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THE  
CRIMES  
OF  
BANTU  
EDUCATION

In  
SOUTH AFRICA

by  
JANE GOOL

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CRIMES  
OF  
BANTU EDUCATION**

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# PART I

## THE CRIME OF BANTU EDUCATION

### *Mortal Blow at the most vulnerable and defenceless - the child.*

Perhaps the greatest crime that can be inflicted on any people is to strike a blow at its youth—the most defenceless. Bantu Education in South Africa does precisely that. The Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953, five years after the National Party, under Verwoerdian control came to power. It was designed with only one purpose in view, namely, to deprive the most vulnerable sector of the population—the African child of obtaining a modern, free, and enlightened education.

In his own country, the land of his birth, he will see the magnificent buildings, the well-equipped schools, the spacious lawns, the well-kept playing fields and other amenities but these are not for him. These are for the children of the Herrenvolk (a term commonly used in South Africa to designate the White ruling class Herrenvolk policy specifically states: 'The education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society ... the limits (of Native education) form part of the social and economic structure.' Thus the African child born in a society which designates him as an inferior human being, must be taught in a manner to fit him to take his position in that society as an inferior. That is as clear as a pikestaff. As Dr. Verwoerd himself boldly stated when he was Minister of Native Affairs:

'My Department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the Reserves (i.e. Bantustans) and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu Society ... the basis of the provision and organisation of education in a Bantu Community should, where possible, be the tribal organisation'. Moreover, 'There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of CERTAIN FORMS OF LABOUR.

... 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 is NOT ALLOWED TO GRAZE.' (Our emphasis) This fairly sums up the attitude of the Broederbond Government in South Africa.

With this purpose in mind a debased form of schooling was meticulously drawn up and imposed on the youth of a poverty-stricken population, despite their bitter opposition, with a rancour and malevolence hitherto undreamt-of. The wounding evil of apartheid in its most dire and terrible form is seen in this monstrosity called 'Bantu Education'. After a decade of this debased education it is possible to see the heavy toll it has taken and the inroads it has made on those institutions that had formerly set an example to the whole of Africa for its comparatively advanced system of education. The bitter price that the African child has to pay and is paying today will be felt for generations after.

## BANTU SCHOOLS

There are today approximately 7,000 African schools in the whole of South Africa. Perhaps to call these schools is a euphemism for some of them are halls, tents, stoeps, ramshackle buildings, in fact any structure with a shelter where children can be accommodated. Out of these 7,000 schools, only 169 are Government schools, the rest being state-aided on a pound for pound basis. These schools are manned by 28,000 teachers of whom 500 are White. The general average in every class is 70 children. There is a hunger for education probably unequalled anywhere in the whole of Africa but this hunger is deliberately denied satisfaction with a cold and heartless brutality.

The proud boast of the racialists in South Africa is that they have more African children in school today than anywhere on the African continent amounting to about 1,710,857 children in 1964, in primary schools alone. According to their Minister of Education, Bantu education is chiefly responsible for this increase. Let us examine this boast more carefully. First of all we are not told what proportion of the total number of school-going children this is. A reporter in a Johannesburg paper estimates that about ten thousand children of African parentage daily roam the streets in Johannesburg alone. We may guess what happens in the huge locations surrounding this big city. To carry our point further, as to what happens to the children who manage to find places in school, the enrolment of children in 1950 was carefully tabulated and their progress followed through to matriculation. Out of 200,000 children enrolled in Sub A in 1950, only 968 reached Form 5 and 362 passed matriculation. That is to say, only one child out of more than 500 children passed matriculation and was ready to enter university. But this group still had the advantages, meagre as they were, of pre-Verwoerdian education. Now under the full withering blast of Bantu Education the results have further deteriorated. The Rand Daily Mail 10 April, 1965, stated that .1 per cent of African children reached matriculation. In fact however the position is much worse, for the Sunday Times of the 23rd May, 1965 went so far as to state that the actual percentage of passes in matriculation had dropped to .06 per cent. That is to say 3 children out of every ten thousand enrolled, succeeded in obtaining a pass in matriculation.

Miss Muriel Horrell in a booklet called 'A decade of Bantu Education' (Race Relations) gives facts and figures for April, 1964, as stated by the Minister of Education, in Parliament.

Primary Schools	...	...	...	1,710,857
Secondary	...	...	...	53,683
Vocational,	...	...	...	5,720
University	...	...	...	630

Of those in primary schools, 43.47 per cent are in Sub-standards A and B  
 28.27 per cent are in standards I and II  
 15.59 per cent are in standards III and IV  
 9.62 per cent are in standards V and VI

Thus we find 71.74 per cent are in the infant classes with a loss of 56 per cent after Standard II. In other words more than half of the children enrolled leave school after Standard II.

In 1963, she states, that out of 51,818 children who passed standard VI only 5,660 passed VII, a net loss of 88 per cent.

In 1963, standard VI passes were 57,310 with only 7,456 passes in Standard VII, a net loss of nearly 87 per cent.

The Daily Dispatch (East London) 16 February, 1961 gives the following matriculation figures under Bantu Education from 1953-1961.

Year	No, of candidates	No, of passes	% passes
1953	547	259	47.3
1954	523	234	44.7
1955	...	...	38.7
1956	768	...	46.1
1957	...	...	39.2
1958	...	...	37.6
1959	...	..	18.8
1960	...	...	17.9
1961	...	...	25.2

The last two figures were quoted from the Star, 26 February, 1962.

From these facts certain conclusions can well be drawn

- (a) The largest enrolment and highest percentage of passes in matriculation were obtained during those years immediately after the passing of the Bantu Education Act before the full deterrent impact of the Act was felt.
- (b) That the sharp drop in passes despite the increasing numbers in schools is clearly due to the lowering of the former standards as a 'direct result of the policy of apartheid and the imposition of tribal education.
- (c) That the best teachers who had the welfare of education at-heart and who had protested against the Act were summarily dismissed these numbered hundreds.
- (d) That many of the best brains in the community had left the profession.

However, more shocking statistics are revealed in the Daily Dispatch, 6 January, 1965. This newspaper revealed the rock-bottom, plummeting of graduates at Fort Hare, South Africa's oldest and premier Non-White college. It states that in 1954, 374 students had enrolled and close to 300 took degree courses. There were 113 doing first year, 92 doing second year and 85 were in the third year. Of these, 54 passed the B.A. and B.Sc. courses.

In 1964, a decade after, the roll had dropped to 274 ... a hundred fewer. Out of these 274 students, 63 wrote English 1 in the first year and out of this number 44 failed... a net loss of 70 per cent.

The articles goes on to state the serious position of Bantu 'University' education. 'A study of the examination results list showed a remarkable drop in zoology, anthropology and political science passes. Fort Hare's output of graduates also almost hit the bottom ..... *15 as compared with 50-70 passes in the previous years*'. (Our emphasis) Only 6 passed in the Arts and 7 in the sciences. Continuing, the Dispatch quotes a statement from an educationist who states ..... enrolment at Fort Hare today included a greater number of non-degree students'. In other words, the academic courses are being sacrificed in the interests of theological courses where matriculation is not demanded as an entrance qualification. Fort Hare is by way of becoming a theological institution.

He also reveals the growing take-over of these academic institutions by the Whites. 'Many posts which could have been filled by competent African graduates were exclusively advertised for Whites. Last year there were 24 White professors and one African professor; Lecturers included 37 Whites and 10 Africans. THE WHITE MEMBERS OF THE STAFF WERE ALL PAID FROM THE BANTU EDUCATION FUND DRAWN FROM AFRICAN TAXES'. (Our emphasis) The same paper, 16 January, 1965 in an article entitled "Higher Pay for Fort Rare Whites" states that : 'A recent further improvement in the salaries of the white professors and lecturers at Fort Hare University had caused discontent among their non-white colleagues in the faculties. Before the Bantu Education Department took over the institution there was no discrimination in academic salaries. Whites and Non-Whites were paid at the same rate, according to their qualifications and experience. Today there are three rates: Whites, Protected Non-Whites. (Those who were there before the Bantu Education Department took over) and Bantu.

The differential salary scales are:

<i>Whites</i>				1 Rand = 10 Shillings.
Professor	...	...	...	R 4350 x 150 x 6000
Senior Lecturer	..	..	..	R 3450 x 150 x 5100
Lecturer	...	...	..	R 2550 x 150 x 4200
Junior Lecturer	...	...	..	R 1800 x 150 x 3200

In addition the White staff receive a territorial allowance of R 500 a year for a professor, R 400 for a married lecturer and R 200 for an unmarried lecturer.

*Protected Non-Whites:*

Professor	...	R 3900 x 150 x 4500
Senior Lecturer	...	R 3060 x 120 x 3900
Lecturer	...	R 2100 x 120 x 3060
Junior Lecturer	...	R 1500 x 120 x 2100

*Bantu:*

Professor	...	...	...	R 3480 x 120 x 4200
Senior Lecturer	...	.		R 2760 x 120 x 3480
Lecturer	...	...		R 2052 x 84 x 2640 x 120 x 2760
Junior Lecturer	...	...		R 1440 x 60 x 1800 x 84 x 2052

Continuing the Dispatch states

'It is reported in Alice (Fort Hare) that African professors and lecturers at the other Bantu tribal colleges, all of which are new are also dissatisfied because their pay is even LOWER than that of a senior (White) lecturer at Fort Hare. (Our emphasis)

Here is a typical example of Apartheid in practice even at the higher institutions.

In an article called 'Startling Facts about Bush Colleges' (Sunday Times) 23 May, 1965 the picture becomes even more dismal and reveals the critical and parlous state of this fraud called Bantu Education. Mr. L. F. Wood, Member of Parliament (U.P.) has this to say in Parliament.

'After five years there are still only 946 African students enrolled at these colleges-312 at Fort Hare; 391 at the University College of Zululand (Ngoya) and 243 at Turfloop, the University College of the North. Of the 946 students 700 are matriculated.

'Bantu education as applied in the schools, is simply not producing enough matriculants. The latest pass figures show that out of a total of 1,800,000 African pupils, only .06 per cent reached matriculation.

'This year, 636 African pupils passed the matriculation examination—of an African population of 11 million.'

In his analysis Mr. Wood inter alia, touched upon one most important, salient fact. 'Assuming', said Mr. Wood, 'That all the 109 matriculants who passed the

matriculation with mathematics proceed to university colleges, they would represent 10 per cent of the total enrolment at the colleges, and from that small proportion of 10 per cent would come the engineers (civil, mechanical and electrical) the surveyors, the doctors, the chemists, and the architects—because mathematics is an essential subject for these professions'.

Mr. Wood also dealt with the staff position at the three colleges, showing that for the 946 students, there is a staff of 234, of whom 177 are on the academic staff. Of the 177 academic staff members. 26 are Non-White.

'This' he comments, 'gives a ratio of 1 lecturer to every 5 students. In another setting other than that of a 'Bush College' this would be educational luxury.'

Mr. Wood is not against apartheid in principle, make no mistake about that, but he deplores the waste of money and the expense involved when it does not bring in returns. As he states : When the doors of these (tribal) colleges opened, the doors of the other (White or open) universities were shut to the Non-Whites except by Ministerial permission. The position now is that the state has allocated R 15.2 million this year to the White universities with their 333,526 students (out of 3 million White inhabitants) and million rand to the African tribal colleges alone with their meagre 946 students (out of 11 million African population), i.e. to 1 per cent of the Whites who enter universities compared to .0008 per cent of the African population.

For him, 'They (the Tribal colleges) are an unnecessary expense, not only because they absorb money that could be spent on 'open' universities but also they can be spent on paying African teachers better salaries thereby raising the proficiency level'.

### ***WHERE DO THESE PROFESSORS AND LECTURERS IN THE TRIBAL COLLEGES COME FROM?***

'I believe' said Mr. Wood, 'that they come from the White universities and the technical colleges and I believe that they accepted these positions because they were offered several advantages. I believe that the salary position was perfectly satisfactory and because they had so few students to lecture to, they had greater opportunities to engage in research and to further their own studies'. This is a remarkable understatement but it *does* give a picture of the venality of the Broederbond Government.

However there are certain conclusions to be drawn from the above facts.

- (a) In addition to the few numbers who are able to take matriculation, the subjects available to the African students are minimal. The teaching of mathematics is almost nonexistent and those schools which do take mathematics are booked out. This is not an accident nor is it the

scholastic inability of the African student to learn. The creation of this bottleneck is part of the policy. When Dr. Verwoerd introduced the Bantu Education Bill he said

'What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice ... that is quite absurd'.

- (b) The drop in Zoology, anthropology and political science must be placed directly at the door of this discriminatory policy. Some evidence is supplied by Mr. I. B. Tabata in his book called 'Education for Barbarism'. He states inter alia: 'The old text books on science, history and even languages are declared taboo. New ones considered suitable for Bantu schools are being written by servants of the Native Affairs Department. A furious lucrative industry has been set up. Hack writers and people who, judged by the standards of the Education Department, would be regarded as philistines, are manufacturing books for Bantu schools? One may be certain that the books churned out by these literary hacks have as their sole qualification the propagation of Nazi education which is the Nationalist concept of Education. Mr. I. B. Tabata quotes excerpts from the Broederbond policy of education to show their attitude towards the secular sciences, '...the secular sciences should be taught according to the Christian-Nationalist view of life. In no single science may the light of God's truth be absent ... It is all important, therefore, that the teaching staff (of universities) should be convinced Christian-Nationalist scientists.'

Thus according to the Verwoerdian type of education, the theory of evolution should be discarded and Adam and Eve once more resurrected to the throne of honour. All scientific knowledge should be made taboo and those truths which are unavoidable, must be twisted to fit in with the theory of the White master-race. Tribalism would be glorified as the only stable and permanent society for the development of the African people but certainly not as a stage in the development of mankind.

- (c) That the indoctrination of the African students cannot be entrusted to any section of the community except to the rabid racist, who believes in Christian-National education i.e. the Nazi concept of education. More and more evidence is mounting to the effect that the Afrikaners are monopolising all the faculties of the five Bush colleges (3 for the Africans, and 1 respectively for the Coloured and Indian people).

- (d) That the shocking failure in English can be traced directly to the neglect of English in the primary schools as we shall later reveal and the general axing of school libraries throughout South Africa when Bantu Education was imposed. The famous school-library at Lovedale which had for so many decades proved an inspiration to generations of students was summarily axed and its books sold for a mere pittance. Today it houses shovels and picks, a fitting testimony to the Afrikaner's deep fear of culture and education and his narrow concept of the kind of education the Black child should receive.
- (e) That for a section of the White population Bantu education kills two birds with one stone. It carries out the dictates of the Apartheid policy and is not only extremely lucrative both for the industrialists and White farmers in providing a ready supply of cheap illiterate labour but caters for the need of the White Afrikaner intellectuals and species of that kind, through the provision of extremely lucrative jobs at the Bantu colleges and the publication of their books. In fact these jobs are sinecures for the Afrikaners of Stellenbosch and Pretoria, without fear of competition on the open market. What is more, the impoverished Black population has to pay for this indoctrination by these peddlers in herrenvolk ideas. They are, therefore, doubly penalised.

The question that now arises is: are the professors and lecturers decided on the basis of merit and experience? Let us hear from the Bill to establish University Apartheid. It laconically states

'The power to appoint, transfer or discharge persons employed at any University college shall ... be vested in the Minister who may delegate any or all of the said powers to the Secretary (i.e. the Secretary of Native Affairs).

But as Mr. Tabata stated

'Worse than that he can delegate these powers of appointment and dismissal to any officer of the N.A.D. If it is born in mind that all Bantu Education has to come under the control of Bantu Authorities and higher education under Territorial Authority (which is the highest Bantu authority) it can be imagined how lecturers and professors will have to operate in a strait jacket and kow-tow to the various chiefs and other officers in the N.A.D ....'

'Regulations governing their appointment show an obsession with misconduct'. There are 18 misconduct clauses at present.

'A professor or lecturer will be deemed guilty of misconduct if he publicly comments adversely upon the administration of any department of his Government or of any province or of the territory of South West Africa.....He is not only forbidden to identify himself with any propaganda, but he is guilty of an offence if he propagates any idea .... calculated to impede ..... the activities of any Government .... etc. etc.'

The case of Mr. C. M. C. Ndamse, senior lecturer in Social anthropology and Native Administration of the University College of Fort Hare who was summarily dismissed from his post on the 21 April, 1965, is a more recent example of the demands made by Broederbond politicians to place the teaching staff of these colleges under their complete subjection. According to the Daily Dispatch, 22 April, 1965, Mr. Ndamse said that the allegations against him arose from an address he had given on the 19 February 1965, at the invitation of the Study Committee of the Department of African Studies of the University of South Africa. His paper was on the problem of teaching Native Administration in the new tribal colleges. After this lecture he was accused of misconduct for having made certain statements. Among these statements he was alleged to have said

- (a) that the policy of separate development was not carried out by lesser officials. It had been declared by policy makers.
- (b) That African educational institutions like Healdtown and Lovedale were under the exclusive control of White Governing Councils.
- (c) That there were more White members on the staffs in these institutions than Africans.

Following upon this, the press released a statement from the Registrar of the University College of Fort Hare, a Mr. J. du Preez to the effect:

'Mr. Ndamse was reported to the Council of the institution for a serious breach of discipline, for insubordination and for having behaved in a manner which was academically and professionally reprehensible .... was suspended on March 22 by the Rector and (was) at the same time served with a formal charge of misconduct ....The Council (after a formal enquiry) resolved .... that Mr Ndamse be dismissed as from April 21, 1965'.

The Minister of Bantu Education, W. A. Maree confirmed this decision as would be expected and Mr. Ndamse was immediately dismissed without having the right to seek redress in an open court of justice.

Even Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei Bantustan and a supporter of Apartheid, who happened to be his personal friend, could not save him from the wrath of his masters.

**NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES LEAPING AHEAD IN  
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION**

The Cape Times, 4 November, 1963 in an article called 'Educational Gap Closing', has this to say

'The claim is constantly being made by our Ministers and others that South Africa leads the African field as far as the education of her Bantu citizens is concerned. But one wonders whether the gap is not being closed very rapidly in the field of African university education.

'We used once to boast that South Africa had produced 2,300 African graduates .... The rest of sub-Saharan African.....could only claim to have produced 1,700. The University position has changed dramatically in the last decade. Sub-Saharan Africa now has 15 University colleges, while South Africa has 13, including the five non-White (tribal) institutions.

'There are now some 10,000 Africans undergoing university training and another 30.000 overseas.

'South Africa's Non-White students overseas today can only be numbered in dozens.

'But it is no longer even a matter of comparing South Africa with the rest of Africa. East Africa, for instance, is already training more Non-White students in university institutions than there are Non-White students in all South African universities."

The writer goes on to say that the figure for Non-Whites in South Africa today (1963) is hardly an advance on its 1954 position and that in East Africa alone it is 1000 per cent in advance of our 1954 position.

'Where East Africa is beginning to draw away from South Africa in the field of advanced training and higher education is the quite staggering number of its people who are undergoing such training overseas. Something like 7000 East Africans, some 4000 of them Kenyans, are overseas being educated in skills and academic courses.'

What this picture reveals, in essence, is the stark tragedy of our youth and the stultification and retardation of those qualities which distinguish the youth from all other sections, namely that spirit of enquiry, that idealism and freshness that they bring to all matters apparently stable and acceptable to the rest of the population. The aim of Bantu Education is precisely to crush this spirit, to rob the youth of having any access to free, modern and enlightened education which will lead to the promotion of the whole society in South Africa. The youth

who are fleeing the country in search of this precious knowledge, do so in the hope that the newly liberated countries will come to their aid and open the doors of their schools and universities to them. They are hungry and starving for education, the kind of education they are deprived of and have risked their 01 to obtain it BUT IT MUST NOT BE AT THE RISK OF SACRIFICING THEIR IDEALS FOR A SOUTH AFRICA FREE FROM HERRENVOLKISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM,

14, July, 1965.

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**Part II ↓**

## PART II

### THE CRIME OF BANTU EDUCATION

If what is happening at the Bush Colleges is an act of felony, touching an infinitesimal (albeit an important) section of the population, then primary and secondary education under Bantu Education is a national disaster, all the more dastardly because it is perpetrated against the most innocent and most defenceless.

While education for the Whites is free and obligatory up to the age of 16 years with free books, for the African child it is exactly the contrary. Moreover, the African parent is specifically taxed to provide his children with this indoctrinated schooling. While all other sections obtain funds for education out of the common treasury to which all members of the population contribute, no provision is made for African education from this Treasury. A certain amount of 6½ million pounds is granted out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund which is roughly estimated as poll-tax receipts which only the Africans have to pay. But the Treasury which is based on the taxation arising from profits in industrial projects, mining, property to which the Africans contribute so much in labour and starvation wages is not permitted to allocate a single penny towards African education. In fact conditions are made so difficult for the African parent that it becomes an insuperable burden even to maintain his children much less than afford them a modicum of education.

The Rand Daily Mail, a Johannesburg paper. 22 May, 1965 gives a vivid picture of the inside of one of these Bantu Schools. There are 7000 of them in South Africa with approximately 1,800,000 children attending them according to the latest figures. The scene is Mamelodi, a sprawling African township just outside Pretoria, the grandiose administrative capital of the Pretoria Government where the apparatus for working out the more refined methods of oppression under the apartheid policy is worked out, perfected and applied with the utmost care and precision. Mamelodi, the home of about 90,000 people (fast increasing) has one high school and about 14 primary schools. Most of the primary schools now have to hold three daily sessions to cope with the children.

The article states:

"For the 'babies' lessons start at 7.30 a.m. At 10.30 a.m. they are joined by second-session pupils and the overflow third-session starts

at 1.30 p.m. When the first two sessions are joined, the teachers are sometimes faced with a class of 100"

"Books are a precious rarity to be shared by many. Where there are sometimes no desks at all and where a two-seater seats four. Wherein Winter, pupils bring strips of cardboard to sit on and ward off the cold of a concrete floor. And where hunger dulls the brain."

In these few lines is defined the concentration-camp mentality of the South African herrenvolk. What the teacher and the child have to endure is a purgatory. Consider the concrete floor on which the child has to kneel, to write, to sit, amidst disorder, dirt, slush, bitter cold and overcrowding and yet to call this a school to boot, is to make words lose their meanings.

The question to ask is, what kind of education can be imparted under conditions as primitive as this. It is therefore not surprising that teachers say: "Children spend a year in a class and learn nothing or little before they move up to the next. Those of average intelligence may never be able to catch up ... it is impossible to hold the children's attention."

"In a very full class, the teacher can't even walk through the room to get to those at the back. It would mean climbing over children who sit on the floor and in the passages. .... Under Bantu Education the time table allows only 20 minutes to each subject, writing, reading, arithmetic, health etc."

The long-suffering teachers say: "What kind of hygiene can you teach in these conditions.....A principal (of a school) asks for 60 reading books, got two."

The tale goes on:

"Extra teachers - not all qualified and many with only a standard six education help out with the third sessions. They are paid from the funds of the school boards and may earn as little as R10 per month. Parents already taxed for education and sharing the costs of building on a pro-rata basis with the Government are asked reluctantly by some boards to help raise money for desks discarded by White schools."

The article then concludes by saying that apart from the shortage of reading books, the lack of space and time, the inadequacy of desks and equipment, teachers struggle endlessly against physical and mental exhaustion.

This is a typical example of what goes on in Bantu schools in towns, worse in the country.

## ***TRIBAL SCHOOLS BY DECREE.***

All these Bantu schools are run on an ethnic basis. In other words, Bantu schools are tribal schools. Seven African languages are recognised and the children of each particular tribal group are taught through the medium of their mother tongue. A limited number of books in these seven tribal languages are printed and the schools are not permitted to lend these to the children nor to sell them. They are the property of the schools. One can imagine the work that all this entails to the overworked teacher. Keeping strict count of them in class, watching them in circulation, keeping them in some medium of cleanliness are some of the time-consuming daily chores of the teachers.

But to the child it is a tragedy. The lack of books at his disposal, the deprivation of the right to own his book for his own particular and personal use into which he can dip whenever he is in the mood to do so, to read ahead, to play about with words and accustom himself to the delights of the language—all these joys he is not permitted to taste because the regulations stand on guard against him becoming at all familiar with the joys of the intellect. He often has to share a tattered book with four or five others and when the all-too short lesson is over these are collected and put under lock and key. The worst aspect of the meagre supply of reading material is that it is a carefully calculated policy in order to retard and stunt the African child so that he will never catch up. In the words of Mr. J. N. le Roux, Minister of Agriculture when the Bantu Education Bill was introduced:

"We should not give the Natives an academic education. If we do this, we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and Non-Europeans and who is going to do the manual labour in this country?"

Today when the whole world of children are reliving the adventures and stories, from the treasury of the human race, in the many colourful books which are rolling off the presses throughout the world, in every language possible, the heritage which they are entitled to share and tasting its joys to the fullest, the African child under Bantu education owns neither a book of his own nor a desk nor even a quiet corner where his mind can develop and intellect grow. "These green pastures" are not for him because this handful of men at Pretoria has arbitrarily decreed that he shall be given less than the bare bones of learning—only sufficient to turn a hoe in the field, wield a pick in the mines and sign his name on the contract labour service sheet.

## ***THREE LANGUAGES.***

In addition to his mother tongue, the African child in primary schools has to learn both English and Afrikaans which are all compulsory. Tribal, tongue

instruction has now been extended to the secondary schools and university level through which medium all instruction is given. All the sciences are now being re-translated into the mother tongue and a whole army of so-called experts (White and Black) in all the Bantu languages are busy day and night inventing new scientific terms for all subjects. A thriving industry is being built up at the universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria for all the Bantu schools and tribal colleges which are compelled to use these books and no other. Former English books have all been scrapped for the "Bantu" child must view things through the eyes of these racialists and become conditioned to herrenvolk interpretation of ideas and events. The avowed aim is to confine the African student within the walls of his own tribe completely cut off not only from the African population as a whole but from other students of other racial groups in his own country and elsewhere in the world. He will be enclosed in an intellectual straitjacket - intellectually and physically isolated - an educated ignoramus - a pitiful caricature. Thus the African child, young as he is, has to endure the pressures of a society inimical to his desires and needs and hostile to his development into a mature being who is able to use the tools of education for the good of that society as well as his own well-being and happiness.

**STARK RESULTS.**

Conditions such as have been mentioned above are the general rule in the 7000 schools in South Africa which cater for almost 1,800,000 primary school children. For ten long years, since the introduction of Bantu Education in 1955, children of African parentage have had to endure the crime of Bantu Education with all its adverse effects. Detailed figures given for the year 1962 reveal the shocking state of this conditioned schooling.

Sub A .....	426,827	children enrolled.	
Sub B .....	306,375	a net loss of	120,452.
Std. I .....	268,278	a net loss of	38,097,
Std. II .....	203,792	a net loss of	64,486.
Total loss in lower primary .....			<u>223,035</u>

i.e. more than 50<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of children enrolled leave school after Std II.

Std. VI: 71,738, a net loss of 355,089 more than 80% leave school.

Form I: 21,730, a net loss of 405,097 more than 96% leave school.  
(British Council of Churches Report, 1965)

These figures give the lie to the boast that a greater percentage of children are in school today in South Africa than anywhere in the continent relative to the population. Likewise the figures for literacy of the adult population (and this must

be taken in relation to a rich and prosperous country like South Africa with its booming economy) is as shocking. The Daily Dispatch, 13 April, 1965 releases statistics by the Bureau of Census and Statistics to the effect, that illiteracy figures of Africans reach nearly a total of 64% . amounting to approximately five million people out of an adult population of nearly seven million. When Bantu Education was introduced all Government grants towards the maintenance of adult literacy classes earmarked for teachers' salaries were withdrawn. All adult schools in so-called White areas were summarily shut down and all adult schools run on a voluntary basis by White teachers were closed because they transgressed the apartheid laws. What is clearly apparent here is that Bantu Education must apply with the same degree of harshness to the parent as well as the child. At all costs the odious system must be maintained.

### ***THE LOT OF THE AFRICAN TEACHER.***

Nowhere in the world has any teacher been subjected to such barbaric conditions of service as under Bantu education. The African teacher, no less than the African parent and child has to endure the same set of ruthless degrading regulations. A young African teacher in such a primary school as in Mamelodi, working under such inhuman conditions with a standard six education is paid a meagre £5 per month. Thus a teacher in South Africa of African children occupies a position lower than an illiterate domestic servant. The purpose is intentional. Formerly a teacher had occupied a status; he was both esteemed and respected as an example to his community to be emulated by the youth. With the introduction of Bantu Authorities with the tribal chief at the apex, often illiterate, with his hierarchy of lesser chiefs and headmen, the teacher's status had necessarily to be lowered politically, socially and financially. New norms had to be introduced or rather imposed on the population, regardless of the fact that these new norms had no relation to the present society to which the African belonged, namely a highly developed industrialised state like South Africa. These new tribal norms, a debased product of the primitive attitudes and thinking of the fascist ruling class in South Africa, is an attempt to turn back the wheels of history purely ideologically and are bound to fail for they are not rooted in reality. Nevertheless under prevailing conditions in South Africa, the teacher is made an outcast both socially and economically. The Herrenvolk in South Africa firmly contend that a teacher with any sense of pride of achievement, a conscious pioneer filled with noble ideals to draw out the best in every child sets a bad example for he fixes the eyes of the child on those "green pastures" which are for Whites only. To effect this nefarious purpose of outlawing the teacher, he had to be handed over body and soul to the Bantu School Boards under the chairmanship of these illiterate chiefs who can hire and fire him at will.

Under the Bantu Education Act, the management of all primary schools was handed over to the tribal school committees and school boards which work under the tribal authorities with the chief at the head. The inability of the chief or headman to read or write his name does not disqualify him. How does this policy work in practice? Miss Muriel Horrell discloses the following facts in the Daily Dispatch, March 6, 1964:

"Cases of arbitrary dismissal of African teachers who do not have the right of legal representation in such cases are still occurring."

"Furthermore, teachers who have been politically active in opposition to the Government or who are suspected of subscribing to ideologies that are not acceptable to the Department, may be 'blacklisted' and school boards may be requested to discharge them or refrain from appointing them."

"The Boards are not obliged to head such requests, but as membership of these bodies is subject to Departmental approval, few men would care to incur the Department's displeasure."

Miss Horrell goes on to say:

"Many African teachers complained that unduly wide powers have been given to chiefs in rural areas, many of whom are illiterate."

Some of these men appointed their friends as members of the Boards rather than people who would best serve the interests of education. Teachers objected to the fact that any member of the community could lodge complaints against them with the Committees and Boards.

Indeed the Bantu School Boards have so earned the wrath of all sections of the community for corruption and bribery that the whole population is up in arms against them.

Mr. P. A. Moore (U. P. Kensington) speaking in Parliament, Daily Dispatch, 14 May, 1965, voiced the indignation of the African population when he said: "The time has come for us to start a completely new system. The present system has given rise to indignation which will result in hatred. What is true in the Transkei is true of the whole of South Africa, and the only thing to do with the system is to abolish and replan it."

After quoting from a report of a debate in the Transkei Legislative Assembly, (Baboons Parliament) Mr. Moore said:

"We have corrupted the African people by this system of African education." He also quoted from a speech given by Government members in the Transkei. The School Boards are unpopular with the people and the teachers.

"Apart from the question of money there are also other SHAMEFUL practices so undesirable that the Europeans should not hear of them (our emphasis).

"The School Boards are indulging in bribery because of the extensive powers held by them."

Even the quislings who are operating Verwoerd's Bantustans, alarmed by the revolting practices of the school boards and the rising wrath of the people against them and Bantu Education as a whole, are determined to abolish Bantu Education.

"Ilizwe" April-May, 1963 Organ of the Unity Movement and foremost in exposing tribal education gives an instance of the revolting kind of practices demanded of the African teacher, on the occasion when the collaborator Velile was installed as Bantu Authority in Eastern Cape:

"The Bantu Education Schools had to close to enable pupils and teachers to attend. . . It is part of their propaganda to involve as big a segment of the population as possible in the singing of forced hallelujahs to some tribal gods or disembodied spirits of the ruling class or get them to work themselves up into a frenzied emotional abandon by means of violent physical contortions .... But the people were not there. And so the B.E.D. had to harness its Bantu Education teachers to stage these 'Tribal Scenes' and expose their naked bodies to the amusement of their masters (White). And this in the presence of their own pupils! This shameful piece of work left a bad taste in the mouths of even some of the quislings present."

This is what Bantu Education produces - the emergence of a new debased species of teacher who would be so conditioned to self-abasement, so degraded that he would fit into the schemes of Verwoerd's education for barbarism.

At the inception of Bantu Education, the Government took over all teacher-training colleges which were formerly in the hands of the churches for even they could not be trusted. The churches today complain that the "courses at church teacher-training colleges are not NOW recognised as qualifying for teaching in State and Community schools." (Our emphasis).

As Verwoerd said at its inception "Native Education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State. . . . Good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself ...".

### ***CONTROL OF TEACHERS.***

In his book "Education for Barbarism", Mr. I. B. Tabata, the author refers specifically to the humiliating and obnoxious regulations to break in the teacher, especially those trained under the old system. Bantu Education demands a Bantuised teacher. "He is completely deprived of professional status and belongs body and soul to the Native Affairs 'Department. According to official regulations 'every teacher shall place the whole of his time at the disposal of a school board. And in the case of the farm schools, of which there are many, the whole of his time -twenty-four hours a day belongs to the farm owner, who also owns the school and may act as his manager. It is he who employs the teacher." The author then deals with the farm schools in the Orange Free State where 75 per cent of all schools have been farm schools since 1953 and remain so up to the present day. "It requires no great effort to imagine what kind of control the farmer as manager of the school will exercise. Manual work is in abundance. At reaping time, for example, the teacher is expected to supervise the children working in the fields during or after school hours, as occasion demands. The regulations are explicit on this score:

'Any teacher who, during or after school hours, is engaged in approved activities on and off the school grounds, which do not constitute part of the curriculum shall be regarded as being on duty.'

'No teacher may claim as of right additional remuneration in respect of an extra-curricular duty or work which he is required by competent authority to perform'.

'Leave of absence of any type shall not be claimable as, of right but may be granted by the school board subject to the exigencies of the school concerned'.

A teacher may not 'contribute to the Press by interview or in any other manner or publish letters or articles criticizing or commenting on the Native Affairs Department or any other State Department, or school committee, school board or any Bantu Authority official connected with one or more of the above-mentioned bodies'.

'The Act provides for the imprisonment of any teacher who breaks any of these regulations'.

Mr. Tabata correctly sums up: "The truth is that since Bantu Education was instituted, a reign of terror has been let loose on the teachers. Members of the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.) have swooped on the schools,

interrogated teachers in front of their pupils and searched them. Some of the finest teachers with long records of distinguished service have been summarily dismissed without charge or trial. The only reason given was that they were unsuitable under Bantu Education. Some teachers after a lifetime of service have been dismissed on the very point of retirement and thus robbed of their pension. Dr. Verwoerd has blandly announced that he is 'not in favour of pensions for Natives'."

### ***YOUNG TEACHER-TRAINEES***

As for the young teacher-trainees, Mr. Tabata states: "A Nazi-like regimentation governs these young trainees as it does the whole schooling from top to bottom. They are carefully screened, selected and indoctrinated, before they are let loose on the children. To begin with, their educational qualification is scandalously low. They require no more than a standard 6 pass to enter a course of training for one, two or three years to become primary school teachers. Those who are to teach in the higher primary classes take a Junior Certificate (J.C.) and a couple of years of teacher-training. ... In the words of Verwoerd again: 'It is wrong to utilize expensive teaching staff to supervise large classes of bored pupils'.

And thus the degradation of the teacher is in process of being completed, victim to the degrading rules and regulations of the Bantu Education Act with its Bantu Schools and its unskilled labour wages. When the Bantu Affairs Department (BAD) demands that the young woman teacher indulges in the orgies of the installation of the tribal policemen-chiefs as part of her school duties and strips herself naked before her masters, it is to prove that she and her pupils have their being in tribal culture. The teacher must co-operate with the herrenvolk to help turn the clock back, to reject publicly the desire to taste the delights of the 'green pastures', she must actively turn the minds of her pupils back to tribal culture and tribal superstitions. All this in face of the rejection by the whole people of an outmoded tribalism and the acceptance of the new norms and standards. It is no wonder that the enrolment in teacher-training institutions has dropped to below par. Mrs. Suzman said in Parliament, Daily Dispatch, May 14, 1965: "The claim in the 1963 annual report of the Department that the number of African school-going children had been doubled, was unsubstantiated... In March, 1963, only 32 per cent of the number of teachers at training colleges had been graduate teachers and only 15.5 percent had had any sort of post-matriculation qualifications. Over 52 per cent had not matriculated... The teacher-pupil ratio had deteriorated. There had been only 38 more graduate teachers in the Republic in 1963 than in 1949 whereas the number of pupils had doubled".

When Verwoerd graduated as Minister of the Native Affairs Department to become Prime Minister, African schools and teachers were enjoined to make 'voluntary contributions' in gratitude for the crime he had committed against the African people by the imposition of this inhuman Bantu Education Act.

### ***TEACHERS AS TAX COLLECTORS.***

The latest move against the African teacher was voiced by Mr. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education, Rand Daily Mail, May 20, 1965 when he told Mrs. Suzman in Parliament:

"African teachers' claims for higher salaries would be considered more sympathetically by the Government if they persuaded Africans that it was their duty to pay taxes... There was an estimated backlog of R30 million to R40 million in all African taxes".

To this insolence a spirited teacher made a reply:

"Mr. Maree's speech is being regarded by the majority of African parents and teachers as shocking, ridiculous, scandalous and shameful. It is shocking because we do not expect such a senseless speech to come from such an honourable Minister of Bantu Education; ridiculous because one cannot imagine teachers in the process of the discharging of their professional duties becoming tax-payment advisers. The whole idea is a ridicule of teachers and it is scandalous that the Minister should withhold the raising of teachers' salaries because of a matter (tax-collection) which is irrelevant to their professional duties. . " This teacher gives as his reasons: "It would create some degree of hostility between teachers and parents because it is not the teachers' business to see that a parent has paid his taxes. That is the work of the police and the many BAD officials". He then demands a living wage so that he can live decently with his family and says:

"The Minister should ask himself why this position (arrears in tax payment) has arisen... He will then realise that most African workers earn wages far below the bread-level. They find it difficult to support themselves and their families. They are simply unable to obtain the bare necessities of life. Their wages are so low that they cannot afford to buy the essentials. They live in a perpetual state of poverty and therefore cannot afford to pay taxes as required or expected of them. And further, the many taxes that are a burden to the African are disproportionate to his income".

The teacher then demands a living wage for all African workers, the scrapping of apartheid laws and the reduction of taxes. Finally in desperation he cries Out, a cry that comes from the pit of his soul: "He (the Minister) should

learn to respect African teachers. They labour for almost nothing. They work for charity. They are the most noble workers in our community."

But such a teacher who dares to expose the evils of the system of Bantu Education does so at the risk of instant dismissal and the loss of his pension.

### ***DISCRIMINATION IN SALARIES***

Miss Horrell, Daily Dispatch, March 6, 1964 reveals the wide gap in the salaries between White and African teachers with the same qualifications.

*Matriculation with a professional certificate.*

White .....	R1308 p.a. rising over 14 years to R2880
African .....	R 672 p.a. rising over 14 years to R1548

*Degree with a professional certificate.*

White .....	R 1920 rising over 12 years to R 3360
African .....	R 852 rising over 15 years to R 1788

The White teacher earns on the average twice as much as the African teacher with the same qualifications, receives pensions, reaches his maximum in a shorter time and teaches under infinitely superior conditions of service. African teachers do not come under the pension schemes.

If this is what a few African teachers with degrees and a few matriculants earn, what indeed can be said of the majority, the 27,000 teachers with only a standard six education.

Mr. P. A. Wood brought up the matter of low wages in the White Parliament as quoted in the Sunday Times, May 23, 1965.

"There were 25,636 qualified teachers and 1,400 unqualified ones. Of these, 12,117 qualified teachers and 10 unqualified teachers are paid more than £1 a day. This MEANS THAT 13,519 QUALIFIED BANTU TEACHERS ARE PAID R2 (1) OR LESS A DAY — LESS THAN UNSKILLED AFRICAN LABOURERS".

### ***MULCTING OF AFRICAN PARENTS.***

Bantu Education obtains a fixed sum from the Consolidated Revenue of the country to which all sections of the community contribute both in indirect and direct taxation. From this Revenue Fund only 6/ million pounds is allocated to Bantu Education regardless of the needs or increase in the enrolment in schools.

Any expenditure beyond the 6/2 million has to be met from the direct Education Tax specifically imposed on the African population. No other section is subject to an education tax. This came into force when Bantu Education was imposed on the Africans. European education is financed in its entirety from the Treasury.

According to figures for the year 1960-1961 (British Council of Churches Report 1965).

Africans contributed .....	£2,729,516	In direct taxation.
	£ 57,112	Erection of buildings.
	£ 100,000	Salaries of teachers.
	£ 1,430,316	School fees, materials.
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TOTAL	£ 4,316,944	
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Thus the grand total allotted to African education is barely £10,816,994. The only figures available to show comparison between the cost per White pupil and the African pupil are to be found in the Cape where, Whites have £72-5s. expended on the education of each child, and Africans have £6-5s. for each pupil.

The 500 White professors, lecturers and teachers in the Bush colleges and training institutions who earn between themselves salaries ranging from £3,000-1,000 p.a. in addition to territorial allowances from £250-100 p.a. absorb more than £1,000,000 - almost one tenth of the total cost.

### ***HEAVY BURDEN ON AFRICAN PARENTS***

When one considers how the poorest section of the community has to carry the costs of education, an education which he violently rejects then the intensity of hatred against Bantu Education is not surprising. The average wage of the African worker is amongst the lowest in the world. In the towns it amounts only to £177 p.a. with hardly any increase during the last 15 years. On the gold mines labour falls as low as £72 p.a. while in the rural areas it is starvation level. Income from subsistence farming reaches an average of £12-9s. per capita, pa. Yet South Africa is undergoing the greatest boom in its history. From this underpaid mine labour, over a £100 million p.a. accrue to British and American investors. In comparison to the rising costs of living in South Africa, the real wages of the African workers and peasants have fallen and there is widespread starvation both in the country and the town.

### ***STARK STARVATION.***

The effect of starvation on African children was revealed recently in a report by the Fort Beaufort South African Red Cross Committee, Daily Dispatch, April 29, 1965. It said "African children in the drought-stricken Ciskei are fainting from

hunger at schools in the countryside. The Committee was told that lately many children who attend the Healdtown Practising School from surrounding locations have fainted in class and under questioning have admitted that they have had no food for two days.... The plight of the children and of their parents arises from the failure of the maize crop in most parts of the Ciskei. . .

In an article entitled 50% DEATH RATE OF (AFRICAN) CHILDREN IN TRANSVAAL AREA, the Daily Dispatch, April 15. 1965 reports that at the biennial Congress of Nutrition Society the doctors declared:

"At least half the African children born in Sekhukhuniland in the North-Eastern Transvaal do not reach their fifth birthday.... It was unusual to encounter obvious signs of malnutrition among children over the age of four. Under-nutrition, however was common and many children were undersized". The paper stated that the contention of the doctors was ". . . malnutrition in this reserve had to be tackled primarily in the age group nine months to three years where mortality usually from kwashiorkor or infection was highest."

### ***SCHOOL-FEEDING ABOLISHED FOR AFRICAN CHILDREN***

According to the Report "The Future of South Africa" it was stated "The Government vote for school feeding in African schools in 1949, stood at £870,000. This was severely cut that year excluding 285,000 African children. In 1956, Bantu School Boards were given the offer of transferring the school-feeding vote to meet the costs of new buildings, and were encouraged to do this by the Government.

The truth is that as soon as the Broederbond came into power in 1948, they abolished school feeding on the ground that they would thereby encourage laziness on the part of the parents to feed their children, and greed on the part of the children who would want to come to school just to obtain free food. However, since its introduction all the Congresses of the Nationalist Party have been wholly opposed to school-feeding as well as free education for the Blacks.

Today only philanthropic organisations like Kupugani in the Transvaal still help but only in the worst cases of hardship and for this reason is earning the wrath of De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration who blatantly declared to all that there is no starvation in South Africa. When South Africa is accused before the bar of the world as guilty of genocide, it is not far from the truth, for this is in fact what is meant. The system pursued by the Herrenvolk in South Africa results not only in physical starvation due to the starvation wages so as to keep the profits high, but brings in its train the high mortality rates of African babies; it abolishes feeding schemes for the under-nourished school children; it grinds the teacher to a labour level; it daily works out methods, and enacts laws to

create a hungry, illiterate and ignorant population to maintain this unjust system. But far worse is that under Bantu Education there is a regimentation of both child, parent and teacher for the sole purpose of killing all desire for knowledge and learning. IN TOTO THE FACTS PRESENT A TERRIFYING AND HORRIFYING PICTURE OF A MONSTROUS LEVIATHAN MACHINE, IRON IN ITS DETERMINATION TO DESTROY AND BEARING DOWN ON THE VERY PEOPLE WHOSE UNREMITTING AND UNCEASING LABOUR CONTRIBUTE IN THE MAIN TO SOUTH AFRICA'S WEALTH AND AFFLUENCE. -

JANE GOOL,  
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July, 1965.

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