July 11, 1973

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Benjamin Conway Gregory, Jr. entitled "The Theory and Practice of Apartheid in the Bantustans and Bantu Education." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Political Science.

Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancellor for
Graduate Studies and Research

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID IN THE BANTUSTANS AND BANTU EDUCATION

A Thesis

Presented to

the Graduate Council of

The University of Tennessee

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

---

by

Benjamin Conway Gregory, Jr.

August 1973

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Gill Evans for his help in choosing a thesis topic, and for his guidance and supervision. Appreciation is also expressed to Dr. Paul Schulman and Dr. Eugene Schoch for their suggestions and constructive criticism.

Appreciation is also expressed to the following: Miss Suzanne Giroux for her helpful hints in the library; Mr. Robert Mitchell Gregory, and the First National Bank of Dalton, Georgia, for their financial assistance in these dark days of poverty; and Miss Helen Smithson for her superb typing of this thesis.

1101055

ABSTRACT

Since Jan Van Riebeeck landed at Table Bay in 1652, White domination has been a continuing factor in the political and economic life of South Africa. The majority of Whites regard this as the traditional way of life. In attempting to maintain this domination, White South Africa has devoted a large proportion of its resources and energies to imposing racial separation. No other country, in world history, has attempted to institute racial separation on as large a scale as has South Africa. Since 1948 the South African Government (the Nationalist Party) has pushed forward with a policy, called Apartheid or separate development, for separating the races.

World feelings and attitudes run deep about South Africa's official racial policy of Apartheid or the separate development of its four racial groups. South Africa, where law and practice uphold racial separation, is one of the world's major racial testing grounds. In this land of 21 million people, a minority of 3.6 million Europeans (60 per cent Afrikaner and 40 per cent English), 17 per cent of the total population, firmly rule 15 million Africans (70.9 per cent of the total population). The utopian goal of Apartheid is to ultimately move all the

Africans into eight Bantustans on 13 per cent of the Republic's land area, where the Nationalist Government asserts that they will eventually have full political rights. Whites, outnumbered by the Africans five to one, also rule and separate two million Coloureds (those of mixed parentage who constitute 9.5 per cent of the total population), and .57 million Asians (2.6 per cent of the total population) who are mainly descended from nineteenth century indentured servants from India.

Since its accession to power in 1948, the Nationalist Party has advocated and endorsed the Apartheid policy as the only means of ensuring racial harmony in a multi-racial society. For such a racial policy to succeed, the society, especially the African segment, must be trained and indoctrinated to accept Apartheid and the Bantustan scheme.

The purpose of this thesis is to study Bantu education and its relationship to the Bantustans under the policy of separate development. This essay is divided into four chapters. The first chapter is devoted to a brief description of South African history, and a study of the major pieces of Apartheid legislation and the development of the Apartheid idea. The second chapter will study the Bantustan concept and the policy of separate development underlying it. A brief study is made

to explore the South African Government's plans for granting the Bantustans independence, and an attempt to evaluate whether or not such conditions for independence are being fulfilled. The third chapter is devoted to a study of Bantu education. In this study, attempts are made to assess its underlying principles in relation to the development of the Bantustan policy. The fourth and final chapter contains conclusions based upon this study.

The results of this study demonstrate that the utopian goal of Apartheid--complete territorial separation of the races--is impossible. The real emphasis in the Apartheid scheme and Bantustan policy is to move as many Africans, whose labor is not essential to the economy, into the Bantustans which are located far from the cities in a rural setting. Forced to live in these Bantustans, the African poses a lesser threat to the political and economic dominance of the Whites. Bantu education is a major tool employed by the Whites to indoctrinate and train young Africans to accept a return to the Bantustans. The Bantustans and Bantu education are designed to prevent detribalization and African solidarity of the Bantu peoples of South Africa.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID	1
	Introduction	1
	Brief History of South Africa	1
	The Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism	4
	The Political Theory of Apartheid	8
	Apartheid Legislation	11
	Summary	24
II.	THE BANTUSTANS	26
	The Theory of the Bantustan Policy	26
	Bantustan Legislation	27
	Political Organization of the Bantustans	33
	In Defense of the Bantustan Policy	37
	Opposition to the Bantustan Policy	41
	Economic and Geographic Implications of the Bantustans	46
	Independence	50
	Summary	56
III.	BANTU EDUCATION	58
	Introduction	58
	Pre-Apartheid Education	60

CHAPTER PAGE

Bantu Education Under Apartheid 65

Ethnic Grouping 68

The Allocation of Resources 78

Curriculum 83

Language Medium 92

Control 96

Compulsory Attendance 98

Summary 99

IV. BANTU EDUCATION AND THE BANTUSTAN POLICY . . . 102

Introduction 102

The Bantustans--An Evaluation 106

Bantu Education--An Evaluation 115

Conclusions 120

BIBLIOGRAPHY 123

VITA 131

CHAPTER I

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID

I. INTRODUCTION

In this essay, four questions will be examined: (1) What are the Bantustans and the policy of separate development underlying them? (2) Does the South African Government plan to give the Bantustans independence, and are the conditions for meaningful independence being fulfilled? (3) What is Bantu education and what are its underlying principles in relation to the development of the Bantustan policy? (4) Are Bantu education and the Bantustans policy designed to prevent detribalization and African solidarity of the Bantu peoples of South Africa?

II. BRIEF HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

The struggle for political domination of South Africa began more than three hundred years ago when Jan Van Riebeeck, a Dutch ship's surgeon landed at Table Bay on the Cape of Good Hope. Shortly afterwards, many Dutch settlers began migrating to South Africa and began moving inland. These itinerant Dutch farmers, often

called trekboers, first encountered the Bantu[1] warlike Xhosas and other minor warlike tribes along the Great Fish River two hundred miles northeast of Cape Town.[2] The first meetings were not very friendly and a series of raids and counter raids developed between these two groups. Eventually the African tribes were defeated and enslaved by the Boers (as they were now called).[3]

The British[4] entered the scene in 1795 when they seized the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in order to protect shipping routes to India and the East.[5] British settlers started migrating to the Cape and spread from there into Natal.

Under pressure from the British, the Boers began the Great Trek of 1835-37 north that brought them into

---

[1]The word Bantu is an invention of the English philologist W. H. I. Bleek, who needed one word to designate the various Black tribes of South Africa. Bantu means "the human beings." Raymond D. Silverstein, "A Note on the Term 'Bantu' as First Used by W. H. I. Bleek," African Studies, vol. 27, no. 4, 1968, p. 211.

[2]Leo Marquard, A Short History of South Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 78.

[3]Ibid., p. 81.

[4]The English-speaking White South Africans will be referred to as Britons or the British throughout this paper.

[5]Marquard, op. cit., p. 83.

conflict with the fierce Zulus, who like the Xhosas and other tribes of the Cape were defeated in battle.[6]

The motives for the Great Trek were a mixture of ideas and complaints. The main reason was to seek freedom from British rule. Other reasons included finding new lands to replace worn out farm lands and to re-establish a way of life that included slavery, which had been outlawed in all territories under British authority in 1833.[7]

The Voortrekkers (those Dutch farmers who participated in the Great Trek) established two republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Here they lived fundamentalist lives, under rigid Calvinistic doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church, and in isolation until the discovery of gold and diamonds brought the British settlers and gave rise to the Boer War (1899-1902).[8]

One result of the Boer War was the creation of a single country, the Union of South Africa, but at the price of lasting racial divisions. Dr. C. W. de Kiewiet states:

---

[6]G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the 19th Century and After, 1782-1919 (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966), p. 256.

[7]Ibid., p. 257.

[8]G. H. L. Le May, British Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1907 (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 26.

> More than any other single event, the Boer War intensified, complicated, and embittered the already ensnarled relationships of Boer and Briton, Bantu, and Indian, White and non-White.[9]

Twenty-six thousand Boer women and children died in British detention (concentration) camps during the Boer War. This misfortune only served to perpetuate and intensify the Boers' bitter hatred of the Briton--a hatred that overshadowed Boer-Briton relations for many years.[10] To this day, the spirit of reconciliation has never been allowed to flourish between the two White groups, and no South African of English origin has ever become prime minister of South Africa.[11]

III. THE RISE OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

It was in this atmosphere that General Louis Botha, the great Boer general and the Union's first Prime Minister, and General Jan Smuts were denounced as faithless traitors by die-hard Afrikaners for their efforts to forget the

---

[9]Quoted in Norman Phillips, The Tragedy of Apartheid (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966), p. 20.

[10]This was not the only reason reconciliation between the two White groups did not flourish. Other reasons included economics, and language differences.

[11]Edwin S. Munger, Afrikaner and African Nationalism (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 6.

past and build a unified European character within South Africa.[12]

Smuts succeeded Botha as Prime Minister and continued a policy of forging European unity. He was opposed by the same group of hard core Afrikaners intent on building a political movement on the basis of an agressive Afrikaner nationalism. This was the origin of the Nationalist Party, founded in 1914 by General J. B. M. Hertzog, a Boer General who outwardly hated Africans and is often recognized as the "father of Apartheid."[13]

The Nationalist Party philosophy looked back to the Boer republics, and favored a society based on cheap labor. The cheap labor was to be supplied, as before, by a subjugated native population that was segregated socially and denied political rights. The Party also agitated for the establishment of Afrikaans as an official language equal to English. The Party advocated not the unification of the European population in South Africa, but an atmosphere that would allow Afrikaners and Britons to develop along separate lines and remain distinct communities.[14]

---

[12]D. W. Kruger, South African Parties and Politics, 1910-1960 (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1960), p. 58.

[13]Norman Phillips, The Tragedy of Apartheid (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1960), p. 20.

[14]Ibid., p. 20.

Afrikaner nationalism grew in strength between the two World Wars. During the 1930's Jan Smuts and General Hertzog attempted to fuse all political factions into one political party called the United South African National Party (United Party). Such attempts at political fusion were opposed by Dr. Daniel Malan, Minister of the Interior and Education in the Hertzog Cabinet. He emerged on the Nationalist side as a dissident. Malan and his nineteen followers broke away with Hertzog over the issues of co-operation with Jan Smuts and the British. The "Malanites" or "purified" Nationalist Party opposed any tendencies toward British affiliation and kept alive the original Nationalist Party.[15] The "Malanites" argued that South Africa had the right of neutrality in war, the right to secede from the Empire and opposed recognition of the British Crown as the official head of state. Malan argued that fusion of the Nationalist Party into a coalition would deprive the Party of its identity. He attacked Jan Smuts' policy of cooperation with Great Britain as disastrous not only to the Nationalist Party but to South Africa as well.[16]

---

[15]W. J. de Kock, History of South Africa (Pretoria: Heer Printing Company, 1971), p. 40.

[16]Ibid., p. 40.

During World War II, many of these extreme Afrikaner nationalists formed sympathetic bonds with Nazi Germany and hoped for a British defeat that would allow for the formation of an independent Afrikaner republic.[17] But when the German victory never came, these militant Afrikaners united around the "colour problem," in order to gain support from all sectors of the European community in South Africa, and attain control of the government.

General Hertzog, who had helped form the United Party with Jan Smuts before World War II, broke the alliance during the War and rejoined the splintered group of reactionary Afrikaners sympathetic to Nazi Germany, led by Dr. Malan. Hertzog died during the War, leaving Malan as the undisputed leader of a militant Nationalist Party, and the man who would bring the Party to power in 1948.

In the 1948 campaign, Dr. Malan promised to solve the Union's racial problems. His party platform advocated a policy of "baaskap" or White supremacy using the word Apartheid (pronounced apart-hate) to describe its theme. Thus Apartheid, an Afrikaans word meaning "apartness," "separateness," or broadly speaking "segregation," took

---

[17]Phillips, op. cit., p. 20.

on new dimensions, and was now a political platform that promised to cure the evils and fears of integration and preserve the White civilization of South Africa under Afrikaner control. Such a policy had as one of its aims to deny the Bantu, Asian, and Coloured populations of their social and political rights in the European designated areas.

The Nationalist Party won the 1948 election. Its rise to power twenty-five years ago marked an end to a thirty-nine year struggle by the Party to gain control of the South African Government. The election victory of an all Afrikaner government is seen as a turning point in the long struggle between the Briton, the Afrikaner, and the African for political domination of South Africa.

As Dr. Malan accepted victory for his Party, he triumphantly proclaimed:

> Today South Africa belongs to us once more. For the first time since Union, South Africa is our own. May God grant that it will always remain our own.[18]

IV. THE POLITICAL THEORY OF APARTHEID

The pivot of the Apartheid policy, now referred to by the Nationalist Government as separate development, was

---

[18]Quoted in Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (Baltimore: Penguin Books, revised edition, 1969), p. 130.

described by Dr. Malan as a formula for the political and social "separateness" for the White, Indian, Coloured, and Bantu population groups, which would ensure the protection and consolidation of the European race as the bearer of Christian civilization in the nation. It would also enable the Whites to fulfill their function of responsible trusteeship to guide the other racial groups towards eventual political and economic freedom.[19]

Apartheid is by no means new to South Africa. The policy of "separateness" has been common practice for more than two hundred years.[20] The Malan Cabinet simply announced that this unofficial practice was now to become the official policy of the government.

In 1948, the official government definition of Apartheid was:

> . . . a policy of separate advancement of each one of the race groups in South Africa; it is considered to be the only means by which cultural values in a multi-national country can be safeguarded and the only guarantee of racial peace which will provide an opportunity for development of the non-White peoples.[21]

---

[19] de Kock, op. cit., p. 43.

[20] Eugene P. D Vorin, Racial Separation in South Africa (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 10-29.

[21] Quoted in de Kock, op. cit., p. 46.

According to the Nationalist's, the idea behind Apartheid is that each race, if allowed to develop separately, will develop most successfully. Each race will be able to retain its traditions and culture. The Government favors separate development because each race has different capabilities and, as a consequence, such a policy allows each race to achieve its different goals at its own pace, and not to hinder the development of the other racial groups. The Government contends that the other races, especially the Bantu, are not as well prepared as the Whites to compete in the modern industrial world. For these reasons, it is only right to educate the other races separately. The idea is that schools, hospitals, housing, stores, jobs and even park benches should be separate.[22]

On paper and in speeches by those who support the policy of Apartheid, such a policy appears on the surface to be sound and capable of peaceful implementation.[23] But

---

[22]Gwendolen M. Carter, The Politics of Inequality (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), p. 76.

[23]See Mr. J. S. F. Botha's speech "It's Folly to Stare at the Cracks in a Painting," before the Stamford Rotary Club, Connecticut, published in the South African Scope (June, 1972), pp. 8-11; Willem Le Roux's speech before the Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, November 15, 1972, provided by the Information Service of South Africa, New York, and the South African Embassy, Washington,

in practice the policy of Apartheid has created a wall of division between the various races. The Bantu has learned to dislike the European because of the discrimination such a policy has brought him. The European, likewise, fears the Bantu because of his numerical superiority, and the economic and political competition he could mount against the European. The entire practice of Apartheid, according to one critic, has created a highly explosive situation in South Africa.[24]

V. APARTHEID LEGISLATION

Shortly after coming to power, the Nationalist Party began to enact Apartheid measures. Malan's first act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, repealed the recently granted Parliamentary representation for the Union's four hundred thousand Asians. Immigration of Europeans was also curtailed because most of the newly arrived immigrants voted for the opposition United Party rather than the Nationalists.[25]

D. C.; Dr. C. P. Muller, "South Africa in a Changing African Scene," South African Scope (November/December, 1971), pp. 2-5; Charles A. W. Manning, "In Defense of Apartheid," Foreign Affairs, vol. 43, no. 1, October, 1964, pp. 135-149.

[24]Jordan K. Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), p. v.

[25]Phillips, op. cit., p. 21.

An explosion of minor manifestations of the meaning of Apartheid appeared quickly in 1948. In Government buildings, railway stations and railway coaches, on park benches, in telephone booths, restrooms, beaches and hotels, Government workers hurriedly nailed up signs reserving only the best locations and facilities for "Europeans Only," and whatever else was left for "Non-Europeans."[26] Buildings were ripped apart to create separate entrances for Whites and non-Whites; courts were rearranged to accommodate separate witness boxes for Whites and non-Whites; expensive tunnels were dug to separate the races on subway trains.

All of these measures were small in comparison to the real and important foundations which were being laid in Parliament. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1949 forbade the Bantu entry into twenty-one cities and towns in search of work.[27] The Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act of 1950 forbade mixed marriages or cohabitation between the races.[28] Along with this act, and in order to bolster its effectiveness, three more Apartheid acts

---

[26]Pierre L. van den Berghe, South Africa: A Study in Conflict (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), p. 112.

[27]Bunting, op. cit., p. 159.

[28]Carter, op. cit., p. 77.

were passed--the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Suppression of Communism Act. All of these acts are seen as cornerstones in the structure of Apartheid.[29]

The Population Registration Act demands the classification of each citizen according to race. Millions of citizens were investigated, photographed and issued cards which identified their race.[30] Also required of the Bantu population are codes, often referred to as "pass laws," which require all Africans to carry a "reference book" on their person at all times. These "reference books" contain a number for every Bantu, a recent photograph of him, and an up-to-date record of his entire life. Africans caught without their "reference book" are sent to jail or are sentenced to a "farm jail" in rural areas working for an Afrikaner farmer without pay.[31]

The Group Areas Act gives the Government the right to divide the Nation up into special areas for each race.[32]

---

[29]Phillips, op. cit., p. 22.

[30]Jacopetti Gualtiero and Franco Prosperi, Africa Addio (New York: Ballantine Books, 1966), p. 243.

[31]William R. Frye, In Whitest Africa; The Dynamics of Apartheid (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 9.

[32]Gualtiero and Prosperi, op. cit., p. 296.

Under the provisions of the act, persons of one racial group are not permitted to own or occupy property or live in an area designated for another racial group. The Group Areas Act is often seen, by critics, as the cornerstone in the Apartheid pyramid, because it had the support not only of the ruling Nationalists but also of the opposition United Party.[33]

The Suppression of Communism Act allowed the Minister of Justice to be the sole arbiter of whether a person is a communist or not.[34] Under the authority of this act, any individual "deemed" a communist by the Minister of Justice is forced to resign from all societies and organizations, forbidden to enter certain areas, banned from speaking publicly, and barred from engaging in trade union activities and public service of any nature. In short, he becomes a social outcast. This act serves to isolate any South African who presents any significant danger or real opposition to the policies of the Government.

The Separate Amenities Act separates all races on trains, buses, and in public places, and designates it a

---

[33]Phillips, op. cit., p. 22.

[34]Carter, op. cit., p. 92.

crime to support a campaign for the repeal or modification of any Apartheid laws.[35]

Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom, one of Malan's lieutenants, believed that resistance to Apartheid policies was treason:

> Before the Nationalist Party can reach its ultimate goal--a republic--it will have to solve the colour problem. Anybody who purposedly tries to upset the Government's plans to put into operation its Apartheid policy or who fails to do their duty towards the realization of that aim will be guilty of treason, just as those who refuse to take up arms in defense of their Country will be guilty of such a crime.[36]

In 1953 the Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed as a measure to curb African protests against the government policy of Apartheid. This act provides for a penalty of $1,500 or more and/or five years in jail and/or flogging for any anti-government activities or protests.[37]

In that same year (1953) The Bantu Education Act was passed. This piece of legislation is often recognized as Dr. Hendrik Verweerd's greatest achievement in implementing the Apartheid principle.[38] The Bantu Education Act eliminated whatever fragments of multi-racial education

---

[35] Ibid., p. 96.

[36] Quoted in Bunting, op. cit., p. 194.

[37] Carter, op. cit., p. 163.

[38] Gualtiero and Prosperi, op. cit., p. 296.

had remained in South Africa under the guidance of missionaries of the various churches. One observer of the effects of this act describes it as:

> . . . the most blatant piece of ideological educational legislation in history. Its true purpose, beyond the mere furthering of practical Apartheid, was plainly stated in the Act itself: It was to see that education trained Non-Whites for 'their place in South African society.'[39]

Dr. Malan retired in 1954 as Prime Minister and was succeeded by Johannes G. Strijdom, who served until his death in 1958. Soon after becoming Prime Minister, he altered the composition of Parliament by removing the last non-White group, the Coloureds (a mixture of White, Malay, Hottentot, Bushmen, Indian and Bantu) from the electoral roll. From then on only Whites could serve in Parliament.[40]

The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1954 empowered the Minister of Labour to determine what occupations members of any race might engage in. The act, besides formally "allocating jobs according to race," forbade Africans from participating any longer in trade unions of their own race,

---

[39] Ibid., p. 296.

[40] The removal of Coloured representation from Parliament was accomplished by increasing the size of the Appelate Court from five to eleven members, and increasing the size of the Senate from forty-eight seats to eighty-nine seats and giving the Nationalists seventy-seven of these seats.

or in multiracial trade unions. A trade union was later set up for Africans, but such a union had little influence in bargaining and negotiating sessions with the Minister of Labour. A European was appointed to settle African complaints, and his work was always considered a farce by Africans. The result of such legislation has been to destroy competition between the African and European for skilled jobs, to establish a European monopoly on such jobs, and to shift the burden of unemployment onto the Bantu worker. The African has been excluded from numerous occupations, including bricklaying, operating elevators, and driving anything larger than a three ton truck.[41]

The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 checks the influx of the African into the cities (see also Section Ten of the Urban Areas Act).[42] This act limits the number of Africans allowed to live in White urban areas. The only Africans permitted to be in these areas for more than seventy-two hours at any given time are those who have lived continuously in the area since birth, or who have worked there continuously for ten years under one employer, or who have been lawful residents for fifteen years. The

---

[41]Gualtiero and Prosperi, op. cit., p. 296; and Phillips, op. cit., p. 22.

[42]Carter, op. cit., p. 349.

law, besides checking the influx and outflow of Africans in White areas, prevents the development of an African proletariat class which could someday possibly compete with a White labor force for equal pay and working conditions.

The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 was inspired by a 1921 commission report which declared that towns and cities:

> . . . were the preserves of the White people and that the African should only be allowed to enter urban areas . . . when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases to minister.[43]

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, former Minister of Native Affairs, succeeded Strijdom in 1958. Dr. Verwoerd, a former psychology and sociology professor at the University of Stellenbosch during the 1930's, was the editor of the pro-Nazi newspaper "Die Transvaller" during World War II. During his eight years as Prime Minister, Africans were (and still are today) told where they can live, for how long they can live there, when they can travel, and what class they can travel; whether their families can live together or not, and what kind of occupations they can have.[44]

---

[43]Quoted in Phillips, op. cit., p. 25.

[44]William R. Frye, In Whitest Africa; The Dynamics of Apartheid (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 9.

In public places, Apartheid means to the non-Whites that they must stand in separate lines to buy separate tickets, sit at separate bus stops and get on separate buses, sit on separate park benches, go through separate doors in stores, and use separate rest rooms. Even religious services have been totally separated, as sanctioned by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa.[45]

Most of these measures, however, were long standing before becoming the official racial policy of the government. Politically, the non-Whites were already voteless, except for the Coloured franchise in the Cape and the presence of seven White members in Parliament who represented the entire African population. Economically, the Africans were as unorganized and subject to a rigid industrial color bar as they are today. And socially the Bantu population has been considered to be a class of outcasts for more than two hundred years.[46] Consequently, today's Apartheid legislation is viewed by most critics as simply a legal means, on the part of the Whites, to continue their political and economic dominance over the non-Whites.[47]

---

[45]Paul Giniewski, The Two Faces of Apartheid (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1965), p. 127.

[46]Ngubane, op. cit., pp. 5-54.

[47]Phillips, op. cit., p. 25.

Dr. Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966. But in his eight years as Prime Minister he accomplished much in implementing Apartheid legislation. He, more than anyone else, best summed up the White South African philosophy of Apartheid when he stated:

> We want to keep South Africa White. Keeping it White can only mean one thing, namely White domination, not 'leadership,' not 'guidance,' but control, supremacy.[48]

The Afrikaner attitude toward the Briton has evolved since the founding of the Nationalist Party. The Afrikaner no longer fears British political domination because his group outnumbers the Briton three to two.[49] The Afrikaner has finally achieved his goal of making South Africa an independent republic outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Briton is seen by the Afrikaner as an integral part in his plan of continuing White political and economic dominance in South Africa. The Afrikaner presently needs the support of the Briton in order to present a united European front in South Africa.

The Afrikaners' bitterness for the Briton has died on the surface, but not because South Africa is finally

---

[48]Quoted in Martin Luther King, "Let My People Go," Africa Today, vol. 12, no. 10, December, 1965, p. 9.

[49]State of South Africa Year Book, 1972 (Johannesburg: Da Gama Publishers, 1972), p. 50.

free of British political influence, or because they outnumber the Briton. The bitterness has died because fundamentally both groups realize that they must stand together, united as one force, determined to guarantee and maintain the well-being of the European minority in South Africa. To the Afrikaner, the very survival of his group now depends on the aid and support of the Briton, and he is willing to tolerate him in order to continue European political, social, and economic dominance of the non-Whites.

The Afrikaner sees himself not as Dutch or German or French but essentially as a "White South African," who knows no other home but South Africa. He takes pride in his culture, heritage, history, and language, and sees himself as having African roots, not European.

The Briton still regards himself, and his forefathers as British, even though he or his forefathers have not left the African Continent for over one hundred and fifty years. He senses that it is still possible for him to return to England, but he no longer desires to do so. For him, South Africa is also his home.[50] This is perhaps why he put up nothing more than token resistance

---

[50]Douglas Brown, Against the World (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), p. 25.

when the government formulated plans to pull South Africa out of the British Commonwealth of Nations.[51]

The Afrikaner and Briton find themselves in a state of interdependence. They both must work together in the face of the other four-fifths of the population, in order to protect their very existence.

The Afrikaner and the Briton still dislike each other. They rarely associate socially. The Afrikaner dislikes the Briton on historical terms, and the Briton dislikes the Afrikaner on economic terms. But these two White groups are now prepared to overlook such differences and to tolerate each other in order to preserve the political status quo.

Both White groups fear the numerical superiority of the African and the influence he could assert in every sphere of life if allowed to participate in the society as an equal. The African is seen as a definite threat to the Whites. In 1955, J. G. Strijdom summarized the basic belief of most Whites when he stated:

> Call it paramountcy, baaskap, or whatever you will, it is still domination . . . either the White man dominates or the Black man takes over. . . . The only way the European can maintain supremacy is by domination.[52]

---

[51]Ngubane, op. cit., p. 54.

[52]Quoted in A. G. Mezerik, ed., Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa (New York: International Review Service, 1967), p. 4.

The Whites feel that the only way they can remain in political and economic control is by denying the African majority of their basic political, economic and social rights in the designated European areas. To allow the African to become an equal with Whites in these areas can, in their view, only constitute the destruction of the European race. By giving the African the franchise on a one man-one vote basis, the European would find himself "swamped" at the polls by five African votes to each European vote, and he sees this as disastrous.[53] Secondly, the Europeans are presently enjoying one of the highest standards of living in the world, and they have no desire, according to some critics, to share this living standard with the non-Whites. Also, the lower class Whites, fearing the competition of the African for semi-skilled and skilled occupations, push for job reservations.[54]

The Whites, especially the Afrikaner, fear the possibility of race mixing if the non-Whites are allowed to co-exist with the Whites in an integrated society. Dr. Malan best describes the Afrikaner ideal and the spirit of superiority many Whites feel they possess over the non-Whites:

---

[53]Amelia C. Leiss, ed., Apartheid and U. N. Collective Measures (New York: The Carnegie Endowment for Peace, March, 1965), p. 50.

[54]Ibid., p. 50.

> The history of the Afrikaner reveals a determination and a definiteness of purpose which makes one feel that Afrikanerdom is not the work of man but rather a creation of God. We have a Divine right to be Afrikaners. Our history is the highest work of art of the architect of the centuries.[55]

Another Afrikaner described how most Whites feel about the possibility of racial integration with the Non-Whites when he stated: "What do you want us to become? A bastard mongrel nation like Brazil?"[56]

VI. SUMMARY

The Apartheid ideal, with its theories and doctrines, is one that embraces many different elements: historical, economic, cultural, social, biological, political, psychological, and religious.[57] The total theory foresees a relatively complete and permanent separation between all the races of South Africa--especially between the Bantu and White groups. Apartheid is a goal that does not merely imply physical separation between the races, but more correctly speaking, a socio-political separation in all spheres of potential contact. Thus the accent of

---

[55]Quoted in Bunting, op. cit., p. 7.

[56]Quoted in Leiss, op. cit., p. 50.

[57]N. J. Rhoodie and H. J. Venter, Apartheid (Cape Town: Haum, 1959), p. 243.

such a political theory falls on the development of separate national units for each racial and Bantu ethnic group of South Africa.[58]

Apartheid is a comprehensive plan which envisions a society of separate development, containing an ideology of theories and doctrines which justify separate development on a massive scale, and implies the continuance of White political and economic dominance in South Africa. For these reasons, this essay will narrow its scope to those four questions outlined in the beginning of this chapter, and attempt to evaluate the impact of each in the Apartheid political scheme.

---

[58]Rhoodie and Venter, op. cit., p. 26.

CHAPTER II

THE BANTUSTANS

I. THE THEORY OF THE BANTUSTAN POLICY

The Apartheid policy or separate development program, in terms of which the Bantustans are being set-up, is the Nationalist Government's answer to the world's criticism of South Africa's racial policies. The Government believes that the Bantustan scheme is an ethically acceptable alternative to multiracialism.[1]

The theory of the Bantustan policy expresses the idea that South Africa does not consist of one nation with a common citizenship and rights, but of many nations or groups each of which wants (or should want) to retain its own racial and ethnic identity and determine its own future. The best hope for harmony among these various nations does not lie in attempting to mix these people, but in allocating to each its own homeland or state and the freedom to develop along its own lines and according

---

[1] This Is South Africa (New York: Information Service of South Africa, 1972), p. 16.

to its own abilities.[2] Thus, the Republic of South Africa is to develop eight Bantu states, called Bantustans, for the various major Bantu tribes (another eleven Bantustans will be developed in South West Africa, which will not be examined in this paper). The Bantustan policy is described by the Nationalist Government as a classic policy of "decolonisation" in regard to the various Bantu tribes, culminating in self-government with, it is presumed, seats for each one in the United Nations and the Organization for African Unity.[3]

II. BANTUSTAN LEGISLATION

The Bantustan policy is not new to South Africa. It has, in essence, existed since 1913. The first concrete step toward the establishment of African Homelands was taken in 1913 with the passage of the Native Land Act. This act set aside certain territorial regions of South Africa as Bantu Homelands for each one of the major African ethnic groups. These territorial regions, located in rural areas far from the cities, were to be the permanent home of the African.

---

[2]Christopher R. Hill, Bantustans: The Fragmentation of South Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 6.

[3]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," International Affairs, vol. 48, no. 1, January, 1972, p. 1.

These newly established African Reserves were designed, in 1913, to have two main purposes in racial policy. First of all, the Reserves were designed to serve as reservoirs of cheap unskilled labor, and secondly to serve as standing excuses for withholding basic civil rights from Bantus residing outside the Homelands.[4]

Prior to and following the passage of the Natives Land Act, the South African Government investigated many ideas and schemes concerning separate development. Jan Smuts stated that:

> So long as there is territorial segregation, so long as the native family home is not with the white man but in his own area, so long the native organisation will not be materially affected. While the native may come voluntarily out of his own area for a limited period every year to work with a white employer, he will leave his wife and children behind in their home. The family life in the native home will continue on traditional lines; the routine of the family and of the tribe will not be altered in any material respect. The male adults, fathers and sons, will no doubt imbibe new ideas . . . but their social system will not suffer on that account.[5]

This idea was desirable to most Whites because it allowed them to receive the benefits of Bantu labor but to spurn Africans as potential co-equals by supporting a continuation of tribal cultures and traditions.

---

[4]David Welsh, "The Cultural Dimension of Apartheid," African Affairs, vol. 71, January, 1972, p. 40.

[5]Ibid., p. 43.

Many commissions were appointed between 1913 and 1948 to investigate the idea of separate development. Some recommendations of these commissions included: (1) urban segregation of non-Whites and Whites; (2) recognition of the irreversible fact of economic integration; and (3) reforms designed to create a permanent African labor force in the White areas.[6]

The South African Government, in the 1920's and 1930's, observed a vast disproportion between land ownership and the population living in the various Homelands. The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 was passed to alleviate some of the problem. The South African Government, under the authority of this act, spends around $14 million annually to enlarge the Homelands by acquisition of White property surrounding the Reserves.

Two years following the Nationalist Party election victory, the Tomlinson Commission (1950-1954) was appointed to report on the feasibility of implementing the Government policy of separate development and to make recommendations. Its Report expressed the idea that:

> . . . separate development of the European and Bantu communities should be striven for, as the only direction in which racial conflict may possibly be eliminated, and racial harmony possibly maintained.[7]

---

[6]Amelia C. Leiss, ed., Apartheid and U. N. Collective Measures (New York: The Carnegie Endowment for Peace, March, 1965), pp. 51-52.

[7]Ibid., p. 52.

The Nationalist Government accepted this endorsement of separate development.[8]

Two acts were passed in the 1950's which serve as the foundation for the implementation of separate development in the Bantu Homelands. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (together with the Bantu Education Act of 1953, discussed in Chapter III) is aimed, in theory, at consolidating and expanding the Africans' traditional system of self-government. It orients the African to accept local tribal authority with its limited responsibility and designates that all elective office holders be Bantu. By endorsing the traditional basis of authority within the Homelands, the South African Government argues that it has taken an important step forward with the kind of positive Apartheid which seeks to provide a distinctive type of society for the African.

Another act which is a modified form of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 is the Urban Councils Act of 1961. This act is designed to group urban African townships on ethnic lines. This law provides that Zulus, for example, living outside Zululand (the Zulu Homeland) will be grouped

---

[8]Hill, op. cit., pp. 22-28.

together into Zulu urban communities where a tribal ambassador is appointed to represent the chief minister.[9]

Following the passage of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, Dr. Verwoerd stated, most frankly, Nationalist Party policy concerning the creation of the Bantustans:

> There is only one key to the true progress of the Bantu community as a whole and to the avoidance of a struggle for equality in common areas or under common political institutions. That lies in the acceptance of the tribal system as a springboard from which the Bantu may rise in their own areas of culture and self-government, basing their development on their own way of life and utilizing the dynamic elements inherent in their own system.[10]

Seven years later the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 provided the Bantu peoples with "Categoric assurance that the South African Government had irrevocably set course on a road that would lead the Homelands to meaningful self-government."[11] This Act provides for the gradual constitutional development of each one of the Homelands and for direct consultation between the Africans and the South African Government on

---

[9]Gwendolen M. Carter, The Politics of Inequality (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), p. 92.

[10]Quoted in H. F. Verwoerd, The Native Policy of the Union of South Africa (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1952), p. 7.

[11]"Homelands Constitutional Advance," The African Institute Bulletin, vol. 19, no. 8, September, 1971, pp. 326-327.

matters affecting the interests of the various Bantu peoples. The Act formally recognizes the respective Bantustans, and also makes provision for the establishment of a firm link between the South African Government and the Bantustans in the form of the Office of Commissioner-General. It also acknowledges the right of the Bantu peoples to assume political and administrative control over all aspects of their own Homelands, as they sufficiently develop to certain stages that entitle them to this opportunity. Dr. Verwoerd felt that:

> . . . the Bantu people, if they show themselves capable of developing into independent political units, may one day form, together with White South Africa, a South African Commonwealth of Nations.[12]

Two more acts were passed by the South African Government in 1970 and 1971. The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 provides for all Africans living permanently in the Republic to be given citizenship in one of the Homelands according to their ethnic background.[13] Such citizenship does not regard the Bantu as an alien in the Republic, and he remains for all purposes a citizen of

---

[12]"The Transkei: Major Steps on the Road to Self-Determination," South African Fact Paper 102 (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1962), p. 10.

[13]Welsh, op. cit., p. 51.

the Republic until the Bantustans become politically independent.[14]

The Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 enables the South African Government to advance a Homeland to self-governing status by proclamation, instead of by an act of Parliament. The State President of the Republic, under the terms of this Act, can rapidly set up legislative assemblies and executive councils for the remaining non-self-governing Homelands. Most of the Homelands have drafted and submitted proposed constitutions to Pretoria for consideration and it is highly possible that by the end of 1973 all will have attained a limited degree of Transkei-type home rule.[15] Presently there are three self-governing Homelands: the Transkei, the Ciskei, and the Bophuthatswana.[16]

III. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BANTUSTANS

The highest governmental unit in a Bantu Homeland from 1953 to 1963 was the territorial authority. In 1963 the Transkei was established as the first self-governing

---

[14]"In the News," South African Scope, August/September, 1972, p. 4.

[15]Statement by M. C. Botha, Sunday Times (Johannesburg), March 7, 1971.

[16]"In the News," South African Scope, February, 1973, p. 8.

Homeland. With the establishment of a self-governing Homeland, a legislative assembly with an executive council composed of a chief councillor and five associate councillors is created. The executive council is in charge of controlling the government civil service and the running of many of the internal affairs of government. Presently many Whites, in the service of the Republic, still fill the key bureaucratic and administrative positions of the Bantustan government.[17] The South African Government contends that as these Bantustans progress and as more Bantus are trained and qualify for these positions, the Whites will be gradually phased out. The same policy applies in the area of external affairs (foreign affairs, defense).[18]

Once a self-governing Homeland has been established, its legislative assembly is empowered to design a national flag and submit proposals to the State President for a national anthem. A self-governing Homeland is also entitled with the approval of the State President, to a

---

[17] In 1971 Whites filled 292 out of 3,673 (7.9 per cent) civil service posts. State of South Africa Year Book, 1972 (Johannesburg: Da Gama Publishers, 1972), p. 53.

[18] Dr. C. P. Muller, "South Africa in a Changing African Scene," South African Scope, November/December, 1971, p. 3.

high court to replace any provincial or local division of the South African Supreme Court and any Bantu appeals court or Bantu divorce court having jurisdiction in or over the Homeland concerned.[19]

Because each tribal group has its own native form of government, some differences in respect to each constitution has inevitably appeared. The South African Government, however, recognizes that under the political scheme of separate development, such variations will develop. These constitutions, according to the Government, recognizes the so-called wishes and desires of the Bantus to develop tribal patterns of government which best suit their interests and needs.[20]

The traditional system of government in the Transkei formed the backbone of its 1963 constitution. The Transkei employs local governmental and semi-parliamentary institutions such as the old General Council (called the Bunga),[21] which has functioned as part of their government structure

---

[19] State of South Africa Year Book, 1972, p. 56.

[20] "In the News," South African Scope (December, 1969), p. 10.

[21] The Bunga, or "place of discussion," was an African council of local chiefs who sat under European magistrates and acted in the capacity of an advisory board.

since 1894. Consequently, the South African Government feels that tradition and love of old tribal customs was blended with modern principles of government.[22]

The Ciskei Homeland decided to adopt a federal form of government. Each tribal community of the Ciskei is an autonomous political unit and exercises authority over its own domestic tribal matters. Two representatives from each tribal community are sent to the legislative assembly, but each tribal community may cast only one vote.[23] The Ciskei formula is also the standard form employed in the Lebowa, Machangana, and Venda Homelands.[24] The Tswana Homeland has adopted a union concept. All fifty-eight representatives to the legislative assembly are chosen from regional authorities. Thus each tribe has indirect representation in the regional authorities.[25]

In the last several years the Government philosophy that some day all Africans will be living in the Bantustans has been dropped as unrealistic. The Government has acknowledged the fact that complete territorial separation is

---

[22] The Transkei--A Progress Report--and Multi-National Development in South Africa (London: Department of Information, South Africa, 1968), p. 5.

[23] "Homelands Constitutional Advance," p. 331.

[24] Ibid., p. 331. [25] Ibid., p. 331.

impossible. The continued emphasis is on political and cultural lines. For this reason the South African Government in 1970 reclassified many urban Bantu commuter towns as no longer being in the White areas, but rather as extensions of the Bantustans. Africans are being grouped in these towns according to their ethnic background.[26]

IV. IN DEFENSE OF THE BANTUSTAN POLICY

The South African Government states that the intention of the Bantustan policy is to allow Africans equal political, social, and economic rights within their tribal unit, and to allow the Bantu peoples the right to determine their own destiny. Dr. Hilgard Muller, a foreign minister for South Africa, proclaimed in 1963: "Our policy is directly in line with the African revolution, which has as its main objective self-determination for all."[27]

Dr. Verwoerd expounded on the concept of self-determination and the Bantustans when he observed:

> . . . each South African population group should control and govern itself. Then they can cooperate in an economic association with the Republic and with

---

[26]Welsh, op. cit., p. 51.

[27]Quoted in A. G. Mezerik, ed., Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa (New York: International Review Service, 1967), p. 4.

> each other. . . . In such an association no State will lord it over any other. They will live rather as good neighbors.[28]

A former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development describes the Bantustans and the policy of separate development:

> The individual Bantu's ambitions are channeled into the framework of his own society so that as he progresses he will not abandon his own backward people when there are no ceilings for his ability and initative . . . there he can develop as far and as fast as his own inherent power can drive him . . . this vast process of uplifting whole backward communities rather than a selected chosen few . . . is by its very nature a slow process since the people's own ability to catch on, sets the pace.[29]

The former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development contends that "the Bantu are advancing on the road to self-government with the greatest measure of power and responsibilities progressively invested in their own governmental authorities permitted by their stage of development."[30] Another Government Minister adds that:

> Separation reduces the possibility of friction and correspondly assures harmonious co-existence. . . . It removes from the White man the threat of ultimate political domination by the numerically superior Bantu and from the Bantu the threat of continued economic

---

[28]Quoted in Mezerik, op. cit., p. 12.

[29]M. D. C. de Wet Nel, "Separate Development of the Races: What It Means," South African Fact Paper (Pretoria: Government Printers, n. d.), p. 3.

[30]Ibid., p. 3.

> domination by the White man. . . . It [separate development] is based on the recognition of the fact that the Bantu has the right to be himself and that to be himself he has primarily to draw . . . upon the sources of his own being for that form and that substance which above can and will make of him a whole man.[31]

Prime Minister B. J. Vorster reaffirmed the Government's support of the Bantustan policy when he asserted:

> I believe in the policy of separate development, not only as a philosophy but also as the only practical solution in the interest of everyone to eliminate frictions, and to do justice to every population group as well as every individual.[32]

The Government advocates that the establishment of the first Bantustan in 1963 represents the first concrete steps toward the fulfilling of the ideal of separate development in that:

> The White man has undertaken a task such as history has not known. He is helping the Black man to bridge the gap between the stone age and the atomic era.[33]

The ideal of separate development provides the African with unlimited economic opportunities in each of the Bantustans. A former Deputy Minister of Labour maintained that "the sky is the limit to the ambitions and aspirations of the Bantu peoples."[34] He also believes

---

[31] W. C. du Plessis, "Highway to Racial Harmony," South African Fact Paper 69 (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1959), p. 5.

[32] Quoted in "In the News," South African Scope, October, 1966, p. 3.

[33] Mezerik, op. cit., p. 15. [34] Ibid., p. 15.

that the Bantustans open to the Africans new political and economic opportunities, which never existed before. The Bantustans will also provide positive means for the African to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to cope with the complexities of the modern world.[35]

The Government claims to provide Africans living in the Bantustans benefits which include: (1) 300,000 new homes, built at a yearly rate of 20,000 since 1965; (2) an opportunity to own land, shops, factories and businesses, and to carry on trade and commerce; (3) a medical service for those Africans who cannot afford to pay for such services.[36]

The present size of the Bantustans are larger than England and Wales combined with their population of 45 million people. If the Bantustans are rehabilitated and industrialized, as the Government claims they will be someday, it is estimated, by the Tomlinson Commission Report and the Government, that the Bantustans will be

---

[35] Ibid., p. 15.

[36] These were stated to be some of the many benefits which the Government is providing Africans who live in the Bantustans. Speech by the Chief Information Officer, the Honorable Willem Le Roux, delivered before The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, November 15, 1972 (information provided by the South African Embassy, Washington, D. C.).

able to support and accommodate 10 million or more Bantus out of a total population of 20 million Africans.[37]

V. OPPOSITION TO THE BANTUSTAN POLICY

Critics of the Bantustan policy see it as an attempt on the part of the South African Government to try and head off the demands of African nationalism. One apparent difficulty with this solution to future multiracial strife is that under present plans the 15,100,000 Africans which comprise 70 per cent of the entire population are to receive, eventually, only 13.7 per cent of the total land mass of South Africa. This 13.7 per cent will also be fragmented. The Europeans, however, only comprise 17 per cent of the entire population and will control 86.3 per cent of the land mass, which also includes the major strategic mineral deposits, industries, fisheries, and sea ports.

Opponents of Apartheid refute the Bantustan ideals as extravagant and unfounded. They point to the revival of tribalism and the political predominance of the chiefs, which are enshrined in the Transkei Constitution.[38] Mr. Oliver Tambo, a former Deputy President

---

[37]Charles A. W. Manning, "In Defense of Apartheid," Foreign Affairs, vol. 43, no. 1, October, 1964, p. 147.

[38]Mezerik, op. cit., p. 14.

of the outlawed African National Congress, stated before the U. N. Special Political Committee that:

> The Transkei is cited as a glorious example of people marching happily to independence. What Dr. Verwoerd said . . . makes it clear that there is no independence contemplated. There cannot be . . . the majority of delegations have been through the trick and fraud of the Bantustans . . . whether it is called Homelands or Bantustans or . . . partition it is still racial discrimination and Apartheid--it is still White domination.[39]

The idea of tribal separatism and discouragement of African nationalism is indirectly advocated by the Bantustan constitutions. The Transkei Constitution, for example, stipulates that tribal affinity, rather than present residence, shall determine the eligibility of Africans to participate in political affairs. Over one million Xhosas are residents of areas scattered throughout the Republic and many of these Africans have little contact with the Transkei. Many urban Xhosas do not consider the Transkei their nation. These "citizens of the Transkei" may only exercise their political rights in the Bantustan.[40]

Political development, it is agreed by both pro and con, has proceeded the furthest in the Transkei. The Transkei has developed the furthest for two major reasons.

---

[39] Ibid., p. 14.

[40] Gwendolen M. Carter, Thomas Karis and Newell M. Stultz, South Africa's Transkei (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967), p. 7.

First, it is the largest single bloc of Homeland territory and does not have to be consolidated as other scattered and fragmented Homelands. Secondly, the Transkei has a long history as an administrative unit in which Africans enjoyed a limited measure of local autonomy.[41] The Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 created a legislative assembly of 109 members. Sixty-four of these members are chiefs appointed by the State President and receive their salaries from the South African Government. Critics argue that as long as these sixty-four chiefs are appointed the assembly will have a limited amount of power, since they will be sympathetic to the desires of the South African Government. This then places the Transkei citizens at the mercy of the South African Government.[42] Furthermore, the only traditional tribal element found in the Transkei political system is the element of chieftainship.[43]

The Transkei Government currently controls only its budget (26.5 million rand of which the South African Government provided 18 million rand in 1972),[44] agriculture,

---

[41]Welsh, op. cit., p. 51.

[42]Bunting, op. cit., p. 481.

[43]Welsh, op. cit., p. 52.

[44]State of South Africa Year Book, 1972, p. 56.

education, and other such internal affairs as inferior courts, alcoholic beverage control, and maintenance of local roads.[45] The South African Government still retains control of the major areas of external policy and planning such as defense and military forces, and of such internal affairs as law and order, postal, telephone, telegraph, and radio services, immigration, railways, harbors, national roads, civil aviation, banking and currency. The Transkei Government does not have the authority to prevent the South African police force from entering and occupying the territory.[46] Thus, peaceful demonstrations calling for more political, economic, and civil freedoms are not possible as long as the police force, under the disguise of maintaining internal security, can enter.

The effects of such political and economic controls still exercised by the South African Government in the Bantustans are designed, according to some critics, to hamper and limit communication and travel by the African between Bantustans.[47] By controlling travel and communication between the Bantustans, the South African Government

---

[45] Ibid., p. 56.

[46] Ibid., p. 56.

[47] Pierre van den Berghe, "Racial Segregation in South Africa: Degrees and Kinds," South Africa: Sociological Perspectives, Heribert Adam, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 40.

can limit the flow of Africans from one tribal entity to another and can hamper ethnic and social mixing. All of these measures are designed to make Africans think of themselves not as one national people, but as Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Vendas, and Tswanas.[48]

The South African Government's reluctance to transfer all remaining lands, sea ports and White zoned towns over to the Homeland governments, is viewed as a deliberate attempt to prevent them from becoming economically and geographically stronger.[49]

Many critics will agree that the Bantustans do provide Africans with limited amounts of political and economic freedom which never existed before. These same critics also feel that the Bantustans are designed to fragment the Africans into national units and be made to think in narrower tribal terms instead of in pan-tribal terms. The Bantustan policy, to these critics, represents a method of inhibiting and frustrating African nationalist movements.

---

[48]Welsh, op. cit., p. 53.

[49]Bunting, op. cit., p. 500; Merle Lipton, "South African Census and the Bantustan Policy," The World Today, vol. 28, no. 6, June, 1972, p. 267.

One critic of the present Bantustan scheme, as it is presently being implemented, describes it in the following vivid terms:

> . . . The policy is to retribalize Africans and to fragment them into separate tribal entities, self-policed, introspectively detached from each other and from the White man's world, and self-perpetuated by the insemination of tribal ardor.[50]

VI. ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE BANTUSTANS

Since 1961 when Dr. Verwoerd announced the Bantustan policy, the South African Government has pushed forward a policy of advancing the Bantustans to a situation similar to that of former British colonies in their preindependence stage.[51] The Bantustans have been provided with a limited amount of home rule and self-government over the past twelve years. Politically the Bantustans now have an exclusively Bantu legislature which is still only partially chosen by election and manages a limited number of internal functions under the overall control and veto of the South African Parliament and State President. The district level power remains in the hands of the White magistrate whose functions are similar to that of district commissioners in the

---

[50]Leo Kuper, An African Bourgeoisie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 23.

[51]Carter, et al., op. cit., p. 91.

few remaining British colonies, and White bureaucrats still fill the key administrative and bureaucratic posts in the Bantustan civil service and government.[52] While some critics may view this as a measure of political advancement for the Bantustans and Africans, most are agreed that economic advancement and geographic consolidation, since 1961, have made less progress and present obstacles to the viability of the Homelands.[53]

Geographically the eight Homelands are fragmented into 264 scattered pieces. The Bantustan leaders have been agitating for consolidation and extension of territory beyond the allotted 13.7 per cent. The South African Government is reluctant to negotiate with these leaders for consolidation and is openly opposed to allocating more land to the Bantustans. Prime Minister Vorster has promised "maximum consolidation," but he has also said that the Bantustans will receive no more land beyond the already set level.[54] This will make it impossible to consolidate all the areas--especially the Ciskei, Tswana, and Zulu Homelands which are heavily fragmented. "White

---

[52] Ibid., p. 91.

[53] See Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 6.

[54] Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 6.

corridors," White owned farms, White zoned towns and White zoned seaports within the Homeland boundaries remain under the jurisdiction of the Republic. White pressures along with skyrocketing land prices near these Homeland boundaries are hampering further consolidation.[55]

Economically, the Bantustans are to base their economies on agriculture. Farming is to be the major source of development for the population. The remainder of the population will work in the Whitestans. But agricultural development and creation of jobs in the Bantustans has progressed slowly--so much so that these areas are not able to support their present population. The Bantustans are importing food from the Republic and exporting their labor in order to pay for the imports.[56] Government expenditures have been raised to support the Bantustans but such funds are not significantly alleviating the problem of unemployment and low agricultural output.

The "border areas" idea which offers White businessmen incentives to locate factories and industry a few miles outside the Bantustans has provided 80,000 new jobs for Africans, but these areas have become competitive and not

---

[55] Ibid., p. 7.

[56] Merle Lipton, "The South African Census and the Bantustan Policy," p. 265.

complementary to industrial development within the Bantustans.[57] The "border areas" have also diverted investment and spending by Africans from the Bantustans to areas which are appendages of, and often a few miles from, the existing industrial complexes. This loss of revenue is also hampering economic development in the Bantustans. Thus while the "border areas" offer White businessmen a lower wage structure and less restrictions on the use of Bantu labor, and offer Africans a job near their homes in the Bantustans, such an economic scheme hampers Bantustan industrial development and an increase in revenue from African workers.[58]

To encourage industrial development inside the Bantustans, Mr. Vorster is allowing the entry of small amounts of White capital.[59] But this has only created two factories and 10,000 new jobs. Small groups of African traders and businessmen are being assisted with technical advice and financial loans to set up small shops and businesses inside the Bantustans. It is hoped that

---

[57]Muriel Horrell, ed., Survey of Race Relations, 1971 (Johannesburg: South Africa Institute of Race Relations, 1972), pp. 214-221.

[58]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 9.

[59]Ibid., p. 9.

such development may generate new revenue inside the Bantustans.[60] Bantu professionals are being persuaded to return to the Bantustans to seek equal political and economic rights.

But these increased Government efforts and expenditures have had little effect in curbing the economic problems of the Bantustans. Widespread unemployment and underemployment still persist and the backbone of the Homeland economy--agriculture--is declining. The economic and geographic development in the Bantustans appears to have lagged behind the Tomlinson Report recommendations. No drastic future improvement is foreseen by experts.[61]

VII. INDEPENDENCE

The acquisition of more land is the issue on which the Bantustan leaders have expressed themselves most strongly.[62] Each Bantustan chief minister is demanding that more territory be added to his Bantustan. The chief minister of Tswanaland recently stressed the need for more land additions when he addressed the University of Cape Town student body:

---

[60] Carter, et al., op. cit., p. 178.

[61] Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 9.

[62] Ibid., p. 6.

> The land allocated to the Tswana people in terms of lands acts of 1913 and 1936 was altogether insufficient and much too small to constitute an independent sovereign state.[63]

One chief feels that the strongest weapon the Africans have is to refuse political independence until the South African Government will negotiate along more realistic terms and grant Bantus a larger share in the allotment of territory, and increased economic opportunities in the White areas.[64] But Prime Minister Vorster has stated that there will be only further consolidation and not an increase in land allotments.

Some chiefs disagree on the policy of separate development and independence for the Bantustans. These chiefs seem more interested, at times, in the welfare of their Homeland, instead of the entire African population. The disagreements over the procedures of accepting more territory and independence seem, to one observer, to confirm the idea that the South African Government is succeeding with increasing the effects of tribal disunity and separatism.[65]

---

[63]Quoted in "Bantustans: Dream or Reality," African Digest, vol. 19, no. 57, October, 1972, p. 103.

[64]Charles Mohr, "Two Chiefs Appraise South Africa," New York Times, November 12, 1972, p. 2.

[65]Merle Lipton, "The South African Census and the Bantustan Policy," p. 271.

The Bantustan leaders are sensitive to these remarks and deny that they are playing into the hands of the South African Government. They defend their positions as the only feasible alternative to cooperation. Each one realizes that he may be contributing to the revival of tribalism, and warns Africans not to allow themselves to be divided. One chief has declared that: "the Africans are one nation."[66] Both sides of the issue are argued. Some feel that South Africa's African population is detribalized and the Government policy assumes that tribal differences exist. It remains to be seen whether the Bantustans will develop separate tribal identities and interests of their own.

The chief minister of Zululand feels that Mr. Vorster's Government is sincere in pushing forward with a program for eventual independence for the Bantustans. He sees independence within a framework that will prevent any one of the Bantustans from ever posing a serious economic or military threat to the White minority regime of South Africa. This Zulu leader views separate development not as the answer to South Africa's racial problems, but rather simply a public forum from which Africans can at

---

[66]Charles Mohr, "Bantustan Chief Accepts Apartheid, Seeks More Land," New York Times, November 11, 1972, p. 2.

least talk with Whites on some sort of common ground that never existed before.[67]

The other Homelands appear to be advancing toward a status similar to that of the Transkei, but independence may still be well into the future. Many Whites, in the service of the South African Government, still fill most of the key administrative and bureaucratic posts in the Bantustans and will for many years to come. In terms of industrial development, the Transkei is the only Bantustan which can boast of any development (two factories employing 10,000 jobs). Consolidation of land is a problem, and fragmentation will persist after all consolidation has been achieved. More than one-half of the revenue generated in the Bantustans still comes from South African Government subsidies.[68] Politically, many African voters have been jailed, exiled or banned from the political processes of the Bantustans under the Suppression of Communism Act because they attempted to establish such political parties as the African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress, Communist Party, and Liberal Party.[69]

---

[67]Charles Mohr, "Two Chiefs Appraise South Africa," p. 2.

[68]For latest revenue figures, see the South African Year Book, 1972, p. 57.

[69]Bunting, op. cit., p. 482.

Government officials are reluctant to conjecture about a tentative date for independence of the Bantustans. Although all Government ministers have reiterated that the Bantustans are to be separate and neighborly associations which have the right to self-determination, these officials will only announce that independence will come "at the right time."[70] Prime Minister Verwoerd explained in 1966 that:

> . . . the Government acting as guardian, will not allow itself to be driven to such undue haste as had led to disastrous results elsewhere in Africa. . . the development of the Bantu Homelands must be such that it will promote the real well-being of all members of each national entity. Such a spirit of good will and realization of economic interdependence must grow so that a form of organized cooperation and consultation will come naturally.[71]

Prime Minister Vorster, in 1968, listed economic backwardness as the reason why the Bantustans could not be given independence. Today Mr. Vorster's Government no longer considers economic viability and geographic consolidation of the Bantustans into larger and fewer units as essential. The shift in Government emphasis is that it is no longer crucial for Africans to be living in the Bantustans, or for parity in numbers between Whites and Bantus in the White areas to be achieved before independence can be granted. "As long as the policy is accepted in principle,

---

[70] Mezerik, op. cit., p. 15. [71] Ibid., p. 15.

then there is no need to have 'an arithmetical outlook on life'."[72] With this change in Government thinking, Vorster announced in September 1970 that he would be willing to open negotiations with the Banustan leaders "tomorrow" on the subject of independence. At a Nationalist Party meeting of district leaders, he stated that independence for some of the Bantustans might come as soon as 1975, if progress continued.[73]

Some Government officials, however, do not foresee the Bantustans as ever achieving a status of independence, but rather as representing a system which will allow Africans a place to exercise their political, social, and economic privileges.[74]

Even if the Bantustans do someday become independent states, they will have little hope of ever threatening or competing economically or militarily with the Republic. The South African Government, it is argued, will never permit outside military aid, or even the creation and existence of a standing Bantustan military force. Nor

---

[72]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 11.

[73]Ibid., p. 11.

[74]James A. Michener, "The 5 Warring Tribes of South Africa," New York Times, January 23, 1972, p. 54.

will the Republic allow foreign aid or economic assistance which might be deemed detrimental to the White South African economy.

IX. SUMMARY

The Bantustan policy is viewed, by this author, as an attempt by the South African Government to create eight separate Bantu states that will represent a disguise to Africans and the world of being independent sovereign nations. Such independence may come, but it will be in name only, and will be conditional upon the moods and whims of the South African Government. The Bantustan policy is designed to give Africans an illusion of political power, and is structured in hopes of heading off possible Bantu nationalistic movements in the Republic. This program perpetuates a plan for maintaining certain areas, based on agricultural economies which force Africans to seek employment in the White urban areas (or the border areas, if they ever materialize on a massive scale). The Bantustans serve as a reservoir for supplying the needed amounts of cheap unskilled labor to the booming South African economy, and to house surplus labor which is not needed. Once these dual citizens are classified as living in an independent Bantustan community, they will lose their

citizenship in the Republic and become alien migratory workers with no political, economic or civil rights in the Whitestans.

The Bantustan policy is devised to provide the two White communities of South Africa with several security advantages. As long as the Bantustans can be relatively isolated, dispersed, ethnically homogeneous, distant from the White cities and devoid of any urban concentrations of more than a few thousand Africans, communication and travel between the Homelands will remain minimal. In this way the Whites are able to slow (maybe even stop) and neutralize African movements toward solidarity. By restyling the Native Reserves into semi-autonomous puppet states or protectorates--called Bantustans--a revision of African tribalism and separatism is conceivable.

The educational program of the Bantus will be discussed in the next chapter to determine what role it plays in the Apartheid political scheme, and what relationship, if any, it has to the Bantustan policy.

CHAPTER III

BANTU EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION

When the Nationalist Party assumed the dominant role in the South African Government in 1948, the management of the Bantu school system was mainly in the hands of the various local Christian missions. Today, the management of Bantu education is under Government authority, and the entire system has been centralized within the Department of Bantu Education. At the higher education level, all institutions of higher learning for the Bantu, before 1948, were under the authority of semi-autonomous councils which possessed the power to determine whom they would admit as students. Most of these colleges and universities were closed to Africans or admitted only a very limited number. Today, these same institutions of higher learning may admit only European students and non-White students whose programs of study are not offered at a college of their ethnic background. The colleges and universities created after 1948 to serve non-Whites are under direct State control.[1]

---

[1] A. P. Hunter, "Church, State and Education in the Republic of South Africa," Church, State, and Education in Africa, David G. Scanlon, ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966), p. 247.

The central feature in the recent evolution of Bantu education has been the increase in authority and power of the South African Government. The Administration of Bantu education, before 1948, was conducted by various religious bodies, by semi-autonomous councils of educational institutions and by individuals. Today, these powers have been absorbed and are now exercised by the South African Government. Moreover, there has been a progressive diminution of provincial powers over education and a corresponding increase in the power of the South African Government.[2]

The basic reason behind these changes has been to align the Nationalist Government's policy of Apartheid. That the primary role of the educational system has been to carry out the policy of separate development has been recognized by the White regime's critics and proponents alike. Critics of the educational system believe that the legislative changes affecting education represent an exploitation of the school system's potentialities as an instrument of Government propaganda. They see the establishment of Government control over Bantu education as designed to perpetuate African tribalism and foster disunity among the nation's 15 million Bantus. This disunity,

---

[2] Ibid., p. 247.

it is reasoned, would enable the Whites to continue their political dominance in the Republic. They argue that such Bantu educational practices maintain the inferior social and economic status of the African population.[3] The advocates of the Nationalist Government's Bantu educational policy counter with the forceful argument that the various legislative measures are a justified series of steps taken to ensure the congruence of the entire educational system with the overall policy of Apartheid.[4]

II. PRE-APARTHEID EDUCATION

In many respects the immediate pre-Apartheid era was relatively similar to the current Apartheid era. The mass of non-Whites were very poor and ill-educated by European standards with very few Africans in jobs above the unskilled level. Segregation encompassed all aspects of the South African society. The educational system reflected the social system. The nine universities followed individual policies concerning admission of students. Six of the nine universities admitted only Whites;

---

[3]Jordan K. Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Company, 1963), p. 57.

[4]Dr. J. J. de Wet, "The Effects of the Policy of Apartheid on Education," Journal of Racial Affairs, Review Article, March, 1969, p. 134.

two admitted all races to the same classroom, but did not permit integration in social and athletic activities; the last operated separate White and non-White campuses with a common faculty. One small college was primarily for Africans and other non-Whites. The University of South Africa at Pretoria, which at this time taught only by correspondence, was open to all races.[5] Ten technical colleges provided instruction for non-Whites at segregated branches, and in Durban a technical college for non-Whites was established.[6]

Africans and Whites, at the elementary and secondary level, were taught in separate schools. Some of the White schools provided study through the "dual medium" of the nation's two official languages (Afrikaans and English). The mother tongue medium was compulsory and the other language was stressed. Some schools, depending on the geographic location, taught all courses either in the English medium or the Afrikaans medium, and the other language was taught as an elective.[7] Most Whites realized

---

[5]Hunter, op. cit., p. 248.

[6]Ibid., p. 248.

[7]Robert J. Havighurst, ed., "The State and Education in South Africa," Comparative Perspectives on Education (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 192.

the need to adopt study in the "dual medium" rather than the "single medium" (study exclusively through the medium of one of the two official languages), and attempted to provide for such instruction. Many conservative Afrikaners opposed "dual medium" instruction, fearing that it might result in the anglicization of Afrikaner children. They wanted their children to be educated in a purely Afrikaner environment.[8] These Afrikaners were insistent upon the need for compulsory mother tongue instruction in "single medium" schools and viewed such instruction as the only means of preventing a child from being handicapped in his learning. They looked with disdain upon parents who sent their children to "dual medium" schools as doing injustice to the child. They also opposed bilingual instruction as not being feasible: there was a shortage of bilingual teachers, and most of them were of English descent. Many of these same Afrikaners had fought for years to establish Afrikaans as one of the official languages of the union and feared its submission to English if taught in "dual medium" schools.[9]

Most elementary and secondary schools for Africans were run not by the State, as was the case for Whites, but by Christian missions under the supervision of

---

[8] Ibid., p. 192. [9] Ibid., p. 192.

provincial education departments. They were heavily subsidized by grants from the provinces, which received money for African education from the South African Government. Finances for Bantu education were generated through the Republic's general revenue. Several years before 1948, many educated Africans and several liberal thinking Whites were suggesting the removal of Bantu education from Christian mission control. They viewed Bantu education, under Christian mission authority, as inferior to White education.[10] They saw a young African's education as being hindered by the lack of uniformity in the educational systems of the Christian mission schools. Most of these educated Africans and liberal minded Whites wanted a uniform Bantu educational program under African supervision. They insisted upon a uniform curriculum patterned after that of the standard school curriculum for Whites, and more financial aid for Bantu education from the State. Higher teaching standards for Africans was also demanded.[11]

Education for Whites was universal and compulsory until age fifteen, but schooling for Africans was neither

---

[10]Hunter, op. cit., pp. 248-249.

[11]"Bantu Educational Explosion," South African Scope, May, 1973, p. 8.

compulsory nor universal. African schools were also less generously financed than White schools. The most serious result in the educational system was the low level of education the African teacher had as compared to his White counterpart.[12]

The relatively low level of expenditure on African schools produced a school system which was, in comparison to White schools, ill equipped, overcrowded, and understaffed. The African was taught primarily in his mother tongue through the entire elementary level (eight years). The secondary level more thoroughly espoused the African to the two official languages, and preparation was begun for the African student to take the same external examination as Whites took for graduation.[13]

Bantu education during the pre-Apartheid era had its disadvantages, but it also had certain advantages. The Christian missions, according to one author, provided African children with an educational system that tended to sow in the young African the seeds of a loyalty which

---

[12]Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (Baltimore: Penguin Books, revised ed., 1969), p. 264.

[13]Ralph R. Ireland, "Education for What? A Comparison of the Education of Black South Africans and Black Americans," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 41, no. 3, Summer, 1972, p. 233.

was wider than his tribal group.[14] The missionaries who ran these schools often disagreed openly with the racial views of most White South Africans. They formed close links with other missionaries around the world and this helped to embody in many African students the idea of a world wide community existing for the well being of all races and groups.[15]

III. BANTU EDUCATION UNDER APARTHEID

The dominant Nationalist Party began in the early 1950's, through the use of legislation, to establish Government control over Bantu education. The most important law in this effort was the Bantu Education Act of 1953.[16] This Act provided the South African Government the power to ensure that education for the Bantu was carried out in accordance with the State racial policy, and it made provision for some participation by government-approved Bantus in the local administration of their school systems.[17]

---

[14] Hunter, op. cit., p. 254. [15] Ibid., p. 254.

[16] Gwendolen M. Carter, The Politics of Inequality (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Company, 1958), p. 100.

[17] Ibid., p. 102.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was followed by the Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act of 1955 which changed the basis for financing African schools. Funds for Bantu education were fixed at 6 and one-half million pounds per annum from general revenue plus 80 per cent (later changed to 100 per cent) of the general taxes collected from Africans. The Extension of the University Education Act of 1955 provided for the establishment of a group of non-White state controlled colleges and the cancellation of the right of the existing universities to admit non-Whites.[18]

Regarding the education of Whites during this period, no major structural changes occurred. The Vocational Education Act of 1955 provided that the Minister of Education would now control all technical colleges, which were previously supervised by their own semi-autonomous councils. Despite this, education of Whites remained for the most part under the control of the provinces.[19] Concerning the language medium of instruction, three of the four provinces removed from White parents the right to decide in which of the two official languages their children would study. The present policy is to allow each English-speaking and

---

[18]Hunter, op. cit., p. 255.

[19]Ibid., p. 255.

Afrikaans-speaking child to study in separate "single medium" schools rather than in a "dual medium" atmosphere.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 is often recognized as the chief foundation of Bantu educational policies. The result of such a major piece of educational legislation has been to create the following features of South African education under Apartheid:

1. Ethnic grouping of students
2. A disproportionate allocation of resources to Bantu education as compared to European education
3. A curriculum which reflects racial policy
4. Insistence upon the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction
5. Centralization of control.

Under each of these five features, the present Bantu educational policy will be briefly described with the South African Government's rationale being indicated. A brief look at compulsory attendance will also be included in this study. An attempt will then be made to assess the situation in the light of educational criteria and in terms of probable social, political and economic consequences.

IV. ETHNIC GROUPING

The Nationalist Government inherited an already racially separated school system, but one which allowed for a small amount of ethnic and racial mixing between the African tribes, other non-White groups and the two White groups. The Afrikaner dominated Government carried the principle of Apartheid to deeper levels. Today each one of the major tribal groups has its own schools and the Europeans are separated according to language. This educational set-up extends all the way from the lower primary levels through higher education. While Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking South Africans may still elect to attend each other's universities, each major African tribal group--the Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos (with the Vendas and Tsongas) have colleges especially established for them. A non-White student may with Government approval attend an all-White university if the program he is majoring in is not available at his own ethnic college.[20]

The South African Government contends that the notion of separate development is behind this facet of

---

[20] C. M. Stimie and Caroline Geggus, University Education in the Republic of South Africa (Pretoria: Institute for Information and Special Services, 1972), p. 30.

educational policy. Supporters of Apartheid point out that the inhabitants of South Africa are a heterogeneous group composing not one distinct national racial group but several national ethnic and racial communities. These heterogeneous communities have been pushed together by history with a great deal of abrasion in one geographical area under one political authority. This political authority (the Nationalist Government) is bent on a plan to devise the best way of ensuring the development and welfare of the various group(s) and solve the "colour problem."[21]

Supporters of Apartheid maintain that while no one group is inferior to another, each group does possess basic distinctive cultural differences. To allow cultural mixing among the races would result in the social and political integration of all groups and eventually one numerically superior racial group politically dominating the other minority racial groups (especially the White group).[22]

The development of African society must be geared to tribal heritage. Uncontrolled acculturation within society

---

[21]N. J. Rhoodie, Apartheid and Racial Partnership in Southern Africa (Pretoria: Academica, 1969), p. 62.

[22]Paul Giniewski, The Two Faces of Apartheid (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1965), p. 28.

would inevitably produce "imitation Whites" who would be frustrated because they would not be accorded full political, social, and economic rights outside of their Bantustans. But in his Bantustan, the African may be allowed to develop to his fullest potential, preserved from competition with the more advanced Whites and secure in his tribal structure and its roots.[23]

Dr. Verwoerd described the Government position in 1952 as the:

> . . . only key to the true progress of the Bantu community as a whole and to the avoidance of a struggle for equality in common areas or under common political institutions. [It requires] the acceptance of the tribal system as the springboard from which the Bantu may rise in their own areas to higher levels of culture and self-government, basing their development on their own way of life and utilizing the dynamic elements inherent in their own system.[24]

Government supporters stress that the South African economy has no openings for a class of "imitation Whites:"

> What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practice?. . . . Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. . . . It is therefore necessary that native education should be controlled in

---

[23]Gwendolen M. Carter, Thomas Karis, and Newell M. Stultz, South Africa's Transkei (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967), p. 35.

[24]H. F. Verwoerd, The Native Policy of the Union of South Africa (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1952), p. 7.

> such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the State.[25]

As recently as 1970, a study revealed that 90 per cent of the South African Parliamentarians, entrepreneurs and officials participating gave a positive response to the following statement: "Even when a Bantu has a doctorate, Western Culture is often a layer of veneer: deep down he remains a Bantu." This same survey reported other examples of a refusal by Whites to accept the reality of African acculturation.[26]

Dr. Verwoerd felt that since non-White labor would be essential to the White areas for years to come, Bantu education should be designed to prevent the creation of a class of educated and semi-educated persons who believe that "its spiritual, economic, and political home is among the civilized community of South Africa." He emphasized that:

> . . . there is no place for him [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour . . . it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. . . . Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from

---

[25]Bunting, op. cit., p. 260.

[26]Heribert Adam (ed.), "The South African Power Elite," South Africa: Sociological Perspectives (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 78-79.

> his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.[27]

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 had, to Verword, as its general aims:

> To transform education for the natives into Bantu education. . . . A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills, and attitudes which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community. . . . The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him.[28]

Dr. Verwoerd saw separate educational systems at each educational level as the only safeguard against the possible effects of cultural mixing:

> We do not want (non-Whites) in the same university (and school) as the young students of today, who are the leaders of tomorrow. We do not want the Whites to become so accustomed to the natives that they feel there is no difference between them and the natives.[29]

The Apartheid educational policy not only requires racial separation in the classroom but ethnic separation as well. The de Wet Nel Commission of 1958 (officially known as the Commission on the Separate University Education Bill) delivered a report which recommended that

---

[27]Ernest Cole, House of Bondage (New York: A Ridgeway Press Book, Random House, 1967), p. 96.

[28]Ibid., p. 96.

[29]Hunter, op. cit., p. 261.

separate universities for each African ethnic group be established. To put all the African groups together in one institution, the Commission argued, would be to overlook the profound differences between the various groups; to disregard the importance of common cultural traditions and language in building up an African college system, and to ignore the university's role in the general development of a particular group.[30] Similar considerations also apply to all educational levels below the university.

The South African Government feels it is necessary for the development of distinct ethnic loyalties and success of the Bantustan policy that African children go to school only with members of their own ethnic group. In other nations with a developed sense of nationalism, foreign students may with impunity be admitted to a school system. But in South Africa it is contended that no homogeneous nation exists. The school system, therefore, must inhibit loyalties inconsistent with the Government policy of Apartheid.[31]

If the policy of separate development is to succeed, many Bantustans must be developed. Using as an example

---

[30]W. W. M. Eiselen, "The Effects of the Policy of Apartheid, III," Journal of Racial Affairs, vol. 19, no. 3, April, 1968, pp. 22-23.

[31]Ngubane, op. cit., p. 58.

an idea from A. P. Hunter, let us conjecture for a moment about a young Xhosa. Since he is to be a citizen not of South Africa, nor of an amalgamated Bantu community, but rather a citizen of his own ethnic group, he will be a citizen of the Transkei. As such, and if he desires higher education, he will attend the University of Fort Hare, which is set aside for Xhosas. If he were allowed to study along side a Sotho, or Zulu, his ethnic loyalty might be blurred. And if he were allowed to study along side a White, or at one of the White universities, both he and the White student would be open to distorted ideas of one another, and exposed to undesirable and irresponsible opinions expressed by immature White students, which the young non-White might take as authoritative.[32] Nor could the non-Whites' presence enrich the experience of the White student.[33]

The reason for separating Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites below the college level is in view of the long standing cultural differences and tensions. It is more advisable that mutual respect and tolerance be fostered not by obscuring important cultural distinctions in the cause of assimilation, but by

---

[32]Eislen, op. cit., pp. 22-23. [33]Ibid., pp. 22-23.

educating the children of the two groups in different schools which will allow these distinct cultural traditions to be more faithfully reflected.[34]

The South African Government feels that education must be geared along ethnic and racial lines since the nation is composed of many heterogeneous groups each composing their own particular religious, political, social, economic and cultural quirks. Since most South African educational experts are convinced that this task cannot be accomplished in one school setting, the establishment of separate schools for each group is regarded as the only logical policy.[35]

Several inequalities in educational opportunities derive from this school separation of ethnic groups. Per capita distribution of resources irrespective of ethnic or cultural affiliation are not made (as will be indicated in the next section).[36] The socially disadvantaged group tends to have inferior teachers and a generally inferior educational experience. Separation of racial and ethnic groups in the schools may also have the effect of widening

---

[34]Havighurst, op. cit., p. 192.

[35]Paul Giniewski, op. cit., pp. 134-137.

[36]Sheldon G. Weeks, "Race and Retrogression in South Africa," Africa Today, vol. 14, no. 2, 1967, p. 12.

rather than bridging the gap betwen privileged and under-privileged students.[37]

Separation along ethnic lines may represent an impoverishment of the educational experience in that it is generally accepted by educators that one of the purposes of education is an understanding of the world in which one lives. Separation in the school system may deprive children of important opportunities of learning first hand about the other people, traditions, customs, cultures and problems of South Africa.[38]

The long term social design of a separated school system fosters several social consequences. The homogeneity of a student's peer group may continue to be reinforced. This kind of homogeneity along with other social influences, may lead the student to regard South Africans who are not part of his same ethnic background as members of another national group. This, in turn, will foster African tribalism and further hamper inter-African solidarity.

The national unity among the two White groups cannot but also be hampered by the Government's continued policy of stressing separate language medium schools. Many other

---

[37]Havighurst, op. cit., pp. 202-203.

[38]Hunter, op. cit., p. 264.

problems are bound to develop since the South African Government must rely to a great extent upon the loyalty of many Africans, whom it is presently grooming to rule the Bantustans, in support of its Apartheid policies. Many of these future Bantustan leaders might develop strong anti-White sentiments at their separated African universities. Student unrest came to a boil in 1972 on many of these African campuses (and later spread to several White universities) and armed force was used to stop demonstrations against Apartheid policies.[39] These demonstrations called for an end to discrimination in every phase of South African life and a restructuring of educational policy which would allow racially integrated school systems, and equal social, political, and economic opportunities for all. One observer sees these demonstrations as posing a threat to the peaceful solution of the country's racial problems under the Apartheid scheme.[40]

The general trend of the educational system in South Africa, especially the Bantu educational system, appears to

---

[39]Michael Knipe, "Universities Unite Against Vorster," The Times Educational Supplement, June 9, 1972, no. 2977, p. 1.

[40]Edward A. Steinhart, "White Students Protest in South Africa: The Privileged Fight for Their Rights," Africa Today, vol. 19, no. 3, Summer, 1972, pp. 40, 51.

be geared towards an ethnic grouping of students in separate schools at all levels.

V. THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

The way in which revenue and other resources made available for education are distributed illustrates the problem of inequality in Apartheid educational policy. State funds for Bantu education before 1953 were made available for mission schools. These funds are now channeled only to Bantu schools which are directly under State control, or are under the authority of local school boards (such forms of control will be discussed in a later section of this chapter).

The African student enrollment in 1950 was 757,000. Enrollment had increased by 1963 to 1,770,260 students and by 1973 to 3,250,000--four times more than in 1953.[41] The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education quoted UNESCO figures to support the Government position that African children had made great educational advancement under Apartheid educational practices. According to these figures 22.1 per cent of the total White population were attending school as compared to 18.2 per cent of the total Bantu population.

---

[41]"Bantu Educational Explosion," p. 6.

Consequently there are about four times as many Bantu school children as White school children in South Africa.[42] The Minister of Education observed that the school going population world wide was about 25 per cent of the total population of the world. In South Africa, 19 per cent of the total Bantu population is attending school--about 4 per cent less than in America, 2 per cent higher than in Europe and about 10 per cent higher than in the rest of Africa.[43] Over 70 per cent of South Africa's Bantu population in the seven to twenty-two age group has had at least four years of formal education and the position is improving every year.[44]

The Government admits that Bantu classrooms are inadequate and that teacher-pupil ratios are very high, but argues that the greatest achievement in Bantu education has been the increase in the number of Bantu teachers from 18,530 in 1950 to 52,442 in 1971.[45] An additional 3,500 Bantu teachers were certified in 1972 and the Government is hoping to raise this number to 5,500 a

---

[42]"Education for Great Numbers," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 18, no. 8, August, 1972, p. 11.

[43]"Education--A Gargantuan Task," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 18, no. 5, May, 1972, p. 22.

[44]"Bantu Educational Explosion," p. 6.

[45]"Education--A Gargantuan Task," p. 21.

year by 1975.[46] Teacher training for Bantus and Whites, however, is not identical. White and Bantu syllabi and curriculum outlines for teachers show an obvious discrepancy in training which implies an inferior education for Bantu teachers as compared to training for White teachers.[47]

Many planners of educational systems serving "developing societies" are generally agreed on the importance of a rapid expansion of secondary level facilities, even at the expense of universal primary education.[48] The South African Government advocates exactly the opposite view. The Government feels that Bantu education should be developed along lines which will benefit the greatest number of students and give each Bantu taxpayer an equal opportunity for his children to enjoy such basic educational facilities as available funds can allow. Dr. Verwoerd thought that such facilities would probably offer between two and four years of instruction in the reading and writing of the vernacular, in arithmetic, in English and Afrikaans, and in the cardinal principles of the Christian religion. A Bantu pupil should obtain such knowledge, skills and

---

[46]"Bantu Educational Explosion," p. 6.

[47]Stimie and Geggus, op. cit., pp. 130-142.

[48]Hunter, op. cit., p. 267.

attitudes as would be useful and beneficial to him and his community in the social and economic circumstances of South Africa.[49]

The geographical distribution of school facilities reflects the Government view that Africans living in urban areas are merely alien migratory workers or visitors. The focus on educational development, especially at the secondary level, is in the Bantustans. As Dr. Verwoerd phrased it in 1954:

> It is the policy of my department that education should have its roots entirely in the native areas and in the native environment and native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and perform its real service. . . . [Here] Bantu education can complete its full cycle by which the child is taken out of the community by the school, developed to his fullest extent in accordance with aptitudes and ability, and therefore returned to the community to serve and to enrich it.[50]

The current policy is to provide primary and secondary education to all school going children in the Bantustans, and to provide African children, living in the urban areas, with at least a primary education. There are very few secondary schools open to Africans in the urban areas.[51] Of the more than 3 million Bantu pupils

---

[49]Hunter, op. cit., p. 275. [50]Ibid., p. 275.

[51]"Education for Great Numbers," pp. 11-13.

in 1971, 2.8 million were enrolled in lower primary school.[52]

The method used to finance African education imposes several constraints on its development. According to a former Minister of Finance, Bantu education is not to be developed at the expense of the "White guardian community"; Africans must pay completely for their own education.[53] The result of such a financial policy is that African parents in sending their children to school pay more than three times as much as White parents.[54]

Bantu education is financed out of a fixed annual grant from the Consolidated Revenue Fund of $14 million which does not expand with increasing enrollments or adjust to allow for inflation.[55] While the number of Bantu students doubled between 1953 and 1963, the average total amount spent per African pupil declined from twenty-six dollars in 1953 to seventeen dollars in 1963. And although Bantu enrollment continued to rise rapidly

---

[52]"Expert from U. S. Lauds African Education," Star Johannesburg, August 11, 1972, p. 1.

[53]Hunter, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

[54]Southern Africa: Proposals for Americans (New York: U. N. Association--U. S. A., 1971), pp. 36-37.

[55]Weeks, op. cit., p. 13.

from 1963 to 1973, the Government spent approximately twenty dollars a year per Bantu child, as compared to three hundred and twenty dollars per year per White child--or sixteen times as much.[56]

It is estimated that non-White parents must pay between twenty-four dollars and ninety-one dollars per year to maintain a child in school, when the average monthly wage for a non-White worker is about sixty-five dollars. As much as fifty-three dollars may be spent on textbooks and stationery which White pupils receive free of charge.[57]

It is argued that by effectively denying Africans anything more than an inferior primary education, with limited revenue and resources, the Government has helped to maintain the subordinate status of the majority of its Bantu population and at the same time has hampered any significant political and economic development of the Bantustans.

VI. CURRICULUM

The school curriculum for the African reflects the present values of the dominant group in society.

---

[56] Southern Africa: Proposals for Americans, p. 37.

[57] Ibid., p. 37.

Bantu school programs since 1948 have in some disciplines come to be closely tied to the Government policy of Apartheid. This integration of education with the Government racial policy is seen in syllabi, student textbooks, and the statements of leaders of the Bantu educational system.[58]

The White school curriculums of the four provinces, on the other hand, are in general similar to those of most Western European nations and the United States. The curriculum differs in that White children are taught in the classroom that while two "White groups" exist, each must stand together in order to meet the rising tide of African nationalism. These young Whites are indoctrinated with the idea that they are the bearers of "Christian Western Civilization" on the continent of Africa and that they may be called upon some day to fight for the very self-preservation of all the Whites of South Africa.[59] The White education policy advocates the idea that: "We must strive to win the fight against the non-White in the classroom instead of losing it on the battlefield."[60]

---

[58] Apartheid; Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information (Paris: UNESCO, second edition, 1972), p. 69.

[59] Bunting, op. cit., pp. 244-246.

[60] Hunter, op. cit., p. 281.

The curriculum in African primary schools consists of three stages. The first stage is the lower primary which consists of four years of school. It is only this level which around 70 per cent of the Bantu population complete. The objective of formal Bantu education at the first level is the acquisition of technical skills in the three traditional areas of reading, writing and arithmetic. Instruction is in the child's mother tongue. The curriculum for the lower primary, apart from training in the "three R's," emphasizes religious instruction, practical hygiene, environmental studies and singing. Handicrafts such as needlework, handwork, and gardening are also encouraged.[61]

The rural and tribal emphasis in the environmental studies are considered by critics to be unsuitable for the large number of urban Bantu children enrolled in lower primary education. These rural and tribal emphases in the environmental studies are viewed as a reflection of two facets of the separate development policy: the reinforcement of tribal loyalties and the fostering of the idea that the rural Bantustan is the locus of the tribe's development and of its "separate freedom."[62]

---

[61]Ralph R. Ireland, "Bantu Primary and Secondary Education in the Republic of South Africa," The Social Studies, vol. 61, no. 4, April, 1970, p. 152.

[62]Hunter, op. cit., p. 281.

African schools located on Afrikaner-owned farms allow for adaptations in the elementary program. These programs allow the farmer to use school children, under the supervision of a teacher, to assist him in certain farm activities. The curriculum encourages African children to accept manual farm labor as being one of the more rewarding areas of work.[63]

The higher primary course also extends over a four year period. One of the objectives of this program is to acquaint the student with his own social institutions and to stimulate in him a pride in his own tribal cultural and spiritual heritage. The aims and subject matter are basically the same as the lower primary course. Social studies are studied at this level. It is through these courses that the Government can indoctrinate the Bantu students with what it consider positive aspects of Apartheid.[64] The South African Government feels that through the media of social studies, the African students will adapt themselves to accept their immediate environment and to accept their multiracial country. One of the aims of these courses is to give African students a

---

[63] Ibid., pp. 281-282.

[64] Ralph R. Ireland, "Bantu Primary and Secondary Education," p. 152.

Government imposed understanding of their socio-economic environment, taking into account the idea that they may have to adapt themselves to some day living in the Bantustan environment as adults.

An extract from one of the official social studies textbooks used in 1965 serves as an illustration of this emphasis:

> The Bantu had a splendid way of living of their own before ever they came into contact with the culture of the Whites. In the cities and towns they have lost much of their old delightful way of living but fortunately much of this has been preserved in their tribal reserves.[65]

The section of the social studies curriculum that deals with South African history and civics requires a course entitled "Turmoil Among the South African Bantu Tribes." This course deals with the relations between the various African tribes in South Africa before the entry of the European, and describes a situation in which the tribes were constantly at war or in conflict with each other.[66] The aim of the course is to discourage Bantu unity among the tribes.

---

[65] E. Hudson, ed., Race Studies for Standard VI (Johannesburg: Government Printers, 1965), p. 78.

[66] Syllabuses for Junior Certificates (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1965), pp. 105-106.

Social studies also places great emphasis on tribal life in the Bantustans, and little room is reserved in the textbook describing African life in the urban areas, even though more than one half of the Bantu population resides there. The textbooks do point out, however, some of the problems created by an urban African population. A UNESCO publication on the effects of Apartheid in education states that little emphasis is placed on such study because of the fear that urban Africans might possibly form a cohesive political unit and organize boycotts and strikes which could exert a very powerful influence on the nation's economy. Such African urbanization might even lead to economic integration, which might weaken the working morale of the Whites, and place a heavy burden upon them to provide an uplifting for Africans in the social, political, and economic spheres of society. The end result would be social assimilation, which the Government and most Whites are opposed to.[67]

A practical knowledge of the two official languages is stressed at the higher primary level. Provision for handicrafts, and arts and crafts are also taught in hopes that, according to some critics, many students will decide

---

[67] Apartheid; Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture, and Information, p. 64.

upon a manual or technical career, and accept practical occupations in the Bantustans.[68] Soil conservation, tree planting and gardening are also taught at the higher primary level. Besides emphasizing agricultural practices, classroom studies stress a return to the Bantustans rather than seeking employment in the White urban areas.[69]

Before entering high school (many of which are located in the rural Bantustans), each Bantu student takes an examination. Those who pass the examination in the academic areas proceed on to a secondary school. Those who pass the examination but do not satisfy the academic requirements receive a school leaving certificate and may proceed to a vocational training school if they so desire.[70]

The high school course, presently, lasts five years. The first three years are devoted to the junior certificate course and the last two years end with matriculation or senior certificate (graduation). The junior certificate, according to the Government, prepares the Bantu student for both academic and practical training. Those who

---

[68]Ralph R. Ireland, "Bantu Primary and Secondary Education," p. 153.

[69]Ibid., p. 153.

[70]Ralph R. Ireland, "Current Status of Non-White Education in South Africa," School and Society, vol. 97, no. 2319, October, 1969, p. 384.

pursue an academic career prepare for posts in the Bantustan government, clerical and administrative positions in industry, and for teaching positions. These students attempt to gain entrance into their appropriate ethnic university. The practically oriented course serves those preparing for occupations as carpenters, tailors, brick masons, mechanics, plumbers and electricians in the Bantustans.[71]

Before the Apartheid Bantu educational policy came into effect, African students followed the same secondary level programs as White students. Today this is only true for the last two years of high school.[72] Bantu education is presently undergoing curriculum changes in length of time being spent in the classroom. The new policy is to reduce the present thirteen year program to twelve years. The basic course outline and curriculum will remain the same, but the present structure of four-four-three-two will be modified to three-three-three-three, a modification scheduled to be fully implemented by 1976.[73]

---

[71]Ralph R. Ireland, "Bantu Primary and Secondary Education," p. 153.

[72]Apartheid; Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture, and Information, pp. 50-53.

[73]M. C. Botha, "New Structure for Bantu Education," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 18, no. 12, December, 1972, p. 22.

Special schools and special courses are provided for the sons of chiefs of the various tribes and lead to the junior certificate in Bantu Administration. These children, because of their unique position in the tribal hierarchy of each tribe, are trained to be future administrators and leaders in the Bantustans.[74]

The curriculum and textbooks reflect the official Apartheid policy. The rural and tribal emphasis in the African curriculum reinforces tribal links and in the case of the urban Bantu children attempts to forge tribal links. Such a curriculum orients the students toward a life style in the rural Bantustans. A UNESCO review of the South African textbooks shows the perpetuation of several myths, among them that the Dutch entered an empty land and that unprovoked African tribes attacked unsuspecting White farmers. African tribal life is much discussed but little is included about urban Africans. In primary schools the curriculum tends to reinforce tribal loyalties, foster the idea that the rural Bantustan is the only place for development and freedom, and generally

---

[74]John H. Wheeler, "Apartheid Implemented by Education in South Africa," Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1961, vol. 30, no. 3, p. 246.

emphasizes manual training and industriousness, particularly in schools on Afrikaner-owned farms.[75]

Critics of Bantu education say that African secondary education is discouraged in other than tribal areas as a means of halting Bantu migration to White towns, and that the proportionately few Bantu high schools are inferior in teachers and curriculum, particularly in mathematics and science. It is also argued that the junior cettificate examination required after the first three years of secondary school is designed to discourage Africans from pursuing an academic oriented career.[76]

VII. LANGUAGE MEDIUM

All school going children must study and learn South Africa's two official languages, Afrikaans and English, even though the language of instruction in at least the early years of primary education (seven through fourteen) is the child's mother tongue. For Whites this is, of course, Afrikaans or English, with the other official language being introduced at an early age. Similarly,

---

[75] Apartheid; Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture, and Information, pp. 72-79.

[76] Ibid., pp. 72-79.

Coloureds and Asians are taught one official language with the other studied as a subject. For Africans, instruction for the eight primary years is in one of the seven recognized tribal languages. One official language is introduced as a subject during the first year of primary education and the other official language is introduced soon after. The language of instruction in the five years of high school is divided between Afrikaans and English, depending on the geographic location of the high school.[77]

An advocate of vernacular medium throughout the primary years claims that such instruction is one of the reasons for the increase in the proportion of successful Bantu candidates in the junior certificate examination.[78] The Minister of Bantu Education in 1964 stated in defense of mother tongue instruction:

> The group of junior certificate candidates who wrote the examinations last year is the first group which received its tuition through the medium of the mother tongue throughout the entire period of the primary school. This must necessarily prove that pupils get a better grasp of the subject matter and gain a better insight when they are taught through the mother tongue in the primary school.[79]

---

[77]Botha, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

[78]H. J. van Zyl, "Bantu Languages at the Crossroads," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 7, no. 1, January, 1961, pp. 247-252.

[79]Hunter, op. cit., p. 288.

The effects of the language medium, according to one critic, are to separate the Bantu linguistically from each other and to burden them with learning three languages. Since the African drop-out rate is high, with few finishing primary school and even fewer going to secondary school, the result is that many Bantus are barely literate in their own language and unfamiliar with the two official languages, both of which are necessary as a medium of communication for an advanced education and for later advancement in the economy.[80] Another critic feels that the mother tongue medium policy reinforces the separation of the African groups.[81]

A U. N. publication states that the most disadvantageous aspect of Bantu education is that the Government does not permit classes for Bantus in the primary years to be conducted in Afrikaans or English.[82] This means that for the first eight years of school, a Bantu's education is hampered with language study at the expense of other subjects such as math and science. If a Bantu wishes

---

[80]Franklin Parker, "Separate Schools and Separate People of South Africa," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer, 1972, p. 270.

[81]Hunter, op. cit., p. 288.

[82]Southern Africa: Proposals for Americans, p. 37.

to pursue studies after the primary years, he must pass an examination in both official languages. This is a major reason why only 4.2 per cent of all Africans go beyond the primary level. The total African enrollment in universities in 1970 was 4,578 as compared to 73,204 Whites; only 196 Bantus out of a population of 15 million received baccalaurate degrees as compared to 6,461 Whites in a population of 4 million.[83]

A noted English sociologist of language feels that language deeply influences what is learned, and also influences future learning.[84] His study shows that the child's upbringing, which affects his linguistic advancement, can severely limit his learning and degree of learning in which he will succeed. His study could be applied to the Bantu child. The African's mother tongue presently qualifies him to fit socially and culturally within his own tribal group, but not to deal effectively with the complexities of subject matter derived from an advanced economy.

---

[83] Ibid., p. 37.

[84] Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," A. H. Halsey, ed., Education, Economics and Society (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 288-314.

The language medium inhibits communication among the various tribes and consequently cohesion among these groups:

> The African desperately strives for unity, and is strongly opposed to any tendency to division among his people. The multiplicity of African languages has always been regarded as an impediment to unity. In an effort to overcome this the African has accepted English as the langua franca of the sub-continent, and is glad to see the disappearance of tribal barriers. To him, the retribalization of the schools and the emphasis it lays on the vernaculars is a retrogressive step. A national awareness that is little appreciated by many has come over the African, and it is perhaps the greatest single reason for his objection to vernacular tuition. He feels he has a right to decide his own destiny. To the stranger, national consciousness and opposition to mother tongue instruction may seem incompatible; to the African, in his present circumstances, there is nothing contradictory in it.[85]

The three self-governing Homelands which control education in their areas have instituted changes in the language medium instruction from that of the mother tongue to English or Afrikaans, depending upon the preference of the parents in the fifth year of primary education.

VIII. CONTROL

The major change in control of Bantu education has been a shift from Church missions to direct Government

---

[85]Quoted in Hunter, op. cit., p. 289.

control. Bantu education in 1958 was transferred to the newly created Department of Bantu Education from the Department of Native Affairs. Education for the Whites remains largely in the control of the four provinces, while non-White education, except in the three self-governing Homelands, remains in the control of the Central Government.[86]

Bantu education at the local level is administered by district boards, whose members are Africans, and whose nominations must be approved by the Secretary for Bantu Education. These district boards control community schools, employ and dismiss teachers, allocate school equipment, supervise school budgets, investigate complaints and advise the Bantu Education Department on all educational matters within their territorial jurisdiction. Salaries paid to Bantu teachers come from the Central Government and may be cut off without any reason being given.[87]

Primary schools located on Afrikaner farms or on mine or factory property are under the management of the owners and subsidized by the Government. Each school is

---

[86]Ralph R. Ireland, "Current Status of Non-White Education in South Africa," p. 384.

[87]Hunter, op. cit., p. 293.

continued only as long as the farmer agrees to have the school on his land.[88]

A special case exists in the control of education in the three self-governing Bantustans. Here education may be legislated upon by the territorial assembly, subject to a Pretoria veto. To date, no major changes in the overall educational system have been made (except in the case of changing the language medium to one of the two official languages at the beginning of the fifth year).

IX. COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE

The South African educational system only requires school attendance for all White children between the ages of seven through sixteen, and for Coloureds and Asians, attendance is compulsory between the ages of seven through fourteen in certain areas "where there is demand for it and accommodations permit" (i.e., if one lives within three miles of an appropriate school). Compulsory school attendance for Bantu children does not exist because officials believe, "at the present stage of their development [it] would be difficult to enforce."[89] The Government

---

[88] Ibid., pp. 293-294.

[89] Parker, op. cit., p. 269.

insists that the reason for non-compulsory African attendance is because a sizeable number of these Bantus are still scattered in tribal villages in various stages of development. Furthermore, many of these Africans would resist compulsory education. Critics feel the reason for a lack of compulsory attendance is due chiefly to the fact that most Whites realize it would be too expensive to compel Africans to attend school. Another reason for non-compulsory African attendance is that an educated Bantu majority would soon agitate for more political rights and economic freedoms in the White areas.[90]

Thus while compulsory school attendance is required for all White children and where appropriate for Asians and Coloureds, no such rule exists for the Bantu child. The result of such a policy is that the drop-out rate is high among Asians and Coloureds, and particularly Bantus after the first four years of primary education.[91]

X. SUMMARY

The South African Government has implemented a Bantu educational policy that falls in line with its present policy of Apartheid. The Government recognizes certain profound cultural, social, and economic differences

---

[90] Ibid., p. 269.

[91] Ibid., p. 269.

between each racial and ethnic group. Consequently, it is thought, education must be geared toward allowing each group to progress to its fullest level of potential without hindrance from the other racial groups:

> It is the . . . intention of the Whites . . . to lead the Non-Whites to their fullest possible development and self-realization under the guidance and guardianship of the Whites.[92]

The Government position is not to create "imitation Whites" out of the Bantu population, but develop a system of education best suited for their needs and possible accomplishments in the South African society. The Government feels that when one views the overall picture of Bantu education, he will not support the mistaken view that the Bantu educational policy is deliberately curtailing the educational development of the Bantu:

> Granted there are shortcomings and growing pains, but when Bantu education is seen in perspective and not in comparison with White education or utopian conditions, it is very clear that Bantu education is developing the Bantu to fully accept his social, cultural, political, and economic role in his own Bantu nation.[93]

---

[92]A. P. Hunter, op. cit., pp. 309-310. Statement in defense of Bantu education by J. J. Fourie, Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Orange Free State, South Africa, and a member of the National Advisory Education Council.

[93]Quoted in de Wet, op. cit., p. 142.

While this may be true, most Bantu children, however, only complete the first four years of primary school, and most of the secondary schools are located in the rural Bantustans, completely ignoring the potential of many urban Bantu children. Bantu educational policies, according to critics, train young Africans to accept rural living conditions and be content to accept unskilled and manual labor outside the Bantustans. Education is developed to maintain the Africans in a subordinate position as compared to Whites, and foster disunity among the various tribal groups.

One critic sums up the view taken by many opponents of Bantu education as directed toward the unstated goal which maintains Africans in a servile position in society as "hewers of wood and drawers of water," not even sufficiently trained in quality or quantity to run the Bantustans.[94] It can be concluded that the Central Government uses the educational system in several ways to reflect and serve the national policy of maintaining a plural society, even to the extent of encouraging separation among the two White groups, in order to ensure White political and economic domination of the country.

---

[94]Weeks, op. cit., p. 13.

CHAPTER IV

BANTU EDUCATION AND THE BANTUSTAN POLICY

I. INTRODUCTION

South Africa has been described as a land of "five warring tribes."[1] It is a multiracial society with an all Afrikaner dominated Government bent on solving the nation's racial problems through the policy of Apartheid or separate development.

The political scheme of Apartheid means different things to different people. It is described in some circles as an enlightened and comprehensive program for uplifting each non-White group (particularly the Bantu groups) politically so that it may become an independent national entity. Apartheid is condemned in other circles as simply a means for the White minority to exploit and surpress, politically and economically, the non-Whites. Between these two extremes are many variations of opinion.[2]

---

[1] James A. Michener, "The 5 Warring Tribes of South Africa," New York Times Magazine, January 23, 1972, p. 46.

[2] N. J. Rhoodie and H. J. Venter, Apartheid (Cape Town: Haum, 1959), p. 2.

Apartheid has been the Government philosophy since 1948 for solving the nation's "colour problem." Advocates feel that such a system of dividing up the territory of South Africa into at least two major contrasting societies (namely the Whites and the Bantus), and separating each cultural group ethnically is the only way in which the various national groups can co-exist peacefully and in harmony free from the fears of and loss of cultural and racial identity.[3] This grand scheme envisages a day when South Africa will be divided not necessarily along lines of equal territorial distribution, but rather along traditional land holdings. The Asians and Coloureds are to be considered as permanent citizens of the Republic with designated areas set aside for them in the Whitestans.[4]

The Africans, on the other hand, are currently being allotted 13.7 per cent of the territory of the Republic where each tribal group is guaranteed its own equal political and civil rights. Outside of these Bantustans, the African will be considered an alien.

---

[3]H. F. Sampson, The Principle of Apartheid (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1967), pp. 117-118.

[4]N. J. Rhoodie, "The Coloured Policy of South Africa; Parallelism as a Socio-Political Device to Regulate White-Coloured Integration," African Affairs, vol. 72, no. 286, January, 1973, p. 52.

Proponents of Apartheid claim that such a political philosophy does not denote segregation. Segregation, they say, connotes the inferiority of one group to another. Apartheid recognizes no inferiority of one ethnic group to another but rather fundamental and distinctive characteristics which cannot be blended into one national group without great harm to the individuals and societies involved. To attempt to do so would only result in catastrophe for all groups.[5]

Nor does the Apartheid principle, its proponents argue, denote equality of resources, land distribution or political, social, and economic rights. Apartheid allows for the socio-political separation of each racial group and ethnic group and allows for each one to develop to its fullest potential, free from hindrance of another group, and within its own designated area. The advancement of one group to its fullest potential may result in that ethnic group being on a higher plateau of development than another (or the inverse may occur). What may be an accepted life style and standard of living for one group may not be for another. Thus Apartheid does not advocate nor does it imply racial and ethnic equality among the

---

[5]Sampson, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

heterogeneous groups but rather the opportunity for each to advance to its fullest capabilities.[6]

Opponents of Apartheid contend that the policy consists of a list of discriminatory laws designed to enforce racial and ethnic separation of the various groups, and ensure the political and economic dominance of the Whites. The grand scheme of Apartheid, according to these critics, is a theoretical dream that cannot come true. Its design in reality only creates discrimination and conflict among these various societies.[7]

The White South African, in general, sees the Apartheid principle as his only means of maintaining and continuing his political, economic and social dominance in a land of 15 million Africans and 4 million Whites. The White South African, especially the Afrikaner, sees himself as the individual, and whose pioneer drive, initiative and know-how made South Africa one of the most prosperous and progressive civilized countries in the world today. The Afrikaner takes great pride and believes strongly in the idea that his ethnic group settled land that no one else could lay claim to and that he has all the right in

---

[6]N. J. Rhoodie, Apartheid and Racial Partnership in Southern Africa (Pretoria: Academica, 1969), p. 350.

[7]Michener, op. cit., pp. 47, 50.

the world to be in Southern Africa, and to continue living there. South Africa is his homeland and no other.[8] To the vast majority of White South Africans, Apartheid represents the only way by which their very existence in Southern Africa can be continued.[9]

The theme of this essay has not been an attempt to explore and evaluate in detail the many aspects and implications of the Apartheid principle, for such a task is awesome in scope, but rather an attempt to focus on two areas which are seen, by many experts, as essential areas in reaching the eventual conclusion of the Apartheid ideal. The following conclusions have been reached. These conclusions suggest that the Apartheid policy in education and the Bantustan policy are designed to continue the political and economic dominance of the two White groups.

II. THE BANTUSTANS--AN EVALUATION

The Bantustans represent, to most Whites, an alternative to multiracialism, and the best hope for

---

[8]Edwin S. Munger, Afrikaner and African Nationalism (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. I.

[9]Douglas Brown, Against the World (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), pp. 46-48.

racial harmony among the "many nations of South Africa." Hence, the present Republic of South Africa has carved out of its territory eight Bantu Homelands which some day will represent Bantu states, or nations. These eight Homelands are presently undergoing a "classic policy of 'decolonization' in regard to the various black nations, culminating in self-government with, it is presumed, seats for all in the Organization for African Unity and the U. N."[10]

These eight future Bantustans are presently, and will for decades to come, remain fragmented and subdivided into numerous pieces of land comprising a total land mass of only 13.7 per cent of the Republic (and some day, in theory, to be occupied by 70 per cent of the total population living in South Africa). Apartheid is seen by this author as an attempt on the part of the Whites to divide the numerically superior Africans into many tribal political units which may continue the European's political and economic dominance of the country. The Bantustans are an inexpensive means of dumping surplus (i.e., those whose labor is not required) in backward reserves, thereby creating vast reservoirs of cheap labor for the White controlled economy.[11]

---

[10]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," International Affairs, January, 1972, vol. 48, no. 1, p. 1.

[11]Brown, op. cit., p. 239.

Dr. Verwoerd stated on many occasions that the Bantustans would ultimately be independent states.[12] Prime Minister Vorster has reiterated Verwoerd's philosophy and appears publicly committed to this goal.[13] He has, in the past several years, frequently and publicly stated that political independence for the Bantustans is a concession South Africa must make if it is to gain the friendship of the other black nations of Africa. He told a conference of Nationalist Party organizers in 1971 that some of the Bantustans would be independent and members of the United Nations within four years.[14]

If independence is granted the Bantustans, such independence will always be conditional on the moods and whims of the Republic. Prime Minister Vorster has stated that his Government has no intention of increasing the present land ratio of the Bantustans beyond the already allotted percentage, nor of consolidating the fragmented Homelands.[15] Key strategic areas and mineral locations

---

[12] Jan Botha, Verwoerd Is Dead (Cape Town: Cape and Transvaal Printers Limited, 1967), pp. 101-104.

[13] Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 11.

[14] Ibid., p. 11.

[15] Charles Mohr, "Two Chiefs Appraise South Africa," New York Times, November 12, 1972, p. 2.

still remain in the control of Whites.[16] Furthermore, inconsistent statements by cabinet ministers like Ben Schoeman and P. W. Botha suggest that the Bantustans may eventually only enjoy a limited degree of self-government.[17]

The problem of economics faces the Bantustans. The Bantustans are able to support only a small proportion of their population, and this is at a low level of subsistence. This means that most men must spend their working lives in the "White areas" separated from their families. The Bantustans are already overcrowded and finding it more and more difficult to support the large number of Africans being repatriated to them.

The Tomlinson Commission calculated that by the year 2000 the Homelands would be able to support 10 million Bantus provided that agriculture was reorganized along the lines of individual land tenure and removal of at least one half the peasants from the land, and provided that 1.25 million new jobs were created by 1980 outside of agriculture.[18] Agricultural reform and the

---

[16]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," pp. 15-16.

[17]See A. G. Mezerik, ed., Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa (New York: International Review Service, 1967), pp. 1-31; Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (Baltimore: Penguin Books, revised edition, 1969), pp. 481-504.

[18]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 14.

creation of jobs have both lagged badly behind the Commission's targets. As a result of this lag, the population of the Bantustans has increased while agricultural production has declined. The consequence has been that these areas are less able to feed themselves now than they were before. It is estimated that by the year 2000, the Bantustans will only be able to support 20 to 25 per cent of their total population.[19]

The Government, in attempting to increase development in these Homelands, passed the 1967 Physical Planning Act designed not only to reduce the black labor force in the White areas, but to offer inducements to industrialists to move to the border areas. It was hoped by the Government that 24 per cent of the new investment would be diverted to the border areas.[20] But these new inducements of cheap labor and fewer restrictions on the use of Bantu labor have been unsuccessful in diverting this investment. The border industries scheme has become competitive and not complementary to industrial development within the Bantustans. It appears that because of the Bantustans'

---

[19]Merle Lipton, "The South African Census and the Bantustan Policy," World Today, vol. 28, no. 6, June, 1972, p. 270.

[20]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 15.

lack of political and economic power, transport facilities, skills, their distance from the main markets and the existence of more attractive alternatives for investors, the industrialization of such areas is highly unlikely (except in the Tswana Homeland where mineral deposits and other favorable resources are located). It is also very unlikely that the White electorate will be willing to fund the enormous subsidies required to create industrial development on a large scale in the Homelands. Nor will the South African Government allow these Bantustans to accept huge sums of foreign aid to industrialize themselves and compete with the White industries.[21]

Thus for the time being, the South African Government feels that agriculture must remain as the major sector in the small economies of the Bantustans. Basing the development of the Bantustans on agricultural advancement will undoubtedly hamper these Homelands in their "Great Trek" toward independence. The Tomlinson Report estimated that if average land holdings of fifty-two morgen (110 acres) were allotted to each family it would be possible for the Bantustans to support only a little over

---

[21]Hobart Houghton, The Economic Development of the Transkei, W. Barker, ed. (Cape Town: Lovedale Press, 1970), p. 13.

300,000 farming families (1.8 million people). The remainder of the population would have to become industrial laborers.[22] But with the present Bantustan population already 7 million, this means that 5.2 million (71 per cent of the population) would be left landless and most would be forced to seek other forms of employment. Labor-intensive agricultural programs, along with the "border areas" scheme, are now being suggested as a method to alleviate this problem.[23]

The separate development ideal advocates, in theory, that the Bantustans will some day become politically independent states. Prime Minister Vorster appears to be heading in that direction in order to improve relations with the rest of the world. What this kind of independence will eventually be for the Bantustans can only be conjecture at this point.

Politically the Bantustans have progressed rapidly toward self-governing status in the last several years. Bantustan leaders themselves, however, are dragging their feet on independence until the Republic negotiates with them for more land, consolidating the fragmented areas,

---

[22]Merle Lipton, "The South African Census and the Bantustan Policy," p. 264.

[23]Ibid., p. 264.

and gaining control of certain towns, seaports, and mineral locations still in the hands of Whites.[24]

The Vorster Government, it appears on the surface, would like to increase expenditures, and even grant some of the Bantustans, like the Transkei and the Ciskei, political independence. But a growing number of Whites are beginning to oppose his efforts. Members of his Party are opposed to increasing expenditures for industrial and agricultural development in the Bantustans; the White trade unions, in particular, fear a loss of jobs or unfair competition from the Homelands, and are opposed to the creation of low wage industries in or near the Bantustans. White farmers and other Whites who fear the creation of African nationalism are opposed to independence for the Bantustans.[25] These forces will continue to fight Vorster and his Bantustan policies.

Independence for the Bantustans is possible but only in a limited context. Once independent the Bantustans will be free to join the U. N. and even perhaps the O. A. U., and no doubt foreign relations will be allowed on a limited basis with the approval of the

---

[24]Houghton, op. cit., p. 14.

[25]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," pp. 15-16.

Republic. But the Bantustans will never be economically viable as separate entities. Industrial development by the Africans themselves will always be dependent on the whims and wishes of the Whites. Militarily, the Bantustans will probably fall under a kind of "Brezhnev Doctrine" as advocated by the Minister of Defense. The Bantustans, under this scheme, will not arm themselves but rely on the Republic to defend the whole area and intervene in any Bantustan whose interests are threatened, or which appears to threaten political stability in the Republic.[26]

The Bantustan policy will, it appears, reach its logical conclusion in name and theory only. The Bantustans for all practical purposes will remain simply as areas developed to provide reservoirs of cheap labor, and to counter arguments for granting equal political and economic rights to the African in the White areas. In the final analysis, the Bantustan policy and the idea of separate development are an attempt to head off any unified African nationalist movements. The entire scope of such a policy is to encourage Bantus to think of themselves not as Africans but as Xhosas, Zulus, Vendas, etc., and to influence as many Africans as possible to

---

[26]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 13.

return to their Homelands, where they will exercise their equal political and civil rights. In this highly fragmented and tribalized atmosphere the African will for many years to come be unable to present a united front against the political dominance of the White minority regime.

III. BANTU EDUCATION--AN EVALUATION

To aid in the success of the Bantustan policy, Bantu education has been geared toward advancing the idea and acceptance of separate development. Presently education for the Bantu is designed to adapt him to accept rural conditions in the Bantustans, and assist in the process of maintaining a content rural population that is qualified only for unskilled jobs outside these areas.[27]

The Government hopes that by providing African children with an inferior education, as compared to White children, it can continue White political dominance over the various Bantu groups. State education for the Bantu is designed to foster tribalism and to discourage any unified African nationalist movements. By controlling education, the South African Government hopes to provide

---

[27]Sheldon G. Weeks, "Race and Retrogression in South Africa," Africa Today, vol. 14, no. 2, 1967, p. 12.

the economy with a ready source of cheap laborers occupying the Bantustans.[28] Education for the Bantu is "geared to the lines of racial stratification; it must not 'denationalize' people; and it must stand 'with both feet in the Reserves'."[29] Bantu education facilitates the idea that the eight Bantustans are not to be united some day into a single African State, but rather to remain as separate Bantu states with limited self-government. Dr. Verwoerd stated in 1961, when he launched the Bantustan policy:

> The Bantu will be able to develop into separate Bantu States. This is a form of fragmentation which we would not have liked if we were able to avoid it. In the light of the pressure being exerted on South Africa there is, however, no doubt that eventually this will have to be done, thereby buying for the White man his freedom and right to retain domination in what is his country.[30]

The current Bantu education syllabus for the first ten years is different and inferior to that provided White children. Instruction is in the vernacular for the primary years (although the Transkei and other self-governing Homelands are beginning instruction in English

---

[28]"School Gap Found in South Africa," New York Times, March 1, 1970, p. 6.

[29]David Welsh, "The Cultural Dimension of Apartheid," African Affairs, vol. 71, January, 1972, p. 49.

[30]Merle Lipton, "Independent Bantustans," p. 17.

or Afrikaans at the beginning of the fifth year of instruction). Each Bantu school is divided along major tribal ethnic lines, and higher education is divided into separate universities for each major tribal entity.

Finances for Bantu education are based solely on the amount of revenue generated from Africans and the Consolidated Revenue share. Consequently, most Bantu families are forced to pay large sums of money (relative to their monthly incomes) to send their children to school.[31] Such financial inequities in Bantu education have produced a situation in which classrooms are overcrowded, and teachers are often undertrained and underpaid, as compared to European teachers.[32]

Since education for the Bantu child is not compulsory, while education for White children is, almost 70 per cent of the entire school going Bantu population drop out of school after the first four years of primary education.[33] Those who continue on are burdened with learning three

---

[31]Franklin Parker, "Separate Schools and Separate People of South Africa," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer, 1972, p. 271.

[32]Apartheid; Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture, and Information (Paris: UNESCO, second edition, 1972), pp. 69, 72.

[33]Muriel Horrell, ed., A Survey of Race Relations, 1971 (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972), p. 257.

languages which allows little time to be devoted to science and math courses, which many educators feel are necessary for one to successfully compete for skilled and technical occupations in an advanced economy.[34]

Social studies are designed to foster the revival of African tribalism in the Bantustans and to forge the link with urban Bantus. Through social studies the young Bantu is indoctrinated to accept old tribal customs and traditions, and to create a tribal loyalty for his ethnic group, and not for the entire South African population. Social studies textbooks and instruction stress the need for the Bantu child to seek not a livelihood in the Whitestans, but rather encourages him to return to the Bantustans and seek work.[35]

The majority of African students who complete the first ten years of education are trained for agricultural and agricultural-related occupations in the Bantustans. Those few who do go on to college are trained to accept

---

[34]Parker, op. cit., p. 270.

[35]A. P. Hunter, "Church, State, and Education, in the Republic of South Africa," David G. Scanlon, ed., Church, State, and Education in Africa (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966), p. 265.

the roles of leadership and professional occupations in the Bantustans.[36]

The control of Bantu education is still largely in the hands of the Nationalist Government, except in the self-governing Homelands.

By reviving tribalism, the African population, it is hoped, will remain in a disorganized state and pose no serious threats to the White man's political and economic dominance. Whether or not such a scheme will work cannot be determined--only speculated about. Each Bantustan leader has been pushing for more opportunities for his particular tribal group, and each disagrees as to what course should be followed in negotiations with the Republic over political matters affecting the Bantustans. Increased tribal tensions and border disputes have also developed between several fragmented Bantustans.[37] But these incidences cannot be considered as being enough proof to agree that separate development has succeeded in revitalizing old tribal hatreds and dislikes that will destroy any

---

[36]Ralph R. Ireland, "Non-White Higher Education in the Republic of South Africa," The Social Studies, vol. 18 no. 5, October, 1972, p. 209.

[37]Merle Lipton, "South African Census and the Bantustan Policy," pp. 270-271.

chance for African unity. While the Bantustan chiefs will admit that differences have developed between them and their tribes, these differences remain minor in nature. They argue that separate development is not rebuilding tribal barriers.[38] Also 60 per cent of the African population still lives in the White areas where individuals come into contact daily with members of other tribes, a situation which hinders the rebuilding of tribal loyalties. Another drawback to the Bantustan policy, is the fact that many young Africans were born in the White areas and have no desire or inclination to emigrate to a Bantustan which is unfamiliar to them, and which will force them to give up a standard of living and way of life to which they are accustomed.[39]

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the Bantustan policy and Bantu education is to fragment Africans into national units and continue White political and economic dominance through a divide and rule policy. If Africans can be made to think or continue to be trained to think in narrow tribal terms,

---

[38]"Bantustans: Dream or Reality," Africa Digest, vol. 19, no. 57, October, 1972, p. 103.

[39]Apartheid; Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture, and Information, p. 63.

the growth of African nationalist movements can be inhibited or at least frustrated. Those African nationalist movements usually based in the urban areas, where most non-traditionalist Africans live, have been crushed or outlawed by the police. The power of the traditional chiefs, on the other hand, has been increased, and they have been labeled the "true leaders of the Bantu."[40] In increasing the power of the chiefs in the Homelands, the South African Government hopes to strengthen its hold over these areas and create a network of leaders who will be less responsive to the people than elected officials might be. Bantu education and the Bantustans also indoctrinate Africans to think of themselves as only Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, etc., and not as Africans. By dividing the African population along tribal lines, the Whites were able to regard themselves, at least until the 1970 census, as the numerically superior group in South Africa.

The South African Government continues to offset the growth of African nationalism largely through the process of dividing Africans into tribal groups along ethnic lines and hindering communication between each group. The Bantustans and Bantu education are designed

---

[40] The Transkei--A Progress Report--and Multi-National Development in South Africa (London: Department of Information, South Africa, 1968), p. 7.

to place stumbling blocks in the path of African detribalization. The Bantustans and Bantu education also aid in creating minor problems and rivalries between tribes and tend to inhibit them from agitating for more political freedoms in the White areas. The Bantustans and Bantu education help the White minority regime to prevent the organization of one strong African political unit which could threaten the very existence of the White community. To the majority of Whites in South Africa, the policy of separate development, or Apartheid, is the only logical way of maintaining their political and economic dominance in a land of numerically superior Africans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

Adam, Heribert, ed. "The South African Power Elite," South Africa: Sociological Perspectives. London: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 73-102.

_____. Apartheid; Its Effect on Education, Science, Culture and Information. Paris: UNESCO, second edition, 1972.

Bernstein, Basil. "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," A. H. Halsey, ed. Education, Economy and Society. New York: Free Press, 1961, pp. 288-314.

Botha, Jan. Verwoerd Is Dead. Cape Town: Cape and Transvaal Printers Limited, 1967.

Brown, Douglas. Against the World. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968.

Bunting, Brian. The Rise of the South African Reich. Baltimore: Penguin Books, revised edition, 1969.

Carter, Gwendolen M. The Politics of Inequality. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958.

_____, Thomas Karis, and Newell M. Stultz. South Africa's Transkei. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967.

Cole, Ernest. House of Bondage. New York: A Ridgeway Press Book, Random House, 1967.

de Kock, W. J. History of South Africa. Pretoria: Heer Printing Company, 1971.

Fourie, J. J. "Commentary" (on "Church, State, and Education in the Republic of South Africa"), Church, State, and Education in Africa, David G. Scanlon, ed. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966, pp. 307-313.

Frye, William R. In Whitest Africa; The Dynamics of Apartheid. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968.

Giniewski, Paul. The Two Faces of Apartheid. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1965.

Gualtiero, Jacopetti and Franco Prosperi. Africa Addio. New York: Ballantine Books, 1966.

Havighurst, Robert J., ed. "The State and Education in South Africa," Comparative Perspectives on Education. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968, pp. 178-205.

Hellman, Ellen. "Social Change Among Urban Africans," Heribert Adam, ed. South Africa: Sociological Perspectives. London: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 158-176.

Hill, Christopher R. Bantustans: The Fragmentation of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Horrel, Muriel, ed. Survey of Race Relations, 1971. Johannesburg: South Africa Institute of Race Relations, 1972.

Houghton, Hobart. The Economic Development of the Transkei, W. Barker, ed. Cape Town: Lovedale Press, 1970.

Hudson, E., ed. Race Studies for Standard VI. Johannesburg: Government Printers, 1965.

Hunter, A. P. "Church, State and Education in the Republic of South Africa," Church, State and Education in Africa, David G. Scanlon, ed. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966, pp. 245-299.

Kruger, D. W. South African Parties and Politics, 1910-1960. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1960.

Kuper, Leo. An African Bourgeoisie. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

Leiss, Amelia C., ed. Apartheid and U. N. Collective Measures. New York: The Carnegie Endowment for Peace, March, 1965.

Le May, G. H. L. British Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1907. London: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Marquard, Leo. A Short History of South Africa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

Mezerik, A. G. Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. New York: International Review Service, 1967.

Munger, Edwin S. Afrikaner and African Nationalism. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Ngubane, Jordan K. An African Explains Apartheid. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963.

Phillips, Norman. The Tragedy of Apartheid. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966.

Rhoodie, N. J. Apartheid and Racial Partnership in Southern Africa. Pretoria: Academica, 1969.

_____, and H. J. Venter. Apartheid. Cape Town: Haum, 1959.

Sampson, H. F. The Principle of Apartheid. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1967.

_____. Southern Africa: Proposals for Americans. New York: U. N. Association--U.S.A., 1971.

_____. State of South Africa Year Book, 1972. Johannesburg: Da Gama Publishers, 1972.

Stimie, C. M., and Carolina Geggus. University Education in the Republic of South Africa. Pretoria: Institute for Information and Special Services, 1972.

_____. Syllabuses for Junior Certificates. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1965.

_____. This Is South Africa. New York: Information Service of South Africa, 1972.

_____. The Transkei--A Progress Report--and Multi-National Development in South Africa. London: Department of Information, South Africa, 1968.

Trevelyan, G. M. British History in the 19th Century and After, 1782-1919. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966.

van den Berghe, Pierre. "Racial Segregation in South Africa: Degrees and Kinds," South Africa: Sociological Perspectives, Heribert Adam, ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 37-49.

_____. South Africa: A Study in Conflict. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1965.

Verwoerd, H. F. The Native Policy of the Union of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1952.

B. PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

"Bantu Educational Explosion," South African Scope, May, 1973, pp. 6-9.

"Bantustans: Dream or Reality," African Digest, vol. 19, no. 57, October, 1972, p. 103.

Botha, M. C. "New Structure for Bantu Education," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 18, no. 12, December, 1972, pp. 22-23.

_____. "Constitutional Development in the Transkei," Africa Institute, vol. 2, no. 2, February, 1964.

de Wet, Dr. J. J. "The Effects of the Policy of Apartheid on Education," Journal of Racial Affairs, Review Article, March, 1969, pp. 131-144.

_____. "Education--A Gargantuan Task," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 18, no. 5, May, 1972, pp. 20-22.

_____. "Education for Great Numbers," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 18, no. 8, August, 1972, p. 11.

Eiselen, W. W. M. "The Effect of the Policy of Apartheid, III," Journal of Racial Affairs, vol. 19, no. 3, April, 1968, pp. 12-24.

_____. "Expert from U. S. Lauds African Education," Star Johannesburg, August 11, 1972, p. 1.

_____. "Homelands Constitutional Advance," The African Institute Bulletin, vol. 19, no. 8, September, 1971, pp. 324-333.

Ireland, Ralph R. "Bantu Primary and Secondary Education in the Republic of South Africa," The Social Studies, vol. 61, no. 4, April, 1970, pp. 150-157.

_____. "Current Status of Non-White Education in South Africa," School and Society, vol. 97, no. 2319, October, 1969, pp. 381-386.

_____. "Education for What? A Comparison of the Education of Black South Africans and Black Americans," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 41, no. 3, Summer, 1972, pp. 228-240.

_____. "Non-White Higher Education in the Republic of South Africa," The Social Studies, vol. 18, no. 5, October, 1972, pp. 208-217.

King, Martin Luther. "Let My People Go," Africa Today, vol. 12, no. 10, December, 1965, pp. 11-13.

Knipe, Michael. "Universities Unite Against Vorster," The Times Educational Supplement, no. 2977, June 9, 1972, p. 1.

Lipton, Merle. "Independent Bantustans," International Affairs, vol. 48, no. 1, January, 1972, pp. 1-19.

_____. "The South African Census and the Bantustan Policy," The World Today, vol. 28, no. 6, June, 1972, pp. 257-271.

Manning, Charles A. W. "In Defense of Apartheid," Foreign Affairs, vol. 43, no. 1, October, 1964, pp. 135-149.

Michener, James A. "The 5 Warring Tribes of South Africa," New York Times Magazine, January 23, 1972, pp. 6, 46-56.

Mohr, Charles. "Bantustan Chief Accepts Apartheid, Seeks More Land," New York Times, November 11, 1972, p. 2.

_____. "Two Chiefs Appraise South Africa," New York Times, November 12, 1972, p. 2.

Muller, Dr. C. P. "South Africa in a Changing Africa Scene," South African Scope, November/December, 1971, pp. 2-5.

Parker, Franklin. "Separate Schools and Separate People of South Africa," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer, 1972, pp. 266-275.

Rhoodie, N. J. "The Coloured Policy of South Africa; Parallelism as a Socio-Political Device to Regulate White-Coloured Integration," Africa Affairs, vol. 72, no. 286, January, 1973, pp. 46-56.

_____. "School Gap Found in South Africa," New York Times, March 1, 1970, p. 6.

Silverstein, Raymond D. "A Note on the Term 'Bantu' as First Used by W. H. I. Bleek," African Studies, vol. 27, no. 4, 1968, pp. 211-212.

_____. "In the News," South African Scope, October, 1966, p. 3.

_____. "In the News," South African Scope, December, 1969, p. 10.

_____. "In the News," South African Scope, August/September, 1972, p. 4.

_____. "In the News," South African Scope, February, 1973, p. 8.

_____. Statement by M. C. Botha, Sunday Times (Johannesburg), March 7, 1971, p. 4.

Steinhart, Edward A. "White Students Protest in South Africa: The Privileged Fight for Their Rights," Africa Today, vol. 19, no. 3, Summer, 1972, pp. 40, 51.

van Zyl, H. J. "Bantu Languages at the Crossroads," Bantu Education Journal, vol. 7, no. 1, January, 1961, pp. 247-252.

Weeks, Sheldon G. "Race and Retrogression in South Africa," Africa Today, vol. 14, no. 2, 1967, pp. 12-13.

Welsh, David. "The Cultural Dimension of Apartheid," African Affairs, vol. 71, January, 1972, pp. 35-53.

Wheeler, John H. "Apartheid Implemented by Education in South Africa," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 30, no. 3, Summer, 1961, pp. 241-250.

C. SPEECHES AND FACT PAPERS

Botha, J S. F. "It's Folly to Stare at the Cracks in a Painting." Speech before the Stamford Rotary Club, Connecticut, published in the South African Scope, June, 1972, pp. 8-11.

de Wet Nel, M. D. C. "Separate Development of the Races: What It Means," South African Fact Paper. Pretoria: Government Printers, n.d.

du Plessis, W. C. "Highway to Racial Harmony," South African Fact Paper 69. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1959.

Le Roux, Willem. Speech before the Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, November 15, 1972, provided by the Information Service of South Africa, New York, and the South African Embassy, Washington, D. C.

"The Transkei: Major Steps on the Road to Self-Determination," South African Fact Paper 102. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1962.

VITA

Benjamin Conway Gregory, Jr. was born in Cleveland, Tennessee, on December 13, 1949. He attended elementary schools in Chatsworth, Georgia, and was graduated from Murray County High School, Chatsworth, Georgia, in May, 1968. He entered Dalton Junior College, Dalton, Georgia, in June, 1968 and received the Associate of Arts degree in June, 1970. The following September he transferred to Georgia Southwestern College in Americus, Georgia, and in June, 1972 received the Bachelor of Arts degree magna cum laude.

He entered the Graduate School at the University of Tennessee in September, 1972, and received the Master of Arts degree with a major in political science and a minor in college student personnel in August, 1973. He is a member of the Gamma Beta Phi Honor Society and of Pi Sigma Alpha.

He assumes the position of Assistant Registrar and Director of Admissions at Dalton Junior College, Dalton, Georgia, in July, 1973.