost exclusively on the process of —and resistance to—schooling under apartheid, but which have neglected the dynamics of cultural production and 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 culture and schooling put forward by Christian Nationalists and Fundamental Pedagogicians, I discuss discourses of culture with reference to prevailing policies and practices within the educational system.¹²

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.

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 metanarratives," *Perspectives in Education*, 7(2), (Durban: Butterworths, 1981); and P.C. Luthuli, *An Introduction to Black-oriented Education in South Africa* (Durban: Butterworths, 1982); P.N.G. Beard & W.E. 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 1983); Fidéla Fouché, "Pedagogics: A philosophic method or parasitic ideology?" *S.A. Journal of Education*, 2(4), 1982, W.E. Morrow, "The voice of the people?" *Perspectives in Education*, 6(2),

Methodologically, the discussion rests on several 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 a 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

Secondly, I re-assert 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, emphasis is placed upon a concept of *totality* as the territory of dialectical thinking, more specifically the conception of social

Sep. 1982; and W.E. Morrow "Philosophies of education in South Africa," Parts I and II, *S.A. 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.

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.

phenomena in their entirety and interrelatedness and not as conglomerates of fragmented and isolated parts. For instance, while some approaches would treat segregated departments of education (e.g., African Education, Coloured Education, Indian Education) as autonomous entities and take the uniqueness of their empirical organization in the natural world as something given, my approach 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, 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 book is an expression of concern with an unresolved paradigmatic battle in cultural studies between two traditions: (1) the one 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) the other, 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;

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

17. Norval, “Letter to Ernesto,” op cit, p. 141.

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 Throughout the post-Cold War world, countries are looking to reposition themselves within a promised new world order. Increasingly the debates are revolving around the composition of federal structures. The reassertion of ethnic and national identities in Eastern Europe and the territories of the former USSR, tensions within Western Europe between nationalists and those seeking to balance devolution and greater integration, new forms of pluralist protest in the USA, ethnic-based rebellions in Angola, Mozambique and Nigeria and, within South Africa itself, ethnic tensions in Kwazulu (Misinga) and calls for an Afrikaner “homeland,” all contribute to making the question of identity a theoretical puzzle requiring urgent solution. In all cases, but particularly in that of South Africa, any attempt at devising a structure which will work in practice but which does not rest upon 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, such as sports and the various

18. J.A. 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.

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 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 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 War (1899–1902) 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

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).

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 rhetoric. 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 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. This eventually influenced policy formulations in African education and legitimized the racial policies of the govern-

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

ment. 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 “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

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 identity of the facilitates the ‘centering’ 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.

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

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 should develop separately, found expression in the policy of bantustanization, the highest stage of white supremacist doctrine 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, from the 1960s, as a “multi-national” state 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 over-determination of several circumstances and cannot be conceptualized as pertaining exclusively to the Afrikaner nationalist discourse. 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

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.

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 be constructed only 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.

important site from which the inside/dominant block is challenged and threatened.

The state under B.J. Vorster and P.W. 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 (mixed race) 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 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, their implications for the project of radical democracy and the 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, led to the construction of new privileged historical subjects for the project of radical democracy.

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 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, that is, 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 dispensation designed to marginalize Africans on grounds of race and culture. Responses by blacks to the educational debate have been 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 a 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 the 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 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 with 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

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).

decades. All these activities constitute the basis of three main forms of identity discourse: (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.

The conclusion explores the main theoretical implications of the arguments developed in the previous 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 questioning and re-articulation of the political identities of all forces and actors involved, such that no single identity can remain 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

The work was 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 bulk of written empirical data was obtained from commissions of inquiry, reports of education departments and authorities,

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.

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

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 attempts 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 for making 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, on one hand, correlations between dominant and hegemonic forms of discourse, and, on the other, prevailing discourses and practices within the oppositional groups. The experience of class and race relations in the 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, I paid special attention to the language and concepts used within African circles, though not accepted by dominant education theorists, and tried to incorporate them into educational theory. These concepts have enormous potential for generating a more firmly grounded basis for understanding 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 best be 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 youths, 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 into English were commissioned from several people at different stages of my research. I refer to these as "private translation."

**Imagery of Identity
in South African Education,
1880–1990**

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 fall into 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 extracurricular 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 would 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 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 met by almost complete silence within the academy. There needs to be a radical review of the existing methods and processes of knowledge production as recognized by that academy.

1. See footnote 20, Introduction.

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, popular universities and private educational institutions which are complementary to the state system.³ These operate in conjunction with professions with cultural activity such as medicine, the army, law and teaching.

In *The Combing of History*, which I believe 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 learned and scholarly literatures on the past developed 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

2. Clarke et al., "Sub-cultures, cultures and class," in T. Bennett, G. Martin, C. Mercer and J. Woolacott (eds), *Culture, Ideology and Social Process—A Reader* (London: Open University Press, 1986), p. 54.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

4. David W. Cohen, *The Combing of History* (Chicago University Press), 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).

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 over-emphasis 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 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

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 425.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

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

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 curricula, dinner dances, forms of radio broadcasting, labour unions and their organizers, film, television and newspapers, photography, memorials and commemorations, re-enactments, museum exhibitions, popular biographies, advertising—that is 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

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 recording, 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.”

11. Cohen, *op cit*, p. 377 and p. 421.

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

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

12. C.A. 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—such as film, museum, theatre and commemorative activities—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.

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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 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? The subject of historical knowledge—the producer of knowledge—cannot be entirely separated from the object or the product and *vice versa*.

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

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.

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 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

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.

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 L.M.

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 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 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

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: Skovaville Publishers, 1992), ch. "Education in South African historiography"; Peter Kallaway (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.

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 Combining of History*. First, the proportions of the project suggested by *The Combining 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 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 clear distinction is drawn between the constitution of historical knowledge and the making of history.

Second, the project of the *Combining 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

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).

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.

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.

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 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 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.

The term “cultural historiography” is used to refer not only to the formal historiography accepted by the academy but also to popular forms of production of historical and cultural knowledge such as the

1. For example, C.T. Loram, and P.A.W. Cook.

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 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 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 develop-

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. S.M. Lipset, in H.W. van der Merwe & D. Welsh (eds), *Student Perspectives on South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1972), p. 3.

5. Mark F. Dorgan, “Culture, schooling and education in South Africa,” Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1991, p. 38.

ment 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 subject of a large volume of literature.⁶ However, nationalism remains a contested concept and, as Haas has pointed out, 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:

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

6. See for example, E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ernst Haas, “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.

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.

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 a distinct language and of 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 ideals. Christian Nationalism was a “theological defence” of Afrikaner Nationalism.¹¹ Calvinism, as its main form of theology, associated the idea of predestination—a sense of group mission and the 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 at-

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

10. F.A. 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.

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). (P.K. Appel, “Afrikaner maximization of interest: Evolution of a political culture,” Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1973, p. 38).

tempt 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 Sir Alfred (later Lord) Milner, British High Commissioner in South Africa. Milner set himself the task of “picking up the pieces” and setting 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, E.B. Sargent was appointed the Acting Director of Education for the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, with the task of reorganizing their educational systems.¹³ During Milner’s regime, education remained under the control of Sargent’s directorship, backed up by an assistant director in each colony. Following instructions given by Milner, efforts were made to bring about 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 politics in the two colonies. The Transvaal received 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 *heveniging* 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.

13. N.D. Achterberg, “A Survey of native education in the Transvaal,” D.Phil. thesis, Pretoria, 1972, p. 69.

14. See E.G. 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.

Here, both the Prime Minister, Abraham Fischer, and the Minister of Education, J.B.M. 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* (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, J.B.M. Hertzog, D.F. Malan (Cape) and Tielman 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 First World War.¹⁸

16. Malherbe, *op cit*, pp. 378–389.

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 Kallaway et al. (eds) *op.cit.* and S. Marks and S. Trapido, “Lord Milner and the South African State,” in *History Workshop Journal*, No. 8, 1979.

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. In 1924, the LP and NP decided to bury their differences and formed a coalition, known as the Pact, 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 guarantees such as the preservation of the rights achieved by Afrikaners during the Pact and the maintenance 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 breakaways 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, formed the *Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party*, Purified National Party, later the Re-united National Party. Hertzog advocated a policy of neutrality and broke away from Smuts when the South African Parliament narrowly voted to enter the war against Germany in 1939.

Malan played an exceptional role in the promotion 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 D.F. Malan became reunited in the *Herenigde Nasionale Party* (HNP). After the 1943 general election won by Smuts’ United Party, Malan turned away from the question

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

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 D.F. Malan as Prime Minister.²⁰

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

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—all 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 Reformed clergy founded two separatist

20. J.D. Shingler, "Education and the political order in South Africa, 1902–1961," PhD thesis, Yale University, 1973, p. 36.

21. For details see for example W.A. de Klerk, *The Puritans in Africa—A Story of Afrikanerdom* (London: Rex Collings, 1975); Carl David Dalcaanton, "The Afrikaners of South Africa: A case study of identity formation and change," Ph.D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1973; Van Jaarsveld, op cit; Appel, op cit.

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 Reformed church leaders opposed the introduction 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 S.J. du Toit, C.P. Hoogenhout and Gideon Malherbe. Their work culminated in the publication in 1877 of the first 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 history,"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:

22. Appel, op cit, p. 12.

23. Shingler, op cit, p. 41.

24. See also S.J. du Toit, *De Geschiedenis van het Afrikaans Geslacht van 1688 tot 1882*; E. Lion Cachet, *De Worslestrid der Transvalers* (Amsterdam: 1882); J.C. Voigt, *A Hundred Years of the Republic in South Africa (1795–1899)* (London: 1899); J.F. van Oordt, *Paul Kruger en de Opkomst der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (Amsterdam and Cape Town, 1898); C.N.J. 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.

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 describe our land. The English are always right and the poor Afrikaner is always put in a 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 or South African 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

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.

favour of anglicizing practices which would forge an anglophone white 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. G.W.A. van der Lingen and S.J. 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 him-

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 Volksgeleef* (Amsterdam: N.V. Swets and Zietlinger Boekhandel and Uitgeversmij, 1938), p. 23.

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, the language 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 to anglicize the Dutch speakers. In 1822, a British proclamation institutionalized English as the colony’s sole official language to promote a sense of British identity and English and Scottish teachers were brought to the colony.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 antagonism by the Dutch community,⁴⁰ and private community schools continued to use the medium of Dutch.⁴¹

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

37. M.E. McKerron, *A History of Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, 1934), p. 119.

38. Malherbe, op cit, p. 27.

39. Malherbe, op cit, p. 58.

40. See F.A. 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 September, 1915, pp. 12–13).

42. Rose & Tumner, op cit, p. 9.

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 E.B. 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. In 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 Afrikaner 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 intranquillity concerning the question of anglicization. In this respect, Mil-

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

44. C. Headlam (ed.), op cit, p. 467.

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. E.B. 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.

48. E.B. 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.

ner regarded the need for the dominance of the English language in the colonies as a non-negotiable matter. He 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 and 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 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

50. A Milner to General Pretorius, 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 Pretorius..." op cit, p. 133.

53. Ibid.

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

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 reduced only with the negotiations which led to the proclamation of the Union of South Africa. In 1906, the Transvaal received self-governing status 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. Both Dutch and English were 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 of whether Dutch- and English-speaking children were to be integrated in schools 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, broader South Africanism.

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 four main spheres: (1) the extension of technical education for white children; (2) the introduction of pro-

55. Article 137, the Act of Union.

grammes of industrial and agricultural training for the white working class; (3) the implementation of compulsory education for white children; and (4) 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 took control of the South African School of Mines and Technology in Johannesburg and gave support to evening classes conducted by the School, the forerunner of the University of the Witwatersrand. The Railway Department improved its schools for white apprentices, the Agricultural Department expanded various programmes in agricultural education and the Prisons Department operated industrial schools and reformatories which became effective instruments of social control and the imposition of discipline over 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, such as the Apprenticeship Act of 1922, were supported by discriminatory industrial legislation which denied Africans access to semi-skilled or skilled jobs.

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

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.

major Afrikaner demands through the Act of Union.⁵⁸ Concern with the survival of Afrikanerdom became associated with the need for Afrikaner pre-eminence in the state and in the restructuring of 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 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.

Factions representing 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

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 parliamentary franchise.

59. Shingler, op cit, p. 40.

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

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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” 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 came together under Hertzog's leadership to form the National Party in opposition to Smuts and Botha, figures 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 seeking 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 was to dominate 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:

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

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.

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, 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 D.F. 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 D.F. Malan, notably J.G. Strijdom, C.R. Swart, H.F. Verwoerd, J. Chris Cortzee, L.J. du Plessis and J.C. van Rooy.⁷¹ The Government argued that to ac-

67. E.G. 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 448/1/3, 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 unlike Jan Smuts who had 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 E.G. 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 C.I. Loram and P.A.W. Cook. He became one of the mainstream articulators of “economic liberalism” of the 1960s.

centuate "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 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 schooling for 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 examination of the evolution of some of these organizations will illustrate these aspects.

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

73. See E.G. Malherbe, "Bilingual medium draft proposals, Part I: Motivation," *Kulie Campbell Africana Library*, University of Natal, Document 57031, File 67/44, 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 *Afrikanervolksraad*.

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

The history of some Afrikaner cultural organizations has been written.⁷⁷ This section will 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* aimed at fostering an Afrikaner national consciousness and pride in the Afrikaans language, and improving 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, Volkskas and the Rembrandt group. For this purpose, after the *Ekonomiese Volkskongres* in 1939, the *Reddingsdaadsbond* fund was established to provide relief for poor whites and capital for investment in Afrikaner businesses.

Established in 1918 as a secret organization, the *Broederbond* played a central role in the National Party's politics as a "shadow

Party, they started splintering into two groups, Nat and SAP. Afrikaner shot at 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. Jane 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.

government.” It was an oath-bound male fraternity of Afrikaner Calvinists over the age of 25, which strove 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 in language, religion, tradition and fatherland; and (3) to promote all of Afrikanerdom’s interests.⁸¹ It dedicated itself to the pursuit of power in the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields. Particularly in education, all key positions were dominated by its members 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 both foreign and detrimental to the interests of Afrikanerdom, thereby alienating them from people, church and Vaderland sentiment.”⁸² The *Jewgfront* was created in 1940 as a federation of major 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 views are well documented in one of Van Rensburg’s messages to the *Jewgfront*:

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,” Kilie Campbell Library, Document 56976, 14.03.1944, p. 1.

83. Ibid., p. 1.

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 capital, 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 Steyn 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 and furtherance of the White Christian civilization as a bulwark against communism”; and (4) to study all national questions at an academic level.⁸⁶

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.

86. Ibid.

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 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

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-orke*s 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.

91. *Ibid.*

never allow the Department to acquire a humanistic character. He must also be careful to see that the neutral standpoint 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 were "principle differences that underlie the structural differences" between the Afrikaners and the English. Only those who remained loyal to the ASB's Calvinistic beliefs and were prepared to permeate these Calvinistic principles among those who think otherwise would qualify to join or cooperate with the ASB.⁹⁴

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 in response to the need to reconcile the increasing

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.

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 and 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 *Koers*, *Ossewa Reeks* (Ox-wagon Series), *Verkenner Reeks* (Scout Series), *Daëraad 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 kroonkolonialeperiode, 1900-1907," Ph.D. thesis, University of Pretoria, 1948; P. Venter, "Die groei van onderwysaangename aan die Witwatersrand tot 1899," DPhil thesis, University of Pretoria, 1950; J. Ploegert, *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 SAR, 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 Taal en maatskaplike toestand op die Rand," DLit thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1936; L.J. du Plessis, "Die toepassing van die CNO-Beginsel," *Koers*, 7(1) 1939; F. Postma, "Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys in Suid-Afrika," H.G. Stoker and F.J.M. Potgieter (ed.), *Koers in die Kriess, Volume 1* (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, 1935); and H.M. Fourie, "Christelike nasionale opvoeding van die natuure," *Koers in die Kriess, Volume 2* (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1940).

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 H.G. Stoker, D.J. van Rooy and P.J. de Klerk, while educationists and sociologists 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:

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 main-

99. J.C. Coetzee, "Dubbelmedium-onderwys en Tweetaligheid," *Koers*, 16(2), 1948, p. 44; and J.C. Coetzee, "Christian National Education," in R. Tunmer & R.K. 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.

tained the identity of our *Volk*. He has a future task for us, laid down. 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 down for our *Volk*. Let us become conscious of our calling.¹⁰²[sic]

In 1925, J.A. du Plessis established the *Christelike Unie*—the *Calvinistiese bond* from 1930—to safeguard the *volk* from the danger of secularization and modernization. L.J. 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 estab-

102. Quoted by C.M. Ngcokovane, "Religious and moral legitimization of Apartheid in Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Nationalist Party and Broederbond, 1948—Present," Ph.D. thesis, Graduate School of Emory University, Atlanta, 1986, p. 7.

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

104. Du Plessis, "Die Troepassing...", op cit, p. 21.

lished an Institute for Christian-National Education, which in 1943 published a manifesto outlining its policy:

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 rationalism 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 interdependence between the church, family, school and 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 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 & Tunmer (eds), op cit, pp. 82-148.

107. P.S. Dreyer, "n Tipering van Afrikanerskap," in P.G. Nel (ed.), *Die Kultuurontplooiing van die Afrikaner* (Pretoria: Haum, 1979), p. 40; B.J. Engelbrecht, "Die Godsdiens van die Afrikaner," *Ibid.*, p. 48; F. van der Stoep, "Die Afrikaner in die onderwys," *Ibid.*, p. 72.

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, found expression in 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 in an unprecedented philosophical and theoretical refinement of Christian National Education as a basis for subsequent apartheid education policies.

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 argues that the politics of difference with reference to which racist images and modes of representa-

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

2. In 1952, J.D. Rheinallt 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." (J.D. Rheinallt 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, mine-workers 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.

tion 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-

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.

capitalist production sector, which was 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 as 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 demonstrated a high level of political militancy and organi-

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.

zation.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. This 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. They differentiated and defined their class interests along racial lines, regarding their fellow black workers as potential competitors, directed their grievances against black workers and demanded a privileged status.

10. See for example 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); and F.A. 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.

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 poverty amongst whites or massive unemployment of unskilled white labour. The legacy of colour prejudices which accompanied previous colonial practices was revitalized and formalized as job colour bars and an interlocking 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 labour. By contrast, Africans

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

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

14. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

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 exclusivity.

In the late nineteenth century, racism became firmly established in science and social opinion in 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 associated with social Darwinism, scientific racism dominated liberal and conservative debates in South Africa in the early 20th century—e.g. the IQ research¹⁸—and became a powerful legitimating tool for policy decisions.¹⁸ The "amalgamationist" policies promoted by Sir George

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, cranialogists 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.

18. See Chapter Seven for details.

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, the 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, Alban 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 Canon 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

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

20. Alban Winter, *Till Darkness Fell* (Miffield: 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 town and countryside.²³ As Marks and

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

22. E.G. 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.

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,

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

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; G.M. 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 D.J. 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 Affairs Reform Society (formed in 1909) and the Natal Native 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 basis, education for Africans required a different and racialist 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 re-

quirements 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.³⁰

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

30. "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.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

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.

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 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 formulae for all the problems of reconstruction. Contradictions produced by the war, and the complexity of the inherited institutions, required profound and long

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

37. R.E. Phillips, *The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand* (Lovedale: 1938), pp. 12–13.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. See also N. Kagan, "African settlement in the Johannesburg area, 1903–1923," MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978, p. 12.

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 1903, Milner introduced the "native mission of Inquiry (SANAC). He also appointed the South African Native Affairs Commission 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.

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 contented...it has generally a beneficial influence...by raising the level of their intelligence and by increasing their capacity as workers."³⁹

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

39. Lagden, *op cit*, p. 67.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72.

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

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; some 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 race 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

Selective segregation was formalized at school level in 1884 in Natal with the establishment of government-aided schools for whites. “Civilization” was the criterion for 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 races in

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 Marks & Trapido (eds), *The Politics...* op cit, p. 6.

47. G.H. 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.

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

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

44. Philips, op cit, p. 47.

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

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 Alfred 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 coloured Ebenezer 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

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

51. A.L. Behr & R.G. Macmillan, *Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1966), p. 339.

the schools for white children with regard to annual grant and inspection. In practice, they were disadvantaged in space, quality of buildings, human resources and grading.⁵³

More significant moves towards a policy of comprehensive education were introduced in 1905–8 with the promulgation of 1905 School Board Act, Smuts' Education Act of 1907 in the Transvaal, and Hertzog's School Act of 1908 in the Orange River which made provision for compulsory education for white 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 throughout the country. The Transvaal Act of 1907, for example, stated: "No coloured [black] child or person shall be admitted to or 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 coloured (mixed-race) or African children. Through school segregation, children were to be socialized into different group identities dependent on their epidermal pigmentation. Africans were denied the right to free and compulsory education on the grounds that they were unfit for it.

Early Segregationist Reforms in African Education, 1903–1912

The appointment of an organizing inspector of native education in 1903, 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

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

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

ganized a detailed survey of mission schools. He suggested that secular education for Africans should depend upon the initiative of the different religious agencies, which had the task of Christianizing them and elevating their 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 intentions 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—to 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, 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..."

The above quotation is how the Director of Education in the Transvaal described the changes in African education after the proclamation of Union. Under the South Africa Act of 1910, white matters concerning higher education, remained a provincial matter. All 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, cultures, and therefore "inferior" and "superior" civilizations, were regarded as functions of race. Finally, in the field of social anthropology, culture provided an alternative to both 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

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

58. Ibid., p. 339.

59. A.D. 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.

legitimizing ideology of segregation and served political ends; it became a more subtle form of "race."⁶³

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.⁶⁴ 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."⁶⁵ 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."⁶⁶ 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":

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.⁶⁷

63. Dubow, *op cit.* p. 83.

64. G.H. Welsh, "The influence of primary education," in E.G. Malherbe (ed.), *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society* (Cape Town: Juta, 1934), pp. 435–436.

65. House of Assembly, *Debates*, 29, 1937, col. 4219.

66. J.C. Smuts, *Africa and Some World Problems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 84.

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

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."⁶⁸

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."⁶⁹ 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 handicraft work—inculcating alien interests, detribalizing the African, and of being unfavourable to the cultural advancement of Africans.⁷⁰

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 of native African education would be premature, and might be inconsistent with the wider scheme.⁷¹

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."⁷² The industrial train-

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 92–93.

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

70. *Ibid.*, *op cit.* p. 436.

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

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

ing 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."⁷³

In Natal, syllabuses were also revised and standardized at all levels from primary schooling to teacher education under the supervision of C. T. Loram (1879-1940), Chief Inspector of Native Education from 1918.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ 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 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

73. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

74. Welsh Report, op cit, p. 44.

75. *Ibid.*, paras. 152-4.

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.⁷⁶ In Natal, however, in 1929 there were more than a thousand such pupils still enrolled in schools for Europeans or Africans.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸

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 Durban, Tongaat and Umgeni in 1881, had failed.⁷⁹ 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 1913.⁸⁰

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.⁸¹ It was advocated that the

76. Atkinson, op cit, p. 202.

77. Natal Province, Department of Education Report, 1929, p. 13.

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

79. Atkinson, op cit, p. 206.

80. 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.

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

administration of education should also be based on the "racial, economic and social differences between whites and blacks."⁸² 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 Supervisor of African schools, who were deployed under the District Inspectors as itinerant headmasters.⁸³ The Orange Free State Administration appointed an Organizing Inspector of Native Education in 1924.

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 Nationalist members.⁸⁴ 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 curricular 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

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

83. Natal Province, Department of Education Report, 1922, p. 12.

84. "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.

grants still came from revenue derived from direct taxation of Africans.⁸⁵ 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.

Conclusion

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 Boer 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 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 to entrench white privilege in all spheres of social and political and eco-

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

nomic 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.⁸⁶

Secondly, emphasis ceased to be placed on the political frontiers which separated Boer from 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.

86. Linda Chisholm, “Class and colour in South African youth policy: The Witwatersrand, 1886–1910,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 27(1), Spring 1987, p. 14.

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 need racism and segregationist ideologies as the basis for a 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. Based on a synthesis between Christian National Education and what Shingler calls “cultural idealism”⁴ they developed a particular form of racial segregation which emphasized national and cultural identity of each ethnic and racial group. As Verwoerd put it in his explanation of the concept of apartheid⁵ in 1948,

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,” Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1973, p. i.

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

...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 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 English and Afrikaners or between the 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 being instrumental in the reconstitution of Afrikaner identity in terms of the black and white divide. In this 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 *volk* or nation *vis-à-vis* the black threat. This project conceived within a completely different framework, Christian Nationalism, which would guarantee Afrikaner political

Afrikaner Nationalism and African Segregation

The best known Afrikaner writers dealing with blacks in the formative period of apartheid as Nationalists were H. du Plessis, L.J. du Plessis, H.C.M. Fourie, J. Cronje and B.F. Nel.⁷ Most of these used the system developed to counter British anglicization policies, part of the Christian National Education, and applied it to the issue of “race relations.”⁸ They emphasized rather than the anthropological interpretation in the Afrikaner nationalist “native policy.” A common theme in their writings was the idea that racial segregation, particularly the “Bantu” and safeguard the future of a white South Africa. Concerned with the question of cultural amongst Africans, du Plessis suggested for example that whites should undergo a Christian transformation to “Bantu” character.⁹ This could be achieved through total segregation:

Ostensibly the natives will be absorbed by our culture in fact they will, by obtaining participation in *kaffir* life... shows us that...the whites who have sunk to the level of the *kaffirs* also *interbreed* with them. Differentiation

7. See subsequent references.

8. Shingler argues that there was an important difference between CNE as it applied to themselves and as they applied to the Africans: For themselves they were more concerned with elaborating

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*. [Private translation]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 better attention from D.J. du Toit in his *Naturelle-Opvoeding: Driejaar Plan* (Native Education: Three Year Plan), a speech delivered in 1946. Because of its significance for the policy of apartheid education, I shall examine this document in detail. 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 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 re-nascent, will grow to fruit in a manner natural and unforced, each unspoiled by the other. Such is our simple aim.¹²

10. D.J. 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.

11. B.F. Nel, “Inleidende opmerkinge tot die Afrikaner en naturelle-opvoeding en onderwys,” *Koers*, 8(2), 1940, pp. 24–25.

12. D.J. 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.

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

We are the black man's guardians. It is our duty to bring him up — *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. [Private translation]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 to 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;
- (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;

13. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

- (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 instructing, 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 condition *sine qua non* for white survival and the integrity of Afrikanerdom could not be guaranteed. Blacks began to be portrayed as a potential danger to European civilization, particularly if they were given access to it. 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 (the whites and non-Europeans) were becoming a real danger to one another. That is really the object of whole apartheid policy—the whole object of the policy adopted by this side of the House is to try to ensure 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 completes 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 nation 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 Policy Towards the Natives," "Native Reserves" and "Native Towns." According to Verwoerd, the pamphlets advocated racial separation between whites, Indians, coloureds and Africans, as "the 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 the concentration of the main ethnic groups and sub-groups of the "European" into a self-sufficient unit.¹⁹ The reserves were blessed as the true fatherland of the Natives. "The influx of Africans into the Native in our urban areas must be regarded as a 'visitor', who never have the right to claim any political rights or equal social

16. H.F. Verwoerd, Speech before Parliament, 3 September 1948, in E.H. B. (ed.), *op cit*, p. 5.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

with the Europeans in the European 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 manifest.

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 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

20. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

22. H.C.M. Fourie, "Christelike Nasionale Opvoeding van die natuurel," *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.

25. H. du Plessis, op cit, p. 40.

26. Nel, op cit, p. 66.

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 the Christian and National principles, and to inculcate in them the awareness that their welfare and happiness rests upon their realization that they belong 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 W.W.M. Eiselen,³⁰ P.A.W. Cook,³¹ G. Eloff and H.F. Verwoerd, who ultimately became dominant 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 "scien-

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 on the Education Policy of the Instituut vir Christelike-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. W.W.M. Eiselen, *Stanskoole in Suid-Afrika* (Pretoria: van Schaik, 1929); *Die Nieuwe Vraagstuk* (Cape Town: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1929); "Nuwe Sesoto tekste van volkekundige belang met vertaling en verklarende aantekeninge," *Amale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, VI(V), Afd. 3: 1928.

31. P.A.W. Cook, *Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Barmana* (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, *Die Tuisse vir Nageslag: Die Blywende Oplossing van Suid-Afrika se Rasprobleme* (Cape Town, 1945); H.F. Verwoerd, [several documents] in Edgar H. Broekman (ed.), *Apartheid... op cit*; and B. Rose and R. Tunmer (eds.), *Documents in South African Education* (Johannesburg: Ad. Donker, 1975).

tific 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, 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. [Private translation]³⁵

Within the same line of argument Cronje outlined the policy of apartheid, which in 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 shortsighted in missionary policy. In his view, the missionaries suffered from a lack of insight into the real significance of old customs and be-

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

34. Eiselen was the 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 W.W.M. Eiselen, "The natives living in missionary locations," in E.G. 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.

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

liefs 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 seek and fight only 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

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), the Eiselen Commission (1953) and the 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 views on race relations on a government platform.⁴⁰ The Holloway Commis-

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

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

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

40. J.E. Holloway, Report of the Native Economic Commission (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1932).

sion had the task of collecting facts about the economic and social position of black people in the context of the rapid economic and social change of the 1920s. Its composition 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: J.E. Holloway, Director of Census and Statistics and Dean of Commerce at the University of Pretoria, A.W. Roberts, astronomer and educationist at Lovedale College, P.W. le R. van Niekerk, a Nationalist parliamentarian and a member of the Native Affairs Commission, F.A.W. Lucas, an advocate and leader of the Labour Party in the Transvaal, H.C.M. Fourie, a theologian and anthropologist, R. Anderson, a Natal farmer and A.M. 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.

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 were ascribed to the socio-cultural conditions of black people. It recommended that in order to limit urbanization, guarantee the supply of labour to the 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 and wage regulation.⁴² Most importantly, the Commission considered that to resocialise 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,

41. *Ibid.*, par. 532.

42. *Ibid.*, par. 558.

43. *Ibid.*, par. 552.

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 Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1936 appointed by the Minister of Education in the Hertzog-Smuts United Party government.⁴⁴ The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education did not have significant representation of the Afrikaner nationalist intelligentsia. With the exception of E.G. Malherbe, Director of the Council for Educational and Social Research, the Commission was dominated by senior state officials. It noted that education and "detribalization" tended to become interchangeable terms and criticised missionary education for 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 South 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, 1953

The Eiselen Commission was appointed in 1949 under the Chairmanship of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen to make recommendations for education for Africans as "an independent [*selfstanding*] 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

44. G.H. Welsh, Chairman, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936 Pretoria, Government Printer, 1936.

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 Rela-

should be differentiation between education for whites and education for blacks.⁴⁸

Its report, released in 1951, severely criticized the existing system of education for Africans for different reasons, particularly a 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 the "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 has 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.

tions 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. W.W.M. Eiselen (Chairman), then Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Pretoria and later Secretary for Native Affairs, Prof. J. de W. Keyser, Prof. A.H. Murray, Dr. P.A.W. Cook, Dr. G.B. Gerdener, M.D.C. de Wet Nel (MP), W.A. Hofmeyr and J. Macleod.

49. W.W.M. Eiselen, Chairman, Report of the Native Education Commission, 1949–1951 (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1951), p. 103.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 134–164.

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. Union of South Africa, Report of the Native Education Commission, 1949–1951 (U.G. 53/1951), pp. 129–132.

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 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 should 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 endan-

54. "The aims of Bantu Education," republished in *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 4–9.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–37.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

57. The Commission was heavily dominated by individuals with an Afrikaner nationalist outlook: Prof. F.R. Tomlinson, economist at the University of Pretoria and at the Department of Agriculture; M.D.C. de Wet Nel, member of Parliament and specialist in Native Affairs; C.W. Prinsloo, Assistant Manager of Non-White Affairs for the Pretoria Municipality; J.H. Janse van Rensburg, farmer; G.J. Badenhorst, farmer; C.B. Young, Assistant Vice-Secretary (Development) of the Department of Native Affairs; Prof. C.H. Badenhorst, educationist and theologian; Dr. J.H. Moolman, geographer at the Council for the Development of Natural Resources; and Prof. J.H.R. Bisschop, agronomist.

gered the existence of European civilization and culture; and (2) that if Africans were granted land, education and opportunities for technical training and equal political 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 were 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 re-socialization ("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 (1955) endorsed the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission (1953) and emphasized that black children should be trained to serve in their own "Bantu Community."

Following the recommendations of these two Commissions, a policy was designed aimed at developing within the reserves a social and

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.*, ch. 25.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 202. See B. Rose and R. Turner (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" (Union of South Africa, Report of the Native Education Commission, 1949-1951), p. 130. Both commissions had a vision of an African society in the reserves recreated according to the logic of apartheid.

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 University 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. H. F. Verwoerd, on 7 June 1954.⁶² Verwoerd argued that "mission 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:

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 can-

62. H.F. Verwoerd, "Bantu Education," speech delivered in the Senate, 7 June 1954, in Rose and Turner (eds), *op cit*, pp. 260-266.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

not 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. This was the case in the "homelands" where practically all the schools were single-medium, since the population consisted of members of the same language group. Most schools in the urban areas were also reorganized accordingly. 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 and medium of instruction and 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. Applications for exceptions to this rule were to be motivated and submitted to the Department of Bantu Education.⁶⁶

The Bantu Education Act 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. E.J. de Villiers, "What Bantu Education has already achieved," *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. III (3), pp. 1-2.

66. W.M. Kgware, "Primary and secondary schools in African education in South Africa," Introductory paper presented at the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, 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 the 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 *Motsuwalla wa Bana* and *Umbhobo 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 under the Chairmanship of Dr J.E. Holloway to investigate the possibility of introducing separate training facilities for blacks at universities.⁷⁰ The Commission approved the principle of segregation but rejected the establishment of new universities for blacks on financial grounds. It is notable 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

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

68. G.A. Rauche, "The Bantu and culture," *Bantu Education Journal*, II(10), p. 424.

69. *Cape Times*, 6 May 1965.
70. J.E. Holloway, Chairman, Report of the Commission of Enquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities, 1953-54 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955).

for 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 H.S. van der Walt Committee) to examine the costs incurred in providing separate university facilities for

71. At the time the situation of the Indian community in South Africa was still uncertain. Afrikaner nationalists advocated repatriation of all Indians. Only in 1961 did the Government decide to recognize their rights as permanent residents of South Africa: “Geleidelik het die besef deurgedring en het dit duideliker geword—en stel ons dit dan nou ook onomwonde—Indiërs hier te lande ons permanente verantwoordelikhed is” (*Hansard*, Vol. 108, col. 6631, 16.05.1961). However, right-wing Afrikaner organizations did not accept this decision.

72. A.L. 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.

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 fulfilment 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 from their own national group. It is fatal, and it will always remain fatal,

74. See H.S. 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 11.7.1959. 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. Maree 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).

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 Afrikaans medium institutions in the 1970s and 1980s. The distinctive feature of this development was the creation of new disciplines more ad-

Viljoen and Pienaar, in what has probably been the prescribed book in education in South Africa since the late 1960s, related a new theory and philosophy of education based on positivist and phenomenological traditions, known as Fundamental Pedagogics.⁸⁰ The origins of Fundamental Pedagogics are traced from the influence of German phenomenologists and intellectuals, the publication of M.J. Langeveld's *Beknopte Pedagogiek* in Holland in 1944⁸¹ and C.K. Oberholzer's *in die Prinsipiële Opvoedkunde* in 1954.⁸² Fundamental Pedagogics represents perhaps a sophisticated translation of Christian Education into a theory and philosophy of education. 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 purpose was that:

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

This was also the view of Rupert:

The organised education of the youth of a community is a 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 elementary, no culture and no community. When one t

⁸⁰ T.A. Viljoen and J.J. Pienaar, *Fundamental Pedagogics* (Durban: Butterworths, 1971).

⁸¹ M.J. Langeveld, *Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek* (Amsterdam: Noordhoff, 1944).

⁸² C.K. Oberholzer, *in die Prinsipiële Opvoedkunde* (Pretoria: Butterworths, 1954).

⁸³ T.A. Viljoen and J.J. Pienaar, *Fundamental Pedagogics* (Durban: Butterworths, 1971).

⁸⁴ M.J. Langeveld, *Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek* (Amsterdam: Noordhoff, 1944).

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 everyday 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 argued, are of equal importance to comparative research.⁸⁹ While similarities (the common) and differences (the diverse) may to some extent be 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

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

85. R.M. Rupert, *The Education System in Southern Africa* (Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik Limited, 1976), p. 3.

86. Viljoen & Pernaat, 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. Stone, *The Common and the Diverse*, p. 61.

domain rapidly became dominant in the Afrikaans-ities, the so-called "push colleges" (black universities) of education. It is reflected in the writings of educationists and black writers such as Kgware and

Kgware became a well known personality among officials during the period of implementation of Bantu voice was heard through participation in several through articles published in the *Bantu Education* writings also express a high level of understanding of National Education and manifest the influence of this of his writings, he almost paraphrased the Eiselen C illustrate the importance of "culture" in schooling.⁹¹

Luthuli's writings constitute perhaps the most culture on black education by a black South African, for ideological legitimization for segregated schooling for Africa. His books are an attempt to elaborate the doc-ian National Education and the theories of Fundame-as applied to education for blacks, particularly the Zu-erally his arguments are based on the premise that there is a diversity of cultures, therefore in South Africa; riety of "philosophies of education"; "philosophies every people's educational aims and various peoples "philosophies of life" differently in educational prac-defined as a world view, the philosophy of life of a group assumed as an indicator of cultural difference, of the group or national identity, which must be catered for d a differentiated way by the educational system. Strc

91. See, for example, P.C. Luthuli, *The Philosophical Foundations of Education in South Africa* (Durban: Butterworth, 1981); *An Introduction to Education in South Africa* (Durban: Butterworths, 1982); and *What is Black Education?* (Durban: Butterworths, 1985).

92. Kgware was among the 274 persons who attended the National Congress by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1952 to s-ommunion. He also participated in the 1952 to s-

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 Africanist 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 such minority groups as coloureds and Indians and prevent interracial and cross-ethnic social and political identities. With the popularity of social anthropology in the 1920s and 1930s, the concept of culture came to be used to construct notions of cultural difference and 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 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 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 segregationist sexual intercourse or marriages between people of different "population groups"; and introducing "self-governing homelands," some of which were granted independence.

95. See P.N.G. Beard & W.E. Morrow (eds), *Problems of Pedagogics* (Durban: Butterworths, 1981); L. Chisholm, "Problems in South African educational research" (Association of Sociologists of South Africa Regional Seminar paper, Matiging, April 1983); L. Chisholm & P. Randall, op cit; P. Enslin, "The role of inquiry in Kaffir mental pedagogics in the formulation of educational policy in South Africa," in P. Kallaway (ed.), op cit; P. Fida Rouché, "Pedagogics: A philosophical method or a parasitic ideology," *SA Journal of Education*, 2(4), 1982; W.E. Morrow, "The voice of the people," *Perspectives in Education*, 6(2), Sep. 1982; W.E. Morrow, "Philosophies of education in South Africa," Parts I and II, *SA Journal of Education*, 4(1 & 2), 1984; and W.E. Morrow, *Chains of Thought—Philosophical Essays in South African Education* (Cape Town: Southern Book Publishers, 1989).

cial, economic and political problems determined 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 the policy 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 for the 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 social and political. 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 repression in the urban areas, and co-option, with political and economic accommodation, in the reserves or "homelands." It applied and extended influx control

⁴ *ibid.*, 9(2), September 1987, pp. 3–25; and Jonathan Hyslop, "State education policy and the construction of a new African working class: The case of the Southern

measures systematically and vigorously to regulate the supply of cheap African labour to the urban areas. This chapter discusses the images and metaphors Afrikaner nationalists in their attempts to marginalize mainstream economic and political life and promote identities among them. It focuses on the strategies dating ethno-national consciousness.

Shaping Separate African Identities: Son

References to the policy of bantustanization can be found in the early days of the Union. In 1911, General Hertzog having said that white children and their posterity would more feel the dead weight of lower civilization dragged to the level of their native environment,⁶ unless they were to be completely extirpated.⁶ In 1913, he captured the precise terms:

Let us not take the whole of the Union for ourselves and leave a portion to the natives. Let us leave them to their own nature under the Union Government. In the native territories we should as far as possible not allow the white man to purchase land from natives. We should impose the same restriction in the white areas.

In 1917, Hertzog reminded Afrikaner nationalists that it was not the encroachment of whites into black areas that was the danger but the encroachment of blacks into the white areas. Hertzog separation between the two races was the means of preventing blacks from being granted the same rights as whites. Africans could not have equal rights in the white areas. In the following account in 1925:

Within the native territory, the native should feel at home as he does in his own country.

within his own territory than 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.]⁸

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.]⁹

According to Malan, the intention of 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.¹⁰ It was during his premiership that a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Dr. F.R. Tomlinson was appointed in 1950 to investigate how the reserves could be developed as to serve as "national homes" for the Africans.¹¹ I shall return to this matter later.

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. Fur-

8. *Die Burger*, 04.12.1925.

ther, increasing use must be made of migratory labour, and income must be established as near as possible to the reserves.¹² This came to be justified as a necessary strategy for "removal of danger of conflict and friction between the two racial groups" and the maintained existence of both groups "according to the spheres which were best suited to their nature and tradition" in all the spheres of their national life.¹³

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 could 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.]¹⁴

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 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

12. *Die Transvaler* 28.03.1955.

for the Bantu, can this, namely increasing tension and conflict, be an ideal future, because intermixed development involves disadvantage to both. [priv. trans.]¹⁵

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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷

In the long run I would prefer to have a smaller white state in South Africa which will control its own army, its own

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

16. House of Assembly, Debates, 20.05.1959, col. 6241. See also H.F. Verwoerd, "The Choice: A Racially Integrated Fatherland or a White South Africa?," speech to the House of Assembly, 20 May 1959, p. 22.

17. *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. H.F. 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."

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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹

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

18. House of Assembly, Debates, 20.05.1959, col. 6227.

19. House of Assembly, Debates, 27.01.1959, col. 66.

the White area, to take part in the Government of their Bantu homeland, of their ethnic unit.²⁰

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."²¹

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 a 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.²² 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.²³

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

20. Verwoerd, "The choice..." op cit, p. 6.

21. Ibid., p. 6.

22. 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, 1953), p. XVIII. See Chapter Four for more details.

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 area of South Africa with the political power in the hands of the 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 conditions in Africa have forced us to look to the future and to choose this plan. [priv. trans.]²⁴

To implement the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No 4 of 1959 delimited eight African territories, called "homelands" - outlined in the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill of 1959 explained in an important memorandum. This document stated the objective of the Union Government in setting aside areas was to define and set apart separately the land to which different Bantu communities were linked historically. The logical consequence of setting aside those areas was the recognition of European areas. It pointed out that partial deviation from this would allow the Bantu to move into European areas and which constituted "a departure from policy which cannot be reconciled with the broad principle of separate development for and Bantu in their respective areas." With the rapid industrial process, this would lead to "the eventual integration of the Bantu on European soil," and the development of a separate racial community. Thus the Bantu Authorities Act (1951), the Education Act (1953) and allied administrative steps were taken to pursue the policy of separation that the previous segregationist government had pursued in principle.²⁵

Particular attention was given to the role of the school, which formerly encouraged desertion from Bantu communities, has now, in their hands, become a powerful institutional progress.²⁶ This idea underlined the programmes of the Department of Bantu Education as illustrated by its 1965 Report

24. *Die Transvaler* 25.05.1959.

25. Ibid., p. 6.

26. 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.²⁷

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.²⁸ 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."²⁹ 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.³⁰ In the Europeans areas, it was argued, there was a big demand for unskilled labour but not for skilled labour.³¹ 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,

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

28. 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.

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

30. F.J. 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, Africana Library, Northwestern University. For further details see *Bantu Education Journal*, July 1955, pp. 273-279.

31. De Villiers, *op cit*, p. 3.

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 foresters, business entrepreneurs, mechanics, surveyors, teachers, nurses and chemists.³² 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.³³

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.³⁴ 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

32. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

33. 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)

34. Union of South Africa, "Memorandum . . .", p. 7.

political competition between the African nationalist movement, on the one hand, and the state, on the other.³⁵

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.³⁶ For Sehoole, 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 proof of the position of the chief in relation to the tribe almost to the level of infallibility. Thus any transgression of tribal rules or norms was severely punished so that the unity of the tribe revolved around the chief. The chieftainship was crucial in the process of mobilization by the SANNC and political co-optation of the Bantustans. By winning the chief of the whole tribe,³⁷

Secondly, the relations between the chiefs and the community legitimized through tradition and oral history, which, to family, constitute dominant ideological agencies in Africa. Ideology is transmitted from one generation to another through short stories and proverbs—the cultural heritage—moral lessons about human behaviour and justification of social relations. As has been pointed out, this culture was dated by the liberation movement in its earliest stages in South Africa and the rest of the continent. It was excluded by the apartheid regime and by colonial rule. However, as with modern liberation movements and post-colonial rule, attempts to come to grips with the phenomenon of tribalism and danger of national balkanization.

Thirdly, the apartheid government found in chiefs a leadership that could be co-opted and used to dissipate black resistance and gradually "retribalize" Africans through vitalization and incorporation of traditional structures. The enforcement of repressive measures in the scattered "reserve areas" was becoming too costly and difficult, the Nationalist government adopted a policy of creating an intermediate African collaborators from among the chiefs and the traditional rulers. Following the promulgation of the Bantu Authorities Act, the hierarchy of chiefs was established in the reserves across

tomary 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."³⁹ The distinctive feature of bantustanization is that the co-option of chiefs represented a shift from the classical theory of "indirect rule" to a policy of national Balkanization 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.⁴⁰ 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."⁴¹

39. In South Africa, it had already been suggested by several colonial officials and Dr. John 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. (I.B. Tabata, *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 Kaffriland in our own hands (ibid., p. 104).

Culture, Ethnicity and "Retribalization" in South Africa

The following tables show the dates when these territories "self-governing" or "independent" homelands.

"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 Bantustan policy varied. Most homeland administrations made the same claims used by apartheid officials to the policy of "separate development" and in particular the homelands policy. As articulated by Verwoerd in his inaugural speech, "whether it was residential, territorial or social, did not matter; it envisaged full opportunities for all, to be enjoyed by individuals or groups to the extent to which their different stage of development fitted them. Verwoerd justified the policy of "separate development" as "designed for the happiness, the security and stability provided by an own home, an own language and an own administration for the Bantu as well as the Whites."⁴²

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) played a major role in marketing the policy of bantustanization as articulated by the Tomlinson Commission.⁴³ 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

42. The Director of Information, South Africa House, Trafalgar Square, London.

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. W.A. Landman⁴⁴ 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 version, the African ("a less developed type of man") does not "immediately get rid of his depraved (*bedorue*) 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.⁴⁵ Snijders thought he had developed a Christian and theological justification for the separation and "re-tribalization" 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 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 *voogdskap* (guardianship).⁴⁶ 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 Kerkvereenigings* (FAK) convened a con-

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

45. J.E. Holleman, "SABRA Congress, Stellenbosch, 1958," Report presented to the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, 1958, p. 5.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

ference 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. W.A. Landman, Chairman of SABRA, the conference represented "the most important and decisive moment in the history of the people, overshadowing even Blood River."⁴⁷ 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."⁴⁸ 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 of inviting 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.⁴⁹ The 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."⁵⁰

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 Graaff, 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."⁵¹

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

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

48. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

51. *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 June 1959.

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.⁵² 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 rights of each individual, each race group should be constitutionally protected through federal mechanisms.⁵³

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.⁵⁴

52. 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].)

53. "Document 6. The United Party. From *Handbook for Better Race Relations*," in *1955 Yearbook of the South African Yearbook of International Law* 10, 1 (1955): 10.

The project proposed by the United Party, also known as "Graaff-Racial-Federation Plan," was supported by the Union, the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party, with minorities. However, it did not have significant appeal to the Afrikaner nationalists, who had found a more effective basis in a racialized concept of culture rather than in political terms. The National Party reacted to the project by stating that "racial federation plan for a multi-racial parliament and government is tantamount to the destruction of white rule in the republic of Africa, as in Kenya."⁵⁵ 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 placed by a coloured nation. The National Party restated that "a racial group should govern its own people so that 'the white man' [could] also govern his own country and retain his own government."⁵⁶

For the Christian Nationalists South Africa had evolved into being a multi-racial country to a multi-national country. This particular challenge to 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 by 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.⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸

African traditional leadership became divided in its reactions to the bantustanization project. Some chiefs associated with the African nationalist movement such as Albert Lutuli 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 Moramoche Sekhukhune in Lebowa. Those who accepted collaboration with the apartheid government either supported bantustanization as part of the apartheid policy or assumed ambiguous and 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.⁵⁹

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

57. W.W.M. Eiselen, "Opening address," 1969 *Conference on Bantu Education* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 16-17 January 1969), p. 18.

58. Eiselen, "Opening address," op cit, p. 19.

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

"total demolition" of both whites and blacks and the cre coloured race in which the worst characteristics of both ra merge into a national character of a new community with ture of its own.⁶⁰

It would be the silliest imaginable thing to attempt thi it will not only create endless conflict in our heterogen community in South Africa, but it would bedevil the pe ful progress of all races, and the country, in such a that it would be more of a retrogressive than a progres step to take.

The Bantu race in South Africa and...in the whole of African continent is proud of its own heritage and does regard it as an unblemished and unmixed blessing if, when, the White politician condescends to invite him to tegrate with the White community, politically and socia It must be a very ignorant Bantu who does not realize t such integration with the White people will call for the s rifice of those national and cultural possessions that more precious to him than any questionable and temj rary relation he may experience at being able to indulge everything in which the White man can indulge in his o' areas.

On the other hand, it must be a very ignorant and fooli White man who does not realize that such integratic while being unpalatable to him in the first instance, will d mand from him the sacrifice of those national and cultu attributes which he cherishes as much as the Bantu do his.⁶¹

Matanzima became known in South African politics for regi ing Verwoerdian ideas and by his consistency in implem apartheid policies for the sake of the "self-determination" Xhosa people. Chief L.M. Mangope followed the same p: Matanzima. When he was appointed as the chief councillor Tswana Territorial Authority in 1968, he said:

60. Ibid., p. 2.

61. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

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.⁶²

In the case of Kwazulu, the Zulu 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.⁶³

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 a 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 new Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the most outspoken Africa's homeland leaders, who told delegates at Egypt that he was using his Transkei powerbase as against the very system which created it.⁶⁴ He explained as follows:

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

Besides the degrees of opposition or acceptance of policy there is another important dimension in which it must be understood. In some cases they were apparent in the hearts and the minds of significant numbers of "homeland" leaders by refining the apartheid policy and adding a new peeling rationale or justification to it. As illustrated in the case of the Transkei, a sense of identity among "homeland" population made this process, education was used as an instrument building within the ideological and political parameters of apartheid. This was for example the case of Bophuthatswana under the leadership of Mangope and Buthelezi. I shall briefly illustrate how education came to play a role in shaping ethnic identities in the "homelands" by examining the post-independence education policy in Bophuthatswana. I shall highlight the particular educational and cultural policies designed to build or the entrenchment of Tswana ethnicity. In doing so, I shall use two key concepts, namely the *correlated rationale* and the concept of *authentic rationale*.

Displaced rationale refers to the rationale put forward by apartheid authorities (e.g. Verwoerd and Eiseelen) and endorsed by some homeland leaders (e.g. Matanzima), which justified the implementation of homeland policy outside the national

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 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 Pelaelo Lekhela.⁶⁶ 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 and for the development of an educational system "worthy of an independent, self-respecting, autonomous nation."⁶⁷

The Commission started by recognizing that though the "tribe" had always played a dominant role as the traditional unit of organization and the centre of cultural development, there had 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."⁶⁸ The Report stressed that the people of Bophuthatswana were

66. The Commission included a variety of enlightened white and black members (Chairman: C.N. Lekalake (Vice-Chairman);

set on a course where their own culture "will not be nurtured so that it flourishes rather than decays."⁶⁹ As port highlighted the distinctiveness of this culture by "World-and-Life views" of the Batswana of Boputhatswana of Boputhatswana, which was to constitute the parture of a new education system, was characterized by the multiplicity of principles which according to the report was as expressed in the words *Re bana ba Modimo* (We are the Lord). The second was the principle of the equal status of individual and the rejection of discrimination and superiority complexes. It was reported that the Batswana *Bana ba thari e ntsho—karolo ya lobopo lotlhe—ba* (Children of the black "kaross," part of the whole of humanity, are all alike). The third principle was the belief in the "ecology of life," which mediates any social activity of individualism, it was argued, need not be antagonistic but supplementary to each other. This made it possible for "the pace with the challenge of modernization and the circumstances of life without losing the essential Batswana-ness."⁷⁰

On the basis of the above philosophical premises the Commission set itself to design an educational ideal in which the culture, beliefs, and the world-and-life view, as well as "national" aspirations of Bophuthatswana, would be crystallized. Having investigated had been taken to mould the different Batswana tribes in the nation. It also concluded that the concept *popagano* (moulding the highest aspirations of families, tribes and groups of Batswana, hence the concept of *education for popagano*, Commission recommended. According to the Commission, in this concept was "the belief of Bophuthatswana in the ideal of national cohesion and unity."

pled; as well as faith and confidence in its people and its future.⁷¹ 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 were 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."⁷² The educational goals for Bophuthatswana as a whole included 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 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

71. *Ibid.*, p. 18.72. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

the understanding of major world problems and international co-operation.⁷³

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 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 culture in education is likely to be suspected of wishing to retard the African's participation in the economic progress of South Africa.⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ It soon became obvious that the under-developed areas set aside for the homelands could not accommodate all the black people. Despite influx control measures and forced removals the tide of black people

73. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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

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

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."⁷⁶ These factors led to 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 homeland people. New images about the past, new meanings about social life, new history texts have been forged in people's minds in the 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 under-researched. 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.⁷⁷ 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 and rituals. 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 was generally adopted by the Bantustan bureaucracy in South Africa. Genealogy constitutes the main criterion for political appointments and national administration.

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 has been 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 were among the main recruits of counter-revolutionary organizations such as RENAMO and UNITA.

The third approach involved the selective incorporation and re-direction of tradition, including chieftainship, according to newly-established political ideals. Only those chiefs and traditional institu-

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷⁷ This was for example the position assumed by RENAMO in Mozambique in its war against the ruling party, FRELIMO. RENAMO often accused FRELIMO of having

marginalized the traditional leadership from Mozambican politics. Similarities could be found in UNITA and FNLA in Angola.

tions 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 played important political roles.

The above approaches are intertwined 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 was used by both the apartheid authorities and their African opponents to promote or justify their political ideals. It was also readily used by the mass media to show in what ways Africans were really *different*, by displaying differences in their lifestyles, rituals, and customs.⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹

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.⁸⁰ 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:

The South African TV Channels one and two have been outstanding in this regard. 79. 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.

80. Note that no attempt has been made to problematize the concept of tradition although several accounts have been made of African food, music, social and political traditions.

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 originated long ago and to have been handed down from generation to generation is thus placed in the category "traditional."⁸¹

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 in the structures of colonial economies.⁸² 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 barbarous.⁸³

81. Spiegel & Boonzaier, op cit, p. 40.

82. See for example Andrew Webster, *Introduction to the Sociology of Development* (London: Macmillan, 1984), pp. 44–63.

83. 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. Lequer, *Equality, the Third World and Economic Delusion* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981). These authors held the view that modernisation is primarily a cultural

"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 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.⁸⁴ 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 some analysts as a constellation of cultures with a Western or modern culture dominating the main urban areas, particularly so-called "white South Africa," and a periphery of "traditional" cultures.⁸⁵ The former was seen as dynamic, diverse and individualistic; the latter as unchanging, homogeneous and communal. It was assumed in this conceptualization: (1) that traditions were handed down from past generations in an essentially unchanged form; (2) that, where traditions had suffered any form of change, these were restored and preserved by the policy of "separate development" and constituted the basis of cultural diversity; and (3) that traditions were 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. African institutions and practices such as *lobola* (a bridewealth payment for the transfer of a woman's reproductive, productive and sexual services) and 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

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.

84. See D.C. 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).

85. J.K. Coetzee, *Development Models in the Third World* (Societas: NRA, 1980).

closer inspection, turn out to have been imposed from outside. They have a semblance of continuity with the past only because they are described as such.⁸⁶ 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. S.J. 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 ma-

86. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

terial we have which can take up the leadership in our national development. Today we have men... equal to any 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.⁸⁷

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 particular 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 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 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.

87. See Constitution of Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly, 1972, Chapter III, Part V, 13(1), p. 130. 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.

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, 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 concept of "New South African-

1. E.H. Brookes, *Power, 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.

ism. "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 *Ruiterswag*, 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 (Re)volution*, Willem de Klerk, brother of the former State President F.W. 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 African; (4) from insecurity to security; (5) from acceptance to examination; and (6) from problems to solutions.⁴

2. Quoted in F. van der Stoep, Chairman, *Report of the Work Committee: Education Principles and Policy* (Pretoria: HSRG, 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 exclusivist white South Africanism of Smuts.

3. Willem de Klerk, *The Second (Re)volution - Afrikanerdom and the Crisis of Identity* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1984), pp. 1-29.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

As a result, 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 "jaager mentality" and those who pragmatically widen their identity and reject "pre-cooked and pre-packaged" answers, i.e. the *verkrampes* and the *verligtes*.⁷

The distinction between *verligte* and *verkrampte* 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 *verligtes* 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 *verligtes* and the *verkrampes* can be illustrated by several events in the last two decades. These include for example the formation of the *Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)* in 1969, the creation of the Conservative Party (CP) under the leadership of Dr. A.P. Treurnicht in 1982, and ideological dissensions within the Dutch Reformed Churches.

Beyers Naudé 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

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. *Verkrampte*, which is not even in the *Tweelinge Woordboek*, 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.

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 oneness 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 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,"

10. See N.J. Smith (ed.), *Stormkompas* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 1981).

11. De Klerk, *op cit*, pp. 23-24.

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. C.W.H. Boshoff, founder of the *Afrikanervolksweg* (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 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

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." C.W.H. Boshoff, "A people's fight: What has been achieved and the road ahead," address to the second congress of the *Afrikanervolksweg*, 11th and 12th July 1986, p. 1.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

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 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 F.W. de Klerk was to put it in 1990:

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

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

another."²⁰ Among other things, the guidelines proposed government institutions for whites, coloureds and Indians; a framework of a tricameral Parliament; (2) autonomy for "homelands"; (3) the right to full-fledged independent part of self-governing "homelands"; and (4) own autonomous government institutions for all "population groups." Lines recognized that it had been a mistake from the beginning to believe that independent homelands for blacks could be a solution to South Africa's race problems.

In considering the factors which led to this policy progress made by the liberation movements in South Africa (Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola) had increased the majority of the South African minority regime. Secondly, white resistance to apartheid made the policy of "total repression" less effective. Important concessions had to be made to the movement, the developing black middle class, youth and labour. Thirdly, the economic recession of the 1970s and the loss of capital called for liberalization of the economy as suggested by liberal criticism since the sixties.²² Fourthly, the Nationalist government had to respond to these pressures in an effective manner led to increasing tensions within the leadership, the symptoms of which included shifting loyalties, the search for new identities. These developments precipitated by the events in Eastern Europe and in the ex-Soviet Union shall now turn to the two main conflicting movements, the *volk* and their implications for the future of Christian Nationalism.

A Second Trek? "Organized Culture" and Struggle for the Survival of Afrikanerdom

The concept of a "second trek" is used here to refer to the ideas and processes whereby the conservative wing of Afrikaner nationalism has attempted to overcome the crisis of identity and the *volk* and reconstitute the Afrikaner nation.