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From the arsenal: the Teachers' League of South Africa: a documentary study of "coloured" attitudes between 1913-1980

February, V.A.

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From the Arsenal

Articles from the Teachers' League of South Africa (1913-1980)

Edited and compiled by V. A. February



National Anti-C.A.D. Movement—Teachers' League of South Africa

RALLY TO A

Public Protest Meeting

on

SUNDAY, 31ST JANUARY, 1960

at 2.30 p.m. in the

BANQUETING HALL, CAPE TOWN

BANNED:

★ Cllr. R. E. Viljoen—Chairman, National Anti-C.A.D.; Treasurer of N.E.U.M.

★ Dr. N. A. Murison—Secretary, National Anti-C.A.D.

★ Mr. W. P. van Schoor — President of T.L.S.A.

Chairman: Dr. F. D. KAY

Speakers: Mr. C. M. KOBUS, Mr. E. L. MAURICE (Vice-President T.L.S.A.), Mr. R. O. DUDLEY (General Secretary T.L.S.A.), Mr. V. W. WESSELS and Mrs. J. Messenheimer.

AGAINST:

● BANNING AND BANISHMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE OPPRESSED

FOR:

● FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ASSEMBLY AND MOVEMENT

● FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR ALL

● UNITY OF ALL THE OPPRESSED UNDER THE BANNER OF THE N.E.U.M. AND THE 10-POINT PROGRAMME

Issued jointly by Dr. N. A. Murison, Secretary National Anti-C.A.D., P.O. Box 12, Athlone, and R. O. Dudley, General Sectary T.L.S.A., 22 York Street, Claremont.

C.D. Wbg

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FROM THE ARSENAL

edited and compiled by V.A. February.

THE TEACHERS' LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA - A DOCUMENTARY STUDY OF "COLOURED" ATTITUDES BETWEEN 1913-1980.

CONTENTS

Preface 1- 3

Introduction 4- 23

POLITICS

1. In the Editor's Sanctum (1915) 24- 25
2. Our Children's Future (1926) 25- 26
3. Hope (1944) 27- 29
4. The Political Situation of the Non-Europeans (1944) 29- 38
5. Majority Rule: Some Notes (III) 39- 50
   The Cape Franchise: J.T. Jabavu: Abdurahman:
   A.P.O.: A.N.C. (1977)
6. Majority Rule: Some Notes (VII) 50- 59
   World War II, the New Era Fellowship,
   the T.L.S.A. and the new Vanguard (1978)
7. Majority Rule: Some Notes (VIII) 59- 71
   1943: the Anti-C.A.D., the beginnings
   of the N.E.U.M. (1978)
8. The Wearing of the Black. Some Notes on the 71- 76
   Politics of Fashion (1975)
9. Black Consciousness": A Reactionary Tendency 77- 83
   (II) (1976)
10. Has a new "Middle Class" been Created? (1975) 84- 91
11. From the Arsenal (1976) 92- 93

HISTORY

1. The Early History of the Cape (1916) 94- 95
2. The Teaching of History in South African Schools (1945) 96-104
3. Before van Riebeeck-the forgotten past (1951) 104-112
4. History Teaching in our Schools (1960) 113-116
5. Interpreting and Teaching S.A. History- 116-121
   Thoughts on the Development of S.A. Historiography
   (1972)
6. The 1820 Settlers: The Myth within the Myth (1974) 122-126
7. Kotze's Catechism on History Teaching (1975) 126-132
8. S.A.History: The Davenport Version (1977) 132-140
9. A New South African History: A Review (1969) 140-150

LITERATURE

1. The Non-White in Afrikaans literature (1945) 151-152
2. The Non-White in Afrikaans Literature(II) (1945) 153-157
3. Censorship and "immoral" Literature (1954) 157-160
4. Dead Roots, poems by Arthur Nortje (1974) 160-166
5. An open letter to André Brink (1974) 166-171
6. Book Review: "Boesman and Lena" (1970) 172-176
7. The Sestigers: A Post Mortem (1) (1973) 176-183
8. The Sestigers: A Post-Mortem (II) (1973) 183-188

EDUCATION

1. Why Not Our Own Teachers (1915) 189-190
2. Presidential Address 1917 (1917) 190-193
3. The Mission Schools (1917) 193-195
4. Presidential Address 1943 (1943) 195-205
5. Christian National Education (1949) 206-215
6. From Slave-School to C.A.D. Slave-School (1963) 215-227

LANGUAGE

1. The Mother-Tongue Medium (1916) 228-228
2. Afrikaans (1918) 228-229
3. "Engels v. Hollands" (1917) 229-231
4. A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (1) (1956) 232-236
5. A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (II) (1956) 236-241
6. A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (III) (1957) 241-248
7. A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (IV) (1957) 248-255
8. The Language Question (1) (1957) 255-260
9. The Language Question (II) (1957) 260-265
10. The Language Question (III) (1957) 266-272
11. The Language Question (IV) (1958) 272-277
12. Moedertaal-Onderwys: Afrikanerizing Instrument Instrument (1956) 277-281

Preface

This anthology is an attempt to explain and to highlight the 'political culture' of those people taxonomically referred to in South African racial legislation as "Coloured". It is based on articles written for a Journal called, The Educational Journal, which was, and still is, the official magazine of a Teacher's Body in the Cape known as The Teachers' League of South Africa. The Teacher's League of South Africa was founded in 1913, three years after the formation of the Union of South Africa and was by and large an organization catering for the needs of those people called "Coloured" in South Africa. This body also came to be referred to as The League. It was the prominent "Coloured" leader, Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, who controlled "Coloured" politics from the early nineteen hundred until 1940, who first mooted the idea of a Teachers' Body which would cater for the need of "Coloured" people in South Africa. He had suggested this to Harold Cressy, the first "Coloured" university graduate who also became the first President of the Teachers' League of South Africa. The articles selected for inclusion in this anthology will cover various aspects of the South African political culture as it affected especially those people called "Coloured" in South Africa. Initially, the idea was to include one article per decade, covering one particular aspect of South African life, that is, from 1916 onwards until the Black Consciousness phase in the early seventies. This proved impossible for several very good reasons. The quality of the writing in the Educational Journal is pretty uneven and rather thin, especially during the initial phases. This, in turn, is linked with the fact that "Coloureds" were by and large a dupe of the Afrikaner approach of "ambiguity and near-incestuousness (vide: V. February: Mind Your Colour, 1981, chapter 1). There was a decided lack of political consciousness or rather, a concentration on group consciousness, reflected in a narcissistic "Colouredism" in the early twenties and thirties. This growth in political consciousness would only occur in the early fourties.

With a view to these problems and for the sake of readability and clarity, articles were chosen in such a way that they reflected adequately the ideas of this body called The Teachers' League of South Africa. This meant that no article was included for the sake of the article alone, but purely on the basis that it explains the political

culture to the outsider not familiar with it. As is so often the case with articles in The Educational Journal, they formed part of a series. In some cases, it would have been well-nigh impossible to include just one article in a series by a particular author. For this reason then, more than one article in a series by a particular author was sometimes included in a particular section in this anthology. This was especially the case with the series of articles by Sarah Mokone, entitled, Majority Rule (vide section POLITICS).

Five sections were considered for inclusion, namely, POLITICS, HISTORY, LANGUAGE, LITERATURE and EDUCATION. These, to my mind, are major concerns to the oppressed inside South Africa. Practically no attempt was made to interfere with the article, either by changing the tone, or censoring it. Where cutting was done, it was done purely for the sake of clarity or to avoid tedium. Naturally, since this anthology is intended for outside consumption, these articles are all provided with the necessary annotations and footnotes. The term "Coloured" is used inside South Africa only to cover people of mixed origin, most of whom are concentrated in the Cape Province. This question of nomenclature is extensively dealt with in my book, Mind Your Colour (Kegan Paul Int., 1981). Suffice it to reiterate here, that the term "Coloured" finds no solace in the eyes of the politically- conscious so-called "Coloured", let alone the editor of this anthology.

In order to understand the importance of this anthology, the reader is provided with an historical and political introduction of events as they affected the so-called "Coloured" people in, especially the Cape Province over a period of three hundred years. This background material is indispensable for an understanding of the anomalous position the "Coloured" people find themselves in.

As already indicated above, the articles, where possible, cover a period of fifty years, thus giving a clear indication of the political consciousness or lack of consciousness, as well as the political and social behaviour of the so-called "Coloured" people. At the same time, these articles reveal the change in political ideas among this group as the political climate in the country changes. They show without a doubt that the early phase after the formation of the Union of South Africa (1910), is one of accommodation and "Colouredism" in which the ideas of the African Peoples' Organization (A.P.O.), with Dr. Abdurahman as the undisputed

leader until his death in the early fourties, held sway for a long time. The late thirties and the early fourties (the second world war period) is one of relentless soul-searching and questioning, resulting in radical decisions and a greater political awareness and militancy. The question of political freedom is, from 1943 onwards, for the first time looked at from an overall black perspective. This, as we shall see lateron in the introduction, led to a split in The Teachers' League of South Africa, since the more conservative elements felt that they should remain a purely (sic!) "Coloured" teachers' Body, concerned with educational and not political issues. The new Teachers' League which emerged after 1943, now without the conservative elements in it's ranks, was very much a politically-conscious body, which was to make its influence felt on more than one generation in the Cape.

This anthology then, purposely called, FROM THE ARSENAL - a heading repeatedly used in The Educational Journal when articles of yesteryears are dusted and hauled from the shelves and reprinted to remind other generations of the League standpoint on certain political issues affecting the oppressed, can prove an invaluable source to social scientists and politicians, to educationists and all those interested in aspects of the South African political culture. The material is often ignored in the analysis of the South African situation. Pierre Hugo, in his anthology on Coloured politics, Quislings or Realists? (1978), makes an attempt to include some of the articles contained in The Educational Journal - although he too, was prepared to suffer the indignity of censored articles in the form of blank pages in his book. By and large however, he opted for the rather innocuous articles of those "Coloureds" who preferred accomodation and not confrontation - an ambiguous approach which is also reflected in the title of his anthology. This anthology is unique in sofar as it is solely devoted to the ideas of those people referred to as "Coloureds" who have relentlessly played a militant and revolutionary role in South Africa. Moreover, it is a valuable complement to my book, Mind Your Colour (1981) which deals with the "Coloured" stereotype in South African Literature.

Above all, the purpose of the anthology is to reveal, in the words of a Teachers' League of South Africa stalwart and many -time President, the late Willem van Schoor, that a people desiring to emancipate themselves must first know the bonds of their enslavement.

Vernie February, Leiden.

1982.

Introduction

The early history of the Cape has extensively been dealt with in several publications. The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 to start a refreshment station which would supply fresh fruit and meat to Dutch ships enroute to the East Indies, is a wellknown fact. Portuguese contact with the indigenous Khoi Khoin is also well documented. In it's early days, the Cape was, as one South African writer notes, both Cabo de boa Esperance and Cabo Tormentoso. Commentators on the early history of the Cape take great pains to stress the absence of any colour bar. Sexual relations across the colour line is explained in terms of the absence of European females, the non-existence of a normative structure and a differing attitude to extra-marital sex. There is enough proof of the vibrant sexual encounters between the Europeans and the non-whites at the Cape.

The early relations between the Dutch under Jan van Riebeeck and the indigenous Khoi Khoin, referred to by white historians as "Hottentots" (1), were characterized by a system of bartering. The inability of the Dutch to transform the nomadic inhabitants of the Cape into docile servants, led to the importation of slaves from the West Coast of Africa, Madagascar and the East Indies. The slaves would increasingly form the source of cheap black labour as the colony developed from a half-way house into a permanent settlement in the eighteenth century.

The Khoi Khoin were increasingly involved in a series of wars of dispossession with the colonists. Their land was expropriated and in addition, a series of small pox epidemics in 1713, 1755, 1767, as also the "readiness of this group to acculturate, as Shula Marks (1972,77) (2) remarks, did much to wipe out this historically much-maligned people in South Africa. The ravages of miscegenation were to add the finishing touches to the Khoi Khoin. There was an increase in the number of slaves during the years 1658-1700. Whereas the basis for prejudice in the colony was originally religion, the emergent labour pattern was to change all this. The basis of this new system was the master-servant relationship. Colour and religious differences came to be applied increasingly against the heathens, the slaves and the Khoi Khoin.

When the first school was established at the Cape in 1658, no distinction was made between slaves and Burghers (Whites) on the basis of

colour. In 1663, that is, only 11 years after the arrival of van Riebeeck at the Cape, a mixed school was established which admitted Burgher children, slaves and Khoi Khoin servants. As the seventeenth century advanced, the labour pattern came to be characterized more and more by the master-servant relationship. European children were excluded from slave schools.

During the governorship of Simon van der Stel (1691-1699), who, ironically, because of his part-'Coloured' ancestry, would, in present day South Africa be classified as "Coloured", there were many commissioners who visited the Cape. One of these very High Commissioners was Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, Lord of Mijdrecht and Drakensteyn, who was only answerable to "the Mighty Seventeen". This man, van Rheede, came with a carte blanche to set the Dutch East Indies Empire in order. He gave instructions to the Council of Policy that no white children should be accepted into slave schools and that no children of slaves be admitted to mixed schools. Leonard Thompson remarks in his booklet, The Cape Coloured Franchise (1949, p.1) (3): "During the years before 1828 the structure of society in the Cape Colony was aristocratic and the dividing line between the more privileged and the less privileged members was a colour line".

The instructions reflected the changing status of the colony. The Burghers had, by this time found a foothold as far as the country town of Stellenbosch, the vineyard areas of the Western Cape. There was a need for slave labour. The original Khoi Khoin had been reduced to the status of serfs and servants, vagrants (i.e. people with no fixed abodes, outside the orbit of the emerging labour market by and large. Various vagrancy laws (i.e. laws to circumscribe their movements and tie them down to fixed abodes in order that they might be useful as labourers), were passed. Again it is worthwhile listening to Thompson (1949, p.2):

> *Together, therefore, the Hottentots and the slaves formed the labouring classes in a close-knit multi-racial society. They performed essential services for their European landowners who depended on them for their labour. Their original cultural traits were for the most part disappearing and they were now absorbing in their place the cultural traits of their European masters, their language and much else".*

When Ordinance fifty was passed in 1828, it was of great importance to 'persons of colour' in that they were at least granted 'legal equality'. "Coloured" interpreters of their own history, have insisted that one should not be deluded by the ostensible legal equality of Ordinance Fifty They cite the liberal missionary-trader, the Reverend Philip, auctor

actualis of Ordinance Fifty who bluntly stated: (4)

> *If the Khoi-Khoin serfs and ex-slaves were to be allowed to carry their labour to the best market and give a healthy stimulus to the simple industry of the colony, it was necessary that they should be free from the restrictions of the oppressive vagrancy and apprenticeship laws".*

Slavery and serfdom gradually gave way to a new system of wage labour in the nineteenth century. The slaves were freed in 1834. This created a momentary vacuum in the labour supply and necessitated, for the whites a new set of labour relations. One of the reasons advanced for the Great Trek north of the Boers, is the granting of legal equality to people of colour". Thompson writes (1949, pp. 2-3):

> *By the early 19th century the institutions of serfdom and slavery had created amongst the Europeans a tradition of racial discrimination, and being God-fearing, they had sought and they believed they had found biblical justification for this.*

The majority of the "free persons of colour" worked on farms after the abolition of slavery (1834) where they were miserably paid. There was, of course, a very small class of "free persons of colour" engaged in skilled labour. The Masters and Servants Ordinance was passed in 1841. The social relations between the Baas (5) and his Servant (5) was now officially regulated. Class legislation was beginning to resemble colour legislation.

The Municipal Ordinance (no. 9 of 1836), which made provisions for the election of Municipal Boards, recognized no colour discrimination. The active involvement of "coloureds" in municipal affairs over a period of 100 years testify to this. The late George Peake, (6) political leader and municipal representative in the Cape for a long time, even continued his activities when he was forced into exile after his imprisonment, in the borough of Slough, England. The Cape Colony was granted Representative government in 1853. Certain provisions were made whereby a man could be elected to the House of Assembly and to the Upper House - the Legislative Council. Once more, there was no racial distinction made between whites and "Coloureds". As Thompson states (1949, p. 6):

> *"... the common roll franchise is a vested right of the Cape Coloured people dating back from 1853".*

Not even the Synod of 1837 was ready to recognize a racial division This was to happen however, in 1857 (6th Nov.), when the Reverend Murray laid the basis for the Dutch Reformed Mother and Daughter Churches when

he proposed that a congregation formed from amongst the Heathens or still to be started amongst them, should enjoy their Christian privileges in a separate building or institution" (D. Joubert, 1974, p. 20).

The Cape was granted Responsible Government in 1872. Regulations covering registration of voters were considerably tightened under the Parliamentary Registration Act of 1887.

The British Laissez Faire policy in the Cape Colony seemed, then, ostensibly beneficial to "free persons of colour". In the Northern Colonies, the Constitutions of the Free State (1854) and the South African Republic (1858) were not so kind to "Coloureds". The Free State simply equated "Burgherdom and civic rights" with being white. Paul Kruger bluntly spelt out the Afrikaner credo in his oft-cited maxim: "In the voice of the people, I have heard the voice of God" (E.F.W. Gey van Pittius, 1941, p. 15).

Between 1828 and 1854, several schools were established for the children of the colonists. "Coloured" children found themselves increasingly in schools founded and run by the missionaries. From 1840 onwards, there was a rapid increase in this type of institution for "Coloureds". By 1863, there were 110 mission schools with an enrolment of 10,978 pupils; By 1870 there were 351 mission schools with an enrolment of 39,556 pupils.

By 1856, with the passing of the Education Act, this difference between the education of whites and "coloureds" was entrenched. In the Cape Colony, the anomalies continued to exist. The "Coloureds" were a dupe of the British policy of Liberalism. Cecil John Rhodes, arch imperialist, spelt out his policy of Baasskap (7) in the Cape Parliament in 1887, that is, a half a century before Dr. Malan led his National Party of Afrikaners to victory with the slogan of Apartheid in 1948. Rhodes said then: (7)

> *I have made up my mind that there must be Pass Laws and Peace Preservation Acts and that we must treat the Natives in a different way to ourselves. We are to be the Lords over them- these are my politics and these are the politics for South Africa.*

His educational advisor, Langham Dale underscored this: (8)

> *Society had placed a marked line of demarcation between black and white and it became the first duty of the European as holding the paramount social and political influence.*

When the Act of Union was passed in 1910, Blacks were simply excluded from the body politic. The "Coloureds" in the Cape still retained

a semblance of political rights. When, for example, Cecil John Rhodes in an election speech referred to "equal rights for all White men South of the Zambezi", (9) he was immediately challenged by a group of "Coloured" voters. Rhodes then, simply changed his statement to read, "rights for all civilised men South of the Zambezi", (9) to the satisfaction of the "Coloureds".

This policy in the Cape Colony prior to the formation of the Union of South Africa (1910), nearly led to the election of two "coloured" men to the Cape Parliament during the general elections of 1893, namely, James Curry from the rural town of Paarl in the Cape, and Attoan Effendi, from Cape Town. However, a simple amendment to the constitution put paid to their hopes of ever gaining election.

At the turn of the century, the "Coloured" thought that, "since he enjoyed his vote in a British Colony, it reinforced his belief in British liberalism and justice imparted to him by his mission education". (10) Even to this very day, some "Coloureds" still suffer from, what I would like to call in the words of the Guyanese novelist, Wilson Harris, "self-deception - in-self-definition". By 1900, the following "Coloured" organizations were in existence. Their main concern was the vote for the "Coloureds".

a. Coloured Men's Protectorate and Political Association
b. Coloured Peoples' Vigilance Society of South Africa
c. Coloured Peoples' Political Protection Association
d. Coloured League
e. South African Moslems' Association

The most important "Coloured" political organization in the Cape during the early 1900's, was the African Political Organization, founded in Cape Town in 1902, later changed to the African Peoples' Organization (abbreviated and referred to generally as the A.P.O.).
The founder members of the African Political Organization were: W. Collins, W. Stemmet, P.J. Eksteen, W. Carelse, P. Arendse and W.A. Roberts. They were keenly interested in higher education for "Coloured" children. The General Secretary, Matt Fredericks, carried out a coup against the President, W. Collins, and called upon Dr. Abdurahman to become the President of the A.P.O. in 1905.

Dr. Abdurahman was a remarkable personality. Born in 1872, he was one of the first medical practitioners in the Cape. Abdurahman dominated Cape politics for almost forty years until his death in the early fourties.

He was the first "coloured" man to be elected to the Cape Town City Council, and in 1919, he was accorded the honour of becoming a member of the Provincial Council. Most South Africans agree that, but for Abdurahman's colour, he would have been one of the most important political figures in South Africa during the twenties, thirties and fourties.

The initial manifesto of the African Peoples' Organisation (A.P.O.) makes interesting reading: (11)

1. *The A.P.O. set out to "create unity among us"*
2. *Education was seen as the key to success...*
3. *The A.P.O. did not seek social integration with White People*
4. *Class Legislation (i.e. discriminatory colour legislation) was opposed.*

After the Anglo-Boer War, when the possibility of the formation of a Union of South Africa was discussed, the franchise became an important issue. The Draft South Africa Act was published in february 1909. This Act paved the way for the formation of the Union of South Africa, but it was largely a concession to the Northern Provinces, the Free State and the Transvaal. Section 2(44) of the South African Act reads:

> *The qualifications of a member of the House of Assembly must be as follows: He must ...(c) be a British subject of European descent ...*

The Cape vote was entrenched in two clauses, namely 35 and 152. Again Thompson writes (1949, p. 19):

> *The Southerners made two concessions: they lost their right of electing Non-Europeans to represent them in Parliament and they accepted the maintenance of the customary Colour-bar in the Northern Provinces. But the existing franchise rights of the Cape Non-Europeans were safeguarded by the entrenched clauses: without clauses 35 and 152 there would have been no Union.*

Protests by various non-European organizations and even a deputation to England proved of no avail.

Three Non-white protest conferences were held in 1909. The A.P.O. of Dr. Abdurahman called the introduction of a racial clause in the Act of Union, "the foulest work that ever South African Statesmen

attached their names to ... It is an injustice and cannot be tolerated by any self-respecting man... we feel sure that the Coloured people and natives will never cease to agitate until injury is repaired and mutual goodwill once more restored". (12)

But in essence, the scenario was set for the eventual removal of the "Coloureds" from the common voters' roll under the Separate Representation of Voters' Act passed in 1950.

Abdurahman was firmly trained in the British liberal tradition and set a trend among "Coloured" leaders of delivering beautifully written and well-thought out presidential speeches at annual conferences. But in a sense, the politics of Abdurahman was also one of "self-deception-in-self-definition. "Coloured" critics, while recognizing his value as a leader, has labelled his politics one of "Colouredism".

In the Cape, interaction between the "Coloured" and the White man has, historically been an intense one. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, where there were relatively few "Coloureds", no such overt pattern of proximity and interaction existed and attitudes were correspondingly more hostile. In the Cape, we are given to understand that "Tolerance and Restraint... are the twin pillars of what came to be known as Cape Liberalism. Yet, these concepts of tolerance and restraint are as much a recognition on the part of the White man in the Cape that the "Coloured" was behaving himself in playing out his ascribed role" (February, 1981, p. 8). This becomes evident when one reviews the early activities of "Coloured" leaders.

Since education was so important for social advancement, it was only logical that the need for a teachers' union would be recognized by these early leaders. It was in the house of the late Dr. Abdurahman, where many discussions were held, that the idea of a "Coloured" Teachers' Union was born. The man entrusted with this task was the late Harold Cressy, the first "Coloured" graduate from the university of Cape Town. The spiritual father of the first "Coloured" teachers' body was, however, Dr. Abdurahman. This teachers' body came to be known as the Teachers' League of South Africa (abbreviated and generally referred to as the T.L.S.A. or The League). The official magazine was called The Educational Journal (also referred to as The Journal). The T.L.S.A. was established in 1913 as an organization which would cater for the educational needs of the "Coloured" school child. The Teachers' League of South Africa, "gestated as it was by the A.P.O." was more renowned for the fact that initially, "members

of rival church denominations would actually drink tea and dance together". (13)

The initial articles in The Educational Journal concentrated on social issues such as the drink curse and one or two comments on the first world war. It's contents were more social than political. In this too, it reflected the consciousness or lack of consciousness among "Coloureds" in the Cape at the turn of the century. One stumbles upon terms such as "natives" for Africans, in true liberal South African vein. The way in which some "Coloureds" view themselves is also clearly revealed in some articles. They plegde their loyalty to the British Empire during the first world war and are proud of it. The language question of High-Dutch versus Afrikaans or English is dealt with. One writer in particular refers to "Coloureds" as Bruin Africanders (i.e. Brown Africanders). It was largely a teachers' body of diverse social plumage and very little, if any, political orientation.

The existing racial hierarchy was not questioned. At the annual conferences of the Teachers' League of South Africa, the Superintendent-General of Education (S.G.E.) in the Cape was generally a very welcome guest - speaker of honour. White educationists were profusely thanked for their educational efforts on behalf of the "Coloureds". Not even the laws passed during the reign of General Hertzog (1924-1939), which were directly aimed at the rights (or whatever was left of it) of blacks, could cause the Teachers' League to abandon their rather lethargic approach.

The Cape Province has always traced it's Cape "Liberal Tradition" to this ostensibly protected position of a section of the oppressed people, taxonomically referred to as "Coloureds"... V.A. February observes in his Mind Your Colour (1981, p. 2): "Because of the various racial policies of successive South African governments, the colour of one's skin determined one's status in society. Thus, where possible, some "Coloureds" initially tried to seek their salvation with the whites rather than with their fellow oppressed..."
Since colour was the sole criterion at times, "Coloureds" too started evaluating themselves in terms of pigmentation. Thus gradations of lightness (whiteness) and brownness were noticeable to the 'coloured' which would normally not be so apparent to the non-coloured'".

This vacillating policy towards the "Coloureds" was a feature of South African life for over thirty years. It was probably responsible

for the lack of any political consciousness among the "Coloureds" on a large scale for a very long time. Even during the period of Hertzog (1924-1939), "Coloureds" were subjected to ambiguous government policies. Hertzog in his famous Smithfield speech made it quite clear that the "Coloureds" were part of the whites, or at least, white civilization and culture and as such, did not qualify for any discriminatory measures. Dr. Malan, who was to become the first Afrikaner National Party Prime Minister in 1948 also firmly rejected the idea of separate development for the "Coloureds" and the Malays in 1925. In 1928 he even opposed a private members' Bill seeking the extension of the vote to white women on the grounds that it should also be granted to "Coloured" women. In 1938, on the eve of the second world war, when many of the Afrikaner nationalists were identifying (or beginning to, if not openly supporting national socialism in Germany), Dr. Malan stood for complete separation also in respect of the "Coloureds".

The three Hertzog Native Bills, aimed at whittling away the rights of Blacks but left the "Coloureds" untouched. The Wilcocks Commission, appointed in 1934, said in it's final report published in 1937, that the "Coloureds" should still receive equal treatment (vide: paragraph 1023):

> "That the Government in its legislation give serious attention to the increasing measure of differentiation in legal provisions and the administration of these which are apparently in contradistinction to the principle of common law, which does not recognize differences in terms of race, colour or religion."

Some people have seen in the Wilcocks Commission the last plea for equality for the "Coloureds". The Mixed Marriages Act, nr. 55 of 1949, that is, after the Afrikaner National Party of Dr. Malan took over in 1948, forbade marriages across the colour line. This law was bolstered up by the infamous Immorality Act, nr. 21 of 1950, which was again consolidated as, Law nr. 23 of 1957. The Separate Voters' Representation Act of 1950, brought the Cape Province into line with the rest of the other provinces in South Africa, where blacks were already deprived of the vote. The Group Areas Act of 1950 prepared and initiated the ghettoization of the "Coloured" community and the disintegration of historically existing communities, like, for example, District Six, near the slopes of Table Mountain. The Population Registration Act Nr. 3 of 1950, preceded by the Pensions Act, nr. 22 of 1922 - amended as Act nr. 34 of 1931 and once more, as the Pensions Act of 1934 - paved the way for dividing the

"Coloureds" into a special racial category. This law was again perfected to become Proclamation 123 of 1967, whereby six categories of "Coloureds" are distinguishable. These are:

1. *Cape "Coloured"*
2. *Malay*
3. *Griqua*
4. *Chinese*
5. *Indian*
6. *'other' Asiatic*
7. *'other' "Coloured"*

What other Blacks had experienced at a much earlier stage in history, "Coloureds" started experiencing from 1950 onwards. Increasingly, the various apartheid measures were extended to include also, the so-called "Coloured" people. Increasingly, the further enslavement of the "Coloureds" led to renewed soul-searching politically. The espousing of Black Power by a section of the school-going youth ever since Soweto in 1976, is a logical extension of the historical and ideological road of the "Coloureds".

This politicization of the "Coloureds" came about in no mean way through the Teachers' League of South Africa and related bodies. It was a process which was initiated by some educated and inquisitive youngsters who no longer wished to tow the line of "Colouredism". Inspired by ideas of the French revolution and the increasing turmoil towards the end of the 1930's in Europe, young educated "Coloureds" started their own debating clubs.

For "Coloureds" in the Cape, one of the important events was the founding of the New Era Fellowship (abbreviated to N.E.F.) in 1937. It started initially "as a sorting house of ideas and later developed into a political force which played a major part in changing the whole basis and outlook of the liberatory movement. It was out of the N.E.F., for example, that there came the ideas and many of the people, who beginning 1940, challenged the old regime in the T.L.S.A. (14) Up to 1940 every conceivable "coloured" teacher was practically a member of the Teachers' League of South Africa, and a scrutiny of the names of the Presidents from 1912 to 1943 is very interesting. Some of those men came to play decided reactionary roles in South African ("Coloured") politics after 1948, when the National Party of the Afrikaners took over. On the eve of

the war, there were some youngsters who started analysing the situation in a wider perspective. Increasingly, one would come across their names. These included Bennie Kies, Willem van Schoor, the Maurice brothers, Alie Fataar, Frank Grammer, R.O. Dudley, Solly Edross, Stella Jacobsen, Dr. Gool and many others. The most outstanding thinker was Bennie Kies. A powerful orator, brilliant and full of ideas, he was quick to realise that a pure teachers' body which ignored the very crucial socio-political issues, was on the wrong track. Matters came to a head between the younger, more militant and socio-politically orientated generation and the older, more conservative leadership at a conference held at Kimberley, in the Cape Province in 1943.

The basic issue was the move of the younger, more militant generation to broaden the constitution of the Teachers' League of South Africa, so as to incorporate socio-political issues in South Africa as it affected "coloureds" and Africans. This went too far for some members in 1943, who wanted the T.L.S.A. to remain a Teachers' body catering for the needs of "coloureds' only.

But there was another important issue at stake in 1943. The Smuts Government had decided to establish a special Advisory Council for Coloureds, the Coloured Advisory Council (shortened to C.A.C.). This prompted some members of the "coloured" community to oppose this apartheid move and form themselves into an Anti-Coloured Advisory Council, which in turn gave rise to the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (abbreviated to Anti-C.A.D.) towards the middle of 1943. The Teachers' League had now split into two factions, a more progressive T.L.S.A. and a conservative Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (abbreviated to T.E.P.A.). The latter teachers' body was naturally welcomed and recognized by successive South African governments. No such official recognition was accorded the purified Teachers' League of South Africa. 1944 saw the establishment of the political wing of the "coloureds", the Non-European Unity Movement (abbreviated to N.E.U.M.). These three bodies then, the Teachers' League of South Africa (T.L.S.A.). the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) and the Non-European Unity Movement (abbreviated to N.E.U.M.), closely allied to one another and working hand in glove, from 1944 onwards, fought discriminatory measures tooth and nail inside South Africa.

With the change in constitution and orientation, the articles in the Educational Journal of the Teachers' League of South Africa no

longer concentrated solely on educational issues, but included all facets of the black enslavement. As early as 1943, Bennie Kies could warn his readers in the Educational Journal, that the whites by virtue of privilege, education and indoctrination, were all "embryonic nazis". The general tenor of the articles changed. The teacher was no longer seen as a separate entity, divorced from the body politic, the struggle of the oppressed. White people came to be referred to as Herrenvolk, the chosen people, in a derogatory sense. "Coloureds" were encouraged to boycott institutions and places which practice discrimination. Periodically, systematic analyses were carried out of various facets of South African life, for example, the manner in which history is taught in South African schools, the question of the vote and civic rights, the language question. In the fifties, when under the nationalist government, apartheid came to be more stringently applied, the Teachers' League of South Africa, together with the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) and the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.) was in the forefront of the battle against enslavement and racism. The articles reflected this concern and orientation. Members of the Teachers' League of South Africa were banned from the teaching profession in the sixties, among others, Bennie Kies, Frank Grammer, J. Fyfe, A. Fataar. Kies only emerged later to become an advocate and defended many political prisoners.

In 1958, one of the most rabid Afrikaner nationalists, Cas Greyling, launched a vehement attack on the Teachers' League of South Africa in the South African parliament in the following no uncertain terms: (15)

> "After the establishment of the Coloured Advisory Council in 1943, the then T.L.S.A. of South Africa held their annual conference at Kimberley where the establishment of the so-called C.A.C. was discussed. There it came to a split because a certain extremist section or wing could not reconcile themselves with a Coloured Advisory Council... By way of opposition against the establishment of the Coloured Council, one had the development of the Anti-CADs... These two groups, the Anti-CADs and the T.L.S.A. through the years have been closely allied with the Non-European Unity Movement... they are the ones who in their ten-point programme fight segregation measures tooth and nail".

Like other organisations in South Africa fighting for political rights, the Teachers' League of South Africa, the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department and the Non-European Unity Movement also did not escape the ravages of apartheid legislation. Many of the members were banned, articles were censored or banned.

The League was strongest and most influential during the fifties and the early sixties. Together with the Anti-CAD and the N.E.U.M., the T.L.S.A. increasingly opposed the various measures designed to complete the political enslavement of the so-called "Coloureds" and Blacks in South Africa. The major laws directed at the "Coloureds" in the early fifties were those aimed at the removal of the "Coloureds" from the common voters' role-completing the political disfranchisement of the "Coloureds", the group areas act, whereby "Coloureds" were steadily pushed into windswept areas far away from their traditional areas in Cape Town; other important moves were suggested by Commissions like the de Vos-Malan (Botha) Commission, which was installed to prepare for a special type of education for "Coloureds"; a start was also made with various bodies which would eventually crystallize into a Union Council of Coloured Affairs (UCCA). Job reservation acts whereby "Coloureds" were precluded from doing certain jobs or being involved in certain occupations were planned and executed. University apartheid at the two so-called open universities, that is, Cape Town and Witwatersrand was introduced. "Open" in South African context meant that Black and "Coloured" students could attend these universities, but could not stay in the hostels or take part in the normal social (sport) life of their university - a form of "disguised" apartheid. The separate universities' Bill became law in 1959.

Various "Bush" Colleges as these separate institutions for "Coloureds", Blacks and Indians were called, came into being in remote areas. The League together with the Anti-CAD and the N.E.U.M. rightly advocated a boycott of these apartheid institutions. At schools, where possible, the Teachers' League tried to influence high school students. Major centres for learning in the Cape were Trafalgar High School, Livingstone High and Harold Cressy. In the rural areas, the mission station of Genadendal produced some other great political stalwarts, for example, the Wessels family. "Coloured" Quislings were severely dealt with, held up to scorn, octracized wherever possible. At Trafalgar High School, in the early sixties (1962-63), the appointment of a Principal who was allegedly pro-apartheid - he was appointed by the Coloured Affairs Department and therefore suspect among staff and students who preferred a colleague of long-standing on the staff but with decidedly T.L.S.A. ideas - was met with opposition from both staff and students alike. Students even proceeded to turn his Cape Town car registration (which is C.A.) into a facetious, C.A.D.(i.e. Coloured Affairs Department). Many of the students in the Cape during the early mid and

late fifties as well as the early sixties were products of the League, the Movement and the Anti-CAD.

1960 was a watershed in South African history. The break away of the younger, more militant Africans from the ANC to form the PAC (Pan African Congress) under the leadership of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, also left it's traumatic effects on those supporters and sympathizers of the T.L.S.A. the Non-European Unity Movement and the Anti-CAD. The killing of Blacks at Sharpeville during the pass campaign in 1960, forced political organizations to seriously discuss the question of violence as an answer to the South African problem.

When Philip Kgosana, a young Black student at the University of Cape Town led that momentous march of Blacks into Cape Town in 1960, the reverberations were also felt among the "Coloured" youth. Sharpeville and Langa added two more place names to the historically already long list of places of death and destruction. The story of Sharpeville and Langa has been adequately documented in several books. During Sharpeville, the attitude of the T.L.S.A., the Anti-CAD and the N.E.U.M. was particularly interesting Significantly, "Coloureds" were called upon not to jump on the bandwagon, not to lose themselves in political adventurism.

Many of the "Coloured" youngsters were already then disenchanted with what they regarded as the extreme negativist approach of the League, the Movement and the Anti-CAD, who were wont to label both dissenters and collaborators as quislings, who should be boycotted or ostracized. That collaborators were ostracized was only natural and logical within the South African context, for a people involved in a freedom struggle, can not afford Trojan horses in her midst. Already, towards the late fifties, "Coloured" youngsters were drifting away from the League, the Movement and the Anti-CAD and sought refuge in other, splinter groups, for example, the Workers' Democratic League (WDL). All these groups, although possibly spiritually fostered by the Movement in sofar that most of the members were once sympathizers of the League, the Anti-CAD and the Movement, all went their own strategic, ideological ways in the sixties.

The Non-European Unity Movement commented in most voluble terms on the massacres at Sharpeville and Langa in March 1960 in their official Journal, The Torch (Vol. XIV, nr. 52, March 29, 1960). The pending Republic celebrations were referred to as a 'FESTIVAL OF BLOOD AND TERROR!

At the same time, The Torch gave a clear indication of its general attitude towards the pass campaign leading to the massacres in 1960 when it commented on the tragic events as follows:

> *"the Progressive (16) and the Native Reps (reinforced by some of the U.P.) began to prepare for lining up more allies, and riveted upon the A.N.C.*
> *Lawrence, parliamentary leader of the Progs, opened this part of the campaign by calling for the return of Luthuli from banishment. Luthuli, meanwhile using the platforms of the treason trial had publicly offered his services. The A.N.C. has been advertising its services as a policemen and moderating influence".*

One need not be a linguist to fully understand the political innuendos contained in this statement.

The post Sharpeville - Langa period showed some significant changes. Members of the A.N.C. who were forced into exile, now abandoned the principle of non-violence and started the Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation - the military wing of the A.N.C. Inside South Africa, the activities of the now banned Pan African Congress (P.A.C.) were apparently continued according to government reports by the POQO (meaning 'only' or 'pure'), thereby strengthening the notion that it was a purely African- in some eyes, 'racist' body-excluding others of the oppressed who do not happen to be African).

"The Yu Chi Chan Club (or Yui Chui Chan Club) appears to have consisted of a small group of Coloured people, mainly in the Western Cape, who were Peking-orientated... At a trial held in February 1964 it was alleged that the leaders were Dr. Kenneth Abrahams and Dr. Neville E. Alexander" (M. Horrell, 1971, p. 56). (17) In February of 1961, some so-called "Coloured" leaders decided to convene a convention of "Coloureds". This Committee was headed by Mr. D. van der Ross and Mr. J.C.A. Daniels. Because of the government bannings the meeting could not take place in Cape Town and was shifted to a farm at the last moment. Here the possibility of a non-racial democracy was explored.

Apdusa (African Peoples' Democratic Union of South Africa) was apparently formed in 1961 as the advanced political arm of the Non-European Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA)-according to Horrell the N.E.U.M. - with I.B. Tabata as leader until his flight to Lusaka in 1963.

All liberatory Movements were practically banned out of existence in the post Sharpville period. The Rivonia trial in (1963) decimated the leadership of the various liberatory movements inside South Africa.

The Unity Movement with I.B. Tabata, Jane Gool and Honono in exile, continued to lead a tottering existence. Inside the country, the activities of the T.L.S.A., the Anti-CAD and the Movement, were becoming less important as the struggle for a free South Africa moved into another important direction.

Al Venter describes some of the changing mood in his otherwise unobjective publication on the "Coloureds" which he called: Coloured - Portrait of Two Million South Africans. (18)

> *"One of those, Basil February, originally from Cape Town, during the early 'sixties' rejected the traditional mantle of blind acceptance of a racial inferior's role... and joined up with a guerrilla group intent on invading South Africa.*
> *On the first foray --- he was killed by the Rhodesian forces, after a day-long battle...*
> *The Rhodesians commented on February's bravery in the face of terrifying odds.*
> *February became a martyr for his cause and today is well-known among the more politically-conscious Coloured families in the Cape Peninsula".*

Al Venter omitted to say that February is, of course, looked upon as a heroe by all black South Africans and, especially in the A.N.C. 1976 was another watershed in South African history. Although the issue now was the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black schools on a large scale and not the passes, the root cause was still one of political unfreedom and enslavement. V.A. February (19) comments in White minorities, Black majorities (1976/1, p. 17).

> *"There is therefore no pressing or innate need why the Africans should want to learn another language which is confined to a certain ethnic pocket. The only other reason for insisting that Africans also learn Afrikaans must be seen against the background of the political philosophy of the Afrikaner. And this necessity for the African to learn Afrikaans can only be traced to his very essential role in the labour process".*

Following a typical historical pattern among the oppressed Blacks all over the world - and almost as a direct extension of earlier (and similar) movements - for example, the Antilleans and French-speaking West Africans with their Negritude; the Afro-Americans with their Soul; the Surinamese in Holland with their Wie Eegie Sani (Our Own Things) - the oppressed youngsters of South Africa embraced Black Consciousness as the one unifying factor against apartheid after the massacre of schoolchildren in the 1970s. This led in 1976 to a mass exodus of youngsters and a revival of the activities of the ANC inside South

Africa, as well as to a world-wide recognition of the ANC as the only (major) liberatory movement by Western governments.

Again, the T.L.S.A. and what was left of the Movement and the Anti-CAD, was sceptical and negative in their attitude towards the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) and the South African Students' Organization (SASO) with the late Steve Biko as the leader and adequately supported by Peter Jones, who in South African taxonomy, is a "Coloured". Their attitude was extremely negative and reminiscent of earlier attitudes to campaigns run by the ANC, the PAC and other smaller liberatory organizations. It is spelt out in no uncertain terms. In an article in the T.L.S.A. Journal, one Frans Solomons articulates the official viewpoint of the League in the following manner: "The Wearing of Black-Some Notes on the Politics of Fashion" (The Educational Journal, vol. XLVI, nr. 5, jan.-feb., 1975).

> *"The protagonists of this doctrine try hard to give it a progressive (small "p") colouration. They claim that describing themselves as "Black" asserts their equality. To be Non-White, they say, is to define yourself in terms of "White" and thereby implies the supremacy of "White". They claim that they are "Blacks" and that Whites are Non-Blacks. This is, of course to miss the point. By calling Non-Whites by any other name you do not change the thing described. What has to be rejected is not the name but the thing (and it is a thing) to which the name is given. And that is precisely what is not done.*
>
> *They accept racial categories for "Black" which is as much a racial category as is "White". In any case, when it comes to the question as to which are the least offensive terms, how clean is "Black"? Is it not conventionally and historically and functionally a designation to which contempt and abuse has always stuck and still sticks, both here and in America?"*

"Coloured" school children at primary and high school level left no uncertainty as to where their sympathies were - with their counterparts in Soweto and Langa and the many Black townships. For the first time, white South Africa was shocked into paralytic fear by the knowledge that the passive "Coloured" schoolboy and girl is a violent opponent and not a submissive child any longer. The riots in the township and the march of "Coloured" school children through the streets of Cape Town, bear testimony to this. In an editorial, the "Coloured" newspaper the Cape Herald (September 7, 1976, p. 12) comments:

> *South Africa's shame is the shame of a country whose politicians appear to have abdicated authority to a bunch of rough, poorly paid policemen who are managing the situation the only way they know how...*

Last week's two illegal parades through the city had a positive side in that many White South Africans saw for the first time that the Black scholars are not savages but neat, orderly, very serious and very concerned young people".

I can think of no parallell in the world where a mere Teachers' Union played such a vital role in the politicization of a particular oppressed group, as was the case in the Cape Province of South Africa. By its very nature, and in terms of all class theories, teachers were generally regarded as conservative non-revolutionary elements, not given easily to excesses, let alone revolutionary acts. In this respect then, the Teachers' League of South Africa was unique. Its special role can only be fully comprehended within the specific cultural and historical traditions which spawned this Teachers' Union. As we have already noted at an earlier stage, mission education modelled on the British system played a yeoman's role in the shaping of the "Coloured" community. Anglo-Saxon values were transplanted onto this group in the form of debating societies, sporting organizations and eisteddfods. Annual conferences of the Teachers' League were always exciting - an excitement which reached its peak when the Presidential address was delivered. These speeches were distinguished for their vigour, eloquence and the oratorical charisma of the President in question-thus perpetuating a British tradition started with the legendary Dr. Abdurahman.

Moreover, the teaching profession was very important in the lives of "Coloured" South Africans. There were very few avenues open to "Coloureds". In practically every "Coloured" family there is a teacher. In a sense, in the discriminatory society of South Africa, upward mobility for the "Coloured" was almost largely possible only through the teaching profession. Although the schools were segregated, the teacher was largely free from direct white control in his daily interaction with his pupils. The teaching profession also ensured one a higher social status in the "Coloured" community.

Among the poor, education became the one shining beacon. The "Coloureds" have also succeeded against overwhelming odds in building proud and independent institutions of higher learning, such as Trafalgar High School (fifty years of tradition and history is about to be demolished under the infamous group areas act), Livingstone High School, and Harold Cressy High School. The role of education for the "coloured" becomes even clearer when one is aware of the peculiar educational set-

up within the country. "Coloured" youngsters were allowed to finish their junior high - that is, at the age of sixteen - and then, they proceeded to a Teachers' Training School for two years, where they would qualify as teachers who could now teach in Primary schools. They would then only be eighteen years of age. For indigent families, this meant that if their children followed such a course, they would gain status and improve their economic situation. It was, and to a large extent still is, customary for such a child to hand over his pay packet to his parents who would then give him or her pocket money. Alternatively, the child could complete his high school at the age of eighteen and then proceed to a Training College, where after two years he or she emerged with a Higher Teachers' Certificate at the age of twenty or twenty one. Sometimes it was possible to complete an extra year (e.g. for woodwork, physical culture). Many of these teachers' landed up in high schools. There were simply not enough university graduates to fill the berths. The luckier ones, obtained a bursary and proceded to the then, so-called open universities (notably, Cape Town and Witwatersrand, which in actual fact practised segregation) to complete a degree. Nowadays, "Coloureds" are forced to go to a separate university, disparagingly referred to by "Coloureds" as the "Bush", to emphasize their rejection (contempt) of such institutions. It is not surprising that the "Coloured" youngsters were in the forefront of the upheavals during the student unrest in 1976 in the Cape. The teacher, especially in the fifties and the sixties, was a person, who, in West African terms, "had mouth" and "knew book". And as such, his standing was assured. The Teachers' League was therefore, no ordinary, Teachers' Union in the accepted Western sense - but a politically - conscious and motivated power group within Cape society, whose importance can <u>not</u> be ignored in <u>any</u> description of the political culture of the Cape in particular and the oppressed in general.

"For the history of the Coloured people if we may be permitted to use the term without the mystique of "andersoortigheid"-is the history of a section of the Non-White people upon whose labour and land the Dutch slave system was built; upon whose "conversion" as "free persons of colour" the introduction of a wage economy was facilitated and through whose assimilation into the institutions of the 19th century the development of the Cape was accelerated, making possible the dispossession and enslavement of the major section of the Non-White people. In short, it is an integral part of the history of oppression by which a section of the oppressed people have been accorded the status of "Coloured" people hovering midway between European and "African" in order to reinforce the exploitation not only of that section but of the Non-White people as a whole.

But whilst in the process of enslavement and exploitation the different sections of the oppressed have been subjected to artificial statutory differences as part of the consciously applied Herrenvolk technique of divide and rule, the common basis of their oppression has thrown up new forces which challenge the restrictive social "system" (The Educational Journal, 28, 2: 1, August, 1956).

Not only the government, but historical forces seem to have dealt a blow to the TLSA, the Movement and the Anti-CAD. This anthology is, therefore, also a tribute to the sterling political lessons taught by the TLSA, the Movement and the Anti-CAD to that section of the population still taxonomically referred to as "Coloureds" in South Africa. As such, it is also an essential part of the political culture of all oppressed South Africans.

Vernie February, Leiden. 1982.

POLITICS

In the Editor's Sanctum

The World War

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, MAY 1915

Europe just now presents the appearance of a huge armed camp. Huge armies are marching hither and thither, and leaving behind them a trail of ruin, devastation and blood, and that the world has never yet beheld. The most powerful nations of the civilised world are engaged in a life and death struggle, the outcome of which will influence the future course of the world's history, and will undo the labour of centuries. The consequences of this great war are being felt all over the world, and we in this portion of the British Empire have a direct concern in the struggle. Although we cannot all play a direct part in the fight, yet it behoves us as intelligent citizens to be fully acquainted with the rights and wrongs of the conflict.

For us, as British subjects, there can be but one opinion as to the justice of the war. For us, as intelligent and thinking men and women, there can, too, be but one opinion. The fact that these two opinions coincide, fortifies our loyalty and enables us to look forward with calm confidence to the triumph of British might and British right. We are prouder than ever of being subjects of the glorious British Empire.

The war and the Coloured Races

But apart from questions of loyalty, the fact that Britain and France, whose treatment of the Coloured races stands far above that of any other of the European nations, are fighting side by side and for the same cause, will of itself determine on which side the future of the Coloured races lie. That their liberties as well as those of the Europeans are at stake, has been realised by the Coloured people of the country, who have offered their services by the thousands - amongst them many of our teachers. Coloured British and French subjects in other parts of the world have been more fortunate, and are now doing their share in the defence of the liberties of the world. Had the

services of the Coloured Afrikander (1) and the Natives (2) been accepted, in our teachers the Government would have found an excellent and loyal body wherewith to commission the Coloured battalions. The fact that not a single Coloured teacher has gone into rebellion shows that our teaching profession is loyal to the core.

Our Childrens' Future

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, July-Sept. 1926

The future citizens are the children of today. It is therefore right and proper to ask whether these children, who have to play an important part in the future development of their race - we will not say of their country - are receiving the necessary help, encouragement and education to place them in a position to be of benefit to the future generation. When we consider that the majority of our children leave school at Standard III and IV, and that thousands have never had the chance of making the acquaintance of the inside of a school-room, we have reason to pause and think seriously. What chance have they in the battle of life? This battle grows sterner with each succeeding year.

We have looked and looked in vain to the Government to remedy this state of affairs. The Europeans must be provided for, and the needs are ever increasing. The Coloured have to wait year in and year out, and in the meantime an evergrowing percentage of the children go to swell the ranks of a class that proves already a menace to society, and needs no addition.

But since the Government cannot or will not stir in this matter is there any reason why we should not bestir ourselves? Certainly not. We have already examples of what can be accomplished by cooperation. We refer to Battswood, Wellington and Paarl. (1) Here something has been done, because they dared to do. What these places have done can be done by others; but it required initiative, vision and determination. There are however matters which have to be faced squarely before our people will make the progress necessary for their advancement. The sooner we cease looking to the European for assistance and begin to depend upon ourselves, the better.

In the first instance we should inculcate in the young the habits of thrift. Who can deny that the lack of this quality is a serious bar

to progress, and shows itself too conspicuously in the children of today? The occasional pennies and "tickeys" received, are no sooner in their hands than they make a bee-line to the nearest Indian shop or to a Bioscope. The thrill seeking tendency develops at an age, too early to spell any good for the future. On the teacher rests the responsibility of counter-acting these tendencies. The example of waste and extravagance set by some is to be deplored. That the teacher should be a model of decency, in dress and habits, is to be expected; that the silk-stockinged crepe-de-chine dressed, powdered individual will greatly add to this requirement is a matter that leaves us in doubt.

We are fast losing ground in the sphere of occupation for our young. The blacks - the coloured are included - must work! Teach them the dignity of labour. But are they given the opportunity to even work? Every door has been effectively barred against them; every avenue of employment is slowly but surely closed to them. It is high time that the coloured Teacher faces this fact.

To what purpose are we educating these children? To make them useful citizens of a State, or to raise in them false hopes, vision and aspirations never to be realised? The coloured man begins to feel nervous and anxious for the future of his child, and facts justify his fears. The European does the very best for his child. We do not blame him, though we grudge him the many privileges to which a white skin is heir to in this country. We - parents and Teachers - should shoulder our own burden. At present there seems pretty little place on our shoulders for that burden, because love of pleasure, and many other things, which are detrimental to the development of a people, lie too tightly there.

There are night schools, bioscopes, football fields, and street corners. Which claim the largest attendance? It has been said that the battle of Waterloo was won on the football fields of Eton. That may be so. The coloured boy has to learn that his battle will not be won on any football ground, nor will his struggle for existence be made easier by watching the pet performances of a Charlie Chaplin or a Jack Hoxie.

Our responsibility to the children under our care grows greater every day. Let us do our duty by them. Our greatest reward will be the satisfaction derived from the knowledge that we have assisted in raising our fellow men, and have, in a small measure, been the means of making life more hopeful for a future generation.

Hope

By Toiings Junior (1)

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It has been said that History repeats itself twice: "once as a tragedy and again as farce". But it would be far from farcical to those most vitally concerned, if the tragic history of the Coloured People for the past 30 years were to be repeated during the coming period. Indeed, it is our business to see that there is no repetition, and we would do well to consider more carefully a few of the factors which contributed to that tragedy.

Naturally, there were many, closely inter-related elements: political, economic and ideological. But in this essay we intend to concern ourselves with but a single one of the reasons for a steady deterioration of the position occupied by the Cape Coloured People - HOPE. This may sound either blasphemous or paradoxical, but it is merely intended to be an unadorned statement of fact. Let me explain.

Summing up the Coloured man, in one of the least complimentary sections of his well-known book, 'Half-Caste", Cedric Dover (2) describes him as standing "with his hat in his hand hoping... "It would be difficult to find a more fitting way of characterising the epoch which has just ended, the chapter which has been closed by the recent political awakening of the Coloured man. During that time he outstripped Mr. Micawber (3) in waiting complacently for something to turn up. At the time of the South Africa Act (4), when he lost the right of direct representation in Parliament, he "HOPED" that under closer union they would approach nearer eventually to the aim of equality; that under Union they would not retrograde, but they would proceed further towards granting the privileges and rights and liberties to all His Majesty's subjects in South Africa". Then Gen. Hertzog (5) came to power, and the Coloured man started HOPING that the white man would atone for the "sins of his forefathers". Indeed, the HOPE was raised by none other than Gen. Hertzog himself, for he had learned one thing from the "Liberal Cape Tradition", namely, that the Coloureds may be fed on the HOPE of receiving a right, rather than on the right itself.

When the civilised Labour Policy (6) was introduced in 1924, the Coloured People HOPED that it was merely aimed against the 'uncivilized blanket kaffir' (7) and that the 'civilized' Coloured man would be protected. When the Women's Enfranchisement Act gave the franchise to European women in 1930, the Coloureds were disappointed but HOPED that the injustice would soon be remedied. The same happened with the Franchise Laws Amendment Act of 1931. The appointment of the Commission of Inquiry in 1934 (8) gave rise to fresh hopes. And when the Report was tabled in 1938, it was greeted as a "Magna Charta" (9), a "new hope", the symbol of the "Coloured People's Renaissance".

This chronic weakness of the Coloured man, the paralysis of all his activity by a placid and quiescent hope, was one of the most powerful brakes on his advance. It must not be thought for one moment that this was an inherent congenital characteristic. It was acquired. More than that - it was carefully and deliberately fostered by the various agencies of the ruling class. In other words, Hope, false, groundless, paralysing Hope - has been one of the most refined instruments of domination, one of the most subtle and effective means of keeping the Coloured people in subjection.

Naturally, the platonic moralist may object that we are making a most preposterous thesis, that "Hope" is one of the most estimables of virtues, and that, down through the ages, hope of a better world has been the flywheel of progress. We have no inclination to enter into a metaphysical discussion on whether it is possible for any virtue, Hope included, to exist in the abstract. So we will content ourselves with saying that Hope is only a virtue when it is related to a struggle for some goal, with the reasonable possibility of reaching the goal if you struggle hard enough. When there is no possible chance of success, hope becomes either a delusion or a luxury. But when it is static and unrelated to effort or struggle, when it acts as a narcotic upon those who hope and when it is persisted in after it has been proved a failure again and again, then it becomes a vice and a crime.

So the new Hope that has been engendered in the bosom of the Coloured people during the past eighteen months, is as much a virtue and an advantage as the old type of Hope was a vice and a drawback. For the new hope is founded upon the realisation that the liberation of the oppressed must be and can be achieved by their own, independent and united struggle. It is a Hope which activises them and militates against waiting patiently

for the golden apples to drop into their lap.

But it must not be thought that the forces which purveyed the old, illusory type of hope, have given up the ghost merely because they see the Coloured people throwing off the blinkers they used to wear. The body of old Caesar may be dead, but the ghost is still haunting us. The Corbett Commission dangles before us the recommendation that the Educational subsidy should be raised to f. 10. Compulsory education is suddenly being spoken of as if it were just round the corner. The motive is that if only a promise could be extracted, if only some hope could be given, then the teachers might be lulled into smug acquiescence. A resolution passed by the Anglican synod on July 28th speaks of meeting the "clamant needs of the moment", and of the need "effectively to open the door of hope for the future" (Cape Argus 28/7/44). During a debate on Pensions in the Assembly this Session, 25th May, Mr. Morris Alexander spoke of the necessity of giving the coloured people something to hope for, and warned against the danger of depriving people of hope. Naturally, he meant danger to the government, not the people for he knows as well as anyone else that the end of illusory hopes is the beginning of true perspective.

At all times we will have to be on our guard against those agencies which undermine our unity and determination of purpose and action by holding out false hope of improvement. The more the rulers fear the new spirit of awakening, the more they will try to stifle it. The more the rulers themselves feel the pinch - as at the time of Malaya, Singapore and Java - the more they will raise hopes in the bosoms of the oppressed. It is certain that there are very stormy times ahead, so let us be aware of false hope, hope of any easy way out, a short cut to liberation.

The Political Situation of the Non-Europeans

B.M. Kies

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It is important that, from the very outset, we should have the proper approach to the subject which I am introducing. The all-important thing is that we should not view it as a separate, isolated subject, but as an integral aspect of the theme to which the Conference has been devoted, namely, "The Aims and Purposes of Education, with particular

reference to South Africa". In fact, it is the logical culmination of the theme and has been latent in all the previous discussions.

Mr. R.O. Dudley (1), in dealing with "The Present Condition of Education in South Africa", has described and characterised the basic economic, political and social conditions of South Africa, in order to show how the present system of segregation in education is a direct result of the denial of full democratic rights to all. Out of this came a resolution which linked the struggle for a democratic system of education, with the struggle for full citizenship rights. Mr. E.L. Maurice, (1) in his analysis of "Christian National Education", built upon the foundations laid by Mr. Dudley and demonstrated how the Afrikaner section of the ruling-class is seeking to use its policy of Christian National education in order to secure its leadership of the Herrenvolk and to entrench its mastery over the non-white people. From this there flowed a resolution which declared that the principles for which we stand are diametrically opposed to those formulated by the Institute of Christian-National Education. Then followed Mr. H. Jephtha (1) on "Race and Education", in which he showed how and why "race" has become not merely an obsession but also a most important instrument of domination, without which the present system could not be maintained. Against this background, Mr. S.T. Hanmer (1) discussed the real and the spurious aims of education, and suggested certain cardinal aims of education in, and for a true democracy. Mr. W.C. Janari, (1) in discussing "The Teacher - Inside and Outside the Classroom", indicated how teachers should equip and bear themselves in order to change the basic pattern of South Africa as outlined in the previous discussions.

All of these maintained, implicitly or explicitly, the close interdependence of educational and political change. In all of them the teacher was regarded as an important vehicle of social change towards a democratic system of education within a democratic South Africa. And now we have to ask ourselves: What is actually going on in the ranks of the Non-Europeans? What is happening in the political camp in which we consider that our teachers should work? What are the oppressed and exploited people - and we work in their interests alone - thinking and doing in the political field? How do we view the various political tendencies and what is our perspective? We must leave this Conference with some broad agreement on this, so that our work will be co-ordinated.

The "Ordinary Optimism"

Let us ask ourselves what the political situation looks like to the "ordinary" inquirer. Most inquirers are rather extraordinary persons, but we shall assume the existence of an "ordinary" one. And it would be more accurate, too, if we divided the class of "ordinary" inquirer into two categories: the "ordinary optimist" and the "ordinary pessimist".

First we shall take the "ordinary optimist". What does the political situation look like to him? To the "ordinary optimist" in the ranks of the Non-European oppressed people of South Africa, it seems as if the whole world - and particularly the Colonial world - is on the march to better things. He looks at China and sees that American Imperialism is finished there, together with its Quisling, Chiang-Kai-Shek. In Burma, British Imperialism has received the order of the boot, and the Burmese have no desire to remain part of the British Empire, there is a transitional period of double-dealing and treachery, but the freedom of India is virtually an established fact. Indonesia is going through a more difficult period, but the set-back is temporary, and Dutch Imperialism's days are numbered. Moreover, when he looks at the so-called "Western" countries, he sees similar cause for optimism. Italy and France are in a state of crisis which is insoluble on a capitalist basis, and they must inevitably be a great liability to "Western" democracy, thereby weakening the fabric of Capitalism-Imperialism. Marshall Aid, with its political and military objectives, has not fulfilled even half the hopes of U.S.A. Imperialism, either in Britain or on the Continent. More and more millions of dollars will be spent on things that not even the Almightly Dollar can buy. U.N.O. which was a fraud from its inception, has virtually collapsed; the Atlantic Pact is already a factual recognition that U.N.O. no longer serves the purpose for which "Western" Imperialism intended it. The signs are not wanting that even the South African Indian Congress is beginning to realise what everyone else has known for quite a time, namely, that U.N.O. is a fraud from which oppressed and exploited people can expect nothing, except further fraud. In "Eastern" Europe, too, whatever might be going on behind the so-called "Iron Curtain", one thing is certain, namely, that more than half of Europe is lost to Capitalism-Imperialism. Over this fact, no politically-conscious member of the colonial oppressed will lose a wink of sleep or shed a single tear. And even in the United Stated, creditor

and banker to the whole capitalist world, there are signs that the god has feet of clay: witness, for example, the Heath Robinson state of foreign-exchange relations, the recurrence of that army of permanently unemployed which we knew after the crash of 1928, the waves of strikes which periodically bring, or threaten to bring, the country's economy to a virtual standstill.

Moreover, when the "ordinary optimist" turns his eyes to the South African scene, he is not overwhelmed by the undoubtedly increased pace of reaction. To him, this very increase of reaction in the form of more and more apartheid or segregation, is a sign of the crisis and decay in the whole system. The ruling-class is already hearing ominous rumblings underfoot. It is driven to take more and more repressive measures, and much of these increases resistance to the ruling-class and must inevitably hasten its decline and eventual destruction. The "general" Election last year, (2) while it brought about no basic change in the position of the Non-Europeans, came as a shock to them. The more outspoken and brutally frank section of the slave-owners swept to power, and the velvet glove was discarded. The myths and false hopes which had buoyed up so many, and paralysed so many more, suddenly went down the drain. People began to realise that they would have to struggle and fight for their rights, it was a bad season for Quislings or collaborators and "tried-and-tested" leaders. The Native Representative Council, which was already on its deathbed, received a mortal blow: the Coloured Advisory Council, whose neck had been broken in 1943-4 already, went down with its sire, the United Party. Today, there is no room in which those who collaborate with the oppressor, can manoeuvre. For today, everyone speaks of non-collaboration with the machinery of oppression; everyone speaks of the unity of the oppressed people. No matter what the organisational weaknesses may be at the moment, the idea of unity of African, Coloured and Indian, has at long last taken root, and every fresh attack by the ruling-class serves to fertilise and nurture the young plant. It cannot be long now, before Unity becomes a living reality in the everyday lives of the people in field and factory, and on a national scale. Thus the "ordinary optimist".

The "Ordinary Pessimist"

On the other hand, the "ordinary pessimist" looks at the very same signs,

symptoms and tendencies, but draws precisely opposite conclusions. He sees in most of them nothing but the gloomiest of prospects. He looks at the situation in China, but sees that the British are in Hong-Kong and the Americans in Japan. He knows that Anglo-American Imperialism will stop at nothing to retain a hold on China because, if they lose China, they lose the whole of Asia. Then will follow the Middle East and Africa, which means the end of Imperialism. So he is afraid to rejoice over China. In Burma it is clear that the British are actively plotting to overthrow the Burmese Government, while in India the Indian merchant class - in the role of junior partner to British Imperialism - is proving itself a worthy heir to the bloody tradition of Britain. In Indonesia, the treachery of the section of the leadership which stood for class-collaboration, has drowned the liberatory movement in blood. The severity of this set-back cannot be talked out of existence.

It is true that the crisis in France and Italy is insoluble in terms of capitalism, but that doesn't make socialism inevitable. It didn't in Germany; it didn't in the Italy of the early 1920's. And unless the working-class takes decisive steps to terminate the crisis, it will be "solved" from the capitalist side - by Yankee-backed De Gaullism (Nazism) in France and Yankee-backed Neo-Fascism in Italy. Marshall Aid may have failed in its major objectives, but it seems to have obtained sufficient of an economic, political and military foothold on the western margin of Europe to encourage Imperialism to embark upon a Third World War. Hence the Atlantic Pact. And while it may be true that U.N.O. has already spent itself, even the shell is sufficient to deceive many oppressed people and to keep them hoping against hope that some Charter or resolution or vote of censure may liberate them without the discomfort of struggle. As for the "Eastern Democracies", they are certainly out of the clutches of Capitalism-Imperialism, but it would take a singularly devoted idolator to suggest that they represent anything but a distortion of what socialists have always striven for, and their emphasis on the "national" aspect is retrogressive in the present epoch. On the other hand, the U.S.A. may well be exhibiting chinks in its armour, but these are relatively insignificant at the present time and cannot justify any prognosis of pending crisis on a scale large enough to effect the growth of an independent labour movement strong enough to supply a real challenge from within, instead of the periodic bouts of economic blackmail indulged in by the Labour Union Bosses.

When the "ordinary pessimist" turns to the South African scene, too, he does not find anything to make him delirious with joy. He agrees that the "general" election shocked very many people out of their indifference and lethargy, that old illusions and false hopes were shattered, that the Quislings stood exposed as never before, that people realised more clearly than ever before the necessity of building the unity of the Non-European oppressed, African, Coloured, Indian. But he thinks that, after a few months, they recovered from the shock and reverted to the bad old paths. He sees that there is still no real, functional unity, and doubts whether people really desire unity as earnestly as they say they do. If they did, then why haven't we achieved unity already? The Quislings received a knockout blow, yes. But some of them are staggering to their knees, cautiously or brazenly seeking to ply their old profession again. The Quislings of the N.R.C. (3) were unceremoniously booted out by Jansen en Co. in January, but they are still at large in the African National Congress and the Advisory Boards. Dr. Xuma (4) is still spending all his waking hours trying to effect a reconciliation between the tried-and-tested collaborators and their new masters. He is prepared to arrange a business meeting at any time and place to suit the masters. He plagues them with letters and telegrams - and for what purpose? To employ the old gang, to take the oath of allegiance to apartheid, to serve as they had previously served the cause of segregation. Similarly, the Quislings of the Coloured Advisory Council are prostrating themselves before the new master. And this is despite the fact that the war on the Quislings was most violent, most far-reaching and most successful in respect of the Coloured community. Life was made intolerable for the old crew of the C.A.C. and they were not only hounded out of every organisation, but they were politically discredited beyond rehabilitation. Nevertheless, there are new Quislings vying with the tried-and-tested collaborators for jobs on the "re-constituted C.A.C." which the Government is now appointing with its customary stealth. Indeed, the very fact that the Government is now sending out invitations is an indication not merely of its presumption but also of the fact that it feels reasonably certain of success. And it is correct: Quislings it will find, old and new.

Then, too, says the "ordinary pessimist", there is the matter of the illusions that have been shattered since the change of Government. No one would dare deny that many of the old illusions are disappearing

and, after trying all manner of easy ways and short-cuts to liberation, people are beginning to realise, in ever increasing thousands, that there is only one way, and it is hard and long. But that does not exclude, or prevent, the growth of new illusions. For example, take the recent fuss about the so-called Citizenship Bill. There were actually some Non-Europeans who fostered the gross illusion that the South African Englishman would feel himself so insulted and menaced by this Bill that he would make common cause with the Non-European against the Afrikaner. Nothing could be more patently absurd, but some people actually believed it.

Who is Right?

Naturally, we have not to face the question: Who is right - the "ordinary optimist" or the "ordinary pessimist". At the risk of gravely upsetting the victims of one or two University courses in formal logic, I want to suggest that they are both right. Not only that, but that they are both right at the same time! In other words, that there are elements of each viewpoint in one and the same situation, so that we cannot give an unqualified "yes" or "no" in answer.

Let us test the truth of this in concrete instances. Take, for example, the organisational state of the Non-Europeans: (a) African section. While the All African Convention has made great strides in providing a new leadership with a progressive programme of non-collaboration, the African National Congress is still a nest for the Quislings of the Native Representative Council. Indeed, it is because of the fact that the N.R.C. Quislings (5) are in the leadership of Congress that Unity could not be achieved at Bloemfontein last December, or when the two Executives met at Easter. In order to controvert this, someone might point to the Provincial Conference of the Cape Congress now being held here in Port Elizabeth. But I do not hesitate a moment to say that for all its wild and woolly talk, the whole performance is nothing but an opportunistic sham; it is a bluff to "frighten" or "stampede" the Nationalist Government into re-employing the lackeys they sacked in January. Or someone might point hopefully to the African Youth League, (6) the noisy, loud-mouthed swagger of the Youth League and its obstreperous acclamation of the principle of non-collaboration, cannot hide the fact that they little differ from the rabidly racialist and tribalist Old

Guard. In fact, there are definite black-chauvinist and black-fascist tendencies to be discerned under the cloak of their "Black Nationalism". Not in the same category, of course, there are even crudely "anarchist" elements to be discerned, with all the vicious faults but none of the redeeming qualities of the genuine anarchist. (b) Indian section. The Indian people of South Africa are, at the present time, further from Unity with the other non-white sections than they have ever been. This is a legacy not only of the disastrous Passive "resistance" adventure and the shameless sell-out by Nehru's "Mother India" at U.N.O., but also of the recent pogrom in Durban. (7) Today, this section stands in the greatest need of political education and re-education. (c) Coloured section. The Coloureds have gone a long way, further than either of the other sections, in clearing out the old political lags. The Anti-CAD Movement has given a great impetus to this task, and its cleansing influence has been felt right here in our own organisation, the T.L.S.A., as well as in the A.P.O. and all other bona fide organisations of the Coloured people. But the Quislings have found a new home for themselves in the Coloured Peoples' National Union and the Teacher's Educational and Professional Association. The Coloureds have to clean out quite a few rats' nests which were missed out in the general clean-up. But although the Coloureds have gone furthest in kicking out the old mis-leadership, further major development in their ranks is retarded by the fact that they are merely a little minority group which can influence development but not effect radical changes, and by the associated fact that the majority group has not yet gone far enough in wresting leadership completely from the Quislings.

Is Anything Wrong with Us?

When we chafe at all these little knots and grow restless because of the slow pace, we are apt to ask ourselves in desperation: "What is wrong with us? All other colonial and semi-colonial peoples are making great strides. Why don't we? Have we already become slaves, docilely accepting slavery? Are we already beaten, left without fight or spirit?"

I think we can, in all honesty, reply that this is not so. Not for a moment suggesting that there is any cause at all for self-congratulation or complacency, we may point to suggest brilliant and recent examples of our fighting spirit and our temper in the emancipatory

struggle, as the fight against the Government's Rehabilitation Scheme in the Transkei, as the Anti-CAD movement, the Alexandra Bus Boycott and the more recent Boycott here at Port Elizabeth.

Quite often, though, one is tempted to ask whether the Non-Europeans have become so "Christianised" that they always turn the other cheek to the oppressor. Have the missionaries been so successful in their baleful political tasks that we are prepared to put up with any kicks in this world in the hope of a halo in the next? But in answer to this one may point to the fact that today in the liberatory struggle there are Christians not only in the rank and file but in the vanguard, in the leadership itself. As another significant development, too, there is the phenomenal growth of Non-white, separatist churches as a symptom of the growing revolt against what is considered to be the Herrenvolk's prostitution of the Scriptures, and against the Herrenvolk's recreation of the Deity in its own, Herrenvolk image.

Root Causes

What, then, is really wrong with us? Why haven't we advanced further along the road to liberation? I think that it is, firstly, because many of us do not really want liberation as much as we profess. Some of us cannot be classed as anything else but a bunch of hypocrites. Under this vile system of educational segregation or apartheid, some of us have been able to climb into relatively comfortable positions from which we render no more than lip-service to the idea of liberation. As a variant of this form of escapism, there are the ex-revolutionary gentlemen who cannot, and will not allow anyone else to take a decision on a minor, local issue, before they have satisfied their vanity on the obscurer aspects of the situation in China or Peru. Often they are so loquaciously concerned about the whole world's troubles that no one cares to entrust them with any position entailing work or responsibility on their native heath. Sometimes, when I think of the various species of driftwood cluttering up our path, I wonder whether we shall have to wait until a whole new generation grows up, before the liberatory struggle becomes the one thing in our lives. It is with the fostering of this new generation that we must concern ourselves even while we are struggling along with the present flat tyres.

I consider that the second cause of our political backwardness is that we are too easy-going and sentimental about Quislings and traitors. We are soft-brained - or, maybe, arrogant - enough to think that we Non-Europeans, so sinned against, are completely different from all other people, in that we have no Quislings. We just cannot believe that our "own" people, perhaps our erstwhile schoolteacher or principal, would betray us. And instead of boycotting, isolating and crushing collaborators, we give them a chance in the hope that they will reform. Some of us, when our friends or colleagues are involved, forget too easily that we are struggling for our inalienable right to live as free human beings. Those of us who speak of "tolerance" towards the agents of the ruling class, those of us who are afraid even to boycott, might do well to remember that the time will come when we shall have to deal more drastically with traitors; nothing really serious has happened to them yet.

And thirdly, I think that we should remember that ours is the very first generation of fighters of the new type. We should look at the matter in perspective, and realise that the movement has not yet had time to mature. It is still young in the ways of political struggle; it tends to be unstable, in that it becomes too excited by minor victories and too easily downcast when there is a set-back or a disappointment with some campaign or group or individual. It will have to learn to steel itself, come fair, come foul. It will have to learn from the textbooks of struggle now being created in letters of blood and fire in China and Viet-Nam and Indonesia.

Fourth, there are still far too many of our so-called intellectuals who are purely formal and nominal in the service they claim to be rendering to the "people". They pay homage to the spirit of philosophy of education which we are evolving in the T.L.S.A. but are sadly lacking in the application thereof in the political life of the oppressed people. They still isolate themselves too much from the liberatory struggles of the working masses, and then become upset and panic-stricken every time a "crisis" develops, because they find themselves isolated and the masses insufficiently responsive. It is time they realised that the remedy lies largely in their own hands, and that tackling this problem of inertia, if not paralysis, caused by their isolation, is one of the most urgent tasks of the day.

Majority Rule: Some Notes (III)

The Cape Franchise: J.T. Jabavu: Abdurahman:(1) A.P.O.: A.N.C.

Sarah Mokone

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For virtually a century the politics of the oppressed people was the politics of liberalism. From the first beginnings of political stirrings amongst the nationally oppressed and economically exploited people of South Africa in the 1840's it was dominated by the liberals and this domination was maintained till the early 1940's. This was naturally facilitated by the fact that the emergent leadership had been fashioned and educated by the missionary wing of the liberal movement. The real basis for their adherence to the liberals, however, was the fact that they believed themselves to have been admitted to the charmed circle of civilised citizens on the basis of exactly the same franchise as the White citizens.

The Cape, allegedly "Colour-blind", franchise was the bond and this enfranchisement was seen to be the work of the liberal "British connection". Indeed the Magna Charta of the Jabavu's (1) and Abdurahman's (1) was the declaration by the Secretary of State for Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle, which accompanied the grant of Representative Government to the Cape Colony in 1853.

"Without distinction of Class or Colour"

"When the Constitution was granted in 1853, the Duke of Newcastle wrote as follows: 'It is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government that all subjects of the Cape, without distinction of class or colour, should be united by one bond of loyalty and a common interest and we believe that the exercise of political rights enjoyed by all alike will prove one of the best methods of attaining this. It only remains for me now to assure you that in transmitting to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ordinances which confer one of the most liberal Constitutions enjoyed by any of the British possessions, Her Majesty's Government is actuated by an earnest desire to lay the foundation of institutions which may carry blessings and privileges as well as the wealth and power of the British Nation into South Africa, and, whilst appeasing the jealousies of the sometimes conflicting races, to promote the se-

curity and prosperity not only of those of British origin, but of all the Queen's subjects, so that they may combine for the great common object the peace and progress of the Colony'." (Quoted by Dr. A. Abdurahman in his 1909 Presidential Address as recorded in the A.P.O. Newspaper of May 24th, 1909).

This policy of "political rights enjoyed by all alike" was not an accident but a deliberate and considered policy that was carefully calculated and prepared.

The "prized privilege"

As early as July, 1842 when the Cape Colony asked for Representative Government, Lord Stanley, the then Secretary of State for Colonies, in a despatch to the Governor asked pointedly: "...what is the proposed qualification for the exercise of the franchise by the electors and elected?"

At a later stage, at the instance of Governor Sir Harry Smith, Porter, the Attorney-General of the Colony, prepared a memorandum on the subject for the Governor. He said, amongst other things: :In proceedings to consider the qualifications of electors, I have to submit to His Excellency that it ought in regard to property to be fixed low. In advocating a low qualification I am not influenced by any notion that it is necessary nowadays to fight class against class, or colour against colour... I deem it just and expedient to place the suffrages within the reach of the more intelligent and industrious of the men of colour, because it is a privilege which they would prize, and a privilege which they deserve; and because by showing to all classes, those above and those below them, that no man's station is, in a free country, determined by the accident of his colour, all ranks of men are stimulated to improve or maintain their relative positions." (Also quoted by Abdurahman as above.) The view set out in Porter's memorandum was then considered by the Governor himself, the members of the Legislative Assembly, the Chief Justice and the two judges, and after study all of them supported the memorandum in writing. It was then submitted to the Colonial Office together with the collected comments for its guidance. It is on this basis, worked out by the Colonial administration, that the "Colour blind" franchise was introduced in 1853. The strategy was clearly to hide the real inequalities in Cape Colonial society under a franchise

law whose terms seemed to apply to all equally, irrespective of colour. This was the strategy of the qualified franchise. All would-be voters had to have a minimum of schooling and had to own property valued at a minimum of £ 25. These qualifications, of course, disfranchised the overwhelming majority, that is, those not of "European descent". As was the intention (Porter's recommendation was that it should be restricted to "the more intelligent and industrious men of colour"). Even J. Tengo Jabavu (1) himself at the end of the ill-fated appeal to the British Crown, Commons and Lords made by him, Soga, Abdurahman, (1) Fredericks and Leenders (1) and led by W.P. Schreiner, (2) against the Colour Bar in the Act of Union, was forced to admit then (the end of 1909): "In the Cape, 22 000 natives had the franchise, as against 152 000 Whites, and that was the result of sixty years working." (Lecture to New Reform Club. Reported in A.P.O. Newspaper 4/12/1909.) And so the "Colour-blind" qualified franchise placed political power firmly in the hands of the White minority.

This franchise nevertheless did feed the illusion that "no man's station is... determined by the accident of his colour", only by his progress in education and the acquisition of property. And so, till well beyond Union, the "coloured races" and "native races" sought to improve "the condition of the race" by seeking to enrol more and more voters through exhorting their people to progress in education and property. Needless to say, the real policies and processes at work in South African society, especially as the economy founded on mining developed, made advances in education and property ever more impossible for them to achieve. The reason was that these policies and processes sought always to reduce the overwhelming majority of them to their real status in society: the source of cheap labour.

Arsenic on the carrot

However, for the rest of the 19th century it was still possible to think in terms of increasing the number of voters. And whenever such a possibility existed the authorities acted to prevent the possibility from becoming a reality.

Part of the reason why the British connection was in favour of having Non-European voters in the Cape Colony was that it would be a means of ensuring that the "Dutch" colonists would not become dominant.

By 1887, when Rhodes was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, he was looking for support from these very colonists and was preparing for the formation of the "White Bloc" as the social base on which to rest the government of a unified South Africa. By now the "native vote" had become expendable and the 1887 Parliamentary Registration Act, in terms of its clause 17, provided without any reference whatever to colour that "no person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his sharing in any communal or tribal occupation of lands or building". And thereby struck some 30 000 Africans from the voters roll. Again, the Franchise Act of 1892 raised the property qualifications from £ 25 to £ 75, thereby decreasing - by the time of the 1893 registration of voters - the Non-European voters by 3 848 and increasing the White voters by 4 306. This decrease and increase respectively occurred despite the "compromise" that voters already on the roll should remain there. This "compromise" was a concession given to the Liberals Rose-Innes, Sauer and Merriman (3) in return for their support of the measure. Since his masters supported the measure J.T. Javabu would not oppose it. Taunted that he had acquiesced in the measure and that Imvo had become "a mere ministerial organ" Jabavu replied: "If there had been a party sufficiently courageous to table a motion that no change at all should be made, that party would claim our support. Failing this we had no option but to fall back upon the compromise which, maintaining the status quo, proceeds to legislate for prosperity of which we know nothing and care less."

The "Friends of the Native"

The matter did not end there. There was a move by a group of 'Coloured' voters from Kimberley to appeal to the Imperial Government in London to veto the measure as being in conflict with the Constitution of 1853. They sent emissaries to the Eastern Cape to get support for the move. J. Tengo Jabavu advised the Africans to have nothing to do with this move: "It is well known (that) Natives trusted Messrs. Innes, Sauer and Merriman to do the best they can in a difficult situation to safeguard their interests... To join in a movement by extreme men for an appeal would be treachery to friends who have long stood by us. Natives cannot afford to deal with their friends in Parliament in that way.

In the General Election of 1893, the "Moslems, Indians, Cape Men, Natives, Creoles and Coollies" in Paarl were organising to unite to support James Curry the Coloured candidate and in Cape Town there was a move to nominate Attoan Mah Effendi. The idea was to use the tactic Jabavu had used to get Rose-Innes elected. At that time there was a multiple vote system and each voter had as many votes as there were candidates. Voters were allowed to use all their votes for one candidate. Jabavu had organised the "Native voters" to use all their multiple votes for Rose-Innes and thus secured his election. The idea in the Cape was now, ten years later, to use this tactic to secure the election of the first Non-European to parliament. However, in 1893, still before the election, the Constitutional Amendment Bill was rushed through the legislature, abolishing the multiple vote and thus forestalling the election of Effendi and Curry.

The vote illusion

The vote he exercised, though increasingly insignificant in the total electoral scheme of things, had tremendous influence in regard to the illusions it fostered in the voter. He believed that he actually got his vote on merit and his vote not only showed concretely that things did actually proceed on merit even in the segregationist Cape Colony, but raised the possibility that others of his race, if they persevered in education and diligence, could also secure this "prize of civilization". And because there were so few voters, it was a rare thing and set a man apart from his fellows, from the "folk on the sand hills". A man had always to show himself worthy of the vote. His conduct had to be "responsible" and "dignified". This was the mode of behaviour befitting the man who had acquired the great distinction of a voter on a colour-blind roll. Since he enjoyed his vote in a British Colony, it reinforced his belief in British liberalism and justice imparted to him by his Mission education. The contrast with the "Dutch" colonies of the "North" that brutally declared that there would be no equality between black and white, neither in church nor state, naturally further strengthened the belief. Of course the liberal politicians who assiduously sought his vote and promised to work for his advancement, who were "sympathetic", naturally fostered this illusion even further and if only more of these sympathetic candidates could be elected why, then, the progress

of "the race" would be so splendid.

The voter became so attached to British Liberalism that he accepted the idea of "British Union" for South Africa as desirable even when it became plain that this Union would proceed only on the basis of his total disfranchisement.

His vote blinded him to the real status of his people and their real role in the South Africa that the British were creating to serve their Kimberley-Witwatersrand mining empire. He mistook the arch enemy for the friend, and saw as the great danger to his position that this "friend" would give in to the "Dutch".

He watched painfully from the 1880's on how his vote was shrinking how his liberal representatives were "acquiescing" in this whittling away of his previous rights, "doing their best in a difficult situation" and all he could do was to think of other champions from the same class. His vote tied him to the liberal parties of the rulers and he did not even think of an independent struggle. He did begin to think of his own leaders, but they, too, were tied to one or other party of the rulers.

J.T. Javabu

The leader among the oppressed in the 19th century and perhaps up to Union was John Tengo Jabavu. He was born near Healdtown in 1859 of parents who had been converted to Christianity by the Missionaries; he came from a family of "school people", that is, he attended the Wesleyan Methodists Mission School and gained his teacher's certificate in 1875 and went to teach. He contributed letters to the press and worked gratis as a printer's devil to gain journalistic experience.

In 1881 he was invited to Lovedale by Dr. James Stewart and was given the editorship of the Lovedale Mission paper Isigidimi Sama Xosa (4) which, according to A.P. Walshe, was "the first paper under African editorship launched by the Rev. Elijah Makiwane in 1876". He also continued his studies and in 1883 he was the first African to pass Matric. Around 1882/1883 Jabavu threw his weight and that of his mission-owned newspaper behind the election campaign of James Rose-Innes and was substantially responsible for having this young liberal advocate elected. Jabavu's attitude to and relationship with Rose-Innes is apparent from the report which he sent to the Aborigines Protection Society, describing Rose-Innes as "a young man around whom revolves the hopes of the natives

of this colony".

Jabavu's talents, first noted by the Missionaries, were now apparent to the political liberals and his loyalty to their cause established. He was now launched as editor of "his own" paper by the group around Rose-Innes who provided the funds. Thus Imvo Zabantsundu (5) was started, and was as Walshe reports, the means "by which he established himself as the most influential African in nineteenth century Cape politics and perhaps the most widely known educated African in Southern Africa up to the time of the Union".

Jabavu was an intelligent man, intelligent enough to know why he was given the platform of Imvo (5) and what it was to be used for. He knew also that backers back for their reasons and as easily as they provided backing they could take it away again. One can be sure that it was not ever necessary for his backers to spell it out to Jabavu. He knew what he was about and their ways were more subtle. Besides, Jabavu, as with Dr. Abdurahman a little later, was probably more of a liberal than his original mentors. He swallowed the steady demolition of the "Native vote", ultimately swallowed the "betrayal" of the Act of Union franchise provisions and finally even swallowed the 1913 Land Act which totally destroyed his credibility with the people and his usefulness to his liberal masters.

Jabavu as a good liberal believed that the people should be prepared to remain a minority among the electorate, if not permanently then for a long time to come. They should progress slowly indeed so slowly that it would not upset the white citizens. He accepted and believed in the liberal concept of the "inevitability of gradualness" and of not building up a reaction from the Whites. He accepted, therefore, that while there should be a "colour-blind" franchise, the responsible thing would be to elect "sympathetic and influential whites" who could influence the other Whites in favour of the "native races". This was the crux of the political strategy of the Jabavus and Abdurahmans: enlightened, liberal Whites should dominate in parliament and do justice to "the coloured and native races".

The key to this limited vision is to be found in the blindness caused by the apparently colour-blind franchise and by the position of the mission-trained elite that saw itself as above the mass of raw and uneducated Non-Whites.

Shameful end

The beginning of Jabavu's undoing came when he opposed Dr. Rubusana who had been the first African to be elected to the Provincial Council in the Cape. This was in 1910 and for the Tembuland constituency. Rubusana had affiliations with a different group of liberals from Jabavu's. He supported the "Progressives" while Jabavu supported the "Independents". Although Imvo criticised Rubusana (6) for standing, it did not actually oppose him and when he did win was forced to congratulate him.

Rose-Innes the Liberal "hope" not only criticised Rubusana for standing but claimed that Rubusana, by becoming entitled to a salary, a free railway ticket and the use of a first class compartment and a lavatory and bedding such as Europeans use, was antagonising the Whites and would "damage the Native cause and put the clock back".

In 1914 when the people were still angrily repudiating Jabavu's support for the 1913 Land Act (piloted by the Liberal Sauer, now Minister of Native Affairs) Jabavu committed his "crowning folly". In the 1914 Provincial Council elections he stood against Rubusana in Tembuland, splitting the vote and ensuring Rubusana's defeat by the White candidate Payne. Thus Jabavu lost the seat for the first and only African Provincial Councillor and doubtlessly pleased Rose-Innes.

The A.P.O. (7): Coloured Liberalism

By the turn of the century there appears to have been a number of "Coloured" political organisations. These were political organisations in the sense that they were concerned with the vote and more especially bartering the vote to this or that political person or party. At this stage the "Coloured voters" were not as well organised as Jabavu's Voters' Associations and their support was not at all as monolithic as was Jabavu's for the Liberal Independents. There was quite a variety of organisations: the Coloured Men's Protectorate and Political Association, the Coloured People's Vigilance Society of South Africa, the Coloured Peoples' Political Protection Association, the Coloured League, the South African Moslems' Association, to name some, plus a number of temperance lodges associated with the Liberal Independents. They were all at their liveliest at election times.

The attempt to form the A.P.O. (7) was an attempt to unify the Coloured voters so that they could use their vote for a unified and common purpose. Although the founders of the African Political Organisation spoke of promoting "unity between the Coloured races of South Africa" they meant no more than the Coloured voters and did not thereby include, for example, "the native races". The A.P.O. was founded in the Cape in September 1902 after an invitation to join, to form branches or to seek further particulars had been issued to the 'Coloured' Community by W. Collins, W. Stemmet, P.J. Eksteen, W. Carelse, P. Arendse and W.A. Roberts.

The founding Conference in Claremont, Cape, took the usual liberal line. Mr. Collins, the founding president, spoke on the need for proper parliamentary representation for the "Coloured People" but immediately made it plain that he was not advocating "that they should have a Coloured man to represent them", but he hoped that, when the time came, they would choose a man who would look after their interests. The A.P.O. pledged itself to obtain "better and higher education for our children" and, naturally, "to get the names of all Coloured men who have the qualifications to be registered as Parliamentary voters on the voters' list at the registration of voters".

Collins' presidential address in March 1903 declared: "This is the first time in history that we as a race are meeting together to discuss our own affairs" but this new-found unity did not last long and the organisation was irretrievably split, probably as a result of electoral differences.

The General Secretary, Matt Fredericks, performed a coup d'état and in order to restore unity persuaded Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, who was then outside the organisation and outside its factions, to become President and Leader of the A.P.O.
This was in 1905.

By this time Abdurahman was already at home in the liberal political establishment of Cape Town and had entered the Cape Town City Council in 1904. He was one of the most skilful of the liberal politicians and, but for his colour, he would most probably have received the highest parliamentary office. Instead he became the spokesman for his "Coloured people" seen as quite distinct from the "native races" whom he would not have in his organisation, despite the insistence of

Tobin, founder of the "Stone Meetings" (public political meeting on Sunday mornings at a stone at the foot of the mountain near St. Mark's Church) that the A.P.O. should be open.

Under Abdurahman's leadership the A.P.O. and the Coloured people faithfully tried to play the electoral game, worked for education, promoted temperance and thrift and established building societies but nevertheless saw their rights systematically reduced. They were enormously upset by the "betrayal" when the Liberal British Cape accepted the draft constitution prepared by the South African Convention, which made the Union Parliament the preserve of "persons of European descent".

Together with J.T. Jabavu and under the leadership of the liberal W.P. Schreiner the leaders of the A.P.O. finally petitioned the King, Lords and Commons not to pass the South Africa Act and naturally failed to convince the authors of Union that the segregated franchise was illiberal and un-British.

Yet even this betrayal, and the systematic reduction of the "Coloured voter" to his proper level as non-citizen that followed failed to shake them from their attachment to one or other of the ruling parties and to petitions, deputations and threats of uniting with other Non-Europeans if this or that concession was not made. Of the decline and exit of the A.P.O., more later.

The A.N.C.

After Union, with Jabavu's voters' movement in decline "after the blow had fallen", African political activity was in the doldrums. One of the first African lawyers, P. Ka. I. Seme, (8) who had studied abroad, took the initiative in calling a national meeting of African leaders with a view to establishing a permanent political organisation encompassing the Union of South Africa and the protectorates. In October, 1911, he wrote an article in Imvo (9) explaining the purposes of his call. This article calls for "Native Union", for exorcising "the demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongaas, between the Basutos and every other Native..."

The proposed organisation would give "the Natives" the "only effective means whereby they will be able to make their grievances properly known and considered both by the Government and by the people of South Africa at large. Through this Congress the Natives will have the oppor-

tunity and means with which to influence the public opinion of this country and to greatly assist the South African Statesmen who are working for the peace, prosperity and the development of the land."

All the liberal illusions were there. The idea was still to inform the powers that be (as if they did not know and intend the consequences of their policies) and to influence them to change (to change their hearts), as if the cheap labour policy did or could have a heart. There was the strongly stated desire to overcome the old tribal divisions but complete acceptance of the "new tribalism", the divisions between the oppressed.

In the event the Congress was enthusiastically formed by hundreds of delegates and despite its professed development beyond tribalism, established an upper House for Chiefs. The South African Native National Congress (it changed its name to the African National Congress in 1923) elected John L. Dube as president-general, Solomon Plaatje as Secretary-general and P. Ka. 1. Seme as Treasurer. (10)

Almost immediately the A.N.C. was in crisis, for the 1913 Land Act was upon it. This first major step after Union to reduce the African people to cheap labour and to destroy the economically stable peasantry that was developing within the systems of labour tenantcy and tenant-farming brought enormous suffering to the people on the land. Sol Plaatje in his "Native Life in South Africa" has chronicled the devastation caused by this law but his organisation had nothing to offer the people in their attempt to defend themselves against the enactment. Their liberal arsenal offered them nothing except their solemn protests, petitions and deputations, and these did not, as they could not, stay the march of dispossession, and offered no policy of struggle against landlessness except a possible deputation to England.

And so the people quickly lost interest in the A.N.C., especially as the A.N.C. leadership abandoned even their token oppposition to support the British Cause during the war. And so it seemed that this A.N.C. died even before it was born. The people's interest moved to newer kinds of organisations, organisations that were based directly on the workers rather than around the tried and tested well-known leaders of the people. The mightiest of these new organisations, and numerically definitely the strongest organisation of the oppressed people of this land to date, was that phenomenon that became known as the I.C.U. (11) which stood for the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union that was formed as a result

of the encounter between the Socialist Batty and the Nyasaland-born Clements Kadalie. (to be continued).

Majority Rule: Some Notes (VII)

World War II, the New Era Fellowship, The T.L.S.A. and the new Vanguard

Sarah Mokone

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For the oppressed people of South Africa political struggle began with their participation in the electoral politics of the Cape Colony in the final quarter of the 19th century. From that time until late in the Second World War when they took to "The New Road" it is difficult to discern progress along the path of political maturation. One may ask, for example, what growth is there to be seen from the time of the antics of John Tengo Jabavu to secure the election of James Rose-Innes in 1884 to the manoeuvres of the A.N.C.-A.A.C. leadership in 1937 to secure their own election to the Natives Representative Council (N.R.C.) and that of Ballinger and Molteno as 'White' "Native Representatives" in parliament? (1) In fact the 1937 election campaign marks retrogression, for it amounted to accepting in practice the Hertzog Acts while the voters of 1884 were asserting their theoretically and legally equal rights.

And yet there was growth and development. Slowly the people acquired an understanding that their disabilities were on a national rather than local scale. And an allegiance to "national" organizations such as the African National Congress and the African Peoples' Organization replaced their former purely local concerns. At the base of their support for the I.C.U. was the understanding that they had to fight also as workers. The I.C.U. showed, too, that significant layers of the rank and file had moved beyond the sectionalist and divisive leadership and were ready to unite as Non-Europeans. The decline of the A.N.C. and the A.P.O. and the magnetism which the "militant" stance of the I.C.U. leadership had for the rank and file were indicative of the disillusionment of the popular masses in the servile, petition-bearing, allegedly responsible, old style leadership. So, below the surface and primarily amongst the rank and file, there was a slow process at work. This largely subterranean process was enormously speeded up by the Second World War.

The background to World War II

This war did not suddenly "begin" on a day in September 1939. It was more the culmination of what may be described as a drift, building up to a rush, to war. This drift began at least with the 'Great Depression" of the 1930's, that severe crisis for the capitalist world order. The instability of this order, the enormous suffering it brought even to the metropolitan working classes (in Europe and America this was the period known as the "Hungry Thirties") and the push it gave to the growth of Fascism (the thirties saw the rise of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco) made this a period of fundamental questioning into the very nature of the social fabric. It produced a generation of intellectuals radical in their criticisms of dying capitalism and with a rooted hostility to fascism. Thousands of them from all over Europe and America rallied to the Anti-Fascist cause, establishing the International Brigades that fought with such indomitable courage against Franco (assisted by Hitler and Mussolini) in Spain. Hundreds of them went willingly "to die in Madrid" to show that Fascism should be fought every inch of the way. This wave of deep dissatisfaction, with unemployment, hostility towards social injustice and a total rejection of Fascism that carried the students and intellectuals of the metropolitan countries forward was not without effect in the colonial countries. The South African students and intellectuals, for example, were certainly not exempt from the ferment that drove so many to Spain, but they did not have to go abroad to fight fascism. The fascist danger was not a far-away Franco but Hertzog and Pirow and Smuts (2) here at home. There is no doubt that amongst our students especially, as amongst those who could take a deep interest in it, the Spanish Civil War had a profound effect, helping to clarify the issues over which the coming world war was to be fought. Those who watched the duplicity of England, France and America and saw how their policy of "non-intervention" ensured the defeat of a democratically elected government in Spain and guaranteed the victory of Franco could never become enthusiastic about a world war led by these same powers, allegedly to defend democracy against Fascism.

There is an ironic twist to the Civil War. The backbone of Franco's army were the Moroccans recruited in North Africa. Amongst the broad masses of the people in South Africa the fact that black soldiers were the main component of the victorious army was not lost. Though they fought on the wrong side, their victories undermined the current ideas of the inherent superiority of white people.

The conquest of Abyssinia

Before Spain, the Italian invasion of Abyssinia sparked off enormous interest amongst the oppressed in South Africa. It has been suggested that this widespread interest was the first signs of a political revival after the apathy following the collapse of the I.C.U. into warring splinters. Be that as it may, the war in Abyssinia aroused intense interest and widespread discussion.

Relevant to this interest was the fact that the Abyssinians were black people defending their country against a white invader. There was naturally a great deal of identification with the Abyssinian struggle, especially as the justice of this cause was so transparent. Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, became a national hero amongst the oppressed and his picture vied with that of British royalty for pride of place in their homes. The fact that black people ruled their own country and filled even the highest posts in the state with ability and dignity were not lost upon them and certainly helped to undermine the attitude current here that black people were destined, and indeed were fit only, to be menials and inferiors.

They felt the defeat of Abyssinia as a hard blow. They never forgot the failure of Britain to come to her aid. The myth of Britain as the friend and protector of "people of colour" was severely damaged by the impunity with which Italy invaded Abyssinia.

The run-up to the Second World War (the great depression, Abyssinia Spain, the rise of the Third Reich, the instability of a world tottering on the brink of war) had helped to loosen the chains of conservatism, habit and the belief in the fundamental unchangeability of society. It had taught people that the world and their lives were not only capable of change but were, indeed, in the process of change. This whole situation had helped to set their minds in motion and helped to erode ideas which had tied them to the status quo.

The Colonies and World War II

That is why, when imperialism officially launched the war in September 1939, it was faced by people in the colonies who looked at its actions and the ideas and ideals for which it was claiming to go to war with critical minds and with a rapidly developing awareness of the real issues

being fought out. The extent to which political growth had taken place in the pre-September 1939 period can be gauged, for example, by the scant success which the South African rulers had in their campaign to enrol the Non-Europeans (except the unemployed, especially from rural areas) in their army (naturally, on a segregated and inferior basis). It can be seen, too, in the refusal of Congress in India to support Britain at war and their declaration that the struggle for Independence was the first priority. It can be seen also in Japan's initial and dramatic successes in Malaya, Singapore, Java and Burma where, because the colonial populations regarded both their Allied rulers and the Axis would-be rulers as enemies, they would not defend the one against the other. Instead, they bided their opportunity to assert their independence from both sets of masters.

The actual official war period itself accelerated in the process. The war popularised ideas of democracy and of fundamental human rights because, so said the Allies with all the might of their war propaganda machine, this was why the war was being fought. In South Africa, as in the rest of the colonial world, the oppressed people accepted these ideas with an alacrity and a seriousness that for all its not being intended, was a consequence that could not be avoided. The Allied propaganda directed at destroying the myths on which the Nazi doctrines of the Master Race (of the Herrenvolk, that is) were based, necessarily undermined also the South African variant of that ideology.

Japan, Smuts and Segregation

The initial Japanese victories in the East already referred to had a special interest for the oppressed in South Africa. The defeat of the "white" Allies gave the lie, stunningly and dramatically, to the pretensions of white superiority. It was almost as if one could hear the oppressed cheer at the defeat of the white armies, as Malaya, Singapore, Java and Burma fell in rapid succession. The conduct of the South African rulers in this situation was also solidly instructive. In 1942 when Rommel dominated North Africa and when the Japanese invasion of Madagascar seemed imminent, with the invasion of South Africa itself an alarming possibility, Prime Minister Smuts, using the platform provided for him by the Institute of Race Relations, declared that it was "outrageous" to think and talk of "the population of South Africa as

two million" for this implied, he said, that "the Africans did not count or were not worth counting." Continuing, he said: "Isolation has gone and I am afraid segregation has fallen on evil days too." It was in this climate that there was talk of reviewing the pass laws and Madeley, Minister of Labour, spoke about recognising African trade unions. However, Rommel was decisively beaten at Alamein and "the tide of Japanese aggression dried up on the frontiers of India" and the rulers of South Africa felt safe once more. And so "the retreat from segregation" remained a speech, the pass laws were intensified and African trade unions remained as unrecognised as they are today.

Lessons from the Resistance

The war affected the outlook of the people in too many ways for a full catalogue to be practical. But no catalogue can be even partially satisfactory without at least some reference to the lessons learned from the war in Europe and particularly from the Resistance and the anti-Nazi underground. This arena taught and re-taught the lessons of non-collaboration with the oppressor, the need and the advantage of resistance where the opposing force is and seems likely to remain, from a military and police point of view, far stronger than the resistance. How resistance can be, and often has to be, secret. It taught also how important the collaborators were to the enemy and how the war against them had to be as hard and unremitting as the war against the Nazis and their Gestapo. It is indicative of the significance of this area of education that Vidkun Quisling, the head of the Norwegian puppet and collaborationist government during the Nazi occupation of Norway, contributed his name to those, even in South Africa, who had acquired infamy and popular hostility by their collaboration. In 1943 the C.A.C. (Coloured Advisory Council) collaborators were branded as quislings by the Anti-C.A.D. Movement and the term quisling is still today an important weapon in the Non-Collaborationist arsenal.

The term collaborator itself still retains the air of sharp condemnation that it acquired when used against those who served the Nazi Herrenvolk.

Of course, different layers reacted with differing intensity to different events and currents. There must have been few teachers and

students who were not inspired by the heroic resistance of teachers and students in Occupied Europe to the attempts to make them tools of the Nazis by forcing the teachers to indoctrinate the students with the Nazi doctrines of race and racial destiny and superiority. The declaration of the Norwegian teachers giving the solemn assurance that they would never teach lies to their pupils remains, even at this remove in time, a magnificant and moving document. There is no doubt that this tradition of refusing to become an indoctrinator even when such refusal could result in the ultimate penalty was an element helping to shape the philosophy of the oppressed teachers in South Africa, especially in the crisis period of the introduction of Bantu Education (and we include here its Colouredised and Indianised versions).

The New Era Fellowship

A factor which helped the oppressed to assimilate and act upon the lessons they were so rapidly accumulating in this period - and act upon them they did in the period ushered in by 1943 - was the coming into existence of a political vanguard drawn largely but by no means exclusively from the ranks of the oppressed intelligentsia. A body that made a major contribution to the growth and development of this mainly young vanguard was the New Era Fellowship founded in Cape Town in 1937. The N.E.F. was founded as a discussion club committed "to the spread of enlightenment" on matters of educational, cultural, social and political interest. This open forum was the form finally agreed to after an initial suggestion that the Non-European students at the University of Cape Town should form their own Non-European organisation had been effectively criticised and rejected as a voluntary acceptance of segregation. The history of this body merits some attention.

The N.E.F. was founded at an important conjuncture of international and national events. It came after the Depression, after Abyssinia, after Hitler and Mussolini's rise to power and as Franco was brutally marching to power. The ominous clouds of the Second World War were gathering for the storm. At home the oppressed were in the midst of the crisis precipitated by the Hertzog Acts, with the youth in revolt against the betrayal of the people by the old A.N.C. leadership. Already the Wilcocks Commission (3) had reported (1937) in favour of the

development of the Coloured Affairs Department.

It is not surprising that in this atmosphere the N.E.F. soon became an important focus in the intellectual and political life of the Cape.

Initially very many political currents flowed through it, contributing a wide diversity of political outlooks, attitudes and approaches to be propagated, debated, examined, criticised and evaluated. There was the initial nucleus - the group of U.C.T. students - and then there were people from every political grouping: These included young members of the T.L.S.A. dissatisfied with the Van der Ross-F. Hendricks bureaucracy. (4) There were also elements from around the A.P.O., increasingly sceptical of Abdurahmanism. And even Abdurahman himself on occasion went to the N.E.F. to teach youngsters their place. There were members of the National Liberation League and the Non-European United Front (episodic organisations running into each other, formed at the instance of the Communist Party of South Africa at this time in pursuance of their policy of "popular fronts"). In these instances the organisations actually provided a home for the disaffected Non-European members whose complaint was that their "white" comrades behaved not so much as comrades but as typical South African "whites" considering themselves in practice as superior to "black" communists. In accordance with their understanding of the Moscow directive that a popular front should be formed of all progressive forces against fascism, the leadership of the C.P., ever the left wing of the white working class, sought an alliance with the (white) Labour Party. In this alliance their black members were a hindrance and an embarrassment and the decision to let them work in a Non-European United Front provided a convenient solution. Members of the Western Province Committee of the All African Convention who rejected the path of collaboration of the old A.N.C. leadership, contributed yet another current to the N.E.F. As did more critical A.N.C. members. In and around this open forum also moved spokesmen for other radical and non-radical associations, some of the former proving not at all as radical as they had hoped or claimed to be.

The Vanguard

Out of the many currents that flowed through it, through study, analysis, polemic and discussion there emerged gradually a character and direction that was new and significant in the political life in South Africa. By

1942 we can say there existed in and around the New Era Fellowship a political vanguard drawn from all sections of the oppressed Non-Europeans, largely but not exclusively young, that had acquired a high degree of political sophistication and was articulate. They rejected the sectionalism of the A.P.O. and the A.N.C. and were already "striving to build a national organisation which will be the mouthpiece of all of us, Africans, Indian and Coloured, and will rally us to a militant fight for our rights". ("On Behalf of the Non-European", written by "A Few Non-Europeans", published by Trek, August 1942). They understood the need for a programme for National liberation and had, indeed, progressed very far in the formulation of such a programme and were uncompromisingly non-collaborationist in outlook. This latter principle was very evident in their attitude to the war where their point of departure was that the interests of oppressor and oppressed could not be reconciled and that the oppressed had to follow an independent path dictated by their own interests. The oppressed, they argued, could support neither the Allied nor the Axis "because they know they will still have to fight for their freedom from the victor, whoever he is" (ibid.).

The spirit of the approach of the emergent leadership can be gathered from the declaration in Trek quoted above:

"Our wants are very simply explained, because we wish for nothing less than full democratic rights. Liberals want to give us promises and the Communist Party arms. But we are not interested in either offer however well it may be intended. When we have full citizenship rights we will wax as poetic about the democratic idea as the most fulsome Liberal and we will defend it as well as any Soviet man or woman defends the U.S.S.R."

This vanguard had already acquired substantial influence in the T.L.S.A. and in the Western Province section of the A.A.C., and some of them were becoming known on the National scene. Their aims were open and avowed:

"...Our most urgent need at the moment is a national organisation like the All African Convention. We need it not so much to formulate our demands. You ought to know them well by now and we do not intend to compromise on any part of them. We need such an organisation to have all the Non-Europeans united solidly behind our demands. Every Non-European wants full democratic rights ... So we are determined to get every Non-European united to state our demands with one voice ... The nature of our times makes it imperative that we should muster all our forces and strive to

build our national organisation here and now."

We made the point earlier that the young vanguard, itself largely formed by this period, in turn contributed to the speed and effectiveness with which the lessons of the war period were assimilated. Their work in the T.L.S.A., up to that time a veritable bulwark of Abdurahmanism and the preserve of a reactionary bureaucracy, is a case in point.

The T.L.S.A.

Members of the N.E.F. were active in the T.L.S.A. from 1937 onwards and helped to intensify the impact of the war on the political understanding of its teachers by interpreting events, analysing developments and articulating moods and feelings that otherwise would have taken long to surface. The young vanguard, themselves part-product of this period, thus helped to compound its influence.

By 1940 their influence and support was such that the arrangements that the T.L.S.A. bureaucrats had made for the conference to be addressed by Army Recruiting Officers had to be called off under pressure from the rank and file. By the June 1942 conference the growth had been so rapid that the conference accepted that the educational disabilities were the result of deliberate policy and not of hatred or ignorance or misunderstanding. And the conference did not shy away from the implications of this standpoint. The following excerpt from a contemporary review of the conference makes the point: "J.S. Marais in The Cape Coloured People concludes that 'we have in fact done a great deal since Union towards strengthening the foundations of a castelike system with the Bantu and the Coloured in the lower castes and the Europeans at the top.' We are only too well aware of this, and the conference created political and not merely educational history, when it adopted the view-point that the low educational subsidy paid to Coloured and African children is one of the chief methods of building and preserving this caste system, and that educational starvation is what Prof. R.F.A. Hoernlë (5) has called 'an instrument of domination' and what several of the delegates styled 'modern slave chains.' Indeed, the conference went further and decided that since the low educational subsidy was intended to retard all the Non-European people, the task of raising it could only be successful if the efforts of all the non-Europeans were invoked in the struggle. Thus it was agreed that through Press, pamphlets and public meetings the non-Europeans were to be told

the truth about this 'instrument of domination' and to be shown that the fight for eductional equality will never achieve its end if it is separated from the general fight for full democratic rights for all non-Europeans. The T.L.S.A. is to go to all the organisations of the African and Coloured people, including the All-African Convention, the African Teachers' Leagues and the Trade Unions in order to harness them to a concerted effort for educational democracy." (The Stepchild Steps Out, by Saul Galant. Trek, July 1942.) With this rate of development, it is not surprising that the bureaucracy felt itself embattled and threatened. The events of the following year indicated how well grounded their fears were. In playing a key role in the reorientation and cleansing of the T.L.S.A. the young vanguard made a fundamental contribution to the political development of the whole Coloured section of the oppressed because of the leadership role that the teachers played in this oppressed community. To what extent the ground had been prepared for progress by the reorientation of the T.L.S.A. would be shown in the crisis year 1943.

Majority Rule: Some Notes (VIII)
1943: The Anti-CAD, beginnings of the NEUM

Sarah Mokone

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The year 1943 saw the most dramatic and far-reaching changes in the political prospects of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. The closing weeks of that year saw the laying of the foundations of an indigenous national liberatory movement committed to establishing an equal citizenship for the whole population of South Africa and abolishing the rightlessness, poverty and inequality of the nationally oppressed and economically exploited mass. It saw the political leadership of the oppressed wrested from those layers of the oppressor class, the liberals, who had captured it right at the time when the oppressed first began to react politically. It saw this leadership pass to a vanguard drawn from the ranks of the oppressed and exploited themselves so that for the first time in their political history the oppressed led their own struggle.

And, as part of this process, the year 1943 saw also the whims,

of this or that individual leader being replaced by clearly formulated demands and principles as the basis and guide of the movement and struggle.

On the surface

Yet, on the surface of things, 1943 began much as 1942 or 1941 had begun. The oppressed were divided, disorganised and demoralised. The majority sector was still reeling under the impact of the body blows inflicted by the Hertzog Acts and by the betrayal of the old A.N.C. leadership whose desertion had been given concrete organisational expression by the disaffiliation of Congress and its branches from the All African Convention (A.A.C.). Before leaving they had consigned Convention to total ineffectualness by prescribing that it should meet only every three years. The South African Indian Congress was firmly in the grip of a conservative bureaucracy drawn from the highly sectionalist merchant class. There was hardly any interest in the Congress from the Indian poor, the town and farm workers. The A.P.O. was discredited and rejected by broad layers of the Coloured people who had become completely disillusioned with it. Abdurahman had died but his ghost had not quite gone to rest. The Non-European United Front and the National Liberatory League, never organisations of substance, had virtually disappeared from the scene as the members of the Communist Party had become active campaigners for the Smuts War effort ever since the Soviet Union had entered the War. (In fact there was a working arrangement between the C.P. and the Government in terms of which C.P. speakers were licensed to criticise certain discriminatory Laws and practices provided their speeches also supported the war effort. In terms of this agreement Colin Steyn, Smuts's Minister of Justice, often intervened to secure the release and non-prosecution of Communist Party activists, even people like Moses Kotane). (1) The C.P. attempted to camouflage its support for the Smuts Government by demanding that Non-European soldiers, too, should be armed.

This was the position on the surface of things. As was indicated earlier, the gloom was in fact relieved by the growth in and development of the political awareness of the oppressed and this growth was speeded up enormously by the Second World War.

Articulate vanguard

Convention was wounded and weakened but not dead. It had a small but nevertheless real band of progressives who kept the organisation alive. To get around the three-year sleep, they petitioned annually for conferences. At these conferences they articulated the ideas of Boycott and of struggle against the Hertzog Acts and they propagated the idea of Non-European Unity. This band came largely but not totally from the Western Cape and were part of the new vanguard that had developed in and around the New Era Fellowship which was naturally an affiliate of the A.A.C. Prominent in this band were people like Dr. G.H. Gool, Messrs. I.B. Tabata, S.A. Jayiya, C.M. Kobus, B.M. Kies and Miss J. Gool. (2)

This group was woefully small and even sympathetic sources doubted their ability to intervene successfully in the affairs of Convention and the people. But the very weakness of Convention engineered by the A.N.C. leadership worked in their favour, for while they might possibly have been crowded out in a huge mass organisation, in the depleted ranks of Convention they were a force to be reckoned with. More importantly, however, events were moving for them, for the political ideas that they expressed were already in the process of crystallising out in the mind of wide layers of the population. They were not freaks born out of their time but a vanguard articulating an awareness and a mood that was already widely felt and was growing, even though as 1942 came to an end passivity and demoralisation seemed to hold the political organisations of the oppressed, such as they were, in a choking grip.

The C.C.P.C.

In February 1943, Harry Lawrence, the Minister of the Interior, after the preparatory work had been done by the South African Institute of Race Relations and liberal "friends of the Non-Europeans" like Bishop Lavis, and after behind-closed-doors consultations with Dr. Gow and the remnants of the A.P.O. bureaucracy, announced the setting up of a Cape Coloured Permanent Commission (later known as the Coloured Advisory Council, the notorious C.A.C.) and a special Coloured section of the Department of the Interior.

"At that time there was no organisation which had enough indepen-

dence or authority among the Coloured people, or which was sufficiently representative to rally them against these measures. So the New Era Fellowship (founded in 1937 as a discussion club) called a meeting to discuss the proposed C.A.C. and C.A.D. At this meeting it was decided to invite all organisations among the Coloured people in the Western Cape to send delegates to a further meeting for the purpose of setting up the machinery to oppose and struggle against the new measures to set up a C.A.D. and to disfranchise the Coloured people. And so the Anti-C.A.D. Movement came into existence with local Anti-C.A.D. Committees or branches or associated organisations throughout the Cape (where the majority of the Coloured people live) and the other provinces". ("The Anti-C.A.D. Movement". Issues by the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee, February 1958.")

The Anti-C.A.D.

The Anti-C.A.D. Movement clearly expressed the new awareness that had spread amongst the populace, for there was an immediate and enthusiastic response to its call "AGAINST the C.A.D.: FOR FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS" made in its very first pamphlet. This pamphlet breathes the new spirit of aggressive equality and the sloughing off of the sectionalist, segregationist mentality that had characterised Coloured political organisations up to that time and is worth quoting at length:

"In this pamphlet the 'Anti-C.A.D. Committee' is going to tell you the TRUTH about the Government's latest moves against the Coloured People, a section of the Non-European oppressed of South Africa.

"We tell you this so that you may be WARNED of the new danger threatening the non-European people, so that you will PROTEST AND FIGHT against it in your trade unions, in your Civic Associations, your Vigilance Societies, Churches, and in any political, social, benefit or sporting organisations to which you belong...

"WHY WE OPPOSE THE C.A.D. AND THE COMMISSION".

"We oppose and unconditionally reject the C.A.D. and the Commission because:

(i) We are men and women with the same needs and desires as any other men and women in this country, but these proposals are based on the despotic idea that we are not fit to be governed by the ordinary law or to take part in the ordinary legislative and administrative institutions of the country;

SO WE ARE INTENDED TO OCCUPY PERMANENTLY A PLACE OF INFERIORITY OUTSIDE OF THE ORDINARY CIVIC SYSTEM OF THE COUNTRY...

(ii) The Native Affairs Department carries out the Government policy of keeping the African in a permanent position of servility and the Native Affairs Commission does the scouting to find out whether to go 'Full speed ahead' or 'Half speed ahead'. THE COLOURED AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT AND THE CAPE COLOURED PERMANENT COMMISSION WILL DO THE SAME FOR THE COLOURED PEOPLE.

"WE ARE STRIVING FOR FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. When we say this we mean that we struggle for:

(i) FULL AND EQUAL POLITICAL AND CIVIC RIGHTS FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE UNION.

This includes:

(a) The granting of the vote to all adults irrespective of race, religion or sex.

(b) The right of all voters to be elected to a National Assembly.

(c) The right of all persons to travel freely and without restriction through any part of the country - this implies the abolition of the Pass System.

(d) The right of all persons to reside wherever they wish and to purchase land or other property in urban or rural areas - this implies the abolition of the segregation of the African (which already exists) and of the Coloured and Indian (which is almost complete).

(e) The release of more land for African, Coloured and Indian peasants.

(ii) Full and equal rights for all workers to form Trade Unions for the purpose of protecting and furthering their interests - this implies the abolition of all discrimination in industrial legislation based on colour.

(iii) Full and equal rights in, and access to, all skilled occupations and professions.

(iv) Equal taxation of all persons according to their income - this means the abolition of the Poll Tax and other discrinatory taxes.

(v) Equal, free and compulsory education for all children and the abolition of the present discrimination in subsidies.

(vi) Equal rights, and access in trade.

(vii) The equal rights of all persons to hold office in any governmental, administrative, juridical and educative institution of the country.

WHY EVERYONE MUST OPPOSE THE C.A.D. AND THE C.C.P.C.

"Do not fool yourself that the C.A.D. is 'not your concern'. It is very much your business whether you are Coloured, African, Indian or White. These proposals are part of a process which aims at keeping the non-European politically voiceless (except for ventriloquist dolls like the N.R.C., the C.C.P.C. and the Indian Commission), and economically segregated and controlled, and then at reducing the relatively high standard of the White worker.

"This process affects all of us. It was 'completed' for the African by the 1936 Acts; it is being completed for the Indians by the Indian Commission of Natal (which will soon be extended) and for the Coloured by the C.A.D. and the C.C.P.C. Then it will be the White workers' turn.

"So we must all realise that while these proposals are aimed at one section of the non-European oppressed, they are the direct and vital concern of ALL NON-EUROPEANS, for an injury to one limb is an injury to the whole body. We must not allow ourselves to fall into the trap of being artificially divided into three groups, oppressed African, oppressed Coloured, oppressed Indian - segregated even in suffering...

"So we have formed the 'Anti-C.A.D. Committee'. This Committee consists of all organisations which are opposed to the C.A.D. and the Permanent Commission. On this Committee we have political parties, branches of political parties, civic associations, trade unionists, churches, welfare societies, teachers' organisations, students and past-student societies and sporting bodies. There are Coloureds, Africans, Indians and Whites, men and women, old and young, on the Committee - in fact, all people who are opposed to the C.A.D. and the C.C.P.C."

"A militant national organisation"

Before leaving this first pamphlet of the Anti-C.A.D., we might quote the attitude of the Anti-C.A.D. on the crucial question of "a militant national organisation". The pamphlet says unequivocally: "Unfortunately there exists no militant national organisation of the non-European people taking up and fighting bravely any and every issue concerning the rights of all non-Europeans, African, Coloured, or Indian. If such a national organisation did exist, there would be no need for an 'Anti-C.A.D. Committee' - in fact the C.A.D. proposals would never have been made. More unfortunate still, such a militant national organisation cannot be created overnight, and certainly cannot be created just to fight the C.A.D. and sidestep the fundamental issues that we outlined in the section headed 'What We Really Want'.... We are to fight tooth and nail now, but we must realise clearly that we will never be safe from such legislation and we will never obtain full democratic rights until we have built up a militant national organisation which will take up the struggle of all the non-Europeans, African, Coloured and Indian."

Clearly the Anti-C.A.D. was never a Coloured organisation in the segregationist sense. It welcomed in its leadership ("the Anti-C.A.D. Committee") "Coloureds, Africans, Indians and Whites" and likewise welcomed into its ranks all people opposed to the C.A.D. and the C.C.P.C. It never regarded the Anti-C.A.D. as a national organisation but as a movement having a contribution to make towards achieving, in fact a duty to build, the militant national organisation of all the oppressed people. Indeed, this was regarded as being the most urgent and responsible task.

The campaign begins

The response to the call of the Anti-C.A.D. was as dramatic as it was widespread. The Minister's announcement had been made on the 18th January 1943. The N.E.F. public lecture on "The C.A.D. - The New Fraud" was delivered on the 11th of February 1943, where it was decided to call a meeting of representatives of organisations. This meeting at which the "Anti-C.A.D. Committee" was constituted (among elected were Dr. G.H. Gool, Miss H. Ahmed, A.J.B. Desmore, B.M. Kies, E.C. Roberts, Rev. D.M. Wessels, I.B. Tabata, S. Edross, A. Fataar) (3) took place on the 28th February and

virtually immediately a massive and intensive campaign was launched. At the beginning of April the Anti-C.A.D. Committee could, in defiantly throwing the Minister's claim that the Anti-C.A.D. was but a "small noisy coterie" back in his face, point out that "from all over the country mighty protest meetings against the C.A.D. and C.A.C. have taken and still are taking place, where the people are unanimous against these measures. BUT NOT ONE MEETING HAS TAKEN PLACE WHERE THE PEOPLE SUPPORTED THE SCHEME. The quislings dare not call a meeting..." (Bulletin No. 2, 5th April '43).

Such indeed, was the response to the Anti-C.A.D. lead that they could militantly reply to the Minister's threat to use his power to confine them to concentration camps: "The Coloured community is not going to be frightened by his threat. There are far too many that he will have to intern. Because it is not a movement of just 'a small, noisy coterie', as he says, but a spontaneous mass movement of a whole people roused in wrath and anger to defend their last remaining rights..." The same Bulletin reported "There are at present 43 organisations represented and their number is still increasing." Bulletin No. 3 (8th April 1943) reported that the following Branches of the T.L.S.A. had rejected the C.A.C. and its Men and were affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D.: Kimberley, Cradock, Orange River, Athlone, Claremont, Saron, Goodwood-Vasco, Wellington and Cape Town. This Bulletin also advertised the following list of Public Meetings:

"Thursday, 8th April, Maitland Town Hall.
Saturday, 19th, April, Foresters Hall, Paarl.
Monday, 12th April, A.M.E. Church Hall.
Diep River.
Thursday, 15th April, Grand Hall, City Hall,
Cape Town.
Friday, 16th April, Malmesbury.
Monday, 19th, April, Stellenbosch.
Tuesday, 20th April, Vigilance Hall, Grassy
Park".

This gives some idea of the intensity of the campaign waged by the Anti-C.A.D., relying totally on voluntary, unpaid part-time workers. By the 20th May 1943, it could claim the affiliation of 81 organisations and the first Anti-C.A.D. conference held in Cape Town on the 29th and 30th May was clearly the biggest conference in the history of the Coloured sector of the oppressed.

The boycott at work

By then the ferment had worked through the whole Coloured section of the population and virtually every family and certainly every organisation had declared or was busy declaring itself on the question of the C.A.C. and the C.A.D. The decision was a massive one in favour of the Anti-C.A.D. Every single C.A.C. man was opposed and boycotted by at least some of his immediate relatives; it was literally brother against brother and children against father. The majority of C.A.C. men were reduced to a miserable minority even in their own families.

They were subjected to a massive boycott personally, socially and organisationally. They were repudiated by the organisations to which they belonged and given the option to resign or be expelled. The organisations then refused to have anything further to do with them or with the C.A.C. or C.A.D. In some organisations this process proceeded with greater speed than in others but ultimately there was not a single organisation of repute that accepted the C.A.C. or its men. In order to be able to pretend to have some support amongst the Coloured people, the C.A.C. men were instructed by Minister Harry Lawrence to form their own organisations. It is in this way that Golding's Coloured People's National Union (C.P.N.U.) (4) and Van der Ross's (5) Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (T.E.P.A.) were formed. The C.P.N.U. long ago evaporated and the T.E.P.A. changed its name into the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (C.T.P.A.) and is still trying to rewrite its history to attempt to escape the infamy that clung to the T.E.P.A. from birth.

The first Anti-C.A.D. Conference called for the intensification of the boycott against the C.A.C. and the C.A.D., and there is no doubt that the campaign totally defeated the C.A.C. It was rendered totally useless to the rulers. It could not be used to make a single Government scheme acceptable to the people and, on the contrary, the intensive campaign waged against the C.A.C. raised the whole level of political consciousness of the Coloured sector of the oppressed, placing their feet firmly on the road to Non-European Unity.

Just as the defeat of the African people through the treachery of the old leadership in 1936 affected the morale and understanding of all the oppressed people (the issues would not have been half as clear cut for the Coloured sector, nor their determination so strong if they did not have the bitter experience of the majority sector before them) so,

too, was the success of the Anti-C.A.D. campaign not restricted to the political growth and morale of the Coloured sector. Far from it.

The Anti-C.A.D. campaign was based on the boycott. For the first time in the history of the oppressed people they used the boycott and they won. For the first time in the history of their political struggles they defeated a major scheme of the Herrenvolk. Naturally all the oppressed peopled shared in this blow directed at the common enemy. The victory was the more significant for the rank-and-file Conventionites, for in 1936 already the rank-and-file were for the boycott and so they could not but be most receptive to the lessons of the success. Besides, the correspondence between the N.R.C. and the C.A.C. was so clear that a defeat for the one was a blow at the other in much the same way as today a blow at Gatsha (6) would make K.M. virtually duck; or turning Gatsha, (6) Leon and Hendrickse (7) away from a funeral would make Reddy and Mangope squirm. (7) Inkundla, (8) for example, reported: "A campaign of great interest and importance to all Non-Europeans has recently been launched in Cape Town and is likely to spread throughout the country. This is the Campaign to fight the newly established C.C.P.C. and C.A.D.
... The Coloured people are determined to boycott the C.A.C." (Inkundla ya Bantu, 20.4.1943). Later (22.5.43) Inkundla reports: "From all over the country the Coloured people have rallied to protest against the new segregation measure, the establishment of the C.A.C. '81 Organisations have now joined ... Unity is strength. They know the dangers of disunity and how the government makes use of differences among them to weaken them...."

The Anti-C.A.D. and A.A.C.

What was also important was that the Western Province Committee of Convention, which loomed large in the emergent new leadership of Convention, was very much part of the process of the successful Anti-C.A.D. Campaign and the way in which the Coloured people rallied to the very ideas and policies that they stood for and which they wanted to and were beginning to propagate in the A.A.C. must have strengthened their resolve and heightened their elan. Success on one front must at least improve the morale on the rest of the battle field. There must have been more than one thread connecting the success of the Anti-C.A.D.

Campaign in the first half of the year and the special meeting of the A.A.C. Executive in Bloemfontein in August, a meeting of the Executive completely dominated by the new Convention Executive and which issued the historic manifesto: "The Clarion Call - A Call to Unity".

However, before the steps whereby the foundations for unity were laid are considered, the review of the early period of the Anti-C.A.D. should be completed.

The 1943 "General Elections"

The Anti-C.A.D. Conference at the end of May gave special consideration to the 1943 "General Elections" and what that minority of a minority who still had the vote should do. The debate on the matter was lively, with even officials of the Anti-C.A.D. Committee taking differing standpoints. At least one argued that the Anti-C.A.D. should not involve itself in the elections. The majority argued, and won the overwhelming majority of the Conference, that the elections should be used as part of the struggle against the C.A.C. This meant voting against the sponsors of the C.A.C., the United Party which was the Government party, which intended to take away the rights of the Coloured people in the same way as it took away the rights of the Africans and which "is at present the chief instrument of segregation in South Africa". In many constituencies this meant in practice voting for the Nationalist Party, though this was not support for his party but a demonstration against its rival. "It goes without saying that IN ANY CONSTITUENCY WHERE AN ANTI-SEGREGATIONIST STANDS IT IS THE DUTY AND INTEREST OF ALL COLOURED VOTERS TO VOTE SOLIDLY FOR HIM. In cases like Salt River or Woodstock where there are U.P., Nationalist and Communist Party candidates, it is the duty of all Coloured Voters to vote solidly for the anti-segregationist (Communist Party) candidate" (Bulletin No. 11, 8.6.43).

The main opposition to this line during the Conference debate was the Communist Party and its supporters.

They, of course, welcomed support for their candidates but, loyal to their alliance with the United Party, called for support for the United Party on the grounds that it was the lesser evil and was waging the war against Hitler. They bitterly attacked the Anti-C.A.D. view that there was no difference between the United and Nationalist Parties when it came to the Colour-Bar.

This Conference decision may be taken to mark the final demise of "vote politics" because, for the first time in their history the Coloured voters took an independent course. For the first time they did not vote for a ruling class party but demonstrated against a segregatory measure that was a fundamental attack upon them.

The malice begins

The Conference decision had a curious side-effect. Right from its inception the Anti-C.A.D. faced government charges that it was "a noisy coterie", a "bunch of communists and other subversives", charges that it dismissed with contempt and derision, secure in the knowledge that the known fact of its character as an immensely popular united front of all types of organisations was its most effective reply. In early May, for example, it could say: "The opposition (i.e. to the C.A.C. - Ed.) has assumed gigantic dimensions, so what does it matter ... if trap-boys and other knaves in the 'Sun' insinuate one week that 'the 4th International' is behind the Anti-C.A.D. Movement, and the next week that it is the Communist Party? What does it matter if they seduce one more A.P.O. official. WHAT DOES ALL THIS MATTER SO LONG AS THE PEOPLE ARE BEHIND THE ANTI-C.A.D. MOVEMENT, AND SO LONG AS THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT THERE IS NOT ANY SINGLE ORGANISATION BEHIND IT, BUT IT'S THEMSELVES AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS" (Bulletin No. 8, 12.5.1943).

In the aftermath of the Conference decision to use the election to vote against the C.A.C., the United Party intensified its propaganda cry that the C.P. had organised and was leading the Anti-C.A.D. Bulletin No. 12 (19th June 1943) replied: "They know it is untrue to say that a Communist coterie started the Anti-C.A.D. for election purposes. In all fairness to the Communist Party and their candidates in the Election it must be stated in their exoneration, (i) That the Anti-C.A.D. Movement was started long before anyone dreamed of a General Election; (ii) the C.P. and their supporters joined the Anti-C.A.D. 6 weeks after the body was formed, when our campaign was already in full swing; (iii) That never has the C.P. been in the forefront of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement; (iv) That their resolution at the National Anti-C.A.D. Conference which virtually called for the support of the U.P. where there is a straight fight between the U.P. and the Nationalist Party, was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Conference, as being unacceptable. So much

for the lie that the Anti-C.A.D. is a Communist Party show! The conference expressly affirmed its INDEPENDENCE AND DETACHMENT FROM ANY POLITICAL PARTY, AND THEREFORE, WE ARE NOT CONCERNED WITH WHAT THIS OR THAT PARTY THINKS SHOULD BE THE POLICY OF THE ANTI-C.A.D. MOVEMENT: THE CONFERENCE HAS DECIDED THIS POLICY." The malicious charge that the Anti-C.A.D. was really a front for "Communists", "Subversives", "Trotskyists", "Fourth Internationalists" and so on, was begun by the Government but soon became the hallmark of the hysterical liberal opposition to the movement. That this malice has not abated to this day is apparent from the rash of academic poison pens being wielded by liberals of all skin colours.
(To be continued)

The Wearing of the Black
Some notes on the Politics of Fashion - Frans Solomons

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The term "Black" has become one of the most popular political terms ever to gain currency in South Africa in recent times. And that in a country where counterfeiting political terms is virtually a secondary industry. "Black" may or may not be beautiful, but political fashion it certainly is.

Everybody who is anything in the official line-up loves it. The "English-language Press" loves it as much as Mr. Vorster does, (1) which is as much as the Progs (2) love it. White "Liberals" and young people in and around the S.A. Students' Organisation (S.A.S.O.), usually described as "militants", are one in their enthusiasm for it. Quislings of all known varieties, homeland, local and mere common or garden, vie with each other to sing the praises of Blackness. And they have a supporting chorus of careerists and opportunists in Bush College (3) Staffers and church dignatories eager to rise in the ranks of the hierarchy. Location and business tycoons are in on the act too, because for them as well "Black could be very beautiful" (business of course), if properly handled. This fashion certainly merits some attention.

Mask and Myth

In South Africa the rulers have always defined the population in racial terms and this racial classification serves a dual purpose. It is used to mask the real politico-economic and social stratification in South African society, presenting the cleavage between the haves and the have-nots, the citizens and the non-citizens, as being the difference between "Europeans" and "Non-Europeans". And, in pursuit of the indispensable policy of divide-and-rule, the mythology of race has been used to further divide the Non-citizens into different "races" or various "nations" (as yesterday's race groups are officially labelled at the moment).

The usefulness of the racial mask which South African inequality wears may perhaps be very readily grasped by posing the question: How long would the system have lasted if it had been openly based on the proposition, direct and naked, that South African society could survive only if eighty per cent of the population were to be, and were always to remain devoid of political rights, landless, poor to the point of malnutrition and starvation, subject to pass laws, herded into locations and compounds and generally treated as social outcasts? How long, indeed!

It has always, therefore, been of the utmost importance to the rulers of South Africa that the oppressed people should accept a different status for Europeans and for Non-Europeans. And that they should accept the further balkanization of the Non-Europeans.

A name for all Seasons

Initially, the Non-Europeans were crudely and arrogantly dismissed as Kaffirs, Hottentots, Bushmen and (historically later) Coolies (4). Because of the contempt and abuse explicit in these terms they were unacceptable to the Oppressed, consonant with the growth of an awareness and rejection of their Oppression. This gave rise to the fear among the more sensitive and far-seeing layers of servants of the rulers in the main their Liberal-Missionary wing that this rejection of insulting terms could deepen and broaden into a questioning and rejection of the whole conception that underlay and nurtured those terms. It was precisely to head off such a development that, under their tutelage, Kaffirs became Natives, Hottentots became Coloured People and Coolies became Asiatics. These pioneers and founders of the "Race Relations" and "Inter-

racial Studies" industries sought and found terms more acceptable to the people at that stage and taught the rulers to accept those terms. The rationale was that these terms were the vehicles for the conceptions it was essential that the Oppressed be made to accept. Rejected and discredited terms cannot be effective vehicles for carrying the ideas of the dominant section.

And so, even though sections of the dominant group actually in power were not prepared to accept such terms, when political developments among the Oppressed rendered "Native" ineffectual for the function it had to perform, the Liberals pioneered the use of the term "African", which was of course far less objectionable than Kaffir or Native but was nevertheless used to denote a racial category.

World War II and After

During the World War II and post-war period, with the emergence and rapid development of a Liberatory Movement, even such racial categories were rejected. The Non-Europeans were united not on the basis of their "race" and not against "Europeans" or "Whites" but on the basis of a struggle for a full and equal citizenship for all people without regard to their so-called race. A non-racial democracy was proclaimed as the goal, in contradistinction to the multi-racial democracy espoused by Liberals (of all skin pigments), which clearly kept the "race" mask on the face of inequality. The idea was put forward, accepted and elaborated of one single nation in South Africa: a nation to which every person who regarded South Africa as his homeland belonged equally...

In the face of the growth of such liberatory ideas which were transforming the face of South African politics and which had the potential for inspiring fundamental change, the rulers embarked on an intensive and elaborately detailed plan for revalidating the ideas of race in South African politics. On the level of direct politics the plan was a self-government (Bantustan) fraud. And on the level of education it was the policy of Eiselen-De Vos (5) Malan schooling. Their reply to the idea of one South African nation indivisible was the doctrine of a multi-national South Africa with its White Nation and with a number of ethnic-nations-in-the-process-of-being-led-to-nationhood by that White Nation: nations-to-be, such as a Xhosa nation, Coloured nation, Zulu nation, Griqua nation and so on.

This attempt did not succeed directly. Indeed in direct terms it has failed miserably. There are no significant groups of people anywhere in this land who really believe in this fable of many nations and live by it. In an oblique way, however, it has had a limited success.

Permanent Emergency Period

Despite the opposition of the people (and it should be remembered this was in the main the period described as that of "permanent emergency" in which open opposition was seldom possible) Eiselen-De Vos Malan schooling was introduced. The Bantu-Coloured- and Indian Affairs Departments took over physical control of the schools, prescribed new syllabuses and textbooks, established and staffed Bush Colleges. Despite the opposition of the people, and invariably under conditions of control by permanent emergency regulations, Tribal Authorities were established. "Homelands" with their "legislative assemblies" were proclaimed and given authority over the day-to-day living of people, controlling, for example their land allotments, labour permits, pensions and disability or other grants, schools and such like. It was all done by administrative means, giving the people no say or choice and making the new order of things a fact of their daily lives. And while all this was being done the full power of the State was invoked to harry and grind the broad liberatory movement into the dust and to crush all political dissent.

The establishment of this huge apartheid machinery has created a category of Non-White administrators who are in day-to-day authority over their fellow oppressed: civil servants in the Bantustans, in Indian Affairs and Coloured Administration, in Bush College staffers and school administration, paid members of dummy councils and a host of similar breeds. It created, in brief, a social base - when reinforced by location traders, leaders of separatist churches of sections of Established churches - for the doctrine of Black Consciousness.

Black Consciousness

"Black Consciousness" in fact shares with the Holy Roman Empire the distinction of having each of its parts in contradiction to the rest.

As the one was neither Holy nor Roman nor an Empire, the other is neither Black nor conscious in any progressive or liberatory sense. Black Consciousness is an am b i v a l e n t doctrine, and it suits a category of persons who are middlemen between the rulers and the "masses" and occupy an ambivalent social position. Black Consciousnes is to all appearances anti-White and thus gives the impression of being against the establishment. It is avowedly racial and therefore serves the status quo. It is in effect the ideal doctrine for quislings and collaborators on all levels, because it provides them with the means of facing in two directions at the same time. In the presence of their masters they trade on the apartheid side of their doctrine of racial exclusiveness; and in the face of the people they pretend that the anti-White character of the doctrine means opposition to apartheid and oppression.

They are thus enabled to work apartheid while appearing to oppose it. The demand for a "Black" Rector, a recognised Students' Representative Council and increased "Black" staff at the Bellville Bush College is a case in point. The Rulers have cause to be much happier with Operation Bellville this year than they could be a year ago. This is how Black Consciousness has served them.

In this sense, then, the campaign to Eiselenise has been successful. It has created a mood that suits Black Consciousness and has created a social base for such a doctrine. And ever wider layers of the rulers have begun to grasp the usefulness of this black doctrine.

The Old Firm

Of course, the first people to see its value were the churches and the Liberals. S.A.S.O. began as a caucus in the University Christian Movement. Those who gave the country Natives when Kaffirs was no longer suitable, and who produced Africans when Natives was played out, have now given birth to Blacks because Bantu just could not begin to do the job that has to be done.

They were followed by the Bush College Administrators who, in practice, saw the usefullness and potential of Black Consciousness. Then the "English language Press" and the Progs. (6) saw the Black light, and now even Mr. and Dr. Vorster and the Nationalist Party have come to realise that this is a development that favours them.

The Name and the Thing

The protagonists of this doctrine try hard to give it a progressive (small "p") colouration. They claim that describing themselves as "Black" asserts their equality, To be Non-White, they say, is to define yourself in terms of "White" and thereby implies the primacy of "White". They claim that they are Blacks and that Whites are Non-Blacks. This is, of course, to miss the point. By calling Non-Whites by any other name you do not change the thing described. What has to be rejected is not the name but the thing (and it is a thing) to which the name is given. And that is precisely what is not done.

They accept racial categories for "Black" is as much a racial category as is "White". In any case, when it comes to the question as to which are the least offensive terms, how clean is "Black"? Is it not congenitally and historically and functionally a designation to which contempt and abuse has always stuck and still sticks, both here and in America? Is it not rooted in slavery and colonialism and continuing imperialism?

"Black" is a name for a racial category and suits the rulers of South Africa, for it is an acceptance of race and, therefore, not in conflict with the status quo. The term "Black South Africans" suits the rulers too, because it serves them by validating the term and the conception "White South African". At the same time it gives respectability to their policy of separate freedoms for these separate identities, and credence to the latest racist sophistry about the alleged differences between differentiation and discrimination. In reverse, Black Consciousness accepts that type of alleged difference too.

However, when it comes to terms to describe ourselves at the present time and under the continuing conditions, there are problems. Certainly there is no usable term that is entirely acceptable and free from problems. For an oppressed people struggling to be free, there is no political toorwoord. (7) But "Black", because of its ineradicable racialism and chauvinism and political opportunism is most certainly not acceptable to people who believe in and work for non-racial democracy.

"Black Consciousness": A Reactionary Tendency (II)

Transplantation, Impact and Political Godparents - Mildred Poswa

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It is significant that the BC movement (1) in South Africa arose as breakaway or ostensibly breakaway groups from Liberal bodies. We refer, of course, to its gestation in the University Christian Movement and in Nusas. For, unless the contrary should be demonstrably clear, it must be assumed (and it can be proved) that the BC movement has retained the basic Liberal direction in spite of a change in terminology.

The Liberal connection is by definition and Imperial connection and until that link is severed the BC movement (1) viewed as a whole can only serve to channel the ideas of a powerful exploitation oligarchy into the stream of the political consciousness of the non-citizen mass. And the fact is that by the early 'sixties the oppressed had slowly and haltingly begun to understand who their real enemies are after having trodden a long, long, path full of bitter detours. A movement which - intentionally or not - compels the oppressed to retreat along the same path is performing a reactionary function.

Let there be no misunderstanding. One speaks of the BC movement, (1) well knowing that there is no formal movement by this name. One is also aware that very many - especially of the younger people - associated with this "movement" would shrink back from the abyss of racism implied by the popular interpretation of its ideology if they knew or took the trouble to learn the history of the new road which the liberation movement in South Africa decided on in the early 'forties. One can but hope that such people, in the light of the practical lessons being taught them almost daily, internally and elsewhere, will cast off the irritation and bitterness they have so often shown when some of their cherished articles of faith have been examined, questioned or condemned.

Three Factors

Concerning the transplantation of BC (1) to South African soil, it is important to understand the following factors:

(a) That the ideas of BC (1) were first advocated by students of the oppressed

communities who had for almost a decade been attending tribal colleges. Hence they were attracted to these ideas because they seemed to hold the promise of a dignity which these institutions had by definition been incapable of imparting to the students. Many, if not most, of them also believed that the ideas of BC (1) could negate the arbitrary attempt to "retribalise" the oppressed communities and cut off the struggle of the oppressed from the apparent liberal leadership under which it had once again come as the result of the very grim period forced upon the broad liberatory movement from the early 'sixties onwards.

(b) That none (one assumed in their favour) of the students concerned perceived at the beginning that the uncritical acceptance of the ideas of BC could mean the blunting of the tools of political analysis and action which had been forged and sharpened in decades of bitter and desperate struggle. By now, however, it should be increasingly clear that the transplantation of this movement in the form in which it was accepted represented a decided retrogression from the point where politically - conscious people well understood the inevitability of caste solidarity in the South African context, while nonetheless laying bare in their analysis (and in the action which flowed from this) the real sources of political and historical motion in this country.

(c) That the Moeranes and their ilk helped to father the movement, thus limiting it ab ovo within the confines of reformist politics well suited to liberals and other reactionaries of all pigmentations. And well suited, at a later stage, to the hot courtship period of "dialogue" and "detente". If elements in BC have now in certain respects and in certain circumstances and instances been forced beyond these limits, this has occurred essentially because of the dynamics of the present situation in Southern Africa. And not because of a clear-sighted strategy on the part of the leadership - as apologists attempt to rationalise while retreating from emotive shibboleths.

Impact

We need not dispute the fact that the BC movement in South Africa at one period seemed to be making something of an impact, however, superficial or modish, on students at Bush Colleges (2) and, to a lesser extent, on the urban youth in certain cities. It was able to impinge episodically and

very peripherally on the day-to-day struggles of labourers in certain parts of the country, albeit after they had already gone on strike against conditions which were, even officially, admitted to be intolerable. There are basically two reasons for the relative success of the tendency:

(a) The political recession created by the cataclysm of the early 'sixties made it possible for any group which was apparently opposed to the Colour Bar and which demanded full citizenship rights, to assume a musculature for which it lacked the appropriate skeleton. The quintennial celebration of the "Labour" Party (3) in the Coloured Representative Council of its ostensible victory at the "polls" because of its "anti-Apartheid stance" (and it was and is no more than a stance!) is to be explained in this way. Precisely because some spokesman in the BC movement stressed at the outset that it intended to work outside the institutional framework of the Bantustans, it appealed to the dormant political consciousness of an intimidated people;

(b) From the very beginning the more discerning Liberals at home - in the Church particularly but not exclusively - tried to inspan the BC Movement in their family quarrel with the National Party and the Broederbond. (4) One of the unfailing regularities of South African history in the 20th century (i.e. ever since Hertzog (5) broke out of the Botha-Smuts embrace) (5) has been the depressing sight of incipient protest movement being dissipated by the fact that their "leaders", instead of prosecuting a consistent struggle against the Colour Bar and the sources of racial oppression and exploitation, tie such movements to the apron-strings of so-called Liberals in the latter's attempt to regain political control from the Afrikaner electorate. Some of the most militant and promising struggles of the oppressed have been defeated and some of their most upright leaders have been prostituted in this way. And in this instance it was grimly ironic to see naive BC youth being corrupted by Liberals who helped them, financially and otherwise, to shadow-box grotesquely selective Liberal targets.

Strategies of Rulers

But it should be appreciated that on this occasion the Liberal game was being played in a different political situation inside the ruling camp. After the Verwoerd era an important shift took place within the Nationalist

laager. And in consequence of this Vorster today represents not just farmers, teachers, civil servants and the labour aristocracy. He represents also the decisive interest of Afrikaans-orientated (and to an increasing extent all) secondary industry, agricultural industry, and finance. Indeed, the ghost of the Anglo-Boer War has been laid (and is allowed Hamlet-like out of its sepulchre only on certain "public" holidays). This is the reason why there seemed to be confusion initially in the ranks of the governing classes about what BC really was and how it was to be treated. Let us examine this question in more detail.

The National Party

The National Party attempted at the beginning to harness the BC movement to the ox-wagon of separate "multi-national" development. It felt entitled to do so both on formal and on historical grounds. Superficially - if one ignored certain non-tribal and anti-tribal flourishes and extravagances - the exponents of BC were saying the same thing as the ruling party was saying. Historically, these very exponents had been incubated in the Bush broiler-houses established from 1959-60 as the logical extension of Eiselen-De Vos Malan schooling. (6) Vorster's grand strategy for Southern Africa consists of the attempt to create a class of satellite black capitalists ruling over client "nation-states" and exploiting (as very junior partners of South African and foreign capital) the landless peasantry and the ghettoised black workers of this country. If, therefore, his stooge-chiefs and Chief Executive Officers could place themselves at the head of this movement it could well serve to persuade the recalcitrant urban oppressed to make their peace with the system which, for more than a quarter century, they had been taught to reject and to abhor. It is not so very unusual for rulers to substitute power for an understanding of the driving forces of history. As Tacitus said of certain Germanic tribes: "They create a desert and call it peace". The Broederbond failed to understand that the apparent erasure of the liberatory movement did not mean that they had before them a clean sheet. The direction in which the consciousness of the oppressed majority had tended to develop was not to be deflected thus easily.

The Liberals

The Liberals (Progs, Churchmen and Nusas elements), on the other hand, believe that the Broederbond's variant of divide and rule is suicidal or, at least, inevitably counter-productive. Precisely because the creation of bogus nationalities and merely conceptual "states" involves massive repression of the traditional liberation organisations; precisely because political decentralisation could yet prove to be the hole in the dyke of one of Imperialism's most secure fortresses. And also because the National Party's continued reliance on the superannuated labour aristocracy involves the short-term frustration of the aspirations of the lower middle class and the aspirant capitalist class among the unfranchised.

So they punted a "pluralist" rather than a "multi-national" model. In other words, communalist ideologies were to be encouraged (always properly motivated by means of "in-depth" research, of course); the ethos of "ethnic groups" should become the first commandment among the peoples of South Africa. Thus any movement, no matter how apparently anti-white, as long as it did not espouse "Communism" or threaten to change racidally the existing socio-economic relations, received and continues to receive their support and their patronage. Unlike some of the more naive "leaders" of the oppressed, the Liberal-Imperialist subject every organisation of the people to a meticulous analysis of its origins, its sources of support, its programme and its fundamental orientation. And they will publicise those "leaders" and inflate the images of only those with whom they believe it will be possible for them to reach an accommodation which will maintain in all essentials the plutocracy in which alone they are interested. These two tendencies among the ruling parties, therefore, tried to grab hold of the BC movement simultaneously. Hence the spectacle of Buthelezi and Co. (7) espousing "Black Consciousness". Hence the spectacle of a David Curry (8) talking about "Black unity" and a Middleton (8) squawking "Amandla". Hence Sonny Leon (8) (who has one foot in each back door of the Herrenvolk camp). Hence Beyers-Naudé and Co. (9) (At a later stage we shall look at the factors which induced Saso (10) and other organisations to react to these overtures in the way they did.) It should now be sufficiently clear, however, that there was method in the "madness" of the National Party in tolerating a purportedly anti-Apartheid movement, and of the Liberals in espousing what

they understood to be a movement both anti-white and anti-Liberal.

S.A. Society

In order to understand clearly what BC means and can only mean in South Africa it would be useful at this point to re-sketch the socio-economic background against which the liberation of the oppressed in this country should be viewed.

Superficially, South African society consists of two colour-castes, viz, a superior white and subordinate black caste. The latter is sub-divided further through the unequal distribution of privilege and opportunity into the intermediate castes of Coloureds and Indians and the lowest, most oppressed, caste of Africans. The white sector is itself divided along lines of language between Afrikaners and English-speaking predominantly. At a deeper level there is the division between the white employers and the white workers. We can safely disregard the intermediate divisions for our present purpose. The White employers are spread over Mining, Agriculture, Secondary Industry, Commerce, and Finance, but for present purposes these sub-divisions can also be ignored since the interlocking of interests is such that - at the level with which we are concerned - the sub-divisions are not really significant. The oppressed majority consists overwhelmingly of urban and rural workers and a significant percentage of landless peasants (commonly called "migrant workers") who perforce earn their means of subsistence in the capital sector. The true peasantry in South Africa is a comparatively small group of people, though this should not cause us to misunderstand the cardinal importance of the land question in the struggle for liberty.

Class and Colour

The employing classes used the historical accident of colour differences in order to keep the class of wage-earners against itself. A self-perpetuating mechanism of colour-caste oppression was evolved in order to keep the labour of the non-whites exploitable. In other words, by reserving most skilled, supervisory, and well-remunerated employment for workers of European descent while all the unskilled and semi-skilled work was allotted to the non-Europeans, economic competition and the white labour aristocracy's fear of being displaced were created and perpetuated.

Racism and racial thinking became the life-blood of this system at the ideological level, with the dominant group franchised and the subordinate group unfranchised. As long as this caste barrier could be maintained for so long could a low standard of living for the non-citizens (pondokkies, mieliepap, (11) rudimentary schooling) be justified and for so long could the wages bill of the employing cases be pegged at a relatively constant percentage of the value of the national product. For this purpose the propagation and perpetuation of the Herrenvolk myth (of "superior" Whites and "inferior" Non-Whites, of citizen and non-citizen) was crucial.

Except for a small group of merchants (located mainly in the sector classified "Indian") there was no class of employers among the non-citizens, i.e. only very few of them actually exploited the labour of others. However, there were those who aspired to do this as the result of the absorption by them of the ethos and the values of the system of private accumulation of wealth. These people, together with the traditionalistic, government-appointed and backward-looking group of chiefs, formed the social base from which came initially that leadership which was prepared to collaborate with the rulers in ensuring the smooth functioning of the system described above.

Consciousness of Oppressed

In sum, these are the basic reasons why caste consciousness (misnamed "racial consciousness") in spite of a stratified industrial economy, has hitherto always superseded class consciousness. Why, in other words, black and white workers (and even African, Coloured and Indian workers) have not been able to forge the unity which workers in other parts of the world have used so effectively in their struggles to create a new society. It should be clear from this that any attempt to unite the oppressed castes is - in essence - an attempt to forge an alliance between the most exploited workers and the landless peasants. And this is the real reason why the unity of the oppressed is anathema to the rulers, whatever party they belong to. This is also the reason why it has been all-important to understand that the nation-to-be-born in this country cannot exclude any section of the people, and why all ruling parties have hitherto systematically aborted the birth of the nation of South Africa. And this, too, is why the basic assumptions of the BC movement about the nature and the dynamics of South African society represent a retrogression.

Has a new "Middle Class" been Created?
Some Notes on "Blacks in Business" - O.T. Rajap

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vo. XLVII, Nr. 3, Oct.-Nov. 1975.

Today there is much talk among the Herrenvolk politicals about a "middle class" in the ranks of the non-citizens of this country. Originally this talk began in liberal circles but it is now common among wider layers. Indeed, recently the Cape leader of the Nationalist Party and Minister for Defence, P.W. Botha, claimed for his party the credit for the creation of a "Coloured middle class", and spoke of concessions for this class. There is no doubt the rulers are looking to a "Bantu middle class", which they likewise claim to have created, to constitute the social base on which Bantustan rule will rest.

Nowadays, this alleged middle class, together with the longer-established merchant class among those classified "Indian" (and its newly-rich accretions) features increasingly in the plans of the rulers for survival at a time that is for them increasingly troubled and difficult. It is useful, therefore, for those who have to analyse those plans, to have a closer look at this new "middle class", examining some of the facts and the fiction

Historical origin

The term middle class or classes, as historically understood, refers to the social group that held the middle position in feudal society. It was in the middle between, on the one hand, the nobles (and their instrument, the monarchy) who enjoyed full political rights and absolute privileges, and, on the other, the poverty-stricken serfs and villeins and sansculottes who laboured under complete rightlessness. This class, known in France as the bourgeoisie, also became generally known by this name.

This class it was that led the Great French Revolution of 1789, and before that the English Revolution of 1640. It established the Batavian Republic in Holland and brought national unification to various states of Europe. It was the class, that is to say, which led the great revolutionary struggles in Europe whereby Feudalism was destroyed and modern industrial society ushered in. The bourgeoisie or middle class

have given the world and all of us, therefore, the nation-state, industrial society, political democracy, civil liberties, the fundamental freedoms such as freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of conscience and freedom of the Press.

The other side

It has also given us in the colonial world, especially, the complete negation of each of these. For the European nation-state we have the fragmentation of Asian and African societies and the carving up of communities, peoples and cultures and the creation of arbitrary boundaries. For modern industrial society we have under-developed colonies bled dry and driven into backwardness in order to subsidise that very industrialization and modernization. For European political democracy we have colonial totalitarianism and the ruthless suppression of freedom and liberty. Indeed, plantation slavery, which drained Africa of untold numbers of men and women and brought riches to Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, England and America, is one of the particular historical contributions that the middle class made to human endeavour.

Fair is foul, foul fair

How is that the middle classes historically played such a contradictory rôle, contributing so fully to both progress and reaction? In the first place, there is the time factor. At different stages in its history the bourgeoisie has played different rôles. Generally speaking, in its early period when it fought against the feudal fragmentation of Europe, against the limitations and restrictions of the closed and static political and economic structures of feudalism, when it fought to establish the nation-state based on a growing and developing economy and governed on a democratic basis, it contributed to and virtually represented human progress. After destroying feudalism, however, it not only lost interest in further progress but, indeed, was opposed to anything that would disturb its hegemony. Its day having arrived, it wanted that day to last forever, even though those classes below the middle, as it were, the poor classes of Europe and especially of the colonies, were far from interested in calling a halt midway.

The key to understanding the contradictory rôle of the middle classes, how they could represent both progress and the negation of progress at different times and even at the same time, is to be found in the fact that they owned wealth. It is their attempts to safeguard and extend this wealth that determined the rôle they played at different historical times.

Voyages of "discovery" to revolution

Europe's primary contact with South America, Asia and Africa was through plunder, variously described as "discovery" and adventure. It plundered the riches of these continents: gold, jewels, ivory, timber, spices, wines, silks, carpets, cloths and, of course, people who became slaves. And as these riches flowed into Europe a substantial portion of it stuck to the greedy palms of the merchant-adventures. Many set out as bloodthirsty pirates and returned to be knighted. Europe was enriched, certainly, but certain groups more than others. The middle classes prospered on the plunder that impoverished the populations of America, African and Asia.

When the plunder became less naked and "trade followed the flag" (not forgetting the rôle of missionaries) the riches continued to flow and continued to benefit the different social layers in Europe, albeit unequally. The backbone of the bourgeoisie, the great merchants, was reinforced by the wealth of the great plantation owners when plantation slavery developed. And also by the wealth of those other beneficiaries of colonial trade, the then growing section of the middle class, the manufacturers. Plunder, plantation slavery, trade and manufacture caused the wealth of the middle classes to grow. And always it grew at the expense of those who had created this wealth, the colonial populations. This amassing of wealth by the bourgeoisie of Europe not only impoverished the colonial world but also stunted growth and hampered development, where it did not halt or reverse it.

But this bourgeois wealth was not secure. In law the feudal system did not protect it. It was not safe from expropriation because its owners did not have the political rights to prevent expropriation. It could not bear its proper fruit of profit because the feudal economic forms hampered its growth and fettered its development. The ownership of this wealth thus brought the bourgeoisie into conflict

with Feudalism and ultimately necessitated the destruction of the latter. Hence the English, French and other revolutions mentioned earlier.

Colonial and neo-colonial middle classes

It is somewhat beyond the scope of these notes to deal with the rise of British and the various other branches of European imperialism in consequence of the developments we have sketched above. Nor with their eclipse by U.S. imperialism. Still less with the emergence of neo-colonialism, which Kwame Nkrumah called "the last stage of imperialism". One point must, however, be made in connection with global developments in this century. Particularly since the end of World War II. Beginning with India, former colonies have, in one way or another, achieved constitutional "independence". A feature of the overwhelming majority of these is the flourishing of the enterprises of the former "mother" country and their interlocking of capital interests, their sharing of wealth with an indigenous comprador class (often described as "native capitalists"). In Africa, from Ghana, Kenya, Zaire and Ivory Coast down to Zambia, for example, this indigenous middle class forms the basis and strength of the ruling groups, classes and cliques. They get a rake-off from or share dividends with capital investors old and new i.e. from the former "mother" country and around the world's bourgeois cathedrals, the Stock Exchanges.

It is a matter of history, coming back home, that Afrikaner nationalism is a product and by-product of British imperialism in South Africa. In an economic and financial as well as a political sense. Way back in 1900, in his "A Century of Wrong", Smuts spoke of jingoistic capitalism as a "Modern peril which threatens to become as dangerous to mankind as the political tyranny of the old Eastern world and the religious despotism of the Middle Ages were in their respective eras". Ten years later he had joined the team, to become one of the jewels of the British Crown and anathema to "opregte", "ware" and "suiwer" Afrikaner nationalist. (1) But British finance capital worked hand-in-glove with the political wing which has plotted Vereeniging in 1902, and Milner's Kindergarten and Union in 1910, (2) and an Afrikaner capitalist or middle class was conceived, nurtured

and developed. "Created" would not be an inappropriate word. Today the faithful, no doubt, do not like to be reminded that in 1923 those present-day pillars of the Afrikaner Establishment, SANTAM and SANLAM (3) were facing bankruptcy (after a disastrous adventure in the Vrystaat) but were saved by that pillar of the Empire, the Standard Bank of South Africa, controlled from the City of London. Anyone caring to look into the real (as distinct from the official, chauvinistic) history of such institutions as Federale Mynbou, Federale Volksbeleggings, the Reddingsdaadbond, Bonuskor and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, (4) would begin to understand what is meant by the interlocking of "foreign" and "national" capital interests. He would find that the Afrikaner "middle" or capitalist class, which claims to have fertilised itself, grew up, firstly, because it had political rights; secondly, because it was a section of the Herrenvolk that constituted the franchised local managers of overseas capital investments; thirdly, because it suited the interests of the gold mining groups particularly to get it involved, to give it a stake in the entrenchment and diversification of capital interests all over the country. All sections of the owners of wealth in this country benefited greatly from World War II: in fact, it was the making of the Afrikaner section of capital. After the Nats (5) came to power in 1948, the Afrikaner capitalists flourished as never before under the protective arm of their government, and there was an increasingly prosperous three-way marriage with State Corporations (e.g. ISCOR, SASOL) and foreign shareholdings. Restrictive fiscal policy after Langa/Sharpeville (6) provided an extended honeymoon, with gold, platinum and uranium markets bringing bliss and more bliss. No wonder that, when a new Smuts statue was unveiled earlier this year, singing loudest in his praise were the purest of purified members of the Afrikaner middle class.

And this "new middle class"?

Of wealth, then, there is no real shortage in South Africa. The main owners of this wealth (i.e. local owners, as distinct from those in U.K., U.S.A., Germany, France and elsewhere) are to be found among the citizens. And, more particularly, their governing sections. The production of that wealth stems predominantly from the sweat and toil of the non-citizens, that ordained commodity known as cheap black la-

bour. The Colour Bar is the means whereby the non-citizens are prevented from having a meaningful share in this wealth they largely produce.

What, then, is this talk about a newly created "Coloured middle class", a "Bantu middle class" and a new type of "Indian middle class which has its heyday before the Group Areas Act began to work its havoc? When there is such talk it does not refer to a class or classes of persons such as we have been discussing above, a middle class owning wealth and controlling sources of wealth. Such a class does not (and cannot) exist among the non-citizens. The reference is to a buffer group between the rulers and the mass of the politically oppressed and economically exploited people. What is being thought of is an elite which is not in the dire straits of poverty and deprivation in which the vast mass of the people find themselves.

Of course there exists today, and has existed for some little time, a thin section of the non-citizenry working as teachers, clerks, nurses, preachers, artisans and the like. In fact, these peoples for the most part earn miserable and inferior salaries. But the infinitely more vicious underpayment of the mass of workers in field, factory, shop and mine makes that thin section look like an elite. More so when one adds to them the relative handful of doctors, lawyers, contractors and members of other professions, or draws conclusions from either the cars with which they escape the horrors of the transport system, or their bonded houses in the home-ownership sections of the ghettos. Not to mention the airs and graces, the petit bourgeois illusions, aspirations and habits of some of them. But they are not a middle class or bourgeois as we have outlined above, and they are not the new middle class the government claims to have created. For those we have to look elsewhere.

"Blacks in business"

For them we have to look among the segment described as "Blacks in business". First, we must realise that business here does not really mean business. It does not refer to banking or insurance. It does not refer to mining or manufacturing and capitalist farming, and not even to trading on the scale of the big merchants. Business in this context means by and large, a minor area of the retail trade. The major share here,

of course, is captured and kept by those who can employ wealth to capture and keep the bulk of the market: the big supermarket chains, some of which are linked directly and indirectly with the mining houses; the big national chain stores in clothing and furniture. The "blacks in business" are limited in the main to food retailing in those areas where they have a captive market: the location/township shop, where they can make a little extra profit by charging their captive customers a little more. Two things to remember here are, first, that the profit these ghetto shopkeepers make out of each item is far less than the profit made by the manufacturer or marketer. Second, a large number of them are little more than "fronts" for others: persons not allowed to trade in "our area" because of their identity card, city finance houses willing and able to back ghetto trade, and the Coloured Development or the Xhosa Development Corporations. Indeed, apart from the fact that they all trade by leave and licence of the CAD, BAD or IAD, it is notorious that the real boss and creator of this new "middle class" is the Government Corporation working together with the IAD, BAD, CAD, with BOSS and the SB, (7) with the various homeland "governments", Coloured Representative and Indian Advisory Councils. The "businessmen" are specially screened and selected and approved politically by those who permit them to share in the "business" of working the segregated areas, singly or jointly. In fact, getting sub-contracts or contracts to build location housing is a branch of this business. And, of course, deserving special mention are the liquor concessionaires. Everyone knows how the political good boys crowd this trade. Everyone knows how the Corporations are invariably the real bosses of these fancy location eating houses and boarding houses and the bottle stores with a string of shebeens attached. The main profits go to the wine farmers and the big liquor corporations and the breweries, to the real bourgeoisie. The "Black" booze Mr. Big Shots do very, very well out of it when their financial position is compared to that of their captive customers. But, seen in perspective, they are very, very small potatoes financially. They are in every respect the creatures of the State, and they are the recruiting grounds for the "leaders" Vorster regularly boasts that he has "made". He has, in a certain sense, "made" them - not leaders, though, and not a middle class or "Black bourgeoisie". Just a group which has been given crumbs within and because of the framework of racist exploitation, to work

that system actively or tacitly, to provide the mask of "separate development". They are hog-tied to, and do not and cannot exist outside of that system: they have got a vested interest in it. In return for the "profits" they are allowed to get, the government expects to get a political profit - their active or passive co-operation, now and as things get tougher for the rulers. This political return is really only an extension of the rôle that this group in general plays already; serving as the social base from which the Herrenvolk can appoint its Homeland "leaders" and Bunga men, its CRC and IAC and Management (8) Board Members, its "black" masks on the S.A. Foundation, the Corporations, the Boards of stooge banks and, in emergencies, at UN.

Eunuchs

There are two things particularly that prevent this group from ever being viable as a middle class or bourgeoisie in the South African set-up: the lack of real wealth and political power. They rake off a crumb "profit" from the Master's enterprises and they are involved in the Master's political frauds, being offered the sort of bribes that Matanzima, Buthelezi, Leon, Rabie and Co. (9)are offered, as well as those being dangled before the Chatsworth-Rylands-Lenasia "Red" or "Reservation" Indians, (10) as they are contemptuously called by the Reservoir Hills left-overs from the merchant class of the heyday of the Nanas, A.I. Kajees and P.R. Pathers. (11)

In so far as they are in the middle of anything, it is the middle of the no-man's land between ruler and ruled, the corridors and palaces of government and wealth, on the one side, and the poverty stricken rightless majority on the other. In no historic or economic sense do they constitute a "class". Only an opportunistic and generically collaborationist appendage.

From the Arsenal

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The 10-point Programme

1. The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
2. Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
3. Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.
4. Freedom of speech, Press, meetings and association.
5. Freedom of movement and occupation.
6. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.
7. Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.
8. Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.
9. Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.
10. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

Explanatory Remarks on the Programme

Point I. This means the end of all political tutelage, of all communal or indirect representation, and the granting to all Non-Europeans of the same, universal, equal, direct and secret ballot as at present enjoyed by Europeans exclusively.

Point II. This means the extension of all the educational rights at present enjoyed by European children, to all Non-European children, with the same access to higher education on equal terms.

Point III. This is the elementary habeas corpus right. The present state of helplessness of the Non-European before the police is an outrage of the principles of democracy. No man should be molested by the police, nor should his house be entered without a writ from the Magistrate. The same right to inviolability and privacy at present enjoyed by the European should apply to all Non-Europeans. All rule by regulations should be abolished.

Point IV. This point hardly needs explanation. It is the abolition of the Riotous Assemblies Act directed specifically against the Non-Europeans. It embodies the right to combine, to form and enter Trade Unions on the same basis as the Europeans.

Point V. This means the abolition of all Pass Laws and restriction of movement and travel within the Union, the right to live, to look for work, wherever one pleases. It means the same right to take up a profession or trade as enjoyed by the Europeans.

Point VI. This means the abolition of all discriminatory Colour Bar Laws.

Point VII. The relations of serfdom at present existing on the land must go, together with the land acts, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population, living on the land and working the land, is the first task of a democratic State and Parliament.

Point VIII. This means the abolition of feudal relations in the whole system of justice - police, magistrates and law courts and prisons - whereby the punishment for the same crime is not the same, but is based upon the skin colour of the offender. There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law, and the abolition of all punishment incompatible with human dignity.

Point IX. This means the abolition of the Poll Tax (1), or any other tax applicable specifically to the Non-European, or discriminating between Europeans and Non-Europeans. There should be one, single, progressive tax, and all indirect taxation that falls so heavily upon the poorer classes should be abolished.

Point X. This means specifically the revision of the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Acts, the elimination of all restrictions and distinctions between a European and a Non-European worker, equal pay for equal work, equal access to apprenticeship and skilled labour. This means the liquidation of indentured labour and forcible recruitment, the full application of Factory Legislation to the mines and on the land. It means the abolition of the Masters and Servants Act (2) and the establishment of complete equality between the seller and buyer of labour. It also means the abolition of payment in kind, and the fixing of a minimum wage for all labourers without distinction of race or colour.

HISTORY

The Early History of the Cape

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The following notes have been compiled from W.C. Scully's "History of South Africa", (1) and should prove interesting to our readers. In the early days the tiny garrison at the Cape were sore put to keep the fierce animals of the wildst at bay. The Cape must have been a sportman's paradise. Large antelopes of various kinds grazed over what is known as the Cape Flats, but in spite of the efforts of the official huntsmen, who were appointed to furnish the garrison with a regular supply of venison, the matchlocks of that day gave the game little concern. At the site of the present Church Square in Cape Town lay a swamp frequented by numbers of hippopotami. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is a Zeekoe Vlei just beyond Wynberg.

The first school for the use of slaves was opened in 1658, but was closed after a few weeks. A few years later another was opened - the first in South Africa for European children - and the sick comforter of the garrison was appointed Principal. However, he took to drink, and when a lion appeared obviously as a sign of Divine wrath at his conduct, he was hurriedly sent to Batavia.

During Van der Stel's governorship the population was already composed of most diverse elements. There were 1,000 Europeans, who were permanent residents, 300 who were not; there were 50 free Asiatics and Negroes, with their wives and between 60 and 70 children there were 287 male and 57 female slaves, and 44 slave children. About sixty years later there were no less than 6279 slaves. Horrible punishments were laid down for slaves. For many offences these unfortunate people could be flogged summarily by the officers of justice without trial. Curiously enough the code was compiled and enacted by a man who was distinguished in his generation for charity and kindness - Ryk Tulbagh. (2)

Turning now from tragedy to comedy, we find the same governor introducing the famous Sumptuary Laws. Ladies whose husbands were below the rank of junior clerks, had perforce to leave their dia-

monds in the trinket-box. No trains were allowed-severely cut skirts were the rule. Not more than one undertaker could be engaged; heavy penalties were enacted should more than one be employed at a funeral. And so on. It was Governor Tulbagh too, who first dealt firmly with the compulsory education question. A certain widow, on refusing to send her progeny to school, was summoned before the Council of Policy, and ordered to be flogged should she persist in her course.

In 1761, a gentleman named Joachim van Dessin, a native of Rostock in Germany, died in Cape Town. He bequeathed to the Colony his library, which consisted of 3,800 volumes and a number of manuscripts. This collection formed the nucleus of the present South African Library.

The Bushman (3) have always been held to be impossible to civilise. They were the true Ishmaelites, and from the fastnesses of the rugged mountain-ranges where they lurked, they occasionally ventured forth and preyed upon European, Hottentot (4) and Bantu (4). They had no tribal organisation, and consequently could not be approached peacably (my italics).

It was in 1780 that a Defence Force was enrolled. The garrison nominally consisted of 530 soldiers, but about one-fourth of these had been permitted to take service with the farmers, and when war with England became imminent, they were so far inland, they could not be recalled to the colours without considerable delay. It was the Burghers of Stellenbosch who responded to the governor's call to arms. Stellenbosch in those days was much more extensive than it is now.

A romance of the Umzimvubu is related. Shortly after the wreck of the "Grosvenor" a report reached Cape Town that three European women were living amongst the Bantu (4). An expedition was despatched, and ultimately reached a large village occupied by people of mixed blood. Here they found three ancient European women. They could speak no language, however but Bantu, nor had the faintest idea as to their history. One was named Bessie, the inference is that they are English, but the mystery as to what wrecked vessel had cast them ashore could not be solved. As they expressed no desired to leave the kraal they were left behind, and the expedition returned to Cape Town.

The Teaching of South African History in Schools - W.P. Van Schoor (1)

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 20, nr. 5, November-December, 1945.

In this short paper I have attempted a very broad analysis of the type of "History that is prescribed for consumption in our schools. At the same time I have tried to indicate the correct scientific approach to the teaching of South African History. I offer the following observations and conclusions to teachers in the hope that they will find in them a help and a guide to the understanding and correct teaching of South African History in our schools.

Serious teachers have always encountered difficulties in connection with the teaching of history, and especially of South African History. With remarkable unanimity they have labelled it a "dry subject", and have been at pains to discover how best they could brush and polish the so-called "dry facts" of History so as to give their subject a new presentation more palatable and more interesting to their pupils. In this, however, they were primarily concerned with the method of teaching History, rather than with the matter of History which they have always accepted, and largely still accept, from the scores of text-books and handbooks that are being dished up from time to time to meet the requirements of a "new syllabus" or a "new course" in History. Until quite recently, very few of our teachers ever stopped to question the accuracy of the History which they taught from day to day. It is tragic, but nevertheless true, that the majority of our teachers still regard History in terms of the stuff between the red, green or brown covers of the text-book. And this fault is by no means restricted to the ranks of the unenlightened. Not very long ago, I heard from the mouth of one who himself is the co-author of a little handbook in History, the surprising and fantastic conclusion that History is a "factual" and a "swotting" subject! History, to this bold and "erudite" gentleman, meant nothing more than a major or minor school subject, carrying the usual total of 200 or 300 marks! Considering even this little, it is not surprising, therefore, that far from being the most interesting of our so-called school subjects, History has always been the most boring and the most neglected.

The chief fault with the teaching of History in our schools

has been the complete lack of a correct scientific approach to the study of this important branch of knowledge. Many of our teachers have still to discover that History is a science, and that a proper scientific study of History involves a knowledge also of other sciences such as Economics, Politics, Sociology, Geography, Social Antropology. So successful has been the artificial compartmentalisation of our curricula, that many teachers have failed to see any relation between History and other cognate branches of knowledge. They have been content to think within the narrow confines of a History syllabus, a habit which has produced the most narrow-minded and the most myopic outlook on the richest and most important of our social sciences. The bulk of the blame for this defect naturally attaches to the official historians, historiographers and chroniclers, whose historic task it has been to falsify History in the class interest of exploitation and and domination of one class by another. The ruling classes of all times have never lacked these literary prostitutes whose function it has always been to distort truth, spread deception and intellectual confusion and perpetuate ignorance - all in the sacred interests of one or another form of class rule. It has been the degenerate function of these recorders to give a false interpretation to History in order to blind the student to its lessons. Apart from blatant and disgraceful distortions of fact, they have suppressed the truth and have deliberately obscured the real meaning and significance of the forces of History. History, instead of being the science of dynamic social changes and developments, of violent struggles between social classes, has been falsified and distorted into a meaningless chronicle of unreality and romance. Every child is aware of the ludicrous extent to which the pages of History books are encumbered by useless genealogical tables, time charts, pictures, etc., as well as puerile accounts of the personal defects, virtues and vices of kings and courtiers, courtesans and bishops. In vain do we seek for ourselves, for our own species, in the pages of History, and we are forced to conclude that this "History" is mainly the business of obese and wicked kings, sinister popes and crafty statesmen on the one hand, and noble rulers, pious priests and wise leaders on the other hand. These latter are exalted as the heroes of History. From beginning to end our History books are a picture gallery of brave heroes good and true, knaves and fools! But the real heroes of History - those men throughout History who dedicated their

lives to the service of a free mankind, who fought oppression and led the struggles for freedom against oppression - these have been excluded from the pages of History, or have had their memories vilified as heretics, traitors and madmen. This is broadly how the official historians, the faithful lackeys of the ruling classes, whether Roman Imperial, Feudal or Capitalist have depicted man's history. It is shameless falsification that has made History the unreal, unintelligible stew that both teacher and pupil are made to digest. It is this type of History that is precribed for mass consumption in our schools. The tragedy is that, generally, teacher and pupil alike have swallowed this distasteful brew with equanimity. And all this in the interest of "covering the syllabus", satisfying the inspector, and "getting results".

It is when we come to the study of our own South African History that we are confronted with the crudest and most brazenly vile distortions and falsifications that pass for "The History of South Africa". As teachers and students of History, it is our duty to study this "History" so that we may expose the falsities of its interpretation and its errors of omission and exaggeration. We must set ourselves this task so that we, as leaders of an oppressed people, may not only re-write History, but point the road to the making of History. And now the History of South Africa:

There are two distinct types of historian in South Africa. The first and more respected type hails from the so-called Liberal class, and is to be found amongst learned university professors and lecturers in History. Their work is characterised by wide scientific research and a wealth of useful factual evidence which we, as students of History, most certainly appreciate. But, however, commendable and laudable as this may be, their work is nevertheless open to severe criticism, and this because of an intellectual dishonesty which manifests itself in their would-be "objectivity". Through this "objectivity" as scientists, they claim to be "fair" and "just" to all sides - to oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited. They claim to be unbiased and neutral, "writing without fear, favour or prejudice". But it is precisely by means of this "objectivity" that they commit the unpardonable sin of treating the forces of progress and reaction on the same basis. This is the crux of our opposition to them. Concerned solely with the "finding of facts", they callously

ignore the scientific analysis and interpretation of these facts, with the result that their work is barren of direction and guide. We, for our part, are interested in the study and teaching of History in order to make History, to make progress. To develop the means of existence.

The second type of "historian" is the one we are mainly concerned with in this paper, and for whom we as non-European intellectuals cannot have sufficient contempt. These are the petty pedlars of potted history, the crude, dishonest blockheads whose cheap textbooks are crammed with the crudest and most disgraceful stock of lies and distortions. Theirs are the textbooks in everyday use in our schools, the books that belittle the role of the non-European in the History of South Africa, that insult and humiliate him as a race, that foster race hatred in an already race-crazy South African society, and that aim at inculcating a slave-owner mentality in the younger generation of the White "Chosen People" and an inferiority complex resulting in a demoralising sense of frustration and despair in the make-up of the younger generation of oppressed non-Whites. These scribblers have set out consciously to write the History of South Africa from the point of view and in the interests of the dominant White ruling class. As regards the role of the non-European in the History of South Africa, their work is characterised by the following:

1. They whitewash White domination
2. They justify the cruel extermination, subjugation, exploitation and oppression of the subject races.
3. They vilify and degrade the oppressed races and deny them their rightful places in the History of South Africa.

According to them, the History of South Africa is the History of the White man. The non-White has no role in this history other than that of a nuisance and a menace to the well-being of the White Man, and except in so far as he presented a problem to the progress of White civilisation. Take, for example, the struggles of the Hottentot and Bushmen (2) tribes for the protection and preservation of their land and tribal independence against the encroachments of the White invader. We know that in the process whole tribes of these people were annihilated; those who remained were completely subjugated and subsequently enslaved to the White overlord; those who preferred freedom were considered and

treated as outlaws, to be shot at as an undesirable part of the "fauna" of the Cape Colony. In order to justify the savage extermination and subjugation of these people, these vulgar history books portray them as wild, aggressive, undersized sub-human creatures, inherently weak and inferior, thoroughly degenerate and utterly incapable of assimilating the fruits of civilisation. The following quotation from the pen of one, General Janssens, describes this "attitude to a nicety: "Een broeder van Thomas Ferreira die eenige lectuur vermeend te hebben, heeft de ontdekking gedaan dat de Hottentotten de afstammelingen van het vervloekte ras van Ham zijn en dus ter dienstbaarheid en mishandeling door de almagtigen God zijn verdoemd". This savage attitude of some long-forgotten racialistic nonentity has been inherited by the crude, half-baked modern school "historian". (3)

There is no better example of the white-washing of White domination in the pages of South African History than the monstrous accounts of the so-called Kaffir Wars (4) of the 18th and 19th centuries. It is here that the race-hating falsifiers excell themselves. The blame for the "Kaffir Wars" rests on the decayed bones of the "notorious" Kaffir tribes, remembered unto this day for their "diefsug". (5) These clashes on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony between Black and White are shown to have been due to the inherent lust for murder and plunder on the part of the Bantu tribes. Our school History books teem with the blood-curdling, hair-raising horror stories of the "savagery" of the Xosa, their instinct of brutality and predilection for horrible crimes against innocent White farmers! On the other hand, the Boers are pictured as simple, God-Fearing, peace-loving folk whose livelihood and safety were constantly being threatened by the blood-thirsty Black "barbarians" of the frontier area. And so the "Kaffir Wars", which in reality were bitter struggles of the Bantu tribes for the preservation of their rights in respects of their own land, which struggles were the result of contact between two expanding pastoral peoples, have gone down in "History" as unprovoked acts of wild aggression and purposeless barbarity. We know that the clashes on the Eastern Frontier were the results of conflicts between two pastoral peoples, both in search of new and better grazing land for their herds of cattle. Even Walker admits that the land, and not the "innate barbarity" of the Xosa, was the key to the so-called problem of the frontier.

I have shown that one of the chief roles of the pen-hirelings of the ruling class is to white-wash White domination in South Africa and to

justify the cruel national oppression of the Blacks by inventing myths of Black laziness, cruelty and inferiority as compared to the innate "nobility" and "superiority" of the Whites, from the time of van Riebeeck to the present day. I have shown that their chief method is one of distortion, falsification and gross exaggeration of the so-called ignominious role of the non-European in the History of South Africa. But just as serious are their sins of omission in this regard. Undeniable historical facts which would tend to show up the White man in an infavourable light are deliberately omitted from the text-books. History books intended for school consumption assiduously avoid mention of the dirtiness, laziness and illiteracy of the frontier farmers, Trek boers and Voortrekkers, whilst they harp ad nauseam on these same, unavoidable "defects" in respect of the pastoral Hottentot, for instance. The falling from "grace" of Dr. van der Kemp (6) and the Rev. Reade (6) is carefully suppressed in ordinary history books in order not to detract from the validity of the tale of a lily-white, pure, Aryan, White South Africa, maintaining itself racially uncontaminated since the arrival of the "Dromedaris" in 1652.(7) Of course, they mention the marriage of Eva and van Meerhof, (8) but only as an isolated and highly deplorable act of biological necessity; while the vigorous miscegenatory propensities of the notorious and colourful Coenraad Buis (9) are ascribed to his being a degenerate outlaw! The open brutality of Sir Harry Smith (10) is depicted as firm statesmanship, while the two-faced double-dealing of Sir George Grey (11) is whitewashed as benevolent diplomacy. The shameful and wholly unprovoked extermination of the Matabele-Mashona nation (12) and the open-breaking of treaties with Lobengula (12) by "Empire-builder" Rhodes (13) and his confrères are deliberately expunged from the pages of British Imperialist History. At the same time, scant reference is made to the contribution of the non-European towards the development of South Africa, except as a hewer of wood and drawer of water. This review gives some indication of the magnitude of the task facing the historian of the oppressed classes in South Africa in his task of putting living flesh on the bare bones of South African History. For it is only the historian who has the cause of the oppressed classes at heart who will be able to correct these historical sins of commission and ommission and give South African History some intelligibility and coherence. But not only that! His most important function would be to give a scientific interpretation to the true facts at his disposal, and in this way indicate the only road by which the

oppressed must travel in their struggle for the attainment of full democratic rights. We cannot look to the Liberal historian of the ilk of Macmillan (14) or Walker (15) to give the oppressed the correct historical perspective and to assist us thereby in the making of our own history, i.e., in the realisation of a society where every person shall be free of race oppression and economic exploitation. What is this historical perspective? First of all, we have to rescue the teaching of History from the romantic prison cell of "old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago". We have to look at History as the living reflection of the development of the productive forces and property relations. This is the only way, and the only scientific method of approach to the problem of interpreting South African History. In general, this approach is epitomised by the irrefutable standpoint that the history of all hitherto known society is the history of class struggles. By this I mean that human society since the dawn of recorded history has been divided into two main opposing classes, viz., those of oppressor and oppressed, privileged and unprivileged exploiter and exploited. To put it more concretely, History develops as the result of the conflict of economic interests of the two major groups in Society; patrician on the one hand, and plebeian on the other; baron and serf; capitalist and wage slave. As non-European teachers, it is our duty to interpret South African History against this background, and to extricate it from the morass of futility and sterility. As an example of the application of this scientific method, we may take the relation between the Hottentots and the early colonists: The clash between these two groups arose out of the impact of two opposing economic systems, namely, one based on private property (the private ownership of land and stock), and the other based on pastoral communalism. In this connection, it is commonly said that the Hottentots had no conception of the value of land; that they were so stupid as to sell their land for a string of beads or a chunk of tobacco. The point is that the Hottentots never conceived of this barter as conceding their rights to the use of such land, which to them existed for the use of all! The enclosure of large tracts of land under the European conception of private property obviously created a crisis in the communal tribalism of the Hottentot. It is in the light of this fundamental difference which neither Hottentot nor Colonist understood that we must seek for an explanation of the so-called thieving propensities (diefsug) of the Hottentots and the protracted Hottentot Wars!

The abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery may also be analysed

in the same way: Long panegyrics have been sung in its name, on the liberalism and "fair play" of "philanthropic" Britain as against the "reactionary" Voortrekker spirit. School History books do not state, however, the reasons why it was convenient for Britain to abolish the oceanic slave trade in 1807. They omit to record that it was because of the deadly conflict then raging between a Britain whose economy had already been firmly placed on an industrial basis and a France whose economy rested on the proceeds of colonial slavery. The abolition of the oceanic slave trade was therefore directly intended to cripple the war machine of France by eliminating the main source of her revenue! Together with this important factor we have to take into consideration the fact that chattel slavery as a system was incompatible with a free labour market, essential to the development of Capitalism. By 1834 Britain could afford to be "humanitarian" in this respect, while the British working class was still subjected to an intolerable spate of anti-working-class legislation. So much then for the unselfish, humanitarian motives in the emancipation of slavery in South Africa.

It is our interpretation of the modern history of South Africa, at least since 1870, that we have to take full cognisance of the changes brought about in the economic structure of the country by the impact of British Imperialism. We must tear aside the veil of romanticism and claptrap surrounding the development of the mines and its resulting effects on historical and political development in South Africa. We should point out in no uncertain terms that the export of British Finance Capital radically changed the whole face of the country, and with it the destinies of the non-European. We must point out that the development of the whole legislative structure with its severe impact on the non-Europeans served purely and simply to ensure high dividends for British Capital Investment in the mines, railways and industries of South Africa. The creation of a cheap, controlled source of labour to serve the needs of the Imperialist Mammon, necessitated primarily the creation of the reserve system with its ramifications of Pass Laws, Poll Tax, Compounds, Land Acts, colour bars! That much-boosted landmark in the History of South Africa, namely the Act of Union, we must show clearly was intended first of all to consolidate the British Imperialist grip from Cape Town to the Zambesi. It would take too long in this paper to show in detail that the national oppression of the non-Europeans, which is our history thus far, is not, as some would like us to believe,

a permeation of the Voortrekker spirit as against the "liberalism" of the British overlord. It would be easy for me to show that the denial of political rights to the non-European, in fact, the whole colour bar system, is a creation of British Imperialism! In fact, the whole civic and legislative history of the non-European and its effect on non-European education, is part of the colonial oppression of the non-European. Our approach, therefore, to modern South African History must take full regard of this fundamental fact, and we would be failing in our duty as T.L.S.A. members if we do not teach South African History from this aspect.

These are a few, short pointers as to what I consider the method of approach in the teaching of History in our schools should be.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I am absolutely against taking the Coloured man out of the whole context of South African History and labelling it the "History of the Coloured Man", or "Brown South Africa". I consider such an attempt to write "our own history" not only extremely stupid, but reactionary. This is exactly what the ruling class intends our History to be, namely, that of a segregated group, sandwiched between the Whites and the Africans - a process generally called "developing along your own lines". Against this we must constantly try to inculcate in our children that our History is part of the History of South Africa, but thus far it has been relegated to the historical dustbins of our society! It is up to us to assign it its true place in the forword march of progressive historical forces.

Before Van Riebeeck - The forgotten past - David Stuurman (1)

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The year 1652 is on the one hand the starting point of three centuries of terror and pain, and on the other the terminus of centuries of untold degradation which preceded, and paved the way for, the landing of Johan van Riebeeck.

This article introduces the first of a series dealing with the historical background to the landing of Van Riebeeck and with the period ushered in by his arrival in 1652. Various writers have been invited to contribute to the series, the central purpose of which is to present the full facts so that members may be stimulated to critical disucssion

and revaluation of an event which is the subject of the Herrenvolk's Tercentenary Celebrations in 1952. Our columns are open to correspondence and discussion on the articles in the series.

Why we have forgotten and why we should remember

Africa was not always the most backward continent. There was the early slave period when Africa enriched the culture of Europe and Asia and led the known world. There was the Muslim feudal period when Africa stood on the same level of civilization as Europe. Finally there was the modern colonial period when Africa was hurled into abysmal darkness and backwardness, a gloom from which the continent is only now emerging. The known history of the world is in large measure the history of the fall of Africa. Of its rise and its conscious and positive contribution to the fund of human knowledge and progress we know but little. Nor is this an accident. For those who enslaved this vast continent have seen to it that the slaves retain no memory of the past that they should believe that they were always and, therefore, will always be, slaves. For a slave is an object not a subject and must be taught that his ancestors from time immemorial were naturally and congenitally incapable of doing anything but mimic the culture of the conquistadores. For the White masters alone are thinkers and the black servants have brains only in their toiling hands. And so the slaves forget their past and yet thank those who taught them forgetfulness for all that was and is and shall be. Yet it is important that those who would be free know that Africa was not always in bondage, that slavery had a beginning, and so shall have an end, too.

Ancient Africa

Out of the Capsian Stone Age culture, named after Gafsa in Tunisia came tools, engravings and paintings which were developed by the nomadic Bushmen throughout Africa and along the lands of Mediterranean Europe. These great wanderers and hunters wove a pattern of life and art around the study and pursuit of countless animals. These children and fathers of Africa worked with iron, made (not merely stored) fire, mined ores from which they made their immortal colours, and produced a totemistic "religion" and lore rich in imagination and as scientific as their age.

Yet in this very beauty and imagery is revealed the backwardness of Bushman society, organised as it was into small hunting families, without even an elementary clan structure. Firstly, the solar worship of the Bushmen flowed not from agriculture, but from wandering, not from the harvest, but from a nomadic life which made a study of the stars, moon and sun as compasses necessary to guide these untiring nomads. Secondly, the more picturesque their paintings, the more backward their society. For paintings of primitive people are a form of writing personal and family history. Such "writings" become more and more simple as society evolves, and the paintings consequently become poorer. Bushman art thus reveals the primitive social organisation.

The "Hottentots" (2) followed the Bushman (2) in the scale of African evolution. A pastoral clan-society overcame and developed further than the nomadic hunting Bushman (2) family groups. In 1500 B.C. the Hottentots (2) had a tribal organisation, with kings and queens who traded with ancient Ethiopia, whence they seem to have sprung, with Abyssinia from which they had fled, and with ancient Egypt, whose state slavery was not compatible with Hottentot (2) tribalism.

In their conflict with slavery, this tribalism spread southwards. Here, in Southern Africa, the Hottentots herded rather than hunted, grew rather than gathered the fruits of the soil, and developed a solar religion grounded on the harvest rather than on migration. They built huts fifty feet across rather than shelter in nature's caves, kept vast herds of cattle and domesticated animals. The Hottentot Queen of Punt (3) was the full equal of Boadicea, (4), Queen of the primitive Britons.

Meanwhile in the north, Negro Africa built stable civilizations in Ethiopia, which spread to Egypt where the blacks built a centralised slave state, and from there went to Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Macedonia, and finally to Rome, which in its turn, placed the hands of the Caesars on the throat of North Africa. And so the white child conquered and enslaved the black mother.

The Asian invasion of the Roman Empire eased this grip on Africa. Both in Europe and in Africa slavery passed convulsively over into feudalism of one kind or another. In this feudal period, from 300 A.D. to the rise of the usurers and merchants of Italy, Africa experienced a renaissance which nearly restored her pristine cultural superiority which had formerly made the Greeks look upon Ethiopia as the land of the gods.

The Renaissance of Africa

African feudalism was in no way inferior to that of Europe. From 300 A.D. there grew up along the great West African rivers the various Negro kingdoms. There was Ghana (300 to 1200); Gao (600 to 1600); Mali (1000 to 1600); Songhay, Massina, Bambara, the West Coast states of Senegal, Dahomey, Ashanti, Ewe, Yoruba, and Benin; the Central states of Hausa, Mosi and Congo. These were flourishing states, with centralised monarchies, common currency and taxation, river traffic silk, gold, silver, velvet, agriculture, industry, courts, walled cities, market places, two-storey stone buildings, armies of 200,000 and more, centres of learning and government, like Djenne, Timbuktoo, Kano, and San Salvadore, with judges, lawyers and scholars, universities and palaces and wealth and poverty, characteristic of highly developed tribal, slave, or feudal states. The story of these Sudanese states comes from Leo Africanus, Leo Frobenius and a galaxy of famous travellers, conquerors and adventurers. Frobenius says:

"What was revealed by the navigators of the 15th to the 17th centuries furnishes an absolute proof that Negro Africa, which extended south of the desert zone of the Sahara, was in full efflorescence, in all the splendour of harmonious and well-formed civilizations - an efflorescence which the European conquistadores annihilated as far as they progressed".

From the South African point of view the destruction of these Negro states is of double importance. Firstly, the "Bantu" migrations south were inextricably bound up with these states. (1) The first wave of southward migration after 300 A.D. of the "Bantu" pastoralists arose out of an incompatibility of Bantu tribalism with these Negro semi-slave, semi-feudal settled states. (2) The second major wave of southward movement after 600 A.D. arose out of the conquest and subjection of these Negro states by the Mohammedan invasion of Africa from the East and from North Africa (Berbers, Tuaregs, Moors). The Bantu fled from this clash between Africa and Asia, and from enslavement under the sign of Allah. In the course of these migrations the Bantu had centuries of intercourse with Asia and the Muslim. Dravidian and Negro cultures became inseparably fused into the Bantu tribal organisation and way of life. (3) After the Hegira the Muslim conquest of these tribal and slave Negro states raised them to a

feudal level until they were annihilated by European conquest and subjection. This European invasion introduced slavery on a vast scale and drove the lagging Bantu pastoralists rapidly down the East Coast, down the middle and from there westwards into Southern Africa. So that these Sudanese Negro states had a long and deep connection with the Bantu-speaking tribalists.

Secondly, the subjection of these Negro states, first by Mohammedanism, and later by Christianity, destroyed the co-ordinated tribal and slave civilizations built up through the ages and flung negro Africa backwards into the past from which their had emerged with the birth of the human calendar 5 millenia before the year dot on the Christian scale of reckoning.

Europe throws Africa back into barbarism

European feudalism could not contain and satisfy the merchants of Europe. Europe was poor and small, but Africa was vast and rich. Here in Africa the Negro and Asian merchants existed well enough on the wealth of the land. There was scant need for expansion, for improved techniques, for greater knowledge. And so the caravans rolled on century after century, the river boats floated lazily down to the coast age after age, and society stagnated in its own richness and resources. Social struggles were like life itself - slow and lazy, indecisive and never-ending.

Meanwhile in Europe the merchants were tearing at their bonds, eagle eyes roaming the oceans, fretting to grab from rich Africa what poor Europe could not give them. And while the African and Arab merchants, kings and lords basked in the sun of Africa, the European merchants were casking gun-powder, mapping the heavens, building ships, making the compass and telescope, reviving Hero's invention of steam-power. Finally they were ready. And whilst their less adventurous brothers battered down the walls of absolutism inside Europe, with Renaissance, Reformation and Revolution, the adventurous ones spanned continents, scoured the Americas for wealth, decimated islands of Asia and then fastened their iron claws on the dark continent itself.

Protestant and Catholic pirates from Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, England, Belgium and, later, Germany, shattered the feudal states of Negro Africa with gunpowder, trade and slavery. It was out of this process, which seared the heart of Africa with blood and fire for four

terrible centuries, that Europe arose in all its glory, power and knowledge to become the supreme continent of the world. In particular, Europe rose to world power on the ruins of Africa by means of the slave traffic.

Stanley and Livingstone, Selous, Falconbridge, Blommaert, Matthews, Barnard, Wright and many others have told the story of human terror and tears caused by the ivory and slave traffic.

Herbert Stanley (5) wrote about the ivory-slave traffic that "Every pound weight had cost the life of a woman or child .... for every two tusks a whole village has been destroyed."

On Stanley's reckoning in the year 1783 the ivory imported by London alone cost the lives of 200,000 Africans. Three out of four ivory porters perished en route to the coast, and those who staggered to the boats with their ivory cargo, or pepper or gold, were re-enslaved as porters or shipped as slaves.

From 1500 to 1807 the slave traffic drained Africa of over five million slaves exported to the Americas and West Indies and to Europe itself. Ten times this number perished, if one accepts the ratio given by nearly every traveller. For four-fifth perished en route to the sea, from inland, and over half died on the voyage. For example, the East India Company paid a premium for each slave safely landed above half the number bought, showing that it was usual for more than half to die on the voyage.

The European powers which brought slavery to Africa murdered no less than FIFTY MILLION AFRICANS in the course of three centuries. In this connection the estimates of Du Bois and Michelet are conservative.

This European conquest smashed the feudal Sudanese states, hurled them back into slavery, pulverised the centralised and co-ordinated tribalism of the other more backward African societies, and adapted every form of social organisation, whether tribal slave, or feudal, to the European colonial system. Not only were millions killed and economies and societies thrown backwards through many centuries, but thought and religion likewise suffered.

Long before the Portuguese began the Guinea slave trade, to be followed by the Huguenots and English, African religions had developed from totemism (based on the hunting family) to ancestor worship, (based on pastoral tribalism), to solar worship (based on agriculture), and finally to a complex combination of these after the rise of a priest caste resting on slavery inside the tribe itself.

The arrival of the European Christian conquerors, with their faith in

black magic, their superstitious fear of witches, devils and spooks, threw the mind of Africa far back beyond the medieval gloom, from which the Europeans were themselves emerging at the time.

Europe and Africa

Europe thus rose to wealth on the material and cultural ruination of Africa. It progressed by throwing Africa backward. But at the same time this backwardness became a part of a modern system of technical progress, railways, commerce, electricity and great cities. At the moment of conquest Europe threw Africa back into darkness. But the ultimate effect of this unequalled destruction was to enable Africa to build, albeit in the immediate interests of Europe, a system which Africa was unable to bring forth internally, out of her own development: namely, the system of capitalism.

As the Muslim conquest of Negro Africa had raised the African social order to the higher level of feudalism, so the European conquest mercilessly and yet mercifully snapped and spiralled the vicious circle round and round which Africa had travelled for centuries without being able to ascend to a higher phase of social organisation. Without African slave-traffic and slavery and labour and agony, Europe would long have remained in the murkiness of medievalism, searching for the golden stone, the elixir of life, reading astrology's portents, fearful of falling off the flat earth. But without Europe, Africa would have remained in the desert and jungle, endlessly reproducing itself on the same level.

1652

Two centuries after this two-sided process had rocked North and West Africa, its effects reached the Cape and became the cause of a long and painful social evolution in South Africa.

The slave empires of Portugal, through Diaz, Da Gama and d'Almeida, (6) and of England, through Drake and Shilling, (7) by-passed the Cape en route to the East. But this did not save the indigenous peoples from the horrors and benefits of expanding Europe, for the Dutch East India Company, 50 years after its formation, decided to colonise and exploit the Cape.

In 1595 Cornelius de Houtman examined the Cape's potentialities and

reported back. It was only, however, after Janz and Proot reported back on their stay at the Cape from March, 1647, when they were wrecked from the "Haarlem", that the company took action. Janz reported that the Hottentots had "cattle and sheep in quantities", that the land was fertile, and, above all, that "we shall be able in time to employ some of their children as boys and servants".

The company accepted the report and on March 25th, 1651, gave orders to the commanders of the "Drommedaris", "Reijger" and "Hoop" to colonise the Cape, build a fort, and with regard to the indigenous peoples, "to reconcile them in time to your custom".

This process of "reconciling" has constituted the history of three hundred years of barter, conquest, expropriation and subjection. But, on the other hand, April, 1652, which ushered in this period of tyranny, itself had behind it two centuries of hate and fear and brutality. Johan van Riebeeck brought with him to the Cape a tradition of nearly a century of mass destruction in the Dutch East Indies, of the slave traffic along the West Coast conducted by the Dutch West African slave-trading company. And behind this Dutch experience in Asia and Africa lay yet another century of Spanish, Portuguese and British arson, rape and pillage of millions upon millions of people and homes in the Americas and in North and West Africa.

Europe had already begun to soak the plains of three continents in blood and tears, for two centuries, when Van Riebeeck landed, to bring to South Africa from the sands of Table Bay, a tradition of cold-blooded, calculated and cynical "reconciling of the natives to your customs", by means of "soeten praatjies", (8) barter, the musk, the sword, the bible and the sjambok. (9)

The year 1652 marked out South Africa as a new battlefield for the European slave empires to seize. But the weapons with which they fought their battles of dispossession and subjection had long before been forged and tried in the bleeding hearts of three continents.

With this tradition of enslavement behind him, a mediocre and minor company servant, one J. van Riebeeck, came out to the Cape, cursing the "dull, stupid, lazy, stinking people", dispossessed them of "the land which had belonged to them from all ages" and began to build a society in which every white man imagines himself a Caesar, and every Black man was a slave.

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History Teaching in our schools - B. Hammond

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(There have been and, no doubt, still are people who seriously propose that in the interests of personal tranquility, national and international peace, history should not be taught in schools. Others think that it should not be taught at university level either. And there are some who think that history books should not be written or read at all. All of which suggests that the teacher of history occupies a special position or has a peculiar responsibility. Among the questions often directed at him or her are these: whose history are you teaching? Apart from the fact that history is in the syllabus, has your teaching of it any purpose or direction at all? If you claim that you teach "only the facts", have you ever checked up on those facts and on the particular selection of facts you prefer? On what basis have you chosen the text-book in which you seem to have so much faith?

In a series of articles, of which this is the first, we propose to look at some of the problems facing the teacher of history in South African schools - Editor.)

Not very many years ago when we were students at school one of the questions frequently asked was: What is the use of history? Possibly the same question is being asked by many of the students passing through our schools today. And, as the case with so many of the questions put in the classroom, it seems as if we do not always have an entirely satisfactory answer to give.

Not for a moment, of course, do we suggest that teachers of history do not acquaint themselves with the broad objectives of the history lesson in the primary and secondary school. They are very laudable aims, but they do not always help one in the classroom situation to answer adequately the question as to what the purpose of history is.

We could possibly enumerate as many claims about the use of history as there are aims which we strive to inculcate through our teaching. Practically every handbook on history sets out amongst its aims the establishment of ideals of social service, of conduct, of patriotism, the training in habits of accuracy and observation, the acquiring of skills in putting facts together and seeing causal relations and training in the use of books, etc, etc. All these and the many other aims which

could be added are, no doubt, fostered in one way or another by the teaching of history. Possibly all of them are very desirable. But the point to remember is that despite these aims history as a subject in our schools can so easily become an aimless and, one dreads to think, a completely useless "subject" because the essentials of history as distinct from the techniques of history teaching inside the classroom are lacking or wrongly applied.

The study of history, it has been claimed, should help one to understand the world in which one lives, to understand the affairs and happenings of one's time. It is a very important claim, for quite clearly if one doesn't understand the world in which one lives one is more likely to become its victim. The cynic might say that most people are in any case the victims of external forces around them. But their understanding of these forces is an important step towards finding the key to their emancipation. In a very real sense the study of history helps to provide that key. In its essentials history is concerned with the efforts of man from the very earliest times to overcome two great problems. Firstly, the problem of modifying the physical environment and, secondly, the problem of fastening or loosening the fetters on human relationships.

The study of history, we are compelled to remind ourselves sometimes, is about human society; it relates the story of its development; it attempts to show what societies have been like in the past and to indicate the factors which operated in them. It embraces every aspect of the social and cultural lives of men and women who may or may not have left a name but who provide the material of history. Through this study we attempt to draw upon the wide range of human experience to enrich our own lives and to see the continuity of historical processes. It must help us to correct what so often happens in our books when the study of history breaks off to become prehistory or ancient history, mediaeval history or modern and contemporary history. It is a continuous process in which we learn to see the present as something always different from the past but invariably linked with the past.

What we have said about the nature of history is certainly not exhaustive. Possibly there is so much more to history that we have omitted to state. We could only have done worse if we have in any case failed to provide an answer to the question of the use of history inside and outside the classroom. For, tempted as one might be at times to say with the cynics that "the one thing one learns from history is that nobody learns

anything from history", the case for the teaching of history is clear. Its claims might be exaggerated but it does furnish an inexhaustible store of knowledge which enables us to make our experience part of the record of the human race. For those who teach history, whether in the primary or secondary area, it is important to ask whether the matter we are expected to teach as part of the syllabus does in fact help the pupil to capture a wider and coherent view of the world he lives in, or whether his horizon is narrowed to a peculiarly "South African way of life". In other words, our understanding of the nature and the use of history must lead us to examine more critically the syllabuses we handle. What are the most serious omissions and what can we do in the matter?

To turn to some of the other more general problems in the teaching of history: For beginners the approach is generally biographical and anecdotal. Is this approach sound? What are its advantages, what are its drawbacks? Can one seriously consider teaching history in the primary and junior secondary school so as to give children an idea of causal relations? How does one get away from the learning of single and unconnected facts? How does one develop a sense of time in history teaching? Should the history teacher, in an attempt to get away from the idea of history being "nothing but a mere collection of names and dates", go to the other extreme and minimise the teaching of dates? Who are the heroes in history? Are there any heroes at all? These and possibly others are some of the questions we hope to discuss more concretely at a later stage, bearing in mind the syllabus in the primary and secondary schools.

And what about our text-books? Is it true that our teaching of history in school often amounts to a mere discussion of the text-book lessons? Is it true that the text-book determines the facts which are taught and the manner of teaching them? Equally pertinent is the questions whether the text-book is accurate. We are thinking here not so much of interpretation at the moment, but simply about the correctness of the facts. Very often many of the text-books abound in inaccuracies of fact. Rightly or wrongly the text-book tends to be regarded as an important aid in the teaching of history in schools. It is important, therefore, that we also ask what is the particular point of view that is presented in the text-book. Likewise, it is important to ask for the credentials of the author of the particular text-book we might be using in class. It was never more important in this country than nowadays.

The question we have put refer to some of the more general problems of history teaching in schools. Within recent years, of course, the drafters of history syllabuses and the writers of text-books have attempted to apply the slant of Christelike Nasionale Onderwys (1) to history teaching more especially. The sections of the syllabuses which are referred to as "population studies" provide some of the more glaring examples of C.N.O. ideas. (1) But very often the references are more subtle and thus they escape the sharp criticism and rejection which they should receive inside the classroom. In our discussion of the history syllabuses and the text-books we shall attempt to draw attention to some of the distortions of fact and interpretation, not merely to emphasise the dangers of C.N.O. ideas but also to answer more fully the very important question as to whose history we are in fact teaching in our schools. We do not put this question with any feeling of arrogance, because our experience has taught us that the answer to the question is not as straightforward as we might be tempted to think. For, however zealous we might be in deleting all disparaging references to Non-Whites in our history text-books or however much we might attempt to create our own heroes in place of the Louw Wepeners, Anna Steenkamps or Paul Krugers, (2) we have not yet started to think about this question if we merely regard the fact of position as Non-White as a sufficient indication of whose history we are teaching in the classroom. The question can only really be answered when we begin to understand the place of history in social development, when we learn not only to reconstruct the past but to discern and to identify the forces which make for progress or retard progress.

In so far as it is feasible, we shall attempt, then to deal in this series with matters such as content and interpretation on the one hand and the techniques and methods of history teaching on the other, at the level of the primary, the junior secondary and the high school.

Interpreting and Teaching S.A. History

Thoughts on the Development of S.A. Historiography - Peter Kleynhans

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The recent review of the Oxford History (1) raises a number of questions in regard to the nature of contemporary S.A. Historiography. Unfortunately, however, the review itself did not attempt to provide one with any sort

of guide-line as to the conclusions that might be drawn. One is not auggesting that it was part of the function of the review to go beyond the immediate scope of the work itself. But one would have welcomed a sharper focus on the trends of present-day history writing, and more especially the metamorphosis which current South African historiography appears to have undergone.

If one recalls correctly, the review itself, somewhere in the first instalment, poses the question as to what extent the authors of the Oxford History help one to trace out the complex nature of modern South Africa. But it is precisely this problem which the review seems to skirt. Perhaps the difficulty arises because of the particular formulation of the question. It does seem to suggest that one could adopt an almost schematic, linear approach to history instead of seeing it as an inter-acting, backward and forward moving process. But history, if it means anything at all, means evaluation and interacting change. One cannot therefore approach an historical problem in the way one might approach, say, a problem in arithmetical calculation. Unless, of course, one seriously imagines that the mere tracing out of an event could be a substitute for historical assessment.

But leaving this matter aside for the moment, it does seem a legitimate question to pose when one asks what contribution a particular history makes to one's understanding of society. One may not be able to tabulate the answer, but there is a distinct and identifiable quality which marks off the mere paste-and-scissors expert from the true craftsman who approaches his work from a distinct standpoint - a philosophy, if you wish - which is directed at deepening one's understanding of the development of social institutions.

History and Society

In this regard it is useful to remind oneself of what the eminent British historian of the liberal establishment had to say on the question of the relationship between historiography and society. "One's view of history," E.H. Carr said rather tersely but telling, "reflects one's view of society" (see Carr: What is History? pages 35-36). One does not want to quote Carr uncritically, for one is only too painfully aware that very often historians have employed this particular viewpoint as a rationalization for their own lack of standpoint and interpretation of

historical events. Those of us who belong to an earlier generation brought up on the traditions of H.A.L. Fisher's "History of Europe" - and one suspects that there are probably more than we would care to admit whose knowledge of European history is limited to Fisher - would perhaps recall the great lengths to which he goes to avoid the idea of an historical standpoint. Quite categorically Fisher states in the preface to his work that "there is no pattern in history". And, of course, in this regard he was not alone, for a great chorus of late 19th and 20th century historians took up the cry that to see any pattern in history was indeed "a fallacy of historicism". Or where they did see a pattern, it only worked itself out in a cyclical system of ascending and declining social orders.

The idea contained in Carr's formulation that the historian is never outside history has also been used by those who seek to justify the attitude that on the very basis of this approach there cannot be any really objective history, Historiography can only present the different viewpoints of different historians. And the argument, one presumes, would run further that each approach would be as arbitrary, or as valid or invalid, as the next.

This is a very accommodating argument and one that is readily employed in a variety of guises by those who write and teach history as if it were merely an aggregate of dates and purely subjective opinions. But if one is to be fair to Carr, it is certainly not a point of view that he advances. On the contrary, the substance of Carr's argument is that history means interpretation in a dual sense. Historiography must not only make the material which it presents intelligible, but also serve as a mirror of both the historian and the society in which he works. To understand a work fully one must first grasp the standpoint from which the historian approaches his work and in order to do this one must bear in mind that the particular standpoint itself is rooted in a social and historical background.

In a very descriptive metaphor, Carr refers to history as a moving procession. But the metaphor, he warns, is not to suggest that the historian can detach himself from the procession and view it from the Olympian heights inhabited, it is said, by Cleo herself. The historian is very much a part of the procession and, in truth, the point at which he finds himself determines his angle of vision. He cannot escape this kind of involvement for it impinges on every aspect of his work. The very

materials which he uses - the so-called hard facts of history - are selected not in the manner in which a craftsman, for example, would select his raw material for there is no special virtue or quality in fact themselves. This does not, of course, imply that the historian does not have to check the accuracy of his material, it is always an essential prerequisite for any meaningful history. One does not therefore praise an historian for the accuracy of his facts. Nor yet can an historian pride himself merely on the facts which he presents: For the facts never speak for themselves. They are invested with meaning by the historian. It is he who selects the raw material and reconstructs the past, not merely according to his own skill, but, as Carr tirelessly argues, according to his own "angle of vision" - the place and position which he occupies in the procession of history.

There are some practising historians who find this a hard point to concede, and many teachers of history also try do declude themselves that their task is merely to extract a hard-core of historical facts from some source or other in order to satisfy an examination authority.

One does not have to present Carr's argument further to advance his point of view. A great deal of what has been mentioned in regard to Carr's approach to the historian and his work is today widely acknowledged. But, unfortunately, the real meaning of this approach is lost when one looks at a particular work or examines the broad trends of historical writing. And this seems particularly true of South African historical writing.

South African Historians

Very often one is tempted to evaluate the merit of a particular South African History on the basis of the useful data that it contains. This is a very understandable situation, particularly when one has been faced previously with a dearth of material. Anyone who has had to rely on earlier source materials will readily appreciate this difficulty. But it is a practice which does not help one to look critically at the type of historical writing that has been produced over a long period of time and more particularly at the newer histories which have appeared in recent years.

The First Period

As a matter of convenience one could perhaps divide South African historical

writing into three broad periods. First, there is a vast collection of Dagjournale, (2) travelogues, missionary accounts and reports and official reports and accounts. A great deal of the data contained in this type of source material is also presented in the earlier histories, dealing with the founding of the Dutch outpost and the establishment of the British Colony at the Cape. Here one thinks of the work of Barrow. Theal and Cory, (3) for example. From the point of view of the material presented and the construction of events, the historiography of this first period provides, in all essentials, the stuffing of an undisguised colonial history, completely oblivious of the cultural patterns of the indigenous people. The particular nature of these earlier works was influenced not only by the kind of source material available to the early historiographers, but also by the traditions and goals of colonial conquest that they were attempting to plot out. For them the pattern of conquest was the case for the official and colonist point of view and their construction and interpretation of events was in fact a vindication of this attitude. Today, the validity of the historical data of a Theal, for example, would be seriously questioned, but the tradition of historical writing that he represents is sometimes easily glossed over.

The Second Period

The second broad period into which one could fit in South African historical writing is the period which coincides with the hey-day of the Cape liberals, i.e. the period immediately before and after Union. It is an interesting period, for it completed the process of colonial conquest; but at the same time it also extended the process of subjugation by newer coercive measures. If one is to characterize this period at all, one could say, looking at the nature of the social institutions that were evolved and the role played by men such as Rose-Innes, Merriman, Sauer, Lord de Villiers, Molteno and Hofmeyr, that it was the period of the Great Liberal Deception. (4) For the overriding theme of the period was the need to refine the instruments of rule and rationalize the particular social relations of South African Colour-bar society in a way which would seem "to do justice to all".

When one looks at the kind of historiography that typifies this period one cannot help noticing the manner in which the liberal deception worked itself out in the histories that were produced. From MacMillan's

"Cape Colour Question" to Marais' "History of the Cape Coloured People" to Walker's "History of South Africa" (5) and this list is by no means exhaustive - one sees again and again not only the influence of the liberalist approach on the construction of South African history, but also the subtle incorporation of the patent liberal fraud of the period that in the course of events the political and social disabilities inflicted upon the dispossessed and alienated majority would be removed. Just as the liberal politician was to disarm the Non-Whites politically so the new historiography was to disarm the student of history. The historians understood that the Theal-Cory tradition had become outmoded and it is not surprising that one finds a Marais, for example, seriously undermining the authority of the earlier writers, questioning the validity of their data and their conclusions.

As representative of this period, Marais maintained that it was his task to write "scientific history - the sort of history which alone can extend the frontiers of the realm of accepted truth..." (our emphasis). Equally also he maintained that it was the duty of the historian to approach his work from a definite standpoint: and for his part, he described his standpoint as one which sought to do justice ... "for justice which has rightly been represented as blindfold, does not allow the use of two measures, one for ourselves and our own people, and another for those who differ from us in nationality, or race or the colour of their skins" (cf. Preface to Marais' The Cape Coloured People). This viewpoint more than adquately sums up the disingenuous charm of the liberal historian of the middle period which we have tried to indicate.

The Third Period

The third period into which South African historiography has moved is the period characterized on the one hand by the new Afrikaner Nationalist historians that have emerged, especially since 1948: The Nienabers, Scholtzs, Van Jaarsvelds, Mullers (6) and their protéges. And, on the other side, the new wing of Liberal historians, leading off from the MacMillans, Marais, Hoernle's, Kepple Jones' and De Kiewiets to the Thompsons, Van der Berghes, Davenports, Wilsons, Welshs, etc. (7)

It is this particular crop of new histories that one would like to examine more closely, not so much from the point of view of detail but rather to understand the nature of the milieu that has helped to shape what appears to be a new orientation in the writing of South African history.

The 1820 "Settlers": The Myth within the Myth - T.E. Caffrey

Another Time, another Frontier

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XLV, nr. 8, June 1974

"On July 13, 1974 in the middle of South Africa's first English Language Festival (July 18-20), the State President will open the 1820 Settlers' National Monument in Grahamstown. The opening will be followed on Sunday the 14th by an impressive Dedication Ceremony and on the 15th a five-day national conference on "English-Speaking South Africa - an Assessment' will begin". (Sunday Times Magazine, May 19, 1974: see article by Prof. Guy Butler.)

A dominant feature of history writing and teaching in this country has been its remarkable capacity for making and disseminating myths. We do not refer to the wondrous travellers tales of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of those are little more than curiosities, anyway. We refer to the functional myths, the ones serving or intending to serve a political purpose. Some of these require cosmetic attention from time to time, some need monuments but others need plastic surgery and a complete re-vamping. In recent times, one or two relating to the land question seem to have needed the full treatment. One of these is the old myth about the Voortrekkers and the origins of the "Reserves", now called "Bantustans". Another concerns the 1820 "Settlers" for whom Grahamstown (in close association with Rhodes University) seems to have become the manufacturing and distribution centre of a whole new mythology.

The Popular Versions

The popular theory expounded in school textbooks and standard reference works concerning one of the main reasons for the exporting of the 1820 settlers to the Cape Colony is that there was unemployment in England, and the return home of thousands of soldiers from the wars against Napoleon Bonaparte threatened further industrial dislocation and economic depression. In order to minimise the problems that thousands of workless would cause, the British Colonial Office, so the story runs, had consequently encouraged emigration to her colonial possessions, including the Cape. The Colonial Office is depicted as a

sort of bumbling, absent-minded, philanthropic Grandmama. Scant attention is paid by these Establishment historians to any considerations of imperial expansion which motivated, at the very least, certain elements in the Colonial Office, especially in 1820.

A second reason expressed in the standard history books is that Lord Charles Somerset, (1) who was then Governor of the Cape, wished to settle British "immigrants" on the Eastern "frontier" of the Cape Colony so as to strengthen the position of the colonists whose lives and property were being threatened by hostile (= war-like = bloodthirsty = savage = heathen) Xhosa warriors. This benevolent desire of Somerset deserves a somewhat deeper analysis than the authors of standard history reference books have thus far been disposed to attempt.

Imperial Share-out

Having pioneered the Industrial Revolution, Britain emerged in 1815 as the foremost military power from the wars that had developed out of the Great 1789 French Revolution. She had hurled back the challenge to her naval superiority; she had warded off an attempt to threaten her colonial possessions in the West Indies Islands; she had demonstrated her ability to blockade the coast and prevent goods from reaching the countries of mainland Europe. And she had, with her allies, defeated a France which, if triumphant, would have shaken the very foundations of her expanding commercial empire and mercantile policy. At the Congress of Vienna, convened to decide the fate of France, but, more important, to enable the victors each to settle his share of the spoils Britain had demanded and obtained strategic areas such as the straits of Gibraltar, to ensure her supremacy in the Mediterranean and the Cape, to assert her dominance in the South Atlantic and control of the sea lanes to her wealthy empire in the East.

Cotton and Wool

Britain had emerged from the war with a dominance that was not restricted to Europe but gave her also the opportunity to turn her attention to her colonial possessions with a new vigour. She had secured a basis for the acceleration of industrial growth at home and for the broadening out of trade with her overseas possessions. But the acceleration of her industries

at home depended upon her ability to obtain raw materials abroad. By 1800 the North American Colonies had achieved irrevocable independence from Britain and were no longer so convenient a source of raw material or a market for manufactured goods. New sources of raw materials and new markets for manufactured goods had to be found forthwith. Raw cotton to feed the improved machines of Lancashire could be obtained from India and Egypt. The new possessions, the Cape, Australia and New Zealand, had to be explored as possible sources of wool to keep the improved machines in Yorkshire at full production.

It is with these considerations of imperialist expansion, then, that in 1819 the Colonial office turned its attention to its newest possession, the Cape.

For more than one hundred and fifty years, by dint of conquest, the Cape had been a Dutch "possession", as the books put it (i.e. it had been under Dutch occupation). In 1814 Britain proclaimed the Cape a permanent British possession. That is, the possessor was disposed and the occupying force was now British. It was an urgent task, therefore, for the Colonial Office to establish a British "presence" and impose an English "personality" on the Cape (to use the euphemisms of the historian's trade). And it was not only a matter of establishing a British presence at the Cape vis-a-vis the Dutch-speaking colonists; it was even more necessary to do so vis-à-vis the Nguni tribesmen in the Eastern region of the Cape. In this context it becomes necessary to take a closer look at what prompted Somerset's desire to place British "settlers" on the Eastern "frontier".

Land Piracy: Phase One

The Cape grain and wine farmers had from the 1670's gradually extended their territory at the expense of the Khoikhoi people. From 1673 to 1677 there had been war with the Gonnema of Saldanha Bay (2) over the possession of land. In 1707 the Dutch had pirated land that had belonged to Gunjema and "Saldanhars". (3) The Saldanhars owned large herds of cattle and some sheep. Throughout the eighteenth century the "Trekboers" (the most voracious of the early land pirates) had penetrated deeper into the interior in a three-pronged movement: north-west through Malmesbury, south-east through the Roodezand and in a south-easterly direction through the Zonderend River area and along the east coast. As they rampaged north-

ward and eastward they had forced the Khoikhoi to move ever further away from the area of the early settlement that is, the immediate environs of the Castle. They had dispossessed the Khoikhoi of their lands and settled there themselves on leeningsplaats of six thousand and more morgen in size.

The missionary John Campbell, when travelling some way south of the Orange River in 1813, reported: "An old Hottentot (4) told us that he remembered the time when the boors were all within five day's journey of Cape Town and the country was full of Hottentot kraals, (4) but they have been gradually driven up the country to make room for the white people." (Quoted in The Oxford History of S.A. - Vol. I, edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson.)

In the 1780's there had been attempts by colonists from the Swellendam and Stellenbosch districts to drive the Xhosa out of the Zuurveld east of the Fish River. Some of these attempts had ended in the wholesale slaughter of whole communities, often preceded by pious deception and blatant treachery.

From Contact to Conflict

For nearly a century before the British took the Cape in 1795, there had been contact between the Dutch invaders and the Xhosa. Expeditions from Stellenbosch had traded for ivory and cattle with the tribesmen in the area of the Fish, Kei and Keiskamma Rivers, and the advance of the pioneers of white, Christian civilisation had resulted in wars in the area of Somerset East. In 1817 Colonel Graham, on the instructions of Governor Somerset, had driven the Xhosa out of the Zuurveld, but this had merely resulted in a massive counter-attack against Grahamstown (by 10000 warriors, it is said).

One Settler One Soldier

By 1820, then, it had become a matter of some urgency for the Colonial office to secure those areas of which the Xhosa had been, or were in process of being, dispossessed. By its drafting British citizens to these lands, the Eastern front would be densely populated, as Somerset desired, the colonists who already lived there would be strengthened and the Xhosa would be prevented from returning to settle in areas of rich pastures. The coming of the 1820 reinforcements should be seen as part of the process of

conquest and dispossession of the indigenous inhabitants. With Britain's own citizens stationed on the eastern front, British arms and soldiers would be dispatched to that front "to protect British lives and possessions", as the official rationalisation runs. That these citizens were stationed within fairly close geographic proximity to the harbour towns of Port Elizabeth and East London also facilitated the task of sending regular soldiers to their assistance in times of increased conflict.

The purpose of the Colonial Office in dispatching 4000 "emigrants" to the Cape and placing them on the eastern frontier was to extend Britain's colonial empire, and to attempt to bring stability to a front that was in constant turmoil because of the over-all war of dispossession. It was a means of exploring possible new sources of raw materials and of ensuring the security of the conquered land and the Boers and Britons on it against the indigenous inhabitants and former owners.

To pretend, by omitting to pursue a line of investigation in that direction, that the Colonial Office was not motivated by any considerations of imperial endeavour in the Cape Colony in 1820 is, to put it at its politest, to be guilty of subterfuge in the field of historical research. And to argue that it was the new colonials who suffered deprivation at the hands of lawless tribesmen, who refused to observe the simple laws governing private property and who continually invaded the territory of His Imperial Majesty and thereby endangered the lives and possessions of law-abiding British citizens, is to be guilty of an even worse crime.

Few researchers who have chronicled the history of the 1820 "settlers" and especially events on the eastern front just before and immediately after their arrival, are innocent on either of these two charges.

Kotze's Catechism on History Teaching - W. Webster
Notes on an Introduction Course

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Since the beginning of the transfer to the Coloured Affairs Department of education for children classified "Coloured", the orientation courses run by the C.A.D. (1) from time to time have been as repulsive as the aim of C.A.D.-schooling (1) itself. But on occasion the organisers and planners of these things have tried to mask their plans in order to anaesthetise the reaction of teachers to the attempts to draw them in as part of the C.A.D. Stormtrooper-brigade. Right now, however, these briefing sessions have

reached a degree of notoriety which for its sheer crudity and callous disregard of cultural values could hardly be rivalled elsewhere in the contemporary world.

Nowhere has this been more apparent than at the recent orientation courses for the Senior High School, and in particular in the C.N.O.-soaked (2) viewpoints put forward by Dr. D.A. Kotze in a paper on the aims of history teaching.

Citizenship and "Burgerskap": one OR the other

The atmosphere and nature of the orientation courses is more than adequately reflected in Kotze's contribution. It was a paper that was calculated to distort the teaching of history, and to turn every teacher into an active instrument of indoctrination to poison the minds of young people.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Kotze opened his talk with an attack upon the progressive, universal meaning of the democratic state in regard to both its form and its substance. And his method of doing this is to attempt to draw a distinction between "verpligte stemreg as 'n burgerskap voorwaarde" and the "ideal" of burgerskap so-called which embraces all members of a sovereign state.

To support his stated view of "burgerskap" Kotze falls back on the form and content of the Roman State which controlled and shaped the lives of people wherever Rome held sway. He emphasises in particular that the civis Romanus concept brought the protection of the Roman State within reach of every Roman citizen whenever necessary (see section 1, page 1). Thus for example, Kotze mentions, the missionary Paul could stake his claim to "Roman citizenship" when his life was endangered. (see section 1, page 3). ("Ek beroep my op die keiser, dit wil sê by wyse van implikasie, op my Romeinse burgerskap".) (3) And then he rounds off his illustration with the explicit view that just as was the case with the Roman State so too the South African state affords protection to the "respektabele Landsburger" ("Die beskaafde nasies beskerm hulle burgers waar en onder welke omstandighede hul ook al verkeer") (see section 2, page 2). (4)

The idea of the "worthy citizen", "die kultuurmens" en "positieve burger" (5) who enjoys the protection of the State is an idea that Kotze plays around with quite intentionally in order to propagate his narrow

concept of citizenship. It comes up in various guises, but again and again the emphasis is not simply on "burgerskap as 'n mens se grootste besitting - jou waardevolste bate naas byvoorbeeld jou taal, godsdiens, vryheid van spraak ens.". (6) The emphasis is on a particular type of burgerskap - a burgerskap which can accommodate the ideas of Christian Nationalism and which can reconcile itself to what the state ordains for it.

Similarly Kotze uses the idea of the "respektabele burger" (7) in order to advance his particular view of the nature of the State. Quite intentionally he cites some very trite examples (paspoorte, diplomatieke voorregte ens.) of the functions of the State in order to posit a view which raises the State to the level of an entity which supposedly stands above all internal divisions and seeks only to promote and protect the welfare of all its people.

This is, of course, not a new idea. All National States tend to camouflage the real nature and function of their particular state machine and in the process the State authority is invested with special qualities and virtues which supposedly obliterate all internal differences. For Christian Nationalism this notion of State authority becomes an essential article of faith. Kotze therefore not only endorses this notion, but actively propagates it as an accepted end of history teaching.

The Emperor minus his Clothes

Unfortunately, very unfortunately for Kotze, his use of the Roman State as a model to support his views on citizenship and statehood doesn't really assist over much. For, in truth, this Roman State which allegedly stood above all internal divisions amongst its citizens generated, and was based on entrenched social divisions. Its entire edifice rested on a vast slave base which restricted the benefits of citizenship (that is, the opportunities to share in the culture and material wealth of the State) to a very narrow, privileged layer which ruled Rome and the Empire.

A very pertinent comment on this aspect of the Roman State is provided by Rudolph Rocker in his work on "Nationalism and Culture".

"The Roman State," says Rocker on page 396 of his work, "was a military state, a power state in the strictest sense; it knew only one right, the right of the stronger. The Romans were the creators of militarism and inventors of a brutal and soulless system which we call 'Roman Law' - a system based only on cold-blooded calculation of the most

purely material interest."

And even more penetrative is the comment of that great poet Heinrich Heine, whom Rocker quotes as describing the "Corpus Juris" as the Bible of egoism! "These robbers," says Heine, "wished to safeguard their booty, and what they won by the sword they tried to protect by law; therefore the Roman was at the same time soldier and lawyer, presenting a blend of the most revolting type!"

These comments should help to provide some corrective to the unstinted praise of Roman Law which Kotze bestows because of his admiration for the Roman-State idea. The point of the comment, however, is by no means limited to ancient Rome. Kotze could equally have taken as his model aspects of ancient Greek society. For his thinking follows closely the most reactionary lines of thought implicit in Plato's Republic with its prescriptions for "the harmonious ordering of relations" between the men of gold, silver and iron and bronze.

If Antiquity failed to satisfy the criteria of State "authority" which Kotze has in mind a more contemporary model could certainly have been found in the United States of America. For, however different and broader the material basis of her society might be from that of ancient Rome, she has also perpetuated the myth that "Civis Americanus Sum" is the bond that binds all the members of her society together - a myth that has been punctured again and again by the twists in American history itself, but nevertheless continues to survive.

Caesar at Home

When Kotze brings the Emperor home the use and purpose of the Civis Romanus idea becomes patently clear. For him, a common and equal participation in the privileges of citizenship is not a condition which must influence the common response of all members of the State, "Burgerskap", he says, "kom kortweg neer op lidmaatskap van 'n staat (see section 3, page 3)... en selfs verpligte stemreg is nie 'n burgerskapvoorwaarde (of voorvereiste) nie. Dit hang van die omstandighede en ontwikkelingsstadium of regeringsvorm af. Die onontbeerlike vereiste is positiewe burgerskap." (8)

What Kotze is saying in effect is that every oppressed mother and father, son and daughter must be persuaded to ignore the oppression they suffer and the economic hardhip they endure. Instead, they must be encouraged to think only of the State that protects them. It all sounds like a very

funny game but in reality forms part of the deception which must draw not only the Matanzima's but quite ordinary honest men and women into a defence of the status quo and an acceptance of a belief in the immutability of the State. It is a view that he advances as one of the prime objectives of history-teaching.

The Scoundrel's Refuge sanctified

Closely tied to this are Kotze's views on patriotism. And what he has to say in this regard is certainly a great deal more sinister than the sort of stuff and nonsense of a "National" Anthem. In fact, a Langenhoven is certainly not Kotze's primary model. The real source of his ideas is the classic racists of our time, such as Count Gobineau, Houston Chamberlain as well as Günther, Clauss, Rosenberg and the rest of the Munich brigade of nordic superiority fabricators and master-race "philosophers".

Patriotism, Kotze makes it clear in sections 4 (a), (b) and (c) of his Notes, is more than just a nostalgic heimwee for verlate kranse en blou berge. (9) It is the uncritical acceptance of what the State ordains. "Die Staatsburger moet so redeneer," says Kotze, "dat sy burgerskap slegs volksgerig bly... My land eerste, my staat deur dik en dun, reg of verkeerd." (9)

Sieg Heil!

This view of the Fatherland is aggressively chauvinistic and hostile to democratic values. It follows the most reactionary lines of thought and makes it possible for Kotze to state: "Niemand neem selfs 'n Duitser kwalik dat hy tydens die Nazi verowering van Europa die wapen opgeneem het nie." (10) And like all those who share his values and his beleid, Kotze has a pathological hatred of freedom. He is at pains to declare that all cultural activities and cultural media which are more international than national are unpatriotic. They lead to "onsuiwer opvattings ... en dubbele burgerskap wat 'n onding is en deur internasionale boewe om dubieuse oorweginge beoefen word". (See section 4 (a).) (10)

Patriotism therefore means the severing of all bonds that enable men to share ideas and that foster a universal brotherhood. It means the setting up of an eiesoortige ideal (11) and sectarianism; the closing of the mind to all values which are regarded as a sin against the holy spirit

of the nation. Patriotism which, more honestly, the robust Dr. Samuel Johnson described as "the last refuge of the scoundrel" therefore becomes a "sanctuary of order". Parts of section 4 of Kotze's Notes could be replaced equally well by the sentiments of Mussolini: "Men are tired of freedom. They have celebrated an orgy with it... For the enterprising restless, rough youth now appearing ... there are other values which have a much greater magic: Order, Hierarchy, Discipline".

The Ordained Will of the Nation

The third and final aspect of Kotze's views on history which must be rejected is the section which he refers to as "die skeppend-bewarende" aspect of positive burgerskap. (12) (See section 4 (c).) In essence his views on the so-called "skeppingsdrang van positiewe burgerskap" (13) is nothing more than a re-mint of the idea of the "nation" as a "community of destiny". It is a dangerous and destructive notion, as the history of Totalitarian Germany and Italy bears out. But for Kotze it has merit. Hence his admiration for the allegedly civilising mission of Portuguese Colonialism: "Die Portugees se positiewe burgertrots het tot onlangs nog in die aangesig van 'n negatiewe wêreldmening laat glo aan sy beskawing se uitbouing en die kerstening van die heidene." (14) And his lament on the fall of Portuguese fascism: "Sy val is egter toe te skryf aan 'n verdwyning van skeppingsvermoë". (15) For the same reason, too, he is able to identify himself with the objectives of Zionism: "Die Israeli glo aan die handhawing van sy Staat in die Midde-Ooste en slaag daarin uit hoofde van sy weergalose positiewe Joodse burgerskap." (16)

The really vital point which comes out of all this is Kotze's concern with the ways in which change can and should be arrested. History must serve to inculcate a "sense of accommodation" rather than of change. Or, as he puts it more directly, positive burgerskap (17) is embodied in positive nationalism, patriotism and a skeppingsdrang (17) which are inseparable from "'n tradisionele aanpasbaarheid"'(17). And if anyone thinks his meaning ambiguous, Kotze himself dispels the doubt: "Daar is geen einde aan die proses van voortgesette revolusie nie," he says, "En dit is juis hierteen wat gewaak moet word in die wêreld waarin ons lewe en wel wal gegooi moet word deur positiewe burgerskap te kweek en uit te leef in daardie lande (tuislande vermoedelik - W.W.) waar dit

nog groeipotensiaal openbaar". (My emphasis).

In plain words, Herr Dr. Kotze is simply saying that history teaching must restrict the vision of the oppressed so that the process of cultural and political emancipation can be delayed as long as possible. And to this end he set out to indoctrinate teachers of history drafted to his "orientation" course.

S.A. History: The Davenport Version - K.A. Blatcher

South Africa, A Modern History, by T.R.H. Davenport. Published by Macmillan. Price: R9,90

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XLIX, nr. 3, Oct.-Nov. 1977

Because we live in a period of crisis and sharpened social conflict, no historical work can escape the glare of controversy. T.R.H. Davenport's "South Africa - Modern History" is no exception. In fact, Davenport, who is professor of History at Rhodes 'University', declares himself to be fully aware of the current (academic) controversy over the nature of South African history being waged between the so-called "liberal" and "radical" schools of thought. He places himself in the former. He claims to share "the basic premises of the liberal Africanists". He is quite right in thus placing himself. Throughout his book he views progress, non-progress and conflicts through "a liberal moral screen" (in the words of Harrison Wright in his "The Burden of the Present" - see review in Educational Journal, June 1977). The central theme remains that of interaction between "races": up to the time of Union the central theme is such interaction leading to white hegemony and after Union "The Road to Afrikaner Dominance".

The thesis sees a movement away from a liberal to a more and more illiberal regime. The basic story of the 19th century is the story of the triumph of White over Black. And the story of the 20th century is the triumph of Afrikaner Nationalism, with a background of the larger White-Black conflict.

It is in this evaluation of facts and, to a certain extent, the selection of the facts on the basis of such an approach, that the book reveals its most serious limitations. The utter neglect of the "imperial factor", and the glossing over of the realities of colonialism and colonial exploitation in the late 19th century and of the rising tide

of anti-Colonial and anti-imperialist movements of the 20th century must weigh seriously against the author in the general appraisal of the work.

On the credit side

This is not to say that the book is without merit. It is informative and is organised in a very readable form. Even when scanty information is given, copious references are provided in the bibliographical notes at the end so as to provide the serious student with avenues for further study and research.

It is a comparatively short work, placing it within reach of teachers and students. Whereas the Oxford History of South Africa, consisting of two bulky volumes, would probably cater only for the serious student of history and history teachers,Davenport's book is clearly designed to reach a wider and more varied audience.

Part I: Prelude to White Domination

The book is divided into two parts. The first is entitled "The Prelude to White Domination" and takes up roughly one-third of the book. The second, covering about two-thirds of the book, is entitled "The Consolidation of the White State".

In the first section Davenport deals with the very early history of Southern Africa and brings us up to the time of Union in 1910. The emphasis being on modern history, that is to say 20th century South Africa, it is not surprising that the history of South Africa covering many centuries up to the end of the 19th century is dealt with so cursorily. The very early period is dealt with under the heading "The setting of the human problem" (Section 1). He refers to the Khoisan and Bantu-speaking peoples. Summarising this early period, he debunks "official" history or the typical "White" viewpoints still being taught in schools. He says "white South African tradition has it that the Bantu-speakers arrived as immigrants on the highveld of the trans-Vaal at about the same time as the white men first settled in Table Bay. In origin the home of the Bantu languages probably lay north-west of the central African tropical forest; but archaeological evidence suggests that the arrival of Bantu-speakers south of the Limpopo was much earlier than ethnologists once allowed for. Radio-carbon dating

has provided evidence of negroid iron age settlement in the Transvaal as early as the fifth century A.D."

And again, "Before the white man's arrival in Southern Africa... large areas of the sub-continent were thus unevenly peopled by Khoisan and Bantu-speaking communities whose cultural traits pointed to striking diversities of origin, but whose economic activities brought them into continuous relationships with each other".

In the remaining sections of Part I he deals with the arrival of Van Riebeeck, the struggles between the invaders and the indigenes and what he coyly calls the "competition" for land throughout Southern Africa. In this, too, he debunks the official "White" viewpoint. He says "One view of the population movements which took place in the mid-nineteenth century holds that they led to an amicable distribution of the land, the black chiefdoms holding onto what had been traditionally theirs, the white settlers moving into areas which, although previously populated, had been left empty as a result of the difaqane. It should be clear from the events recorded in this chapter that such a view has little historical basis, and that competition for land - an increasingly scarce commodity - best explains the history of South Africa's nineteenth century frontiers ... It was, almost without exception, a story of black-white confrontation, in which there was mobility on both sides and in which the white man, with his superior weapons and his notion of individual ownership, his theodolite and his title deed, and his greater awareness of the operation of the market, generally gained at the expense of the black."

The dispossession of the indigenous population of their land provides the setting for the struggle between the British and the Afrikaner, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the coming together of Boer and Brit to form the white Union of South Africa. The "African", "Coloured" and "Indian" are disfranchised and, with the creation of Union, the scene is set for the rise of power of the Afrikaner.

Evaluation of Part I

In this section Davenport performs a useful function in helping to debunk the viewpoints of the earlier colonialist historians and also the "Afrikaner" viewpoint. The old established view with its "settler"

interpretation was reflected in the works of G.M. Theal (1837-1919) and I.E. Cory and, in the words of Harrison Wright, "defended the European settlers and was hostile to the Africans. Theirs was, in the 1920's the established view taught in South African schools, drawn on by Afrikaner historians extolling the Afrikaner community and its past, and used as a justification for current policies. To liberals it was biased, out-of-date, and socially retrogressive."

In exposing the distortions of the "settler" interpretation, Davenport has rendered a service.

Unfortunately, he is too preoccupied with black-white confrontation as such. He remains manacled to the main theme of his book, namely, the rise of Afrikaner dominance - the triumph of the illiberals over the liberal. In his oversimplified picture of "The birth of a plural society" with all its stratifications and the glossing over of the "imperial factor" he seems to a large extent to have had "an eye on the present" (that is, an Afrikaner-dominated, white-controlled, stratified society).

The fundamental criticism of this part is Davenport's failure to evaluate properly the real significance of the events of the latter part of the 19th century in the shaping of the future Union of South Africa. He is not unaware of the forces. He makes reference to "the problem of imperialism" and conflicting Imperialisms in Southern Africa. He also mentions the book of J.A. Hobson "Imperialism: A Study" - dealing with economic colonialism. From his book also emerges the picture that even though "competition for land" had gone on ever since the arrival of Van Riebeeck in 1652, Africans lost more land (about 3/4) in the last quarter of the 19th century than in the whole of the preceding 200-odd years put together. He mentions the other "ingredients" of that period, namely the discovery of diamonds and gold, the Glen Grey Act, (1) the roles of Grey, Rhodes, Milner, (2) and others. BUT TO HIM ALL THESE FACTORS together bring about no qualitative difference in the situation.

Chief failure

"Racial" confrontation and conflict is indeed an important ingredient in the whole South African situation and has been so since 1652. But "racial" conflict as such is only part of the story. In reality the modern colour-bar system is more a product of the events of the latter part of the 19th century than the events of the preceding 200 years.

Davenport fails to evaluate the creation of the modern colour-bar system as being, in the main, a product of the last quarter of the 20th century, as an expression of Imperialist exploitation in South Africa.

A proper evaluation of this period is important because it is the most formative period in the creation of modern South Africa. The continuous struggles and confrontations between 1652 to 1870 are, so to speak, a prelude to the period 1870 to 1900. The latter period is that which historians commonly refer to as the period of the scramble for Africa and Asia. Hobson, mentioned in passing by Davenport, characterised the period as that in which a qualitative change was taking place in the modus operandi of Imperialism, namely, the replacement of the old style colonialism which regarded colonies as merely sources of raw materials and as markets for finished products by the use of colonies as avenues for investments. It is the period that sees the final and complete destruction of the tribal economies, the concerted campaigns of land robbery, the creation of the reserve system on the basis of Shepstone's policies in Natal, the imposition of taxes on the conquered Africans to force them to leave the reserves for the mines and farms.

These features provide a rationale for the creation of a uniform cheap labour system in South Africa, for federation or union. The roles of Grey, Rhodes, Milner and other servants of British Imperialism, the Jameson Raid and the Anglo-Boer War (2) have meaning only in this context.

It is in the service of mining interests that the basis was laid for the migratory labour system (with pass laws), the cheap labour system (with reserves and locations) and disfranchisement in the latter part of the 19th century. It is in this period that British Imperialism created a special role for whites in South Africa - both English and Afrikaner - as the overlords for British investments and interests. In this regard one should remember what Rhodes had to say: "The principle must be recognised in the Old Country that people born and bred in this colony and descended from those who existed in this country many generations ago, are much better capable of dealing with the various matters that arise than people who have to dictate from some thousands of miles away."

The point made here is that a vast and qualitative change took place in Southern Africa during the period referred to, which can be

explained only in terms of imperialist exploitation and investments. Davenport glosses over these matters and thereby presents a distorted picture. Davenport's reference to Imperialism amounts virtually to an apologia for British Imperialism.

Part II: The Consolidation of the White State

In this section of the book, Davenport deals with the history of South Africa from 1910 up to approximately 1976. Indicative of his theme, Part II of the book is divided into three sections dealing with "The Road to Afrikaner Dominance 1910 to 1948", "The Designing of a new Model State, 1948 to 1976" and finally "The Problem of Perspective".

In the section "The Road to Afrikaner Dominance 1910 to 1948" he deals with the struggle for domination within the white group ending in the triumph of Afrikaner Nationalism, reflected in the Nationalist victory in the 1948 elections. This conflict takes place within the framework of a much wider conflict, namely the conflict between white and black, which he chronicles in a readable, popular, superficial manner - for the sons and daughters of 1820 Settlers, one suspects.

He refers to the early period of Nationalist rule 1948 to 1960 as "the age of social engineers" - a period during which the Nationalists strode forth confidently to create a new apartheid South Africa. A spate of repressive legislation follows and a general tightening up of the apartheid machinery.

This is also the period in which there is a rise of resistance to government policies. Davenport deals with the period 1956 to 1964 under the heading of "Internal Combustion". Following upon the passing of the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Authorities Act, he refers to the peasant revolts in various parts of the country, the events of Langa-Sharpeville in 1960 and the proscribing of two organisations, namely, the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress.

It is not without interest and sometimes pertinent bits of information and comment. Such as the fact that by the year 1970 Britain had two thousand million rand worth of investment in South Africa. Also that the South African defence budget had increased from sixteen million rand in 1950 to one thousand three hundred and fifty million rand in 1976. But vast acres are somewhat sterile and the profundity of much of the comment may be judged from his remark that South Africa's

involvement in Angola took place "under circumstances which are far from clear". The book was published in 1977, the preface being dated September 1976.

Evaluation of Part II

Fundamentally the criticism made of Part I of this book remains valid for Part II as well. Even though Davenport is aware of the international setting and refers to the first World War, the depression which enveloped a large part of the world in the 1930s, the second World War, the rise of UNO and the African states, he makes no attempt to explain the heightening crisis in South Africa in terms of the growing anti-colonial movement and the clash between conflicting social systems in the world. In fact, one does not know whether he is even aware of such a context or relevance. The professor seems to have seduced the historian.

Secondly, while he narrates the various fields in which segregation and apartheid are implemented, he fails, as indicated earlier, to explain the origin and development of segregation. This is the sort of thing that causes many to ask of liberals and liberal historians generally: Don't they know, or don't they want to know?

Thirdly, because Davenport does not or cannot deal adequately with the crisis faced by Western Imperialism, namely what steps to take to ensure the maintenance of its system of investments in Southern Africa, he fails to explain adequately or he simply cannot explain, for example, the rise of the Progressive Party (or whatever it is called by the time this is read).

The Current Debate

In this final chapter of his book, Davenport states that the government's commitment to its unpopular policies has elicited various kinds of explanations. He states that "these tend to fall into two main groups; explanations which see racism as the chief determinant of White South African attitudes, and explanations which attribute them to a clash of class interests." In the former category are the liberals and in the latter category fall what they dub the "revisionist school of academics" which emerged during the 1960's. A leading Liberal School of Thought believed that "Economic pressure was breaking down the barriers of segregation"; they

even believed that "the pull of the market would crush ideological racism and its supporting structure of pass laws and colour bar". They predicted "Victory of the market over racial ideology" as a matter of course. Others, however, challenged this viewpoint. Amongst them were members of the so-called revisionist school who insisted that the apartheid system was designed primarily to assist the capitalist mode of production under South African conditions. They saw no necessary antagonism between apartheid and economic growth. The 1970s saw the ideological debate growing and continuing in academic circles. Sensing that the growing ideological debate is one which is no longer between the old "Settler" school of thought and the liberal school of thought but between "Liberals" and so-called "radicals", Davenport ends his work with the following: "The greater the threat of violence from outside, the greater was the danger that public opinion in white South Africa would be distracted from its task of reconciliation across the colour line by the escapist cry of 'the Nation in danger'. The laager served Andries Pretorius (3) well at Blood River, but it served Cronje at Paardekraal extremely badly. Never was the country in more urgent need of both courage and a sense of history."

Whilst Davenport appeals for courage and a sense of history, in my view it is precisely this element which the book lacks. In as much as it is necessary to understand real foundations of the modern colour bar system in the latter part of the 19th century, much of the history of South Africa of the 20th century is to be explained firstly in terms of the rôle given to South African Whites by British Imperialism and secondly by the crisis faced by imperialism in a world of conflict. An evaluation of the modern period should take cognisance of the rise of dominance of American Imperialism on a world-wide basis in place of the British and the attempt by imperialism to find a new formula for the maintenance of the cheap labour system in South Africa. Davenport's book is singularly silent on these matters.

Or he claims to be neutral. As for example he claims in his preface: "On the issue of political democracy versus pluralism the book takes a neutral stance..." Does it indeed!

Among the many fancy phrases, formulae and schemes for postponing the advent of democracy in South Africa, all sorts of political journalists and academic mandarins and madames have been punting the concept of a racist fraud euphemistically described as pluralism and a

plural society. Stripped of fancy verbal plumage, in the context of colonial society 'pluralism' has always implied balkanisation and a denial of rights. That is what it means in the context of South African society too. It means and can only mean the buttressing of tribalism. That is what it always meant when it was used in the British and Dutch colonies in the 'Far' East. It is really the jargon of the contemporary political scientist for old-fashioned 'divide-and-rule', where the superstructure of the dominant group, which retains political power and claims cultural superiority over or inherent and unbridgeable differences from the dominated groups, claims to have a medley of peoples who may 'mix but do not combine' and allegedly live in peaceful co-existence. If you can be neutral about that then you are in the class of those scientists who used to claim to be impartial as between Man and the tapeworm.

Postscript

The criticisms levelled at Davenport's book should not be construed as support for the 'Campus radical' viewpoint of interpreting the South African story mechanistically in terms of defined categories of class conflict. Not at all. Some 'radicals' have scored a few valid points here and there in the course of their Ph.D. theses in or in the course of their public Senior Wrangling in various learned jounals. But what is needed (in academic circles, that is) is a proper evaluation of the colour bar system in its origin, development and present-day function in the context of the reality of imperialism and global conflict in the last quarter of the twentieth century. And thus far not one of these radical academic historians (they give themselves fancier labels than that, undeserved for the greater part) has supplied the need.

A New South African History: A Review - Henry Plaatjies

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XL, nr. 1, July-August, 1969

The Oxford History of South Africa I. South Africa to 1870. Edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson. Published by Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1969. Price R7.75.

In many ways the recent publication of the first volume of the Oxford

History of South Africa - South Africa to 1870 - represents the first serious offering of the liberal establishment to provide a penetrative and integrated account of the history of South Africa.

The editors, Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, provide a very thought-provoking preface to their work. They enumerate at some length the limitations of South African historical writing and discount and reject the misleading assumptions which have shaped South African history writing. This aspect in itself must, no doubt, cause more than a flutter in the proverbial dovecotes of officialdom, and particularly among the pseudo-historians who have to turn out approved text-books for use at school and university level. To all of this group, the viewpoint accepted by the editors that, in a stratified society, historical writing is not merely a reflection of social inequality, but also a powerful instrument for the maintenance of inequality, must, no doubt, appear as sufficient ground for impeachment before a Star Chamber. For, in the tradition of South African history, it must be made to appear treasonable to suggest, as the editors do, that "many of the historical writings promote the perpetuation of language and 'race' barriers, and many of them do so intentionally". (Cf. Preface, page vi).

THE APPROACH AND SCOPE OF THE WORK

This particular work, however, is more than a rebuttal merely of a racist and chauvinistic interpretation of South African history. The authors have set themselves a more important task. They have attempted to look at the roots of South African society, and the central theme in their account is described as the interaction between people of diverse origins, technologies, languages and social systems, meeting on the South African soil". With this perspective the study provides an interpretation that is intelligible, comprehensive and integrated. But, if one is not to be carried away too readily, there are also unfortunate lapses and questionable interpretations of particular situations.

Pre-History of South Africa

The opening chapter, contributed by R.R. Inskeep of the University of Cape Town, is an attempt to knit together knowledge gained thus far

from archaeological evidence. In point of time the survey spans the various stages of cultural succession from the early Pleistocene period to the late Iron Age. The data presented emphasise, in the words of the editors, the cultural links between South Africa and the rest of the continent.

Whilst in the very nature of the survey a great deal of the information tends to be highly technical, its particular merit is derived from a coherent and carefully considered interpretation of archaeological evidence. Thus, for example, in the discussion of the later Stone Age the author carefully examines and discounts a fallacy that particular cultural characteristics coincide with distinct physical types. There is, to begin with, he states, "no satisfactory definition for the physical type of the 'Hottentot'" (1) But, more important, "there is no positive correlation between physical type and culture". (Cf. page 22.)

Culture and Type

The facile and patently racist association of physical and linguistic type with cultural forms has no scientific basis. The author makes it very clear in this survey that any attempt to employ criteria which are not correlated must be suspect. His approach and method is one which must commend itself, for if applied it must provide the corrective to much that parades as fact in the official text-books.

A pertinent comment in regard to the concrete South African situation and related to what Inskeep has to say is made in the preface. We record at length: "Generations of South Africans have grown up believing that 'Bushmen', (2) a distinct dwarf physical type, were all hunters, and that all spoke one or another form of a 'Bushman' language, that 'Hottentots' were distinct physically, that they were all pastoralists, and that they all spoke the 'Hottentot language'; that those who spoke a Bantu (3) language were again physically distinct and that they all combined cultivation with herding; and that Whites remained quite distinct in physical type, language and manner of life from all preceding groups. But it has long been known, and recent research has further demonstrated, that the 'cleavages' in physical type, language, and economy do not fit all exactly..." (Cf. Preface, page ix).

Pre-Colonial South Africa

Whilst the opening chapter of this work deals with the remote past, reaching far back into the history of South Africa, the three succeeding chapters, contributed by Monica Wilson, are focused on the indigenous people of South Africa who were engaged in hunting, herding and cultivating for many centuries before the arrival of the colonists from Europe.

The author deals in turn with the mode of life and livelihood, beliefs, customs and values of the San or Ke, the Khoi-khoi and the earlier societies of the Nguni, Sotho, Venda and Tsonga tribal groups. In her treatment of the early San and Khoi-Khoin egalitarian groups, the writer attempts to show that there were many similarities in the techniques and material culture of all the hunters and herders. Indeed, she argues very convincingly, contact extended to many of the so-called Bantu groups as well. There is very clear evidence from the 17th century which indicates links between the Khoi-Khoi and the cattle-keeping agriculturists. (Cf. pp. 104-5).

Interaction and Contact

This is not an extraneous argument, nor is it conveniently employed to embellish the theme of the work. It is part of the fabric of historical development in South Africa. Again and again the author points out that the processes of interaction extend beyond cultural differences. For, as she observes, "it is in the readiness of men to borrow inventions and accept new ideas and techniques that civilization has been built. Only those who favour an anthropological zoo, or who think cultural diversity is the supreme value, or have some mystical notion that culture is carried in the blood, and that those who abandon their 'traditional culture' cannot acquire another - speak of loss." (Cf. p. 73) Those who try to turn a blind eye to the processes of interaction must thus be made to see again that the 17th century settlers, for example, learnt much from the hunters and herders about the animals and the land they came to possess.

Myths of No-Man's-Land

A particularly penetrating aspect of the field covered by Professor Wilson is the account given of the distribution, social structure, economy and

inter-relationships of the various Bantu-speaking groups. In a value judgment based on inference and historical documents (cf. p. 128) she states, inter alia, that the idea of ubuntu (humanity) formed an integral part of Nguni society, for example. This is not an attempt to cover semi-feudal tribal society with a glossy veneer or romanticism. But it does suggest a regulated way of life which refutes the simple equation of indigenous societies with darkness and unbridled paganism. For, as the author point out, 18th century records of the Xhosa-speaking people depict a society in which, for example, disputes were settled in court, trade regulated and the power of the chief himself was restrained. (Cf. pp. 123-4).

In regard to the spread of the indigenous people in time and place the author presents a well-documented account which debunks the myth that the early European settlers and the Africans arrived simultaneously and were therefore both newcomers to South Africa. This myth, one recalls, was employed as part of the political rationalisation presented in the White Paper which accompanied the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill in 1958. Since then it has become part of the stock in trade of the so-called verligte historians (cf. Van Jaarsveld, Muller, etc.) (4) But, as the authors point out in their preface, its very currency represents nothing more than the political values of those who seek to justify their attitude in part on the idea of so-called exclusive occupation of defined areas by different "races".

The historical evidence, however, provides a totally different picture. From early Portuguese documents, together with information obtained from oral traditions and such evidence as archaeological research had made available thus far, it is clear that when the Portuguese made their first contact with South Africa in the 15th century the whole of the present-day Transkei, right up to the coast, was occupied by the indigenous people. Moreover, the historical evidence is abundantly clear that at the time of Van Riebeeck's arrival (in the mid-17th century) the greater part of South Africa was occupied by the indigenous people, spread as they were over the Eastern Cape, the Northern Free State, Transvaal and Natal. (Cf. pp. 78-87; 131-138, 168-172 and 176-177).

Beginnings of Colonial Society

In one way or another the central theme of this work is carried through

in the later chapters which deal with the founding and early growth of the Cape Settlement, the nature of the Frontier problem, the diversification of the Cape Colony during the 19th century and the history of Natal and the Highveld.

The chapter on the history of the Cape between 1652 and 1778 is written by Mrs. M.F. Katzen (formerly also of U.C.T.). She states somewhere at the beginning of her monograph that "the presence of White Settlers determined the nature of the new society at the Cape" (cf. p. 184) and concludes in her final paragraph that "Cape Society in the late 18th century rested on two main assumptions: that Whites should be allowed to deal with slaves and other non-white dependants more or less as they saw fit without government interference, and that all Whites were entitled to as much land as they wanted without paying for it. (cf. p. 232).

Some Indiscretions

Taken as a whole, however, this chapter does not provide an adequate analysis of the bedrock of land and labour on which the wheat and wine economy of the Cape was built during the 17th century. There is fleeting reference to the establishment of settlers in the Liesbeeck valley on Khoi-Khoi grazing grounds, which provoked the first war (1658-60) (cf. p. 194). But the effect of dispossession is nowhere seriously considered as one of the causes for the disintegration of Khoi-Khoi groups.

One is treated to the usual, inelegant value judgments - and this from a presumably enlightened quarter. The Khoi-Khoi, we hear again, were "erratic, unreliable servants, unaccustomed to continuous physical exertion, although many of them worked occasionally for tobacco, brandy or European food, since - (and this, one imagines, must be taken as some attempt to exonerate them) - their flocks and herds gave them a method of obtaining these luxuries alternative to permanent employment" (cf. p. 204).

One learns also from the author that the emergence of the "Afrikaans-speaking Cape Coloured people" was partly the result of early miscegenation between Whites, slaves, Khoi-Khoi and San (cf. p. 184). Perhaps one should be charitable and hope that these lapses are merely unfortunate remainders of traditional attitudes which are proving more stubborn to break than some of the more blatant distortions which the editors.

themselves are at pains to descredit. One trusts that at a later stage a more serious attempt will be made to sort out the labels attached to the "free persons of colour" who emerged as wage labourers at the beginning of the 19th century.

Interaction of the Frontier

The flow of the events in the Cape Colony between 1800-1870 is dealt with in two chapters. In the first of these Professor Wilson deals in the main with the Cape Eastern frontier. She discusses very briefly the Wars of Dispossession, but juxtaposes her comment rather subtly. She states that "the Xhosa were fighting not primarily for booty, but for survival as an independent people" (cf. p. 252). But then, equally, she states rather blandly elsewhere that "a history of dispossession on a frontier by settlers better armed and organised is not unique". Indeed she says, "A trail of tears forms part of the history of many nations, and dispossession had already occurred in South Africa as Bantu-speakers pressed on San" (cf. p. 253).

Again one is prompted to ask whether this interesting juxtaposition of comment is merely an unfortunate value judgment which fails to distinguish between predatory raids in one instance, and a recurring pattern of devastating war, conquest and subjugation on the other? The answer is perhaps given by the author herself in the section entitled "Conflicting attitudes". She writes: "The basic fact of frontier history is the conflict between black and white over the occupation of land - fertile land. Linked with it was competition for the possession of stock over a hundred years during which no government was able to secure property rights on the frontier. The strong raided the weak and in turn were raided (cf. p. 268). It all seems very matter of course in a situation that was characterised by conscious expansion, conquest and dispossession.

The Gospel of Work

Two other interesting matters dealt with in this chapter relate to the missionaries and the 1858 destruction of the frontier.

The author does not deal explicitly with the role of the evangelicals as products of a rising industrial society, but she does state that the missionaries preached the Protestant gospel of work (cf. p. 266). This,

and we quote, "was explicitly in the work of John Brownlee, William Chalmers, John Ross, and the other Scots and Methodists who spread through Nguni coutry". The great man of Lovedale, James Stewart, (5), insisted on "daily manual labour for all pupils. They were engaged in making roads, cutting water courses, constructing dams, or at work in the fields and gardens about the place. But the object was not the value of their labour, but the principle that Christianity and idleness are not compatible. Men began to cultivate, in place of women, and to buy clothes they had to enter employment or sell cattle, so farmers and traders viewed these missions with less disapproval than they had Van der Kemp's Bethelsdorp" (cf. pp. 239-40). (6)

Finding the Culprit

In regard to the 1858 Nongqause Mhlakaza, (7) Professor Wilson attempts to reply to the question whether the so-called suicide formed part of a plot to destroy the military power of the Xhosa-speaking people. She states very categorically that there is absolutely no evidence to suggest any conspiring on the part of any other group, and exonerates the missionary Brownlee, whom she describes as "a man of integrity who battled to save a people he loved from destruction" (cf. p. 259).

She describes the "cattle killing" as a spontaneous reaction rather than one deliberately manipulated by any person, and bases her view, in a large measure, on the argument that the "cattle killing" was not a unique event, but had parallels elsewhere (cf. pp. 259-60). In total, she sees the cattle killing as a resistance movement in part - a reaction to loss of land, military defeat, etc. But equally, too, she sees it as part of a revivalist movement "involving purification from witchcraft and a fusion of old and new religious ideas" (cf. p. 260).

No doubt the cattle killing of 1858 formed part of the conjuncture of many influences which had been at work in the frontier situation. It is not a particularly profitable exercise to attempt to disentangle these influences, nor yet to acclaim the integrity of any particular individual as if one felt called upon to protect his skull. It is more important in a situation such as the 1858 one, for example, to see the event against the total background of what preceded and what followed the so-called suicide. And on this matter, one imagines, there is hardly any room for dispute among serious historians.

Still in the Twilight

The frontier development of the Cape Colony during the years 1778-1870 is dealt with in a chapter contributed by Dr. T.R. Davenport. In a very careful analysis he deals, inter alia, with the development of political institutions and the social and economic diversification of the Colony. He notes that no great change in economic relationships followed the transition from slavery and other forms of bond-labour to wage labour. The "free persons of Colour" did not acquire much bargaining power (cf. p. 293). Further, from the 1850's onwards wool production became increasingly important as thousands of Xhosa-speaking labourers found themselves drawn to the colonial farms. The lavish public spending which marked the governorship of George Grey, as also the constitutional development at this time, was made possible because of the prosperity derived from this source (cf. p. 296).

In his treatment of the legal and political development of the Cape during this period, Dr. Davenport provides an equally competent analysis. He deals, for example, with the impact of the humanitarian movement on the Cape in a much more penetrating manner than one normally encounters in studies of this field. True, his analysis is by no means exhaustive, and his material is not entirely new, but there is a new dimension to his approach to and interpretation of particular situations. Thus, he states that "the extent of the humanitarian revolution (so-called H.P.) whereby, in Marais's words, 'the Cape Colony turned a sharp corner', should not be exaggerated... The legal equality of the free person of Colour did not necessarily imply equality in other fields. He remained a proletarian... and was still expected to show deference to white people, as to social superiors, and to do his business at the white man's backdoor rather than in his livingroom" (cf. p. 310). For, in truth, as he remarks elsewhere, the habit of class and colour differentiation in the outlook of the socially dominant groups, and the tendency towards abjectness on the part of those accustomed to bondage, could not be legislated out of existence and survived as social attitudes, liable to be reasserted in times of stress (cf. p. 23). Some of the implications of this comment are well worth pondering in the situation of today as well.

The Benign Guardian

The events beyond the geographical confines of the Cape Colony during the period 1800-1870 are dealt with by Professor L.M. Thompson in the final chapters of this work.

Professor Thompson provides a well-documented account of the growth of the Afrikaner Republics on the Highveld. He discusses the Afrikaner settlement in the Free State and Transvaal against the background of the Difaqane - the period of disintegration and forced migration of many tribal communities as a result of a dire scarcity of grain and cattle. These conditions, which prevailed roughly from 1822 to 1836, made many of the smaller chieftains, particularly in the N.E. Transvaal, unable to resist the encroaching trekker communities (cf. p. 435). A notable exception, however, was Moshweshwe in the southern Highveld, who managed to hold his kingdom together in the face of increasing encroachment and the advantage which the arms clauses of the British Conventions gave the Trekkers (cf. p. 423).

Professor Thompson also provides a thorough account of the internal and external event which shattered the Kingdom created by Shaka and Dingaan in Natal. These events, Professor Thompson states, did not merely create antagonism between African and African, Boer and Briton, black and white. There was also, he says, a co-mingling of peoples and cultures as a result of the dispersion and regrouping of Africans and the intrusion of Voortrekkers and other white settlers, traders and missionaries. Every farm, every trading station, and every mission in south-eastern Africa was a plural society in microcosm (cf. p. 335).

In his summing up of the Colonial Situation in Natal towards the end of the 1870's, Professor Thompson palls somewhat. There were, he states, three communities around 1870. One, the Africans, had undergone two revolutions in the previous 50 years: "The Shakan revolution" and the white revolution which had given them some security on limited amount of land (our emphasis). By way of comment we need only remind ourselves that this apparent security of tenure formed part of Shepstone's location System. (cf. pp. 289-90).

Professor Thompson, it seems, also sets great store by the benign influence of the Colonial Office, acting as the watchdog of the interests of the subordinate groups. He claims, for example, that whilst Britain around this period was perhaps not sustaining the "non-racial principles set out in the annexation proclamation of 1842, nor yet promoting economic develop-

ment of the locations, she was still sheltering the African and Asian communities from complete domination by the white community through the ultimate control which she kept over the executive control of the colony" (cf. p. 390). This view is difficult to support, particularly if one follows through the history of Natal after 1870. For the pattern of labour which emerged after the discovery of diamonds and gold increasingly demanded the emasculation of the wards - a technique with which the Colonial Office was not in any way unacquainted.

Conclusion

A second volume, dealing with the developments of the new era opened up with the discovery of mineral wealth in South Africa until 1966, has been promised. Along with the first volume this should provide an important contribution to South African historical writing. For, taken as a whole, the present volume does provide a very well integrated and stimulating study of South African history. Whether indeed it looks hard and unflinchingly at all times at the roots of South African society, is a matter on which one has some misgivings. But it is a work that commends itself. It merits reading and discussion again and again, and, above all, use as a reference along with other sources.

LITERATURE

The Non-White in Afrikaans Literature

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL Vol. 19, nr. 6, January, 1945

In the series of articles which will appear on this subject, we do not wish to dwell on the few books in Afrikaans literature which can really be considered as art, but we shall concentrate mainly on writers and works which try to depict Non-whites and Non-White life.

It is not necessary to discuss the origin of the Non-whites here, because we are all familiar with it, yet, it is necessary by way of introduction, to emphasize the relationship of the White man towards the Non-white in order to have a better understanding and judgement of the writers involved and their art. This relationship flows from the economic and political structure of South Africa. The White man looks upon himself as the master, the chosen people, who must be waited upon by the Non-whites. The Non-whites usually occupy the unprivileged positions; he is always the source of cheap unskilled labour, the slave of the white man in South Africa.

It is regrettable and at the same time an indictment against the Afrikaner "artists" that their art - in this case literature - is strongly influenced by their mentality of the Herrenvolk-that of race superiority. It is especially noticeable in their treatment of Non-white life. There are some people, possibly quite a great many, who will aver that this accusation is false, yet it will be supported by facts in this article. Although critics such as F.E.J. Malherbe and Dekker (1) claim that the writer Mikro portrays the "Coloured: with sympathy and love, it must be taken with a pinch of salt. We must ourselves analyse the works in question with a critical eye and spirit before drawing any conclusions. Even examiners ask questions such as the following about Mikro's work: "Mikro has depicted Toiings with love". Prove this statement by citing examples from Toiings". (2) For any honest student, the above-mentioned question will be difficult if not impossible to answer. Since Afrikaner critics and examiners all belong to

to the same Herrenvolk as the writers do, it is understandable that they will agree with one another.

Works dealing with the Non-white parade under the name of REALISM. But before we explain this term, let us first summarize what art and artist mean. One of the aspects of art is the creation of something beautiful. When the artist feels this urge for beauty so strongly then he often gives expression to this urge. Art must also be a true interpretation, it must not allow it to be emasculated into anything else but art. The artist must be someone who can give form (expression) to the feelings of his fellow men, even if he belongs to another nation, class or colour group. Quite obviously, there is a relationship between life and the work of an artist. It is life that teaches the artist, forms his spirit continually. If he wishes to give true expression to the life of a people, he must come into personal contact with love and woe, the sweet and sour, happiness and misery of the people in question. His characters must in the first place be regarded as human beings - not inferior numerals. The artist must, as it were, live through his characters.

The realist gives a picture of reality without any falsification as a result of his privileged position or personal prejudice. He must keep his own personal tastes in the background as long as these do not flow out of the development of the characters and the theme. Naturally his own personality and vision of life will lend colour to his work, yet these factors should never spoil the truthfulness of his picture. The realist can fulfil an important social function in South Africa if he portrays the less privileged and oppressed in their misery and poverty, but also in their humanity. Jochem van Bruggen has succeeded in doing so to some extent in his "novel Ampie". (3) The novel which gives a truthful portrayal of the Non-white and which we can welcome as realism, must still be written. Reality is of course both attractive and unattractive. The artist must not neglect searing truth at the expense of attractiveness. The true word artist knows how to describe the truth without concealing or falsifying it, but at the same time, through his understanding, deep insight and effective means in which he portrays his material, creates a work of art.

The best method of demonstrating these general principles, is to analyse certain works. A start will be made with this in

the next publication.

The Non-White in Afrikaans Literature (2) by Sampie Mikro Toiings (1934) (1).

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The chief character in this work of Mikro is Toiings. He is in the employ of a farmer whom he calls Baas Fanie (2) after having run away from his previous Baas who maltreated him. On arrival at Karreeplaas (farm), his body is still covered with bruises and his clothes in tatters-hence his name. In his ignorance, he only knows that he was on the books of a previous slave owner: In spite of this Toiings leaves him...he cannot tolerate the excessive punishment.

This cruel treatment of Non-white workers is nothing new in this country. It existed at the time of Jan van Riebeeck and is still in existence, although there are courts of law in this country. Even in these 'modern' courts, poor Toiings wouldn't get his just reward, because there are two laws in existence, - one for Whites and one for Blacks.

According to the writer, Fanie Naudé, the new employer is a "very good and loving baas-if the shepherd is of the good sort". He is such a good baas (master) that "each Christmas he gets his wine and, at new year, eight days holidays". In rural areas, "this benevolent" treatment is unheard of. "The neighbours could not understand his baas (master)".

Toiings falls in love with Siena, a smart young lady who is innocence personified, yet Mikro with his Herrenvolk mentality chooses to call her a "meid" (3) - just as he refers to Toiings as a "Hotnot" boy". And people still shamelessly aver that Mikro is a sympathetic portrayer of the "Coloured". For too long have we tolerated the fact that the Non-White is ridiculed and humiliated in Afrikaans literature. Even old people with exemplary conduct are referred to as "outa" and "aia". (3) This book is often prescribed in schools were Non-whites are forced to "enjoy" such works. It is high time that Non-Whites make their influence felt by getting them-

selves appointed to the committees concerned.

The conversations between the employer and Toiings are especially remarkable:

"Morning Baas", and he lifts his hat.
"Toiings, you better graze alongside the empty spaces today my boy".
"Yes, Baas... Baas Fanie?..."
"Yes, Toiings?"
"Yes, Baas. Its like this Baas. Look, Baas, tomorrow night, I would like very much to have"
"Oompie" Kerools and "nig"Meraaigoed" here with me. Oom Jan and Neef Salmon and a few "meide" would also very much like to come.. Siena too, Baas".

Doesn't this sound suspiciously like wilful exaggeration?

Notice how "well" Mikro creeps into this characters when Toiings argues: "Brown people do not belong in the house of the baas". And Toiings is so conscious of his inferiority that he feels bad in the presence of the "baas" and the "noi". (4) Come now-where would he have a chance to dance. And then, especially in front of the "noi". (4) "Die baas-goed" (4) only makes one feel bad".

Towards midnight on Christmas, the "Coloureds" sing, "Silent Night, Holy Night" under Naudé's window. "When "noi" (4) Miemie turns herself, then she gets the idea that one day there will be a brown choir in heaven".

This thought which finds its origin in white minds, is ludicrous to those who see it in proper perspective. Actually, the writer has again tried to poke fun at the Coloured and to make him conscious of his status as a slave. According to Herrenvolk, there will also be segregation in heaven-white and brown choirs. Just imagine. The author allows us however to laugh heartily at the expense of the so-called civilized white housewife. At the same time this reveals Mikro's prejudice and his feeling of superiority. That race hated can have such a deleterious and scandalous influence on an "artist" is only possible in South Africa.

When Toiings married Siena, the young couple are deeply happy. Toiings however, remains satisfied with his environment. He

only wants to raise more sheep. Mikro is apparently of the opinion that a happy marriage and a "good employer such as "baas" Fanie, is all the Coloured man desires. Higher wages, comfortable hours and better treatment, will only spoil the Coloured. The birth of Siena's first child brings even more happiness to the young couple.

A few months after David's birth, fate strikes at Toiings, His beloved Siena is suddenly plucked from his midst. He now only lives for David. The memory of his deceased mother remains hallowed for him. Now and then he visits the grave where he prays and gives vent to his feelings. These grave-yard scenes are ridiculous; they are deliberately ridiculous with the purpose of portraying Coloureds as imbeciles. Admittedly there are thousands of Coloureds with little or no education as a result of oppression, but even the most ignorant of persons, who is neither simple or weak-minded will ever behave so ridiculously at the grave-side. - especially if he attends prayer meetings, like Toiings does -in church on the farm of his baas.

In the course of time, Toiings considers it wise to marry again, for the sake of his son, and so that he would have a mother. Unfortunately, he marries Grieta, who only gives him headaches until he forcibly evicts her.

After some time, life in "Blikkiesdorp" (shanty town) beckons to Toiings. He leads a licentious life here, neglects his son David who becomes seriously ill - then comes to his senses and returns to Karreeplaas, where Fanie Naudé takes back his old shepherd without any hesitation.

Before his departure from "Blikkiesdorp", Toiings has revealed his love to Jannetjie, a young woman who continually nursed his son when he was dangerously ill. It is his intention to take Jannetjie to Siena's grave one day and to say: "Siena, you are alive again. Jannetjie is just like you".

In judging this book we must undoubtedly conclude that this is not art in the true sense of the word. In the first place, Mikro has not given us a true portrayal of Coloured life. Far too often he exaggerates and falsifies the truth as a result of which, we can definitely accuse him of being prejudiced. Quite possibly, he is a superficial expert of Coloured life on the farms, but in his

portrayal he gives the impression that he looks at his characters from a distance.

He often, however, succeeds in portraying the typically happy-go-lucky atmosphere at parties, also the fresh and lively language of Coloureds, for example. He never knew he could dance so "onge-sukkel" (literally, without trouble), i.e. unbridled.

This book falls under the category of realism. Perhaps, it is a type of erzats art which can be labelled Herrenvolk realism. It does not in any way portray the Coloured with truthful humanity. We have quoted some examples above, which demonstrate that the author does not understand the inner feelings of the characters.

In the novel "Ampie" by Jochem van Bruggen, the author definitely identifies himself with his characters. We feel that van Bruggen has crept into Ampie's skin. Van Bruggen did not belong to the poor-white class, yet he is in reality an expert of the rural areas and his people. And because he portrayed the poor whites humanely, and with love, he has contributed the creation of an immortal character, namely Ampie. Mikro cannot claim that he is a true expert of Coloured life, because his works reveal no such signs.

"Ampie", which is really a fragmentary tale of Ampie's life, is justly an indictment against the government which nourishes capitalism by exploiting the less-privileged. This book contains a realistic and sympathetic description of poor-whiteism. Can we say that Mikro gives a realistic portrayal of the social background in which the Coloured finds himself on the farms? No, it would rather appear that Mikro doesn't see the necessity for this. Quite possibly, he may even justify the deterioration and disintegration of the Non-white. They must remain slaves on the land. Many Afrikaners refuse to forgive van Bruggen for having portrayed the poor-white in his daily family background - despite its truthfulness.

Finally, we would like to refer to the humour of "Ampie" in order to understand better, the humour of "Toiings". In "Ampie" we are confronted with priceless humour-laughter with a tear - for example, when Goor Dawid gives the following apology when he is asked to sign his name:

"Oom Kasper, You know the flue.. My hands were completely dead then, and I had completely forgotten to sign my name... Come Ampie, take the pen, and I'll take the top part!"

The humour in "Toiings" is not humour at all, but laughter from above, by someone who delights in the ignorance and illiteracy of an inferior. It runs through the entire story.

Afrikaner critics think that Mikro has depicted the mentality of the Coloured in Toiings", but in our opinion, he has only revealed the mentality of the South African artists-the mentality which debauches art for the sake of racial superiority.

Censorship and "immoral" literature - C. Peters

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Not so long ago an attack was made on "immoral" literature and some form of censorship was demanded. Especially at the synodal meetings of the D.R. Church, the danger of so-called immoral literature was given great prominence. Like the subjects the "Roomse Gevaar", (1) the social economic, political and religious life of the "volk", the subject of "immoral" literature never fails to appear on the Synod's agenda. The Boer predikants, however, have a narrow view of morality and for them immorality concerns only sex life, and not, as it really does, all life: one's doing or not doing (for refraining from correct action is also immoral), one's thinking, ideas, philosophy of life. And it is on other planes of life rather than that of sex only (pornographic literature) that the immorality of South African literature is really seen - a literature which is often simply one of the implements with which the Herrenvolk work to keep the Non-Europeans mentally bound.

"If some of our cleaners-up would stop thinking about sex and take a look at this violent cruel stuff, they might yet do us a service", says J.B. Priestley ("The Real Clean-up" in New Statesman and Nation of July 24). Substitute for "violent cruel stuff" the words "misshapen picture of man and his worth end of the world then we have the position in South African literature. Immorality

in SA literature lies in the dishonest viewing and portraying of the SA situation, and in the false ideas disseminated by means of this literature. It lies also in the refusal to tackle the situation in its full reality. For one thing, it lies in the ulterior motives with which so many of the so-called "problem" novels are written. Allow me to mention a few of these motives:

(1) Money-making and the craze for popularity: novels on the Colour question have a wide appeal and novelists take advantage of this interest to make money and gain a dubious popularity.

(2) Political: (a) Novelists support the myth of the so-called "problem". They give support to SA politicians continually proclaiming to the world at large the "complexity" of the SA Colour problem in order to justify the Herrenvolk treatment of Non-Europeans: (b) These novels are written with a "moral" purpose, e.g. to teach a lesson that inter-marriage is doomed to have tragic consequences for the couple, their offspring and South Africans generally , or "to throw light on the relations between the Black and White peoples of SA" - with all the light on the Whites, of course,

The dissemination (conscious or unconscious) of warped ideas is the real immorality that needs cleaning up. Readers are induced to look at life in a certain way which does not accord with a humanitarian outlook. The Non-Whites are alleged to have certain inherent and unalterable qualities; likewise the Whites in their turn. The Non-Whites usually commit the most heinous and unmotivated crimes: crimes by Whites usually have extenuating circumstances. Almost all criminal acts in SA literature are committed by Non-Europeans. It is legitimate and "moral" to act indecently and harshly towards Non-Europeans (e.g. in "Mittie", by Daphne Rooke, a Coloured girl is used sexually in the crudest way, while the author deals with the sexual life of the White women with a certain decency). The Non-European is portrayed as inherently bad; no amount of "White civilisation" can save him; sooner or later the inborn beast triumphs (e.g. "Jan: an Afrikaner" by Anna Howarth and "Daniel Vananda" by W.C. Scully).

Imagine the immorality perpetrated in the name of poetry and education in so-called literature instruction. Take the infamous

"poem", Amakeia, by A.G. Visser. (2) The whole intention of the "poem" is to arouse feelings against wanton destruction and murder by Africans, and the "poem" lends itself to that type of declamation which leaves the reciter and listeners with glistening eyes. After such instruction it is difficult to make children understand that Africans are human beings instead of monsters.

Even the "liberal" writer is immoral in intention, for his real purpose is not to treat of human beings as humans, but to preserve White superiority by warning his people that unfair treatment of Non-Europeans will lead to ultimate destruction at the hands of the Non-Europeans, and by pleading for more humane policy to prevent this happening (e.g. the much-praised "Turbott Wolfe" by W. Plomer) (3).

As Priestley goes on to say in the article mentioned above, we always have sex with us. Youngsters are exposed to sex in a hundred and one ways outside books. "A youth of our time has not to read a book to find sexual stimulation: the lecherous eye is catered for by an army of experts". In his youth, says Priestly, they searched the Bible and Shakespeare for juicy bits. The Victorians themselves had "notable secret collections" of sex writings. Neither in this aspect of morality the real danger in SA. The consequence of the really immoral literature is not the arousing of a bit of harmless passion, nor yet the arousing of Non-Whites to contemplate rape, but is of an infinitely more serious nature. It means the injuring of the minds of millions by the inculcations of false values and a sense of inferiority. It is the spiritual and mental oppression that it effects, that makes SA Literature so highly immoral. Writings presenting the exceptional, the horridly exceptional in sexual aberration, Belsen violence and murder, finally fail to stimulate as they take effect by blunting the senses of the perverse reader; but the type of immorality referred to in this article creates the mental subjection of millions and the emasculation of all decent desire to be rid of oppression by turning the mind into escapist alleys of the Church, the past tribal bliss, a romantic country existence.

The real corrupters are writers expounding false values by championing the politically dishonest. What do they hold up to our people? The hero of our kind is he who upholds SA law and order - the White man's law - in other words, he who accepts

his inferior position as if ordained. In Swart Pelgrim (4), by Venter, the exemplary African hero is he who in protest against discrimination and oppression becomes a criminal but is weaned from his criminal desires and his hatred and protesting by a White old lady who refuses to gaol him for housebreaking and attempted assault, and by a White doctor who saves his life in the mines. He thereupon realises that he owes everything to the Whites; that the salvation of the African lies with his tribe in the reserves.

The main consequence of SA literature, therefore is to entrench Herrenvolk interests, i.e. the interests of the minority. The real clean-up is not likely to happen in England, says Priestley, "because it is the pleasures of sex and not the pains of cruelty that start puritan crusading". Neither is the real clean-up likely in SA because the attention is always focused on side issues, and because SA literature is such a competent ally of a regime intending to monopolise the young for its own ends - especially the Non-European young. As long as Herrenvolkism prevails, the Non-Europeans themselves will have to be on the alert against the poison to which they are being constantly subjected in the name of literature, and it is the special task of the teacher to effect a measure of cleaning-up.

BOOK REVIEW

DEAD ROOTS, poems, by Arthur Nortje. Heinemann, African Writers Series, No. 141.

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. XLV, nr. 8, june 1974

The story of Arthur Nortje is as short as it is tragic. Born in Oudtshoorn in 1942, he attended school in Port Elizabeth and took a degree at the Bellville Bush. He taught briefly and in 1965 left to study at Jesus College, Oxford. In 1967 he left Oxford and went to teach in Canada, returning to Oxford in 1970 to work for a doctorate, and died there in the same year of an overdose of drugs. He wrote poetry seriously from 1960 to November, 1970, for one brief decade, that is.

Heinemann, posthumously but with the assistance of Nortje's friends, have published the fruits of these ten years, some 104 poems in all - probably all his extant verse - in chronological order under the title Dead Roots in its "African Writers Series". Like so many other titles in this series, this collection is virtually a public service. Making it available at what is a relatively modest price by present-day standards, the publishers have made it possible for teachers and even students to be able to acquire what, even if only from the point of view of South African writing in English, will prove to be a significant collection.

Plaintive note.

The note that sounds most strongly in Nortje's early work (1960-1965, the period in which he wrote and lived in South Africa) is the plaint of loneliness. His is the cry of the alleenloper, (1) of the outsider looking in. There is more meaning than the literal in the complaint of the hitch-hiker in Thumbing a lift (the opening poem of the collection):

> "I scream in sad fury for movement home.
> They ignore me, mama, they and their crazy machines, bright machines. Past this wheedling tramp
> Cars swish and whizz in dust-whirling frenzy", and who finally gets a lift only when: A cattle truck careers me towards the horizon".

Of course, this complaint against exclusion, against always being relegated to cattle-truck status, can be reactionary; especially when voiced on behalf of an elite (real or imagined, social, economic or educational). On this level Nortje's position is somewhat ambiguous. There is evidence that he regards the position of the artist as special in an elitist sense, but this relates to a later period.

The loneliness is a little self-conscious and one sometimes suspects a pose: "Is the heart's country/ all the loneliness?" (Synopsis, SA 1963). One should, however, remember his youth at the time.

A significant poem from this period is Soliloquy: South Africa, written in 1963. The melancholy pervading this poem begins with the opening line (with which the poem ends too): "It seems

me speaking all the lonely time". The poem seeks to fuse two elements: a personal one, a (predictably?) melancholy love affair, with a public one, the need to "speak more, though only in whispers, of 1963 freedom/ now that desire has become subversive".

1963

Memorable is the way in which the brooding violence of South Africa 1963 is suggested:

"The gulls are screaming. I speak out to sea.
Waters, reared for attack, break forward:
Without a word, this violence...".

Whenever there is any reference to freedom or oppression or struggle, there is with Nortje a nostalgic longing for those who have left South Africa. Indeed, it seems that much of the loneliness is the result of being parted from them. We find it in the question with which Synopsis ends: "Where have the men gone/who fought colour/theories, cracked spectrums - / back to the prisms?", and it is central to Soliloquy:

"All one attempts is talk in the absence
of others who spoke and vanished
without so much as an echo.
I have seen men with haunting voices
turned into ghosts by a piece of white paper
as if their eloquence had been black magic".

The most successful poem of the first five-year period is Preventive detention, written in 1963, in the aftermath of the State of Emergency when preventive detention was practised on a massive scale. By means of a simple, undramatic statement placed against a tranquil image drawn from nature, the poem illumines the horror of it all:

"Pale teaboy juggling cups and saucers
once taught Othello to our class,
and a spindly scholar's imprisoned because
winter is in the brilliant grass".

The apparent non sequitur of "imprisoned because/ winter is in the brilliant grass" captures the arbitrariness (of the arrest and detention) while it reminds of the deprivation of those incarcerated, prevented as they are, for instance, from enjoying the "shining grass".

No coincidence

Is it merely coincidental that this most successful poem of the early period is outward looking, in the sense that his talent grapples with the problem of recording a reality that exists outside of himself rather than inward looking at the problems that are peculiar to his own psyche? Hardly. Nortje's best work, his best political poems that is, are in the tradition of the essentially personal statement that enlarges a common awareness.

Contrast Preventive Detention, for example, with Hangover written in the same year. In the latter poem political references abound ("Bill is in for an infinite while - and that's why Tom went underground", for instance, or "better stick that poem away/before the Special boys raise hell") but the central core of the poem is concerned with the personal to which the political is a non-functioning background, It is concerned with a life going nowhere, loneliness, frustration and bitterness. The poem remains narrow and personal, for there is no political understanding (stated, implied or sensed) that informs it, that could lift it beyond the description of the malaise affecting one particular personality. It is a measure of the failure of the poem that although it deals with a general phenomenon Nortje's description of his own state does not help to illumine this general condition, does not add to our awareness or understanding of it. (How common, unfortunately, is not the Non-White intellectual who is sensitive, frustrated, lonely, dissatisfied, bitter, seeking solace and the power to endure from alcohol and suffering regularly from post-alcoholic depression, melancholia and remorse?).

Another 1963 poem that holds some interest is Spell cold and ironic (October, 1963). Woven into a description of a sudden cold spell after Spring had already liberated nature comments and implied comments of the South African situation. The cold snap comes after Spring had "hatched eggs, flocks of new birds opened/ freedom's country, offered the millions/blood's fresh chance to change and mingle". He compares the inhibiting effect of a sudden cold snap on Spring with the impact of banning and restriction:

"that grey day gagged it - spring could not
speak".

Departure and fresh loneliness

During 1964 and 1965, the year of his departure, Nortje's poems reflect a growing turning-inwards, a preoccupation with the personal and subjective. Loneliness and a sense of loss dominate his verse. Breaking free from this preoccupation on the eve of his departure, he claims (Song for a passport) that his allegiance remains with the oppressed. However, he justifies his need to go in the following terms:

"parting of ways exposed
love's tattered fabric
but the world rose
larger through the tears in bright enticement.
Who loves me so much not to let me go,
not to let me leave a land of problems?"

There is some nostalgia. "My final spring grows beautiful" (Transition, 1965), but he is determined to go, to experience "the miracles of destinations" and so, perhaps by way of consoling us, he says in the final poem of this period:

"For your success, black residue,
I bear desire still, night thing!
Remain in the smoky summer long
though I be gone from green-flamed spring.

In London, thus the evidence of his verse, Nortje was (re?)-united with the exiles, but this did not produce great poetry (although we do not disagree with the reviewer who found development "gradually towards greater skill and control over the resources of versification"). His work is marked by an intense longing for home, a longing that may, however, not be indulged lest it prove destructive. In Cosmos in London (London 1966) we already find:

"O come back Africa! But tears may now
extinguish even the embers under the ash".

Here, too, we find the beginnings of the conviction that drove him increasingly into the realms of the intensely personal poetry, recording the disintegration of the personality where the "indulgences of the flesh" had become the significant thing in his life, the conviction that in exile he could not be the poet-prophet of change:

"I could name
Brutus, Mandela, Luthuli (2) - but that memory
disturbs the order of the song, and whose
tongue can stir in such a distant city?"

This conviction is found, too, as the conclusion of the prophetically titled Autopsy (September 1966):

"The luminous tongue in the black world
has infinite possibilities no longer".

In passing, this poem contains a remarkable tribute to the poet Dennis Brutus: "pursued by banshee sirens/ he made their wails the kernel of his eloquence".

This discovery about himself intensified Nortje's sense of alienation and rationalised his retreat into the world of Soho prostitutes, homosexual experience and drugs. Listen to his argument:

'Lack of belonging was the root of hurt
the quick child, he must travel
new views of greening trees alert
my sensitivities and why
should I deny them".

(Affinity to Maggie. Oxford 1966).

Poet lost.

His final rootlessness, in terms of political orientation, is admitted, I think, in Winter, Oxford (December 1966) with "I've sat/to think away an exile long impoverished" and his admission Song, may 1967) "... I cannot pay/cannot redeem the promises I pawned". His plight, the poet lost, is agonisingly expressed in his brilliant Night ferry and the related Waiting, both dating from 1967, and ending:

"I suffer the radiation burns of silence.
It is not the cosmic immensity or catastrophe
that terrifies me:
It is solitude that mutilates,
the night bulb that reveals ash on my sleeve".

Nortje's commitment to the political struggle was always tenuous, if not sentimental. It was not based on defined and clear convictions so much as on a confused affinity and identification with "the men gone". He seemed to have thought that once with them he

would be able to fulfil his political function. Only to find in exile that the roots had died.

By the time of Night Ferry and Waiting he had abandoned hope of finding a useful function. He went to Canada and returned to England once again. But it was basically the end.

Native's letter (Toronto, May 1970) expresses the bitter truth that Nortje finally understood but proved incapable of living according to; and though this was technically not his last poem, it was perhaps his epitaph:

"...To be of
value to his homeland must the wanderer
not weep by northern waters, but love
his own bitter clay
roaming through the hard cities, tough
himself as coffin nails".

Part of his weakness is recorded in the final lines:

"for some of us must storm the castles
some define the happening".

Nortje lacked the political understanding to make his poems part of the storming of the castles and, regrettably, sought a separate and elitist function - defining the happening. Or so he hoped.

If only his enormous talent could have been harnessed to a cutting edge of political understanding, what a weapon he might have wielded! Then Preventive Detention and Letter from Pretoria Central Prison would not have been the striking exceptions but the beginning of the fulfilment promised by his talent. A.D.V.

An Open Letter to André Brink

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XLV, nr. 5, January-February, 1974

Dear André Brink,

We have not met and it is rather rude of me to write you an open letter. But then, it is fashion nowadays: You wrote to your Uncle Jannie Kruger; the :Afrikaner missionary and theologian", Prof. D.C.S. van der Merwe writes to you; Bolander writes to Griqua boy, (1) not to mention the "verkramptes" who throw themselves at the "verligtes". (2) So, I thought. Here from amidst a section

of the people who watch the Baasvolk, (3) maybe, we see things differently than people from overthere on your side, here from the back quarters of South Africa, from the corner of the non-Citizens where we behold the spiritual civil war. Now, I write to you. So that you can take note...if you wish.

Note well, André, I talk of non-Citizens. I leave the Black story to your friend Adam Small and his fellow travellers. I leave the Brown stories to your friend Jan Rabie and the other Sestigers. (4) O yes, also for your colleague, Gus Adams. That other educated colleague of yours who makes one feel one shouldn't be educated.

One last point. If the letter gets nasty in parts, you must forgive me I hope, for there is no nastier pen in Afrikaans than yours.

With your first book, I was already strongly impressed with your talent to use words. In this area, there is not a poet alive who can teach you much about the magic of words. My admiration for you grew. There is no one who can describe and tell a story like you.

I cannot however, admire your creation of characters. I have the feeling that all your characters remain the same. That Cleopatra of your Caesar (5), is basically but the older Ambassadeur's (5); young beloved, she is Her in Orgie and once more, Jessica in Kennis (5); I also see a straight line between the older Caesar, the oldish ambassador and the oldish Cole from Kennis. And the same triangle: one woman, two lovers, one oldish, - the same thing as with Caesar, the Ambassadeur and Orgie, we now have with Kennis. In your work one is rather confronted more with types than with human beings. And almost invariably, your characters are doomed to die. You do not have characters which grow and develop; there are only ritual movements which lead ruthlessly to their predestined death. (In passing André, to what extent does this obsession with death reflect the spiritual condition of intellectuals conscious of the inevitable death of a social system which spawned them and to which they belong? You will remember how the gathering of the year before was described as a funeral...).

In Kennis, you've gone further than the rest but not far enough to create living and developing and convincing characters. You sometimes give a scintillating and at times brilliant report of recog-

nizable types in a wellknown situation; but not yet the novel. In my opinion. With respect.

Your chief character, Josef Malan, is "a talented brownman from the Cape", and it is necessary to have some clarity about the Concept Coloured (or the related Concepts, Bantu, Indian etc.). Clarity about race, colour and nation is the sine qua non for any meaningful discussion of South African affairs.

In the entire world, also in South Africa, there is only one race of people and this race is indivisible. Naturally, there are lies and falsehoods about race in the entire world and also in South Africa. Here especially, there is the lie that the population of South Africa can be divided into several races. Here, among us, race and nationality are lies and falsehoods used to conceal and make acceptable to both sides, the naked and rough (crude) divisions created in this land, the division into Baas-volk-Klaasvolk, (6) Citizen-Non-Citizen.

The Coloured (or Bantu, Indian etc.) is not a human being but an artificial classification and existing by the grace of the South African legislation.

Now it is true that there are people who (for example) regard themselves as Coloureds. Look at your colleague Gus Adams. (7) and until recently, Adam Small, but he is apparently Black these days. Many others too. But they are people who, as a result of what was taught them (in the family circle, at school, sunday-school, in church and in their daily lives through the press and as a result of race), have a false image of themselves, because they accept the official and hallowed falsehoods of this country. It is therefore true that they look upon themselves as Coloureds but this does not turn the concept Coloured into something truthful. If Oom Kootjie Emmer imagines himself to be the Prime Minister, then it is true that he imagines this, but he still remains Kootjie Emmer and does not become John Vorster. In short, the fact that lies and falsehoods are widely accepted among the baasvolk and Klaasvolk as holy writ, does not change their nature.

The tragedy of the matter is, André, that you accepted that there is such a thing as Coloured. Perhaps I do you an injustice if I put it so bluntly. For you, there exists a Coloured man. A human being indeed- but still a Coloured - thus of necessity different,

for behold he is not white. Consequently, the falsity of race is added to the creation of your character and it becomes impossible for you to describe him truthfully, because the racial lie falsifies the truth.

Poor Josef Malan. You have created him as Coloured and therefore, he lives under the sign of the lie; he remains less than a full-grown man. Just notice the relation between Josef and Willem, especially after Josef's return. Here it is not a human being who appears, but what the Afrikaner intellectual thinks a Coloured intellectual would feel, think and do. I do not simply wish to give the impression that Josef is a Toiings with higher education. That element is definitely present; but there is yet another.

You have used your own experiences in order to create Josef Malan. What you yourself have experienced as a student, you allow him to experience. Josef Malan progresses (I cannot say grow), as a human being out of what you, André yourself, have experienced. Josef falls in love. (and just to be naughty: he makes love as you did or are capable of doing). And because you are writing, as it were, from your innermost soul, you forget now and then, that Josef is Coloured and you treat him like a human being. As a result, the meeting with Jessica and the budding relationship is real, right and natural. It is a man who meets a woman, who falls in love and who makes love.

It is this natural quality which angers people. This expunges the racial lie and for these people, this is sacrilegious.

It is this aspect of your novel, the fact that you now and then could forget that Josef is Coloured and turn him into a human being that you could now and then, break away from the "baasvolk mentality", which forces me to admit that, possibly, at a later stage, you may succeed in creating a character, write a proper novel.

But not yet. You have tried to create Josef out of two conflicting elements - man and Coloured man and the joints are visible. There are many things I must now leave unsaid; yet one question must be posed: Why must Jessica and Josef die?

Do you really expect me to believe and to accept that the only future for love across the colour line is death? Come of it, André!

How do I interpret a Josef who bluntly refuses to emigrate with Jessica, only to immediately afterwards, share with her the ultimate emigration of death.

No, André. All things put together, it is too much for you to see that White and Non-white can love, with passion, with abandon and continue to live. Jessica and Josef have ignored the deepest taboo of the White tribe and must therefore pay the penalty. For such a transgression, there is only one penalty; they must die.

Here, you give in as artist to the deepest and darkest feelings of your tribe. Their death is the clearest sign that you - notwithstanding, inspite of - are still bound to your tribe, André.

An Afrikaner scholar of literature, one of the main speakers at the protest meeting against the ban imposed on Kennis, said among other things: "It has been averred that the book is subversive. For whom? For the country at large, for the Whites, or the National Party. In my opinion for none of these three, not even for the National Party". And this man is right. Basically, Kennis doesn't militate against the tribe. It does oppose certain evils in the life of the tribe, but it does not go against the basic tenets nourishing the tribe.

Now about the banning of the book. I am against the ban and I demand for you the right to be answerable only to your artistic sense in whatever you write. Not only for you, but for everybody. For Breyten. For Mphahlele, for Brutus, for Gordimer, for all those who create.

I would gladly like to distantiate myself from this ban against Kennis, because it is an Afrikaans book. Those who see in the ban an impoverishment of Afrikaans literature and therefore, a corrosion of the Afrikaner spiritual equipment, an impoverishment therefore of Afrikaner spiritual life.

Look, the people of South Africa are not free, can not be free until there is one united nation in South Africa represented directly and properly in the central parliament and other legislative bodies. The laws against censorship, wholely and completely unacceptable as they are, are by-products. The main concern is the constitution which contains the franchise and turns the majority of the population into Non-Citizens. (8)

The freedom enjoyed by the citizens is not freedom but privilege based on lawlessness of the nation. If I am against the ban on your book, then I do not seek for you the privilege of White citizens, and not at all the special privilege of Afrikaner writers; Not at all. I demand for you, and for all of us, the democratic right of writers in

a democratic land to honour only, the limitations of a free man's social conscience in their works of art. A writer and thinker would be unworthy of anything less than this universal demand.

And, let me tell you this boldly, Dear André, thus far your behaviour was undignified.

Your first reaction, I mean public reaction (of your private reactions, I am ignorant and consider them as irrelevant), was to write an open letter to the chief censor. And you address him as "My Dear Oom Jannie". He, who because of his job and rank, doesn't want to know you. Oom Jannie. To emphasize that you are tribally related. As it behoves a good Afrikaner.

And then, you told the Oom who and what you are. And what did you say. A writer who demands his right, the same rights which all writers should have? No. I am a good family man who plays with my baby. I was a bare-foot urchin growing up, in Griqualand West among the acacias. (9) In my youth I wrote for the Jongspan. (9) I studied at Potchefstroom (9) and was a member of the "Nasionale Jeugbond" (9) and founder-member of the "Ruiterwag". (9) And, so you go on, attempting to prove that you are a good Afrikaner.

My, my, André. I am ashamed of you. You hide behind the Jongspan, Die Nasionale Jeugbond and Van Wyk Louw, (10) and all your contributions to Afrikaans literature. Were you not the man who at the Summer School of the Sestigers gave such a learned talk to prove that the Sestigers are imbedded in the Western European literary tradition. Is this how you interpret tradition?

And the following week, it is on the front page of Rapport what a meek and homely chap you are.

Maybe, I shouldn't be ashamed of you. Maybe, you have nothing in common with us. Maybe, one should expect this sort of thing from an artist who would rather allow Josef and Jessica to die.

Still, notwithstanding, because.

S. Van Zul Swart.

translated from the Afrikaans by V.A. February.

Book Review "Boesman and Lena"

(Boesman and Lena, a play in Two Acts by Athol Fugard. Buren Publishers, Cape Town, 1969, R.1.95)

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XL1, nr. 6. March, 1970

Up to fairly recently Athol Fugard forbade the performance of his plays before segregated audiences. His plays, and in particular Blood Knot, (1) were not approved by apartheid's arbiters of cultural offerings. He had to go abroad to find audience and recognition for his work. And, of course, he had his share of passport difficulties. That was the recent past.

Now things have changed. His latest play, Boesman and Lena, in which he plays the lead, was pesented by C.A.P.A.B., (2) replete with a kitchen performance for klonkies (3) and drew full houses of lily-white and enthusiastic audiences. The critics of the white establishment unanimously raved about the play, the playwright and his acting. Indeed, he is likely to receive apartheid's equivalent (pardon the understatement) of the Oscar.

This dramatical reversal caused us some curiosity. Had our White audiences suddenly become really enlightened? Had Fugard succeeded in the theatre where Dr. Hymie Gordon had failed in trying to open an art exhibition and the eyes of White South Africans at the same time? Or had Fugard lost some of his earlier integrity and was he now presenting fare more compatible with the susceptibilities of the ware South African palate? There were pointers, of course. C.A.P.A.B. were the sponsors, and not only was the play performed to lily-white audiences but Fugard himself played Boesman and did not spare himself the ultimate humiliation of playing on the stage of a place which has the sordid distinction of being the original home of the Klonkie (3) audience. (Johnnie et al) (3). We being neither lily-white nor Klonkie, (3) the final satisfaction of our curiosity had to wait on a reading of the play

ANSWER.

Our answers to the questions are clear. C.A.P.A.B. is the proper

sponsor of a play such as this and the segregated audience is the proper arena. South African audiences have not undergone a dramatic transformation. South African theatre critics still serve the same gods. Athol Fugard, the playwright, is on all forms with Athol Fugard the actor who bestrides the aparte stage, says his piece and does what his Boesman and Lena do at the end - "they look around for the last time, then turn and walk into the darkness".

THE PLAY.

The play has three characters (4): Boesman, " a Coloured man" (or, as he is made to say, "I'm a happy Hotnot")(4), Lena, "a Coloured woman" (or, as she is made to say, an "Ou Hotnot meid" (4) and Outa (4) (who is not made to say anything but merely to mumble a few phrases in Xhosa, but who is described per Lena as ""n goeie Kaffer"). (4)

The play depicts one night in the life of Boesman and Lena. That morning their pondok (5) has been bull-dozed flat, together with the rest of the shanties of Korsten (6) and now, as so often before, they are on trek. They are in search of a place to erect their pondok and to remain till Korsten is repeated and they trek again as they did to Coegakop to Veeplaas to Redhouse to Missionvale to Bethelsdorp, back again to Redhouse then to Kleinskool, to Veeplaas to the mudflats of the Swartkops River for the first time, then to Redhouse again, Bethelsdorp, Korsten, Veeplaas, Swartkops the second time, then Missionvale again, veeplaas, Korsten and then back to the Swartkops mudflats for the night of our play.

During this night they talk, revealing the story of their lives, their perpetual trek, and themselves to themselves and, of course, to the audience.

The playwright gives himself an opportunity of tracing out their lives, the process whereby these two born of woman, are driven by forces beyond their immediate and personal control ever lower until the very humanity is ground out of them and they wallow in the mud depraved and sub-humans. If he did this, he would portray, through the vehicle of the tragedy of their terrible, wasted lives, the operation of that sum of forces called the colour-bar system; he would show his lily-whites the base on which their privilege and wealth,

their luxury and pomp rests that it is essentially their parasitism that preys upon and ultimately destroys the humanity of Boesman and Lena and Outa; and he would reveal to the Klaasies (7) how it came to be that they, born of woman, came to be Klaasies, (7) came to lose their humanity.

And this is precisely what Athol Fugard does not do. Even though he chooses a situation, the night on the mudflats when Boesman and Lena try to trace out their lives and grope towards an understanding of how it happened (Lena:.... I wasn't born today. I want my life. Where's it? Boesman: In the mud, where you are, now. Tomorrow it will be there too, and the next day....) which demands it. He fails because, in order to succeed, in order to force an understanding of the lotsverbondenheid (8) with Boesman and Lena and Outa. upon his audience he must confront the people in the audience with people on the stage. There can only be real lotsverbondenheid (8) between human and fellow human.

FAILURE.

This is the crucial failure of Athol Fugard and the cause of his descent into the pit with C.A.P.A.B. and the apologists for apartheid. He does not confront man with man. His audience cannot identify with those on the stage because they are not of the same species.

On stage there are not wrecks of humanity who began as humans but were wrecked by the selfsame process that placed other humans in their privileged seats (or other in their voluntarily accepted Klonkie seats). On stage there are not people who have been deprived, dehumanized and brutalised. On stage there is Boesman, "a Coloured man" (or "a jolly Hotnot" if you like); there is Lena, "a Coloured woman" (or an "ou Hotnot meid" if you like); and there is Outa ("an African" or..." 'n goeie ou Bantoe" or "'n goeie ou kaffer" (9) if you like). Far from cutting accross and through the rubbish and the rot of the South African mythmakers and confronting man with man across the stage and forcing man's attention upon the human condition, Fugard leaves Madam and Master in the comfort of their privileged seats to gaze upon the sad, sad lot of a different species who begin, are, and remain in the mud. Of course, Madam and Master derive comfort from the belief that those on stage do not belong to their species.

AT RANDOMN.

And this belief is strengthened by what is portrayed on the stage. We have neither stomach nor space to repeat in full the disgusting catalogue, and so we make a few randomn quotations:

Lena: Give me a dop (10)

Boesman: That's better. Now you're talking like a Hotnot. Weg wêreld - kom brandewyn. (10)

Lena: A dop please man!

Boesman: You look like one too, now. A real one. Gat op die grond and time vir 'n bottel. (10)

Lena: (really desperate) then open one

Boesman: All that funny talk is thirsty work hey

Lena: Open a bottle Boesman! (p. 21)

Lena: I want him

Boesman: This is wine Lena. That's a kaffer. (10) He won't help you forget. You want to sit sober in this world? You know what it looks like then?

Lena: I want him

Boesman: (shaking his head). You off your mind tonight (to the old man) You are expensive drol. (Two bottles of wine! Ek sê.

Boesman has a party tonight. He tantalises Lena by opening a bottle and passing it under her nose) smell! Hotnot's forget-me-not. (p.31).

Lena: (She is obviously staring up at a bird, softly). Jou moer! (11) (She watches it a few seconds longer, then scrambles to her feet and shakes her fist at it. Jou moer! (11) (p.2)

Lena: He helped drag what was left of the pondoks...
Boesman" Of course. Full of disease. That one in the uniform told me "Dankie Baas!"
Lena: Just like that
Boesman: (violently) Yes! Dankie Baas. You should have said it too, sitting their with your sad story. Whiteman was doing us a favour. You should have helped him... And quiet... Freedom! That's what the white man gave us...(p. 37).

You name any of the characteristics of the sub-species, Colouredensis Capensis (12), and Fugard provides it. Fickle, faithless, loyal and grateful to the White master, anti-African, addicted to liquor, fond of singing and vastrap etc., it's all there.

It is because Boesman and Lena implicitly accepts the myth of the race that it fails to evoke any compassion for the Boesmans and Lenas and Outas as fellow human beings but merely evokes the sort of pity that one feels for stray dogs, captive birds and other suffering less-than-human-creatures. Because it begins and ends within the Herrenvolk framework of races that it remains - despite the potentially powerful theme of broken and Lasted lives, despite the catalogue of suffering of Boesman and Lena - an apologia for and defence of Apartheid.

We have sufficient charity to believe that this is not what Athol Fugard intended. But we do insist that this is what he has achieved. And it is this achievement that has earned him the adulation of his audiences. For us, despite his early promise, he has turned soft and walked into the darkness of the racial mud swamp. B.L.

The Sestigers: (1) A Post-Mortem

P.P. Louw

THE EUDCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. XLIV, nr. 6, March, 1973

As part of the programme of its February 1973 Summer School the University of Cape Town Department of Extra-mural Studies organised a series of lectures and discussions on the Sestigers, (1) that tribalistically controversial group of novelists, poets, playwrights and essayists that emerged in and dominated the Afrikaans literary scene during the 1960's. The leading Sestigers themselves, people like André Brink, Etienne Leroux, Breyten Breytenbach, Adam Small, Jan Rabie (2), gave the lectures, led and dominated the discussions.

The series provoked great, even unprecedented, public interest and it is convenient to attempt a review and assessment of the Sestigers, moving in and around this series. But before we proceed to reviewing some of the more important lectures presented we must draw attention to the interest that the series provoked in Afrikaner circles.

Afrikaner Interest

Members of the Afrikaner tribe came from every Province and even from as far afield as Windhoek, and in numbers that an academic occasion has never known. Indeed, the attendance even in sheer numbers (and the composition of the audience is of more significance than the numbers) exceeded that for Volkfeeste (3) in this region. For the days of the Summer School the Sestigers enjoyed greater popularity than in all years of their decade.

What lay at the root of this exceptional interest? Some are suggesting that there has been a sudden, dramatic and popular cultural awakening among the Afrikaners: but unfortunately perhaps, there are no facts to support such a view.

Curious Devils

Naturally some people came out of curiosity. Many young Afrikaners one is sure wanted to see these legendary figures: Brink, Leroux and especially, the exile Breyten Breytenbach: and, possibly more especially, the beautiful and exotic cause of his exile. Suddenly granted a visa after earlier refusals to grant her one (4). Indeed, all the alleged devils were on display, complete with horns, hooves and forked tails. Then, of course the curiosity factor would operate strongly in a tribe that has never had but always felt the need for royalty and an aristocracy; and, maybe, has always lived in a love-hate attitude to the Immorality Act? After all, they are even starved of pop idols to slobber over. A senior journalist of Rapport (5) mentioned that a young man from a good Afrikaner Nationalist home had told him that seeing the Sestigers in the flesh had given him the same sort of thrill as he had got from watching a team of Rugby Springboks (6) in action.

Serious Factor

I do want to suggest, though, that there was a more serious factor at work that brought to the series the large and largely seriously interested audience. I think that a section of the Afrikaner tribe

a significant layer drawn from its university and literary élite, was listening to its writers with special care and interest because these writers had been, for at least a decade, the nearest thing to an opposition that the Afrikaner had known. For at least twenty-five years the official parliamentary. U.P. opposition (7) has been completely irrelevant to their lives. No political grouping or movement that could claim their allegiance is permitted to exist outside the fold of the Party, (7) the three Afrikaans churches, the F.A.K. and, of course, the Afrikaner Broederbond (8).

Internal Opposition

Insofar as there was any divergence within the ranks of the Afrikaners about the nature, identity, destiny and values of Afrikanerdom, it was the divergent views articulated in, through and around the works of some of the Sestigers. It will be remembered that the Sestigers were the harbingers of the "New Deal" politics that had its brief moment shortly after Langa-Sharpeville (9). This opposition articulated by the writers was permitted partly because it was, and was seen to be, within the tribe: and partly because, even where the opposition was resented, it had to be endured: Afrikaans language and culture is so much part of the cement of Afrikaner Nationalism, so much part of what is called the Afrikaner identity, that the political front of Afrikanerdom was scarcely ever in a position to ex-communicate a whole generation of writers constituting an essential part of the Afrikaner cultural existence. This does not mean that the opposition had power. What it does mean is that it had a substantial freedom of speech, something corresponding to the parliamentary privilege accorded to the "official opposition".

For the official political leaders of Afrikanerdom the decade of the sixties was one of granite and kragdadigheid, (10) of vast powers abundantly used. The Afrikaners had put their faith in their political leaders and given them complete freedom of action. And they acted.

Uncertain World

And now in the seventies after the power and the glory of the sixties and despite these, the Afrikaners' world has become a very uncertain and frightening place: "terrorists" lurk on the border and disaffection increases inside of it: popular strikes break out from South West Africa to Durban:quislings and collaborators indulge in cheeky talk: the economy that sometimes provides so bounteously suddenly threatens to impoverish and moreover is seen to respond more profoundly to foreign crisis than to domestic prods: there is the visible and dramatic decline of the West expressed not so much in the shocking morals of the permissive society as in American initiatives for detente and peaceful co-existence with China and Russia and, worse, reflected in defeat in Vietnam: as the chronic weakness of the dollar (not to mention that of sterling) against the mark and the yen. These are but a few of the nightmares that trouble their world. This world has become for them uncertain and strange and fearsome despite the unfettered reign of their politicians. These days they find little for their comfort in the proceedings of their parliament and the sermons of their anointed.

In this situation there is, I think, a turning towards Afrikanerdom's own internal opposition, in the hope of finding from them (after all they seem to know more about the strange world beyond the borders and they seem to be familiar with Blacks) some guidance and solace for Afrikanerdom in these troubled times.

In brief, their rôle as Afrikanerdom's internal opposition is giving the writers brought together under the label Sestig a special interest at a time when confidence in the official volksleiers (11) is beginning to ebb, especially among the younger layers and the literary and university élite. Of course, this interest is not to be be confused with support, being more in the nature of the kind of revival quite common in the film world - often after the death of the films' stars.

Hunting for Oubaas Godot?

André Brink, widely regarded as the theoretician and moving spirit of the Sestigers, gave the opening lecture, one of the main ones.

It was entitled "The Context of Sestig: Origins and Situation".

In fact the Sestigers were a small group of Afrikaans writers who came to prominence in Afrikaans literature in the early 1960's - a minor movement within the writings of a minority tongue- in South Africa, therefore. Or, as Breytenbach later in the series referred to them, a small group of whitish or off-white, youngish writers writing in the language of the tribe in power.

Brink took a loftier view of himself and his fellow-Sestigers. He referred to 'one of the central aspects of the whole so-called movement" as being "its international nature its cosmopolitan character". For him Sestig was essentially a movement of and in Western European literature although it had what he called a "South African dimension". Since for him it was not a peculiarly South African movement subjected to certain European influences, but European with South African dimensions, he ranged far and wide to find the origins of Sestig. He travelled from the fall of Adam, via the flood waters and Noah, ancient fertility rites, Egyptian mythology, Greek mythology, Christian mythology, Siva, Buddha and even as he calls them the "primordial contrasts", like woman and beast, life and death, yesterday and today, virgin and whore: and after all this travelling still did not arrive at the origins of Sestig, except to conclude "that the moments of its origins lie widely scattered in time and space". He traversed two world wars, Korea, the Congo, took in atom bombs, gas-chambers and genocide - the whole range of the social violence of our time and still did not find Afrikaans literature's Golden Grail. He searched among the philosophical, intellectual and emotional ruins of Western Europe (and they are ruins and remnants of a once proud culture), going to Kierkegaard, Heidegger and every cult of the obscure and the absurd for the origins of the styles, the techniques, the themes and approaches of the Sestigers, in an attempt to place Sestig in a line with Dostoevsky, Kafka, Proust, Joyce, Henry Miller, Malraux, Hemingway, Thomas Mann, Faulkner and others.

How ridiculous Brink's attempt is - the absurdity compounded by his encyclopaedic catalogue of currents and movements in Western European literature - is underlined by the fact that only two Afrikaans writers outside of Sestig, van Wyk Louw and Eugene

Marais, earn a passing mention in a lengthy lecture tracing the origins and situations of Sestig. And this mention is not in the context of formative influences.

In passing, Brink unwittingly gives the lies to his "European" approach to Sestig. He makes the point that there has been no real development since 1965 and asks why. His answer: the Publications and Entertainments Act. "And not only the law and the Board as such but the consuming brooding evil climate created around them..." So, after all, not Paris, as he claims in his lecture, but the South African reality is the spiritual capital of Sestig: the "consuming brooding evil climate" restricts its growth.

Whatever his intentions might be, Brink's lengthy academic treatise which seeks to establish a Western European citizenship for Sestig serves a political end: it reflects the myth-making of those who seek to pass off the real divisions in South Africa - the divisions into haves and have-nots, masters and servants, rulers and ruled - as a division between a small European community and the barbarous black majority surrounding it. Brink's treatise amounts to pimping to the European pretentions of the rulers.

Brink would have served his craft better and would have come nearer the taproots of Sestig if he had examined the real relationship between writer and volk (12) in the Afrikaner community, the rôle of the Afrikaner in the South African order, the effect of urbanisation on the Afrikaner, the "cultural" and economic results for the Afrikaner tribe of the conquest of power in the State. Then Brink might have been able to account for Sestig (as well as for the Afrikaners urban élite, that kindred phenomenon of Sestig, so dramatically typified by the Anton Ruperts, Jan Marais, Tom Mullers. (13)

The Mirror of the Sixties

The nineteen-sixties and Sestig began with Langa-Sharpeville, deepened to the State of Emergency that before long was written into the ordinary laws and permanent practices of the land, and that saw the outlawing and virtual destruction of most of the broad liberatory. Movement and the imprisonment, bannning, gagging, pegging, banishment and exile of members and supporters of this movement. The sixties was a period of brutal repression of impri-

sonment without trial, of death in detention. It was a time of grim-lipped silence: but it was also a time of rumours, persistent rumours, dark rumours of torture, persecution and victimisation. It was a time of political trials. Young and old, political and innocents, doctors, lawyers and architects highly regarded in their profession, labourers unknown and unsung, brilliant university graduates, peasants whose only learning was the alphabet of toil, fathers and sons, hard-headed working men with heads full of sense, young students with heads full of dreams, all stood trial, all over this land. The sixties was a time of heavy sentences and so it was a time of cowardice treachery and betrayal, a time of desolation: but also, through it all, a time of heroism.

The Gulf

Of all this, which was contemporary with Sestig and created the "consuming brooding evil climate" of its period, there is nothing in Brink's wide-ranging review. And, of course, no explanation for the fact that, for all their contemporaneity, there is a vast emotional gulf between these events and the literature of Sestig.

The best comment on Brink's learned treatise is a remark made by Breyten Breytenbach in the course of his talk:

"We are stark naked an we do not even realise it. We try to knit for ourselves blankets out of big words and bigger conceptions that have grown out of other cultures and of which, in any case, we don't understand a damn. What do we know about the rest of South Africa? Have we any knowledge other than the fearful knowledge of the baas? (14) Does it sometimes dawn upon us that our country is irrevocably attached to Africa? Is it not embarrassing that the period when Sestig blossomed, that time when we harvested those nice fat Hertzog prizes, (15), and when we wanted to fight to the death over who ought to get the Hertzog prize, that that time coincided with the period when an ever-increasing number of books by fellow South African writers were prohibited and thus became unread, and therefore, non-existent books? Is the bitter taste of shame in your mouth, too? And then we come here and fancy ourselves and look back with a slightly superior air on the f....all that we have done. And we are proud of it".

And this brings us to Breytenbach, who is, of course, a special voice.

"The Sestigers: A Post-Mortem (11)

by P.O. Louw

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. XLIV, nr. 7, April-May, 1973

Breyten Breytenbach's address to the Sestiger Saamtrek (1) at the UCT (2) summer school was a memorable event. Not merely because he formally pronounced Afrikaans literature dead and dismissed the Sestigers as an afterbirth and was hysterically cheered for doing this. Not merely because some of the most exciting and moving poetry ever to be written in the Afrikaans language was read. Not that there were not enough to make it so. It was a particularly memorable occasion for it was the only time in that whole week that the true voice of South Africa, the voice of all our people, the voice of the single, undivided nation struggling to come into its own, was heard. And it was heard from the mouth of an exile.

Reply to "Rapport"

Breytenbach's address was really three linked but separate addresses. There was the first address, the parable of Hans Moller; the second address, his prepared talk; and the third address - a series of poems recording part of his South African Oddyssey. This triptych has another dimension too.

On his arrival here Breytenbach was, publicy, invited to return to the fold. The editorial in "Rapport" which contained the invitation hinted broadly that it had the support of his Sestiger colleagues, and one can accept that the public invitation was but the tip of the iceberg of pressure brought to bear on Breytenbach. His triple address, his first public appearance in South Africa, must also be taken, I think, as Breytenbach's reply to the invitation to betray his integrity as a person and his vision as a poet, Parable of the corpse.

Hans Moller lived in the Cedarberge, worked in the buchu fields (3) high up in the mountains and had quite a reputation as a fiddler. On a sad day, towards evening, his wife died. Fearing

the wild animals of this leopard-infested area, he could not, during the night, carry the corpse down the valley for burial.

And even up there in the mountain the corpse was not safe from the animals. So, with a small fire and with the music of his violin, he mounted a vigil over her dead body throughout the long night. In the night of the new day, he carried the corpse down the valley for burial.

Breytenbach said that while he was against invoking symbols, he did feel that the Afrikaans writers were so many Mollers mounting vigil over the dead body of Afrikaans literature. Fiddling all the while.

The only question was whether there was still time for decent burial.

Inevitably political.

Introducing his prepared talk Breytenbach said that it was in the nature of a funeral oration for the still warm Sestigers corpse.

Before Breytenbach there had been a lot of pussy-footing and evasion on the political character and rôle of Afrikaans literature.

The tendency was for writers to deny the political meaning of their pretended non-political stance. Etienne Leroux, who for years has been on a futile quest for a mythology that can make sense of the senseless South African society, was chiefspokesman for the non-political position.

"My theme is not restricted (!) in terms of socio-political problems. I attempt to see man outside of this definitive context; in a certain sense I attempt to free the novel from politics(sic)-politics in the narrower as well as in the broader sense; even, where possible, also free it from the politics of literature. The political tendency is always to the left"...

Breyten was refreshingly clear and direct. "My talk here tonight will be considered political. And so it is, inevitably. Just as a work of art is political when it refers to the reality in which the public finds itself. All talk in this tragic, bitter, multi-coloured, funeral land is political - whether it is whispering, talking bull, spitting against the wind or just giving chorus. It is not a choice which the writer has, it is not the use or abuse of poetic license (and why should the clown have more freedom than the factory worker?); no it is the very nature of communication".

Breytenbach spelt it out for the Sestigers. Their position was essentially a politically-created and politically-conditioned one: Tribal privilege.

"I see this symposium from the introductory lecture on as concerned with the acts and, especially, the omissions of a group of youngish writers who write in the language of the tribe in power and who, therefore bear a particular responsibility; who like all Afrikaans writers enjoy a privileged though unenviable position in the tribe, even though it might only be a position enabling them to create a fuss, because, so many of the aspirations of that tribe pass for cultural aspirations since the so-called Afrikaner identity was originally a language identity".

Tribal Taboos.

"It is, in the same breath, too, in my opinion, about the work of a few writers who began to call into question some of the assumptions on which the vested interest of the Afrikaner tribe rest. This questioning raised such a storm because any fiddling with the institution and taboos of the tribe inevitably carries the danger that it might gnaw at the existing order of things. Touch the Afrikaner and you touch the State, so it is said. No matter what our high priests say, nobody can exist in isolation. The continued existence of the 'Afrikaners' as he is defined by those in power and those who guard the taboos of the tribe, can only be ensured on condition that we do not accept, neither in word nor deed our being South Africans".

"Naturally, within limits, a measure of rebelliousness by the long-haired and/or egg-heads will be tolerated; this even contributes to the suppleness that can ensure a lively bloom of health. And we went and confused this tolerance with freedom"!

Language of dirt.

Illustrating his argument that the kind of ideas a language is called upon to express influences its development, Breytenbach has some trenchant things to say: "one would like to believe in a miracle, one would like to believe that it could be possible in this country to write about and for people. But the poison of racialism flows deeply through our veins. Even in our language, our beautiful language, our wonderful vehicle. We speak of man and woman, of son and daughter. And when they are not pale enough? Kaffer,

Hotnot, Koelie, Houtkop, Aia, jong, Meid,Klong, Skepsel (4) - yes, one of our leading Sestigers, in his latest work, speaks of Skepsels: to his credit I must say that he draws the line at Skepselwyfies or Skepselooie. Some of these terms we have, under the impact of an increasing awareness, abandoned, but will we ever accept naturally the obvious humanity of the 'other'? At present, we have arrived at a smug Bantu and Kleurling. Within this dirty reference to other people, we pollute ourselves and make our language a language of dirt. Is it really so difficult to address a person in the way he would refer to himself; Do we want history to find that in this sunny land there were two kinds of homo sapiens - man, and the white man"?

Rack and ruin

After reviewing the political position of the rulers, Breytenbach comes to the conclusion that the end is near.

"We are going to rack and ruin, and it appears that in going to rack and ruin we are prepared to drag down with us the whole of Southern Africa with all its people". He warns against the hysteria and tribal drum-beating that this must bring. "And in this night in which we are now the fires of nationalism will be fanned to burn more brightly and more destructively. It will be said that it is either "us" or "them" - without our knowing "them"....It will be expected that something will be defended. What? A Western civilisation? Which Western civilisation and whose? The White man's monopoly of power? The white skin? Only the skin of death is an unblemished white. Afrikaans?

Whose Afrikaans?.....

The walking dead.

Against the background of the process of going to ruin, Breytenbach asks: "And our writers, what of them? What has meanwhile happened inside them? Breytenbach's answer to this question is the sharpest rebuke yet delivered to the Sestigers.

"Our jaws still move, and in the near future we are once more going to protest against new and grander censorship laws, we will become sour and after a while we will again flatter each other; we remain moving ... with spasmodic noise such as this week, here; the noise of the walking dead. We helped to build the (apartheid-Ed) walls of our prison. Now and again we climb onto the walls to

see if the night does not yet want to end. The one moment we think that our literature can compare with the "best" in the world! The next moment we skulk with both tails between the legs, torn in our breasts, because we are rejected and booed everywhere. We sit in Africa and we are not Africans. We go to Holland, to France and suddenly realise that they lied to us. We are not Europeans. We go to England and we discover that we are Boers who are trying here, under the Southern Cross, to live like the English. Against whom can we measure ourselves? For whom do we write our deformed, pretentious, nouveau riche works except for a few friends at university who, by prescribing them, give these works some justification for existence? We are stark naked and we do not even realise it...'

Man: The first "dimension"

Breytenbach also, however, did attempt to indicate to his audience the position as it should and could be. "to write is to communicate, to eat together to have a community, a communion, the blood of all of us, the flesh of all of us. We are people, we write for people and about people and, therefore about the relationships between people. Our first dimension is man-in his unity and in his diversity, in his humanity. When there is something looking for expression the necessary growth in the language to give expression to it will come...

"I think that if we were to take note of the nature of the struggle in which we are involved and in which we have a part by clarifying that struggle-and, more importantly, by taking a stand on the basis of such clarification, we would enrich our humanity and language".

Breytenbach did not seem very optimistic about making many converts to his point of view, but was nevertheless at great pains to make his position quite clear,

To him, the most talented poet writing in Afrikaans, making verses is not an artistic activity ("when they made poetry an art, they pulled its teeth"), to him it is a tool, a weapon, a threat to the existing order. His writing is intended to serve a cause, and, as he made clear, his cause is the building of a South African nation founded on equality.

"I am partisan. I chooses sides. Because, for me, it is about the creation of liveable conditions in our community. Because, for me, it concerns the search for, an opening towards, a society where each of us and all of us can have his rightful share, within which

we can accept, on a basis of equality, responsibility for each other. Because, for me, it concerns fighting those institutions and structures and myths and lies and crudities and selfishness and urges to self-destruction and common stupidities that make such a society impossible. This is my loyalty. This is the content of my "South Africanism".

EDUCATION

Why not our own teachers

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL. May, 1915

The time has now arrived for the filling of vacancies in Coloured schools, as far as possible, with Coloured teachers (my italics). It is true that, as a result of the raising of teachers' salaries in European schools, not so many European teachers now, seek employment in other schools; but amongst certain denominations, and in the case of the better-paid posts in Coloured Board Schools, not only do Europeans apply and nearly always succeed, but the practice is still followed of expressly asking for European teachers. There is no doubt that herein lies a grievance on the part of Coloured teachers. Is it a legitimate one?

The argument is sometimes put forward in support of the appointment of White teachers that for those particular posts no other suitable candidate can be found. Without laying undue stress upon the apparent difficulty of determining this fact in the large number of cases where Europeans are alone asked for in the advertisements, it must be admitted, that where a manager is anxious to staff his school with Europeans, he naturally finds it a difficult task to find a qualified candidate amongst the other applicants; nor does his difficulty vanish, when he remembers that the T3 Senior (1) is a higher certificate than the T3 Junior. (1) That this "difficulty" is the only one, is true of a far larger number of cases than we teachers realise. It has evidently never occurred to those responsible that posts for which no Coloured teachers could really be obtained, might easily be filled under temporary arrangement with a European or Coloured teacher.

The other reasons often advanced is that the European is superior to the other discipline, or as regards the general quality of his work, a superiority presumably derived from daily association with others of his own people. Now, whether the average White teacher who aspires to a post in a Coloured school is relatively of a higher class than his rival, I have no means of ascertaining definitely, but I doubt it; nevertheless, even if he is, the special interest in, and close sympathy with the school children shown by

the latter in themselves vastly outweigh any other considerations of mere and by no means proven, cultural superiority. The second point of better discipline has even less chance of being sustained. It is really surprising the excellent state of discipline observable in Coloured schools, more especially considering the social conditions, and the peculiar history of the country and its peoples. It is probably understood by the majority of our teachers that their discipline extends far beyond the limits of the school-house, or the school playground. Thus, ideas as to duty, obedience, reprocity between teacher and taught and so forth, which, in the case of the mass of the European people, then carries with him to school as a matter of course, are still being slowly and painfully learned by our own people. And this process is not being hastened as fast as it might, by the continual appointment of European teachers in Coloured schools to the disadvantage of our own.

Presidential Address

Conference, 1917

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, July, 1917

Another year has passed since we last met in Conference, and another year has been added to the existence of the Teachers' League of South Africa. As is well known by all connected with the League, the object of its institution was to promote union and friendly intercourse amongst teachers, and to improve education among the Coloured race. To what extent the promoters of our Association have succeeded in their object hitherto, may be judged from the fact that one finds the great majority of the Coloured teachers outside the ranks of the League, contenting themselves merely with looking on, and with critisizing the efforts of the League. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is surely very disappointing and discouraging. Could one but devise a remedy to arouse the apathy of many of the teachers, and stir them up to action! Teachers, as well as everybody else, should learn that union is strength, and that only in taking united action can they not only achieve improvement in education, but also bring pressure to bear upon those who are responsible for this great work. The importance of our profession demands union; we have experienced this in the past four years, and this will be our experience in future.

The committee, during the year just passed, deemed it necessary to appoint an Assistant Secretary, whose chief business shall be the formation of branches, which, in their opinion, is imperative to remedy the existing state of affairs. Fortunately, the services of a very able and zealous teacher have been secured in the person of Mr. Abe Desmore, who offered to serve gratuituously. That his effort may be crowned with success is the wish of us all. I cannot impress too strongly on the minds of those teachers who are not members that they are a great drawback to themselves, a great drawback to the League, and a great drawback to the cause of education generally.

It is a deplorable fact that Coloured education has greatly suffered, and has been sorely neglected in the past, and, if we want to remedy the existing state of affairs, concerted action on the part of teachers is necessary. One often hears and reads of the thousands of European children who go about uneducated, but of the tens of thousands of uneducated Coloured children no mention is ever made, Judging from what one hears about the number of uneducated European children, one would not say that there was another section (and a very considerable one) of the population of South Africa which demanded any attention educationally.

It is very often urged that economy is necessary, and rightly so, but economy misapplied brings about ruin to a nation. And is this not true about the Coloured section of the population? Has not the policy of wrongly-applied economy helped in a great measure to bring about ruin and havoc amongst the masses of the Coloured races? Decidedly, yes. Do we wonder why such institutions as reformatories, etc., are necessary, and why, in spite of them, degradation amongst the Coloured is becoming more and more apparent, and, like pestilence, is carrying on its destructive work? Is not this form of economy the worst possible kind? Just think what an enormous sum of money it must have cost the State to build these prisons and reformatories all over the country, and contrast with it the insignificant sum spent on preventive measures - schools and education! Hundreds of thousands of pounds are spent annually for the maintenance of the army of ineffective reformers - gaolers, policemen, etc. - whose duties are not to prevent, but to cure, where prevention, through wrongly-applied economy, has

been neglected. My contention is, and I firmly believe in it, that "Prevention is better than cure", and if the State could be persuaded to fulfil its obligation towards the Coloured race to the same extent that it does towards another section, it would be tackling the economical question from the right point of view. We are surely not unmindful of, nor ungrateful for what has been done in the past, but when one sees money so unnecessarily and so unwisely wasted, one cannot help thinking that much more can be done towards the education of so important a factor of the South African population.

And here may I add that, although one does not always wish to speak about salaries of teachers in Mission Schools, one cannot help being faced with the fact that, while the cost of the necessaries of life has increased, very little has been done towards the increase of the salaries of teachers. We are thankful for the little that has been done, and fully appreciate the benefits arising from the War Bonus the Honourable the Administrator has extended to us, but we sincerely hope that the time is not distant when the salaries of all teachers in Mission Schools will be placed on an adequate basis, so that the Mission School teacher will at least enjoy a living wage.

What does one find when tracing the history of education of the Coloured race? Is it not that this particular work has been largely left to the religious bodies of the community? One is tempted to ask, "What would have become of the Coloured section had not the churches taken upon themselves this pioneering work, for which they were in reality not responsible?" Think what an amount of sacrifice it must have cost the missionary in charge, as well as his congregation, to bring education to what it is to-day. Many a congregation struggles under the burden of finding additional accommodation when needed, and at the same time keeping the school on a proper footing. It must be remembered that, besides finding and keeping in proper repair school-buildings, the minister has also to find a third of the teacher's salary. Thus a great injustice is being done to the religious bodies, for any deficit of the school has to be made up out of church funds. As a consequence the remuneration of the Mission School teacher is very inadequate; and yet people wonder why many young teachers give up the teaching profession after having fulfilled their obligation towards the Education Department to teach two years. Such of us, however, as hold on, prove to the world that we do not love the profession because of a munificent salary, but solely because

it grieves us to see so many souls, destined for a better purpose go to ruin. Year after year large sums of money are placed on the Estimates for the construction of school-buildings for a section of the community that can really help itself, but the section that needs help most gets but a small share of that amount, and all the while the churches are groaning under the heavy burden. When appealling for help to those in authority, the man at the helm tells us that no funds are available; let us however, exercise moderation, for the helmsman, though he sympathises with us, has his instructions, how to steer the economical boat. What, then, shall we sit with folded hands and see our race grow up in ignorance? My advice to my fellow teachers is "Make the best of it for a little while longer". For many years have we been labouring under difficulties, and with the voluntary aid of the churches, and with what the State deemed fit for the support of our schools, we have struggled on, and with such material brought education to what it is now.

The Mission Schools

A Plea for More Government Help

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, October, 1917

It has repeatedly been urged in this paper that a Commission of Inquiry should be formed to investigate the condition of the Mission Schools. The managers themselves, to whom the duty of educating the children of the Coloured people is entrusted, complain that the burden is well-nigh unbearable. Yet so far nothing has been done to ease the strain. The present time-so it is stated - is inopportune; there are no funds; the European section of the population must be provided for first. Well, if the Coloured are to wait until the European children are provided for, it may take another century, especially when the compulsory standard is continually being raised. The needs will go on increasingly with time.

We are told that something was done in the matter of War bonus to better the lot of the Coloured teacher. It is pointed out that the Coloured teacher has benefited most of all by it. This may be true, but it proves also that the lowest paid government servant is

the Mission school teacher. But then again, what percentage of these teachers has benefited? I contend a very low one. It is not by extending a War Bonus to teachers in common with all other Government servants whose incomes fall below a certain Maximum, that justice is done to a hard-working section of the teachers in the Cape.

Now that the case of the Public School teacher has been dealt with, we trust that the Mission School teacher will receive some consideration and we hope that teachers and managers will persist in urging their case. Government has recognised that the education of the child is the duty of the State; how then is the Church held responsible for the education of so many thousands of Coloured children? The Church is really doing the duty of the State, and therefore the least the Church can demand is that the latter should support it in every possible way. But what do we find? Whilst money is always found for the White child, and assistance readily given, very little has yet been done to help the Coloured child. Yet the Churches carry on. We wonder, if the strain became unbearable, and the churches refused to be saddled any longer with the burden, what the position would be?

We are constanly being told that we pay no taxes. But this is pure nonsense. At least we pay as much as the poor White population whose children receive their education free, on the ground that the parents are too poor to pay. Should the Coloured parent, who is in almost every case poorer than the aforesaid, be unable to pay fees, his child is not admitted. Or should he be, the Church again has to step in, or the teacher has to bear the burden either in working himself to death with concerts and other functions, in order to bring up the reduced total fees to the minimum necessary to secure the Government grant towards his salary.

Here is another vexed question. An informal visit is paid by the Inspector of the school, who-heavens be thanked! - is in nearly all cases sympathetic, but also critical. The building comes in for criticism, and who will deny that they give cause for criticism in too many cases? Yet not a penny is given by the State, which sends round the inspectors towards the unkeep of these same buildings. But as a Government school it has to meet the wishes of the Governmental official. One is sometimes glad the medical inspection is not to be carried out as yet in Mission Schools, for the fact remains

that out of every hundred scarcely five would be pronounced suitable as school buildings. In some cases the better schools are those which were condemned as unsuitable for the White child. And when it is remembered that a fair portion of the life of the teacher and the best part of the part of the child's are spent in these buildings, the matter from a health point of view is most serious. It is high time that these matters were attended by the State, for the State owes it to the child, no matter what may be the colour of his skin, or whatever may be his creed. If the Coloured man is to be a labour asset, it is up to the Government to see that this asset is kept from deterioration (my italics). Who can deny that the condition under which thousands of children receive their education today are anything but those calculated to develop them into healthy men and women, and worthy citizens of the State?

31st Annual Conference, Kimberley, 1943

Presidential address

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, sept., 1943

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a great privilege to address you here in the famous Diamond City. I trust the outcome of our deliberations here will further cement the already good fellowship existing between your city and the other areas of South Africa.

Our presence here reminds us of the founder and first President of the League, the late Mr. Harold Cressy, B.A. (1). His foresight was highly commendable, and Kimberley is to be congratulated on having produced such a splendid son.

It is customary to review progress achieved since our last conference. Before I embark on this, allow me to say how sad it is that we have to place on record the death of those who have departed since our last conference. Our Administrator Capt. F. Joubert has been called to his eternal rest. He had not been allowed to serve long, but during his term of office, he tried his level best to improve our position. Mr. I.B. Oppelt (2) has also been called to his rest. In his departure the League has suffered a great loss. He was one of the founders, was President thrice, and the first Life Member of the League. We mourn his departure, but feel satisfied he did his duty and served us well.

The League started on 24th June, 1913 with a membership of 45. Today the roll is well over a thousand. The climb has been a steady but sure one. Yet there are still many teachers outside our fold. When will they realise their responsibility?

Training Schools

Our position as to Training Schools is gradually improving. More Coloured teachers are being employed. The S.G.E. has definitely assured us that wherever possible, Coloured teachers will be appointed.

Other Schools

The following is the number of other schools.

SCHOOLS	1939	1940	Increase
High	4	4	0
Secondary	6	6	0
Primary	35	42	7
Farm	7	8	1
Mission	852	874	22
Part Time	26	32	6
Special	2	3	0
Total	941	975	34
In Schools	1936	1940	
	103.097	127.911	24.814

New Branches

A number of new branches was opened during the year. Among the latest we find Swellendam, Ladismith and Willowmore. I had the privilege to be present at their inaugural meetings.

"To come to my theme. The President of the League at the 1937 Port Elizabeth Conference, said the following. "From the nature of the work of a school a teacher has to be many sided, a man of many parts, above all he has to be a leader whose character is an example for others to follow whose thoughts are so elevated as to in-

spire others to higher actions, whose deeds are such as to excite wonder and admiration amid the desire to live better and nobler lives".

The President of the following year said. "Public opinion will in the future hold teachers responsible for the physical and moral discipline of our children. Give a man only the gospel and you make him a fanatic, just feed him and you make him a glutton; impart to him only knowledge and you make him self opiniated, conceited and unbalanced.

These quotations have caused me to decide on my theme:

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY.

In a period of great unrest, destruction and wholesale massacre of valuable lives such as is now raging in the most civilized regions of the world, there is always the danger that we shall become restless and dissatisfied with our work as teachers and tend to regard it as something of secondary importance. When we assembled last year in Conference some teachers actually laughed when a teacher, now on active service rose to address Conference. Others expressed disappointment at the huge difference in the pay of European and Coloured soldiers:

While any criticism of individual conscience on such and many other matters for us as a League is impertinent, it is expected of us to make some general observations which may be helpful to retain our perspective concerning our professional task and to be reassured of the relevance of educational discussions such as lie before us this week in this time of acute world crisis.

While hurricanes destroyed the older growth and other risking their lives in the work of salvage and in the removal of debris, men of vision will have ensured that the capable hands are raising from seed, such now growth required to cover the future landscape, and when the soil is ready and there is a demand for the well-reared seedlings and saplings, it will cause the keenest disappointment and the destruction of all the hopes for which they strove, if we fail to produce what they look for, if we have allowed mildew, canker, worm and blasts to pervert our young shoots, while we neglected them to help in the other task which seemed more pressing to us. To deal with clean, tender young lives does indeed seem a luxury at such times, but it is the only hope of fruit for the future.

We are continually warned by thinkers that we are living at the end of an age. Such times of disintegration present many difficulties but do not justify despair. We who are used to dealing with their maturities, should know well that the destruction of the old is simultaneous with the growth of the new - the old husks only cover the embryo upon which the future depends. If the immediate view gives cause for pessimism, we can see light breaking when we look to the distant hills. Eduard Benes, the ex-Czechoslovakian Premier, sees in human development a constant tension and alternation between a struggle for humanist universalism fighting for freedom and the free development of human personality on the one hand, and on the other hand the exclusive rule in the state of a religion or a political system which must be based on violence, oppression and lack of freedom. It is a social fact that the fight of men for this higher culture and civilisation, for this higher degree of freedom and development of human personality does not go forward in a straight line by peaceful evolution; it does not go on in social waves. You have a period of liberty which, in the first moment of revolutionary enthusiasm, goes too high, which because of inexperience and mistakes of the freed generation and their freed leaders makes mistakes and failures, and is followed by a reaction - sometimes violent.

After a period of decline a new wave of liberty follows. This time, the newly-freed people are more prepared, more ripe; they do learn and they must learn from their mistakes and failures in the past, and they realize in this new period a higher degree of culture and civilisation, of freedom and respect for human personality; and so a new wave, a higher wave of evolution, of higher civilisation comes. In "this higher wave of evolution, of human civilisation" lies our task as educators. Let us carefully examine the specific reasons for the past failure of democracy, and obtain a new vision of constructive planning for the future. Democracy, sadly failed in some instances and so strenthened the force of its opponents, not because it is inherently defective but because its applications, its concrete embodiments have not been thorough going enough. But this should not surprise or dismay us when we bear in mind the tremendous task with which the modern world of the recent century has been faced. Knowledge has been unfolded at a staggering rate. Physical science supplied the first shock. It burst with dazzling revelation upon a shocked mankind which, after pushing hard with all his might at the door of knowledge which has been giving way inch by inch, now discovered it yielded at such a

terrific pace as to knock him off his balance. Those stunned, other hosts of humble and diligent men of goodwill were prepared to occupy the new field to ensure race profit. They have entered and ensured the world's food problem forever as regards production; so, too, by arts of synthetic manufacture they have considerably conquered every problem of human living materially - housing, sanitation and clothes. Further, they have opened new avenues of communication to an incredible measure and have opened up world transport, travel and speech to connect the remotest regions of the world better than neighbouring villages could be linked a century ago. With these improvements has gone an ever advancing conquest of the causes of disease, and a finding of its remedies.

These achievements carried with them their own temptation to satisfaction, with the finality of the material world now so interesting and absorbing. The speed of this unveiling had dangerously outstripped the advance of mental science.

In their desire for research and its practical applications the forceful armies of co-operation paid too little attention to the dangerous use of the new tools for destructive ends. The philosophy of the new science, lack of clarity of aim, and ultimate goal in the handling of such potent weapons, were insufficiently considered. There was an inclination to sacrifice abstract thought in favour of practical achievement: with the result that spiritual leadership has not developed the additional strength for the control of such forces.

The resulting issue lay between two alternatives - a materialistic 'civilisation,better able than ever before to minister to egoism and inertia in man, disappearing from the cosmic purpose along a sterile, death-bearing tract, doomed unless experience could redirect it to a self destruction unworthy, of lamentation. On the other hand a sharp evolutionary rise, using the new weapons in a clear-eyed fully aware co-operation in the divine immemorial plan for man.

To accomplish this second great conceivable end a far higher development of man's spiritual potentialities is needed, a readiness to respond to further revelations of the power of spirit over matter, and a new humility in our perspective of human achievement in the light of those spiritual valuations.

The present sharp experience of the deadliness of material as divorced from spiritual advance is forcing man to respond. The discoveries of the passing age will not die with it. They will be used with more effectiveness in the future.

Let us treat the subject more specifically. Democracy is defined as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". This is a mere framework, and does not pronounce upon the content of the framework, as do its rivals - Communism, National Socialism and Fascism. These have their own particular theses of class welfare and racial superiority and they all strongly prefer revolutionary methods of force and violence. Democracy received its present impetus from the French and American revolutions. It was introduced by revolution but in most countries developed in evolution. The definition does not tell us how the people are to govern. We recognise in it parliamentary representation and party system. As against its rivals, it rests upon spiritual foundations and definite beliefs about the nature and rights of man, believed to spring from inalienable principles of universal validity. Nazism and Fascism assume that nothing can be valid for all times and all nations; they are anti-nationalists, anti-humanists, anti-equalitarian, as a matter of fact, anti-anything that is good and healthy. They are particularities and not principles and should therefore not be taught in schools.

Democracy on the other hand rests on definite universal principles, its basis as found in these principles may and must be taught and inculcated in our educational system. This can safely be done without introducing any party system. The various modes adopted by different democratic countries will no doubt make interesting matter for courses in civics and constitutional history.

Let us examine and analyse these generally accepted principles as to the educational and class room application in the following order:

(1) Intellectual sincerity or rationalism,

(2) Man's right to Fraternity,

(3) Equality, and

(4) Liberty, and finally

(5) Man's Responsibility.

SINCERITY

The biggest task in the post war reconstruction programme will be the restoration of the principle of TRUTH. "Facts are sacred", but in the present Nazi regime, and what a pity, to a small extent in South Africa, facts have to mean "whatever one can make others believe for the con-

venience of the cause". This interpretation has bred and is breeding a peculiar mental confusion and unrest, which is entangling men in a peculiar philosophy distrusting any objectivity of truth. We can hardly claim, that truth, either intellectually or personally, has gained much ground among the rank and file of our school population. Its integrity has been assailed by psychological scepticism, mental laziness, intellectual bewilderment at the unconquerable vastness of knowledge and decaying belief in the DIVINE SANCTIONS OF TRUTH.

On the intellectual side, the positive treatment would seem to lie in greater actuality, the negative complement would be the casting out of scholastic irrelevancies. The following quotation from one of our magazines might be of help: " Examinations are an incentive to acquire the kind of knowledge which there is absolutely no other reason for acquiring", in itself a wasteful expedient - but also in the harm done to the integrity of the mind. We have all served our apprenticeship at dishing out various forms of knowledge for the sake, real or supposed, of the examiner's requirements, and it is time we revolt against it. Some Branch is asking that the entrance examination to the training course be Senior and not Junior Certificate simply because certain subjects in the latter course are irrelevant, and the student is not sufficiently prepared to embark upon the professional career. Insincere knowledge of this kind lays the emphasis upon the reproductive mental process instead of upon the educative or first hand thinking process.

Study must be presented as an adventure after truth, our pupils must be taught to weigh and compare; the wellsprings of knowledge must not be withheld from them.

An equal part of honestly would be involved on our part as teachers. A confession of ignorance and doubt, where necessary, would naturally follow and there ought to be no harm in allowing our pupils to differ from us at times.

Such a wider approach to truth ought to help to clear some of the personal moral problems such as the difference between co-operation and cheating. We have no cause to be proud of the present standard of even elementary honesty among our young people and we must try unceasingly to establish the prestige of TRUTH.

FRATERNITY

Brotherhood in its fullest sense is essentially a Christian thesis, resting upon the Fatherhood of God as revealed by Christ. It is the application of the spirit of love and mercy expressed in co-operation. It stands for the widest possible humanism, and it is challenged to-day to resist all seductions tomorrow and exclusive loyalties. The limited mental and emotional experience of the child fails to bring him to any appreciation for wider loyalties withouth the necessary training in loyalty to small groups - from the Sub. Stds. upwards. But such limitation is no barrier to wider loyalties so long as these are included as the germ within the seed, and so long as no prohibitions are raised. Racial questions are not generalised to our children, but when they respect children of other races and consider them as fellow human beings a point has been won and a foundation laid. Here the good adult example can have incalculable influence.

But what of us among ourselves. There are regressive elements clamouring to re-open old wounds, and to preach hatred and destruction. Let us in the struggle remain true to our democratic principles of human brotherhood which are after all derived from all that is most fundamentally Christian.

The past has just been opened up to an extent which is not always fully appreciated. If we can apply to the past that basic psychological belief in the essential oneness of human nature which is the true foundation of the "historic sense", we shall have done much through revealing it and to establish its reality in the world of our living.

EQUALITY

The principle of Equality is bound up with that of the brotherhood of man. After the French Revolution, its first expression was in political enfranchisement, rather than in economic distribution - the main plank of the Communist programme. In all these respects including administration of justice, South Africa lags far behind the progressive modern civilisations in the extension of this fire-most democratic principle of "Government of the People, by the People for the People" to us. This is definitely a fundamental national

weakness of South Africa's democracy. Charity is substituted for just this and this is hopeless. Logic, history and the fundamental demand of Christianity must lead to social justice in political representation in wage scales, in legal equality and in educational opportunity. Injustices to us must in the long run pull down the sections of the South Africans. Prejudices die slowly, but isolated voluntary effort must sooner or later give place to natural legislation. The white man criticises our failures but he has no right to judge until he has allowed us the privileges of free compulsory education, which he is at present enjoying - and until many generations have passed and been allowed to feel its effects. One of the tragedies of the modern world is the destruction of culture, equal opportunity will not lop it at the top, either by extinction of the classes or by suppression of the intelligentsia, but it will aim at extending culture by making it accessible to all who can respond.

LIBERTY

The principle of freedom is conspicuous in the original democratic programme. Freedom to have and to hold has been one of the foes of equality, and every measure to achieve the latter particularly in the economic sphere has had to be at the sacrifice of some liberty of the dominant classes. Post war democracy will show the influence of the rival systems in a greater restriction of the economic liberty of the privileged classes through extended nationalisation of main services and industries.

It rests with us to let our children grow up in an atmosphere of personal liberty, teaching them the principles of discussion and debate, of presentation, and of conformity to the majority vote, with respect for the minority, showing them that the rule of the people must become the rule of law if freedom and discipline are to be rightly balanced. This is a slow process but a sure one, the good life is made possible. External liberty cannot go further than the measure of inner liberty of spirit which the psycho is able to achieve through the integration of its aim and conscious and unconscious drives. Leaders will have to learn the true distinction between power over others and power on behalf of their fellow-men.

RESPONSIBILITY

Their comprehension of these principles and their effectiveness in public policy will not have been rendered possible without a progressive realisation of the responsibility which such rights entail. The chain of human progress can be seen as involving a duty towards the past, gratefully to preserve institutions for which our forefathers have struggled. Care and preservation of school property should be regarded as a conscious duty, in counter action to those vile anti-social and destructive tendencies. The living rental contribution by each generation should be safe-guarded against depreciation. What the state has given the individual through educational subsidization should be rendered again in public service.

An education writer once said. "We have been bringing into being individuals who are living physically at not more, than 50%, mentally not more than 20% spiritually, not more than 10% of their potential capacity. Public conscience has recently been stirred to the first of these responsibilities. Physical culture has been introduced into our schools, and keep-fit exercises are issued. Responsibility for mental development has also been attended to.

But what of the spiritual sphere! We have been so taken up with higher education, that this vital aspect has been lamentably neglected and as a result we have a number of individual educated but poor in spirit. The religiously high-principled parents brought up their children in the tradition of the leaders; their offspring challenged by a sceptical age, discarded, the sanctions of their faith, but retained the principles inculcated with it, and this has become habitual; but when they in turn, try to instil into their children the principles without the sanctions of Faith, the fallacy is revealed. Principle and Faith have run dry.

The destruction of one country after another a little while ago can safely be put down as a moral collapse, a sign of inner rottenness; a decay of loyalty and principles of self-sacrifice in favour of self-seeking openness to rosy promises and self-advancement.

The shock of discovery has brought democracy to an acknowledgment of the necessity for a positive remedy, and of the inherent right of a Christian country to give spiritual training to its fu-

ture citizens. The trite argument that the child must grow up unbiased and choose his religion for himself is something most absurd, as we make no attempt to apply it in any other branch of the child's education. Why should the child's spiritual training alone be neglected? Every gardener knows that nothing grows of its own accord without careful planting and good care - except weed - and that when the ill weeds have grown apace, the farmer has a doubly hard task to eradicate them.

When the child has been allowed to cultivate a soul we shall find a new illumination in the remaining cultural subjects, for he will be able to respond to the works of great masters of creative spirit, music will not need to be rendered to jazz nor the sensuous, and literature to vulgarity, before he can find genuine pleasure in them. He would have learnt that true respect for personality - his own and others - which seems to flourish only with the belief in its survival through Eternity.

In conclusion let me say something about the teacher of to-day and tomorrow. The teachers should be of a unified released personality, enjoying that sense of inner security which can enable him to present life whole, sanely and hopefully, He will then be able to lead the child into new achievement, sharing with him his own hobbies. Such a teacher will raise the physical level of his pupils and the health - giving atmosphere of his class-room.

True educational advance depends upon the degree of trust which the Education Department reposes in its teachers. Our profession must for its part justify this trust by a higher belief in itself and a stronger initiative.

The future of our schools depends upon our power to inspire teachers with those ideals of self sacrifice for peace which are inspiring thousands to lay down their lives in war without expecting to see with their own eyes the day of deliverance. Let us gives our lives to the age unborn, sowing in hope what others will reap, and knowing that no cause can be lost where we work with an imperishable material. Our forms of Government are only the framework through which eternal personalities were moulded. It is the moulds which are the instruments and the individual personalities to whom they give the form of good life, the only true harvest of our labour.

Christian National Education[1]

E.L. Maurice

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Any discussion of South African social affairs must take account of two significant and all-important facets of the prevailing social structure. The one is the avowed intention of the white section of the population, as a whole, to maintain a supremacy of their particular colour in the life of the country. The other is the bilateral struggle for domination carried on within the white section itself. In everyday political terms, these two aspects can be plainly stated as the official policy of white supremacy accepted by the white ruling class as a whole, and the struggle between the Afrikaner and English sections for political power. On the one hand, it is the general agreement in the white section that mastery must remain with the whites, and, on the other hand, it is the struggle between the United Party (2) and the Nationalist Party (2) to decide who is to be the master.

Education - the Handmaid of Society

The policy of Christian National Education must be viewed against this background. Time and again in recent years we have shown that education is an important wheel in the machinery of society and that it is geared according to the social demands made upon it, and we have adequately illustrated the truth of this thesis from the position of education in this country. The policy of Christian National education affords one more example of the axiom that education is but the handmaid - of society, doing its bidding and acting according to its commands. But this time it illustrates not only that in South African society, education is a powerful agent for the maintenance of white supremacy - the first facet to which I referred a moment ago - but, indeed, it shows in a very clear and distinct way the bilateral struggle for power between the two white groups and the realisation, on the part of the one group, that education can and must be used for political aspirations. For Christian National edu-

cation, let it be said here and now, is nothing more than the educational programme of Afrikanerdom, conceived and formulated to serve the political ends it has set itself.

Historical Origins

The idea of a Christian National education is, of course, nothing new. Nor it is indigenous to this country. Like its protagonists to-day, it proudly traces its origin to Holland. But it first made its appearance in this country during the opposition of the Dutch to the State School established by the English in the Transvaal and Orange Free State after the South African War. It arose from the opposition of the Dutch to the anglicisation of their children which was carried on in those schools. Apart from other purely political considerations, these State Schools were hated by the Dutch because in these schools their children were not only forced to learn English and to be taught through the medium of English, but the use of Dutch was strictly banned even as a conversational medium. The Christian National schools, therefore, were privately established at the expense of the Dutch parents, and for several years they held the educational front in the struggle of the emergent Afrikaner against complete domination by the English. Saved by the political wedlock of the two white sections at the time of Union, the presence of the large Non-European population in the country which was the goad to the Union of the provinces, did the Afrikaner the service of giving him State recognition for his schools and prepared the ground for his successful struggles for the acceptance of his language as one of the official languages of the country and gave him a surer footing in the country which he now called his own.

But the Afrikaner was never completely satisfied. His history had made him suspicious and wary of his partner in the joint hegemony. More partnership in the joint task of mastery was not sufficient for him. Once the matter of white supremacy was settled in 1910 be girded his loins in the brave effort to gain for himself a mastery within the white section. To that end he organised himself politically, economically, linguistically, culturally. It is no part of my function on this occasion to trace the full his-

tory of that movement. Suffice it to say that the Nationalist Party, the Broederbond, the Reddingsdaadbond and the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings[3] are all organisations playing their part in the struggle. On this occasion it is the educational organisation and programme of the Afrikaner which is our special concern.

Afrikaner Teachers

Some little while ago I pointed to the fact that the Afrikaner has taken to education with a will. The Afrikaner teachers have organised themselves into powerful teachers associations and, to-day, much of the educational thinking in this country is being done by Afrikaner educationists. Moreover, the educationists are not as ascetics, unconcerned with the world around them. On the contrary, they are working band in glove with the politicians to gain the Afrikaner objective. The Christian National educational policy, therefore, is no isolated attempt by a coterie of persons to say what children should be taught at school. It is the educational wing in the general onslaught which is being made to establish once and for all the domination of Afrikanerdom within the framework of a State based on white supremacy. It has the support of organised Afrikanerdom-preachers, pedagogues and politicians. And the education which the would be masters intend to give themselves and the education which they wish to give to us must naturally be of great importance to anyone interested in the future of South Africa.

Fundamental Principles

The policy of Christian National education is based on the fundamental principle that the way of living and outlook of the parents must be transmitted to, and inculcated in, the children through the process of education. It derives this concept from the Calvinistic doctrine that children inherit the souls of their parents in the same way as they inherit their physical characteristics. And further, that each group of people has its own particular social characteristics which must be preserved through the process of education. I think the social characteristics, the way of living and

outlook, will naturally have to be transmitted to the children. Education, therefore, will play a useful rôle in the preservation of the social status quo and will certainly not serve its true function as a medium for directing social change.

Christian National education postulates two major social characteristics of the Afrikaner people in this country. The whole programme of their education must be framed in such a way that these two characteristics maintain their pre-eminent place in white society. The one, of course is Christianity and the other is Nationalism.

"Christian" South Africa

To-day it has become a commonplace for people to make a great shout of the proud boast that South Africa is a Christian country, and it is not surprising that the term has even slipped into our political vocabulary. One cannot be blamed for being on one's guard whenever the word is used in the social theory of this country. More especially so, when it is remembered that the protagonist of the new educational policy are not pious in any monkish rejection of the affairs of this world. They do not cloister themselves in humble subjection to an omnipotent God, living with their hands clasped and their eyes constantly turned to high heaven. On the contrary, religion for them must serve their worldly ambitions. And we know those ambitions only too well. It is in that connection between religion and earthly ends, between Christianity and a theory of the State, that the chief danger lies. It is the relation between the Calvinistic religious approach and the Calvinistic theory of the State that gives the real significance to the idea of a Christian National education.

The "Image of God"

The chief and most important aim of education, according to the policy, is to be the shaping of men according to the image of God. Of course, it is difficult to argue in terms so nebulous and misty. "In the image of God" may mean anything and everything. But when as to-day, so many evil deeds are perpetrated in the name of the Almighty, and when such diabolical interpretations are often given

to the Divine Will, we must indeed wonder whether we really should strive to create men in the image of such a God - a God whose sanction is so often invoked for the misdeeds of men on earth. I need only point to the "Christian" theory - I use the word in inverted commas - propounded by the Christian National idealist that every nation has its own fatherland appointed to it by the Creator. Even the plain facts of recorded history, of course, will not deter these Christians from the invocation of Divine sanction for a premise which serves as a mystical foundation for their pernicious social theories. And, of course, the well-worn contention, that God created separate nations and gave to each its characteristic talents and special calling in life, gives a good spiritual foundation to the pattern of South African society. To-day, when everything from the abolition of mixed marriages to the manufacture of coons is done in the name of God, we cannot be blamed for wondering whether the moulding of men in the likeness of such a God is, indeed, a good end for education to set itself. Not, of course, that we should desire the image of the Devil to be reflected in our children. But certainly the God whose likeness they are to take will require some definition, more precise, more circumscribed, more just, and, in a word, more moral.

Religion the Key Subject

But the new educational policy does not satisfy itself with placing on the schools the onus of religious education. It does not even satisfy itself with the enunciation of broad principles of religious teaching in the schools. Religion must be the key subject in the school curriculum. It must be the most important subject. It must have a central place in education and permeate the spirit and trend of all subjects. Indeed, every subject must be taught in the light of the Word of God and must be based on the appropriate Gospel. No subject must be contrary to the teaching of the Bible. It will certainly be an interesting task to sit with the Bible in one hand and a school text book in the other, and re-write the latter. For one, the literary gem of Adam and Eve, so beloved of fond mothers, will replace the chapters on evolution and natural selection in the Biology books. For, according to the exponents of the

policy, all the teachers in the Christian National schools must be Calvinists and will accept the fundamental interpretation of Genesis I as a factual statement of the manner of God's creation. Any teacher conscientiously unable to do so would have to seek other employment. And our history teachers will be interested to learn that all history will have to be taught in the light of the Gospel and must be regarded as God's wise plan for the world and as the fulfilment of the task which God gave to man, viz. to multiply and to govern the earth. The great facts of the Creation - the fall of man, the breaking of the Covenant, the suffering, death and ascension of Jesus Christ, the prophesied end of the world - these are to become the great turning points in history. The great antithesis between the Kingdom of God in Jesus Christ and the world of heathen darkness, it is believed, runs through everything in this world, and our teachers will have to follow that distinction in their history teaching. The search for truth will no longer be the aim of education. Research and teaching will be conditioned by the Bible, and will be the new encyclopedia of all school subjects. It will explain all things.

The Three Afrikaner Churches

Yet, despite the acceptance of the Bible as the source of all knowledge and wisdom, the Christian Nationalists are fully aware of the many denominational differences that spring from that common origin. And they are determined that the schools shall be used not merely as agencies for the dissemination of the eternal verities of the Book, but that the schools for Afrikaans-speaking children shall be used as special agencies for the propagation of the denominational creeds of the three Afrikaans churches. Religious education must consist mainly of Bible history and the denominational catechism. The teaching must not be purely factual. It must be denominational and be in agreement with the religious convictions of the parents and, moreover, it must be in conformity with the particular denominational articles of faith of the parents. For Afrikaans-speaking children, naturally, this means the articles of faith of the three Afrikaans churches. This, of course, is a theological matter upon which we need not spend our time here. But its application to education is specially interesting because the declaration of faith

of the Christian Nationalists is based on the doctrine of original sin, and the belief is that this original sin is transmitted to all future generations. In the process of education, therefore, the child is to be treated as a sinful being and not as one without sin. But then, perhaps, you may say, that is exactly what teachers have always been doing. And, of course, there is the assertion - not without interest to S.G.E.'s and Inspectors - that because the mercy of God gave salvation to the believing world and because this mercy runs through the generations, the children of believing parents must not be treated in the same way as heathen children. There must be a difference between the education of believers and unbelievers. And the declaration of faith also postulates the interesting educational doctrine that besides the social characteristics which children of all nations share in common, there are national characteristics of groups of children which must be recognised and honoured.

But I say these things merely in passing. What is really important is that the schools are to be saturated with denominational fervours of various kinds. The church, as the organisation of believers, must take a great interest in education. The Church must supervise the spirit and trend of education and, in particular, it must discipline the lives of the teachers as members of the Church. Needless to add, all the teachers must be men of Christian life and outlook, failing which they are the most fatal danger. And while the Church must not specifically establish schools in the general run of things, it is the duty of the Church to establish schools for the heathen, i.e. of course, the Non-Europeans.

All this, of course, is denominationalism in its most pernicious form. Carried to its logical conclusion the acceptance of the principle involved will mean that the schools, like the Churches to-day, will be subjected to the same stupid denominational divisions, with all their pettifogging jealousies and rivalries. Education, like religion, will become another field for persecution and burning at the stake. We know these things. For generations we have been the victims of the mission school system.

Cultural Apartheid

Of the National pillar not much need be said. The principle is broadly defined as the love of everything that is one's own, with special reference to one's country, one's language, one's history and one's culture. The principle, of course, derives from the theory that every nation has its God-granted portion of the earth, its divinely appointed form of government, and its talent and ability according to the decrees of the Almighty, The world, therefore, is divided into a number of separate cultures and it is the divinely appointed task of each nation to preserve and develop its culture. Accordingly, there is to be no mixture of races, no mixture of religion, no mixture of culture and no mixture of language. The school systems must serve both as the means of preservation, and as the means of transmission, of the various cultures of the different groups. There must therefore be separate schools for the different racial groups and the content and activities of the schools must be organised in such a way that the children inherit fully and with pride the cultural heritage of the group to which they belong. In order to foster love of the language, the home language must be the only medium of instruction and bilingualism must not be set as an aim of education. Instruction in Geography must have the inculcation of patriotism as its chief aim and must proceed from the premise that every nation has its divinely sanctioned geographical position. In particular, the teaching of Civics must train the children to be good national citizens.

Nationalism and Internationalism

The theory of cultural apartheid, of course, rests upon the unsound foundation of wrong facts. History has shown quite adequately the common source of the world's culture. Every nation and every people has contributed to what to-day constitutes the world's way of living. Whether the Christian Nationalist like it or not, the Chinese, the Arabs, the unbelievers, have all made a contribution to the common fund of civilisation and culture, and they themselves, the Christian Nationalists have drawn from that fund. And it is, to say the least ridiculous flying in the face of history, to assert that sepa-

rate unrelated cultures have developed side by side or that the future course of history will make any such chimera possible. Moreover, to-day all thoughtful men have turned their minds away from the narrow, selfish nationalism that has wrought so much destruction in the world. To-day we are no longer thinking of national isolation, national pride, national prejudice. We have turned our minds away from these to the essential unity of the world, to an internationalism: indeed, to a supra-nationalism based on common standards. And no educational policy can adequately supply the needs of the present and future social system unless it takes full cognizance of this important fact of modern history.

Non-Europeans and "Heathen Ideologies"

It must not be thought that what I have said up to now is intended to apply only to the education of the white people of this country. The theory upon which the new South African State is to be built must, of necessity, take into account the presence of the Non-European population, and education must continue to serve the useful purpose of fitting the Non-European into the place intended for him. Flowing directly from the paramountcy of the Christian religion in the new educational system, it is intended that the education of the Non-European should be regarded as an integral part of the function of the Afrikaner to Christianise the Non-European people of South Africa. For the Biblical injunction contained in Matthew 28:9 (4) has led the white Christians to believe it to be their divine mission in life to teach all nations to be Christians. The chief aim of education, therefore, will be to turn the Non-Europeans into good Christians. For the Christian Nationalists believe that only when the Non-European people have been Christianised can and will they be truly happy. Only then, will they be proof against their own heathen and foreign ideologies which promise them a false happiness but will, in the end, leave them dissatisfied and unhappy. The history of this country has proved, of course, the ideological value of having good Christian, Non-European oppressed. For this new Christian crusade to be conducted in the Non-European schools is not to have the brotherhood of man as its battle cry. It is to be based on the principles of segregation, inequality and trusteeship,

with the Afrikaner nation arrogating to itself the position of senior trustee. Each section of the Non-Europeans is to have its own separate schools and each section must, according to the Christian-National principle, be educated to a pride in its own national achievements. It is believed that the Coloured man, for example, can be made race-conscious if the principle of apartheid in education is strictly applied, as it is in the churches. For it is contended that the glory and happiness of man lies in his realisation that he is a separate racial group, that he is educated in a Christian National way. And those of you who have always been looking for salvation have it there.

Such is the educational plan formulated by a section of the South African ruling class for the future South Africa. May I say, by way of conclusion, that in its conception of the purpose of education, in its denominational approach, in its support for educational segregation, in its racial theories, in the whole philosophy upon which it is based, Christian National education is, to my mind, diametrically and unequivocally opposed to the basic, fundamental principles of the Teachers League of South Africa.

From Slave-School to C.A.D. Slave-School

1952-1963: Social and educational Change

Evelyn Walker

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On the eve of the formal "tranfer" of the control of "Coloured Education" to the Coloured Affairs Department, it is of the utmost importance that everyone should have as a part of his or her armoury an understanding of the social roots and historical development and purpose of the present change. And in the following article we attempt to provide a synoptic view of the whole process from the days of the first school.

Slavery and Serfdom

The refreshment station became a colony. Slaves were taught the

Dutch language and the Reformed Religion. Discrimination was not on the basis of colour.

Jan van Riebeeck[1], bedevilled by the meagre resources with which he was required to establish a self-supporting refreshment station at the Cape, and bitterly aware of the refusal of Khoi-Khoin (2) pastoralists to appreciate the "dignity" of manual labour, found himself compelled, within five-years of his arrival, to take the two steps that laid the foundation of the social relationship within the colony within the first century and a half of its existence. The need for increased production of food and a supply of labourers to make possible that production as cheaply as possible to Jan compagnie (3) determined the terms offered to free farmers as well as the importation of slaves to assist in the manual and agricultural work. The Amersfoort (4) brought with it not only the solution to the problem of labour, but also the question of the means to be employed to ensure a tradition of tractability, and conscientious endeavour in the enforced service of a master whose tongue, and religion were so different from those of his unwilling labourers.

The slave-school, the archetype for the education of the oppressed, provided the means whereby slaves could acquire the rudiments of the Dutch language and the simplest tenets of the Reformed Religion from teachers whose first qualifications were an ability to speak the language, and recite the Psalms, prayers and catechism. Since the simple skills imparted in school were the basic requirements for all children, the offspring of the European colonists benefited no less from the fact that colour and circumstance provided no bars to attendance and learning. At first no need existed for colour-segregation, and Lord Mydrecht's (5) regulations in 1685 not withstanding, the lodge-school for slave children, and the "fee-paying school, begun in 1663 for the children of the European colonists, served the educational needs of the small colony without any distinction of caste or class.

The vigorous expansion of wheat and vine cultivation during the 18th century following the subjugation and dispersing of the Khoi-Khoin resisters, while bringing greater economic stability to the Colony, brought a more rapid increase in the slave population, relative to the number of European colonists, and the relations between the Company and the colonists hardened from that of guardian and ward

to a more formal Government-burgher connection that was evidenced also in the greater differentiation between the educational arrangements for children of slaves belonging to the Company, the "free blacks", and the slaves of the private burghers. The Company continued to provide facilities for instruction to be given to children of its own slaves and such slave children for whose attendance private owners were prepared to pay. The slave Lodge acquired such an unenviable reputation for "immorality", however, that many slave-owners subsidised the attendance of their slaves at the public schools. To save itself the expense of appointing more sick-comforters to minister to the spiritual and intellectual needs of the colonists in Cape Town, the Company did not discourage the activities of private teachers, who nevertheless had to satisfy the Company of their "qualifications", particularly in respect of their loyalty to the doctrine of the church and their ability to read and write. In the country districts, however, the privileged schoolmaster could not compete on such favourable terms with the officially licensed sick-comforter, mainly because of the smaller number of pupils to be catered for. In both town and country schools the status of the pupil determined the fees to be paid, though no distinction was made in the quality of the instruction given. The free persons of colour, whose numbers continued to increase during the 18th century, despite the strictures of Van Rheede (6) and later governors had only the public schools open to them, and continued to form an impressive proportion of the total school-going population.

The English regime, at the end of the 18th century, continued the educational arrangements, made by its predecessors in respect of schooling for slaves, and the reopening of the lodge school, which had been closed with the collapse of the Company, was only one of the steps taken by Governor Caledon, (7) who was prodded into action by representatives of the South African Missionary Society. Indeed, the evangelising zeal of the various missionary groups now active in the colony-introduced a competitive element that may have induced Lord Charles Somerset to ask the Imperial Government for a grant of £10,000 for the purpose of founding fifteen slave schools. The refusal of the Imperial Government to burden itself financially to this extent at a time, when the education of the children of citizens was not deemed to be government responsibility, opened the

field wide for the agents of philanthropy to exercise themselves energetically in this field. The imminence of the Slave Emancipation Act, reflected in the several series of regulations to curb the slave trade and to exercise greater governmental control over the slave-owners, was foreshadowed also by the emergence of the Free School as the educational institution par excellence open to all poor children, even those whose parents were still in bondage. The existence of the Free School did not preclude the attendance of Non-White children, even slaves, at the public schools that continued to increase in number as fee-paying institutions. English-speaking slave-owners, particularly in Cape Town, were not less desirous of having their slaves acquire the rudiments of their language than had been the Dutch-speaking masters of the earlier period.

Master and Servant

"Colour" legislation was camouflaged as "class" legislation. Missionary societies became active in the educational field. A system of teacher-training emerged to achieve the object of mission-school teaching. Separate education on grounds of "colour".

Under the impact of the Industrial Revolution in England and the social tenets of the great French Revolution, the social forces that were shaping the industrial society of 19th century Great Britain also filtered through to the Cape Colony. Accompanied during the initial phase by a series of apprenticeship regulations and pass laws restricting the movement of the detribalised and impoverished Khoi-Khoin, the new order, under the impetus of its own social creed, gave rise to the Slave Emancipation Act and Ordinance 50 which extended to "persons of colour" legal equality. By the middle of the 19th century his social group, designated in the official despatches as "Coloured Persons", had become fully integrated into the new economy of the Cape. But whilst accorded legal equality with their masters, their social status was determined by the master-servant relationship, and the "class legislation" introduced at the Cape after 1840 sought to maintain this relationship, exemplified in the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1841, which regulated the relations between White masters and Non-White servants. According to Marais, these regulations "continue to bear unmista-

kable evidence to the presence in the colony of a large mass of backward people". In effect, therefore, the "class" legislation was equivalent to "colour" legislation.

The education of the Khoi-Khoin had never been seriously considered by the Dutch, as tribal groups had continued to resist encroachment upon and expropriation of their tribal pastures although small groups of children were numbered amongst the school-going population, even during the 17th century. The missionaries, apart from continuing the organising of the Free Schools, now looked upon the Khoi-Khoin as being in the most dire need of their evangelical and proselytising activities. That their zeal was not applied with starry-eyed indifference to the "place in the labour market" of their new proselytes was evidenced in the emphasis placed upon moral and physical discipline and the teaching of agricultural work in the "mission schools", which has supplanted the slave school as the educational institution for persons of colour".

Somerset's (8) determination to Anglicise the children of the Dutch-speaking subjects of the English Government raised the issue of segregation on grounds of colour in a novel way. He attempted to evade the issue by approving the appointment of English teachers "for the children of the Dutch colonists chiefly.. and Heathen, <u>if required</u>". The colonists looking perhaps for points of friction with their English overlords, did not take kindly to the failure of the Governors to impose a definite colour bar. The superior secular instruction given in the "English" schools gave them a status distinct from the mission schools where the emphasis was on Bible, History and Geography and the text of the Holy Scriptures. There was no public outcry, however, against, the attendance of White children at mission schools, a practice which continued throughout the 19th century.

The opening of the pupil-teachers' school at Genadendal[9] is an index of the pressure upon the available teaching staff amongs the missionaries caused by the increasing number of "children of colour" seeking admission to the mission schools, and a realistic assessment by the Moravians of the greater number of converts that could be reached through the assistance that could be given to the local missionary by teachers who had had some specialised theological preparation. That the Christianity propagrated was not unconnected with

a joyful performance of hard manual work was suggested by the "apprenticeship" that the aspirant teacher-missionaries had to serve with local tradesmen - shoemakers, carpenters and blacksmiths! The long, unbroken period of the existence of this institution, about ninety years, contrasted strangely with the episodic existence of Normal Schools in Cape Town. A condition that English should be the medium of instruction and a European teacher be appointed to the school before financial assistance could be granted by the Government occasioned some hesistancy on the part of the Moravians, who feared that control might pass out of their hands. Langham Dale, then Superintendent-General of Education, had suggested these conditions in his attempt to persuade the Moravians to open their doors to the candidates from other societies. He hoped that in this way Genadendal would become to the Western Province what Lovedale (10) was in the Eastern Province.

Between 1828 and 1854 various Government schools were established to provide educational opportunities for the children of the colonists and secularisation of the school system developed apace. Prevented by their social and economic circumstances from taking advantage, en masse, of the education provided by these schools, the "Coloured" children were confined to the mission instruction, which increased rapidly in number after 1840.

With the passing of the 1865 Education Act this different system of educational treatment became an accepted feature of the school system - segregated White, coloured and African children in different schools. This Act laid down the scales of State aid for all kinds of schools, viz., Public (A), Mission (B), and Native (C), each of which was in turn subdivided into three groups AI, II, III; BI, II, III; CI,II,III. The "English schools had become part of the ordinary public schools when the schools were placed under the supervision of the Superintendent in 1839, and though no law existed which could prevent a Coloured person from sending his child to a public school, the Stellenbosch precedent of 1822 was upheld by public practice. Small schools in the poorer districts and in remote parts of the country continued to ignore the colour demarcation. The Mission Schools remained open to everybody until 1893 when Dr. Muir, made it possible, by means of legislation, for European Mission Schools to be established with the assistance of a

subsidy.

The Colour Bar

The opening of diamond and gold mines stimulated an Industrial Revolution. A "Native" Policy is laid down by Rhodes. The passing of the "civilised man" test becomes the panacea for spiritual, social and economic disabilities. The Wilcocks Commission reports, inter alia, on the state of "Coloured" education.

Segregation within the educational system became a conscious policy during the period after 1870, which coincided with the mining revolutions centred round Kimberley and Johannesburg. Rhodes' policy of White baasskap as defined in his famous speech in the Cape Parliament - "I have made up my mind that there must be class legislation, that there must be Pass Laws and Peace Preservation Acts and that we must treat the Natives in a different way to ourselves - we are to be the lords over them - these are my politics and these are the policies for South Africa" - found an echo in the enunciation of Rhodes' educational administrator, Langham Dale: "Society had placed a marked line of demarcation between black and white and it became the first duty of the Government to recognise the position of the European as holding the paramount social and political influence, and to see that their sons and daughters have at least such education as their peers, in Europe enjoy with such local modifications as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority and supremacy in this land. Traditions, religion, custom all demand this as essential to the stability of the government, and the material progress of the colony and the neighbouring state".

Accordingly, the educational system for the European child to provide him with such training as would enable him to become the superintendent, foreman, and ultimately master in trade, agriculture, manufacturing and the constructive branches of the arts. For the Non-Europeans all that was required was a system of training that would enable them to fill the need for ordinary artisans, domestic servants and agricultural labourers.

The rapprochement between Boer and Briton that was celebrated with an Act of Union laid the political foundation for this joint exploitation of the vast wealth revealed by the opening of the diamond and gold mines and thereupon the superstructure of the Colour bar was systematically and surely built. The facade of a liberal

attitude towards colour that screened the limitations placed upon "Coloured" citizens in exercising the franchise under the 1854 and 1872 Constitutions was ripped aside, and the Cape Liberal" tradition salved its conscience by asking for the "entrenched" clauses to be written into the Act of Union, despite the appeal of Milner somewhat earlier that his audience (mainly British) should take their stand "on the firm and inexpungable ground of civilisation as against the rotten and indefensible ground of colour".

It was the "greatest of South African statesmen" (according to Milner) who had defined a civilised man as: "A man, whether white or black, who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property or works, in fact is not a loafer". The White voter, by virtue of his colour, or lack of it, qualified automatically for the franchise, but the voter of colour was required by the Act of Union to prove that he was "civilised to qualify for a vote. The bar to "civilisation" remained despite the protests, deputations and petitions of the A.P.O.

The Act of Union was followed by a series of Acts that entrenched the colour bar socially and economically. The Mines and Works Act (1911) and the Factories Act (1918) formed the cornerstone of the 1922 Apprenticeship Act, the 1924 Industrial Conciliation Act, the 1925 "Civilised" Labour Policy and Wage Act. Through these Acts State intervention in the labour market aimed at "protecting" White workers and rehabilitating the poor whites who were flooding into the towns extended to private industry as well. Skilled work became virtually the preserve of the European youths.

And for a generation of "Coloured" people, education was the key that promised to open the doors to acceptance as "civilised" persons that would permit them to share equally in the political social and economic fruits of citizenship. In the first period there was an accelerating growth in the enrolments at "Coloured" schools. This was in part due to the rapid urbanisation of the "Coloured people, a development fostered by a flight from rural poverty and oppression and by the drawing power of expanding urban industry. Despite the increasing numbers at school, secondary schooling was a luxury for the few; children left school early to battle for employment in the Colour-bar-ridden labour market. Mission control of "Coloured" schooling was extended very rapidly indeed.

The 'thirties were more remarkable for the very rapid growth in political awareness and intellectual maturity amongst the Non-Whites. The Wilcocks Commission was to prove more of an epitaph on an age that was dying and going fast. This pre-war period was influenced by the struggles of Trade Unions against low wages and job reservation, by the political measures to hamstring the African people through the Acts of 1935-36 (11), and by the great ideological turmoil created by the Great Depression, the rise of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. This turmoil laid bare the struggle for democracy against Herrenvolkism. Parallels between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and South Africa were easily drawn and readily understood. But by and large, Non-White teachers were blind and deaf to the historical changes in which they were involved.

The age of Abdurahmanism, as it has been characterised, was fading, but it died hard. It was yielding to a, as yet ill-defined, move towards unity among the oppressed, and a national rather than sectional and "racial" attack upon the problems besetting the Non-Whites.

The War Years - Rapid Change - Anti-Democratic Reaction

The three decades that preceded the Coloured Education Act of 1963 are crucial in the history of South Africa. For it is in this period that we can discern a new, robust growth in the political and intellectual life of the Non-Whites, a quite remarkable transformation of their outlook and as a reaction to it, an intense and many-sided war against them by successive governments in the latters' attempts to stifle such developments.

At the outbreak of war, the process had gone so far that in 1939 it was to respond fairly fully to the hastening effect that war frequently has upon social change. Democracy was supposed to be at stake, after all. It was this period that saw the emergence of a teacher with a broader and deeper vision. The old conservative generation that dominated matters in "Coloured" education in all the provinces were rattled. So were the rulers who had come to rely so much on the dear, loyal, blind, political pit-ponies who hoisted their cheap labour for them out of the labour-pits in the "Coloured" schools. When the grey days of 1942, when the Allies were on the run in Asia

and North Africa, had passed, and Smuts' "segregation-has-fallen-on-evil days" soporific was no longer needed, the Coloured Advisory Council was formed. Precisely because the majority of quislings were most easily found from among the older teachers, the battle-ground on which the struggle against the C.A.C. took place encompassed "Coloured" education in a way in which had never before been involved. The nature, rôle and aims of this commodity were ruthlessly dissected and exposed. Within a very short period an ideological revolution had engulfed all Non-White organisations. The initial change amongst the "Coloured" people was deepened and extended by the growth and influence of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement, (12) the Unity Movement, (12) and other streams in the liberatory struggle.

In 1943-44, the T.L.S.A. (12) underwent a radical change reflecting the general change in society. And this, in turn, led to a rapid overhauling of the outlook of the overwhelming majority of the Non-White teachers. A teachers' life and work took on a new meaning in this time. The whole quality and direction in the education of Non-Whites became diametrically opposed to what they had been but one decade before.

The Rise Of Fascism and C.N.O. Doctrine

Looking back now, one perceives the hurried and frantic efforts by the educational bosses to turn the tide back. The 1945 Coloured Education Ordinance attempted to fob off the "Coloured" people with empty promises of "compulsory education", salary increases were granted toq quieten the teaching profession; the C.A.D. created Teachers Educational and Professional Association (a significant name this) was used like a sheepdog to re-herd into the kraals of "Colouredism" teachers who, to the great consternation of the authorities, were so unlike the sheep they have so easily misled with their leader-goats in the thirties. Yet the critical influence was to be felt on top of all this, by the world-wide colonial revolt after the war. To the rulers, the electric developments of 1939-45 in South Africa were portents of the self-same thing here. To the White electorate it was a sign of impending disaster facing "White supremacy". On the back of reaction, the Nationalist Party swept into power to crush these new developments. It was time to split the Non-Whites

anew into "races" and place them under close confinement and military guard in the Ethnicstans.

In rapid succession came the Suppression of Communism Act to root out all radical thought and progressive organisations; the Group Areas Act to secure the total isolation and dismemberment of the Non-White people; job reservation to entrench white economic supremacy and Non-White debilitation through poverty and want; dummy representation and C.A.D.-N.A.D.-I.A.D. (13) rule to stifle political aspirations. Armed with the agressive, narrow, and Calvinistic creed of Christian-National Education, (14) the ruler pursued, at the same time, an assault upon the schools. To them, as is obvious from the reports of the Eiselen and Botha Commissions, (15) the slaveschool had gone "wrong". It no longer produced the "type" of Non-White it was supposed to do, and it had within its walls teachers imbued too much with "foreign ideologies", that is, people who had a taste for democracy.

The Assault on Education: The Infamous Commissions

The third decade, therefore, is characterised by the conduct of total war on the schools that had emerged from the murky depths of 300 years of segregation and anti-democratic erosion of the people's needs. The quantity of education being absorbed by the greater numbers of Non-Whites was a worry of one kind. It led to the repeated warnings at every prize-giving, every graduation ceremony, every party rally, that "Whites" must look to their education to maintain White leadership. But it was the quality imparted to the education of Non-Whites by changing social conditions that was the chief worry.

The Bantu Education Act and the Tomlinson Report (16) gave the rulers twenty years (up to 1970) to transform schools for "Bantu persons into brainwashing machines for the mass Production of the type of "Bantu" envisaged in C.N.O. doctrine. The failure of the system to turn back the tide led to the agonishing re-appraisal of the technique to be used with "Coloured" schools.

It is noteworthy that, whereas hundreds of "Coloured" people were prepared in 1935-37 to give evidence to the Wilcocks Commission, (17) the De Vos Malan (Botha) Commission, less than 20 years after, was avoided like a leper. Small wonder, then, that the Com-

mission execrated the teachers, the parent-teacher organisations and the "Coloured" people in general,

Thus, for the next few years, every piece of State apparatus was used in an attempt to grind opposition to C.A.D. schooling into the ground. Progressive organisations were persecuted, pilloried, and proscribed, as was their leadership. The Coloured Affairs Department was enlarged and extended and given the help to the Education Departments, the special police, and a fifth-column of collaborators and informers inside the schools to smash opposition wherever it might be encountered. The teachers and the missions were inveigled, and are still being inveigled, by hook and by crook, into accepting C.A.D. schooling. The doctrines of eiesoortigheid of each artificially created "race" grouping and the andersoortigheid of all other groupings have never been driven as hard as they have been during the pass decade.

Criticism of C.N.O. (18) doctrine, of tribalised schooling and bush college indoctrination is accounted one of the worst crimes for a teacher. It is placed in the same category as treason. The drive towards modern standards and enlightened leadership in the schools have been countered by the appointment, in the overwhelming majority of cases, of principals who servilely commend themselves to the apartheid aristocracy, of an inspectorate imprisoned in the C.N.O. (18) system of thought, and by the avowed intention of "showing the Coloured youth that an elementary training in farmwork is of more value to him than a High School education". As much as the Coloured Education Act declares that schools for "Coloured" persons shall no longer be schools, but shall be depots for C.N.O. (18) indoctrination of the cheap labour force, so do the Service Regulations decree that no teachers shall enter the schools. Servile, anti-educational brainwashed brainwashers alone will be required.

The scrawny infant of slave-school days had been exposed to starvation, cultural isolation, and the attention of thousands of ill-trained, underpaid attendants. Over the years, and especially over the last few decades, he has nevertheless grown and matured, nourished on the sustenance he had got from political, ideological and social change around him. He had burst the straitjacket that had always been drawn so tightly about him as to make it almost impossible for him to breathe. The Herrenvolk (19) feel they have

been cheated, however, and are now trying desperately to close this chapter in the life of "Coloured" education.

But a new chapter opened up for all Non-Whites in South Africa with the Eiselen Commission. It will record the struggles against Eiselen-De Vos (20) Malan schooling. It would be criminal to underestimate the vital importance of the battle against the latter-day Colouredised, Bantuised and Indianised schooling. In looking forward we cannot envisage a return to pre-1963. It must be ever towards the only and ultimate just goal - a free, unsegregated system of education. And the immediate history of pre-C.A.D. slave schooling teaches us clearly that social change precedes educational advance.

LANGUAGE

In the Editor's Sanctum

The Mother-Tongue Medium

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Nov. 1st, 1916

As the proceedings of the recent Conference showed, teachers appreciate the soundness of the doctrine that in the lower standards at least instruction should be given through the medium of the mother tongue. The question immediately arises whether teachers in non-European schools are competent to teach through the medium of the mothertongue whether English or Dutch. There seems no difficulty in arriving at a proper answer, for in so far as the only language in which any doubt might be entertained, is concerned, when we inquire which Dutch is required we find it Afrikaans, which the majority of our teachers know (my italics). It may be noted that according to the Bilingual Ordinance teachers in Mission Schools, unlike those teaching in schools under the various School Boards, may, but are not obliged to qualify for the bilingual certificate. Now, although Mission School teachers do not as yet obtain regular increments apart from the Good Service Allowance, we do not see why such teachers should not have been included amongst those who are subjected to certain disabilities unless they obtain a bilingual certificate within five years. The absence of a penalty clause is to be deplored, but we have little doubt teachers will realise the importance of this matter, and take advantage in the near future of the opportunity afforded them by the proviso in the Ordinance, referred to above.

"Afrikaans"

To the Editor, "Educational Journal"

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, September, 1918

Sir-Although I have had another occasion to express my ideas concerning Afrikaans at schools, I would like to use your invitation to once more air my opinion to the readers. I shall try to be as brief and business-like as possible.

It is said that Afrikaans is not a language, and that one would do better to express one's ideas in English or in Dutch. But Sir, where do the English and the Dutch get their languages from which sound so nice? Half of the words they borrowed from other languages, namely, Latin. Where do veld, veldschoen, vley, sluit, kraal (1) etc. come from which now are part and parcel of the English language? Why can't we do the same? And if we watch carefully, we'll see that those words we think we do not have in Afrikaans, are precisely those which are not originally Dutch or English, but come form old languages. Just listen to the talk of educated white Afrikaners and hear how they pronounce certain words and expressions taken from Dutch - and it is the most natural thing as if these words were never borrowed. Just as the language of the educated Englishman is the English language, is understood by the entire people and learnt by them, so it should also be with Afrikaans. It is afterall, two hundred years too late to state that Afrikaans is not a language (my italics).

All the nations of the earth allow their children to learn their own language first, yet we, the coloured Afrikaners think we must start with a foreign language (my italics).

How much valuable time isn't wasted trying to start off the little ones with unknown things, instead of teaching them their own language? Notice how lively they enter school on the first day and how their eyes twinkle, only to lose it after a while, sometimes before they are through with the A.B.C. or with counting till fifty. How much quicker will they not learn English if they are sure of their own language first?

As for Dutch. I fear that a great section still looks upon our language with contempt (my italics) The questions in the exams cannot be simpler, yet how many of the candidates pass? Just examine the results of the "Training Schools".

Cordially - I remain, etc. I.B.O.

"Engels v. Hollands"

To the Editor, "Educational Journal"

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, July, 1917

Sir, Editor, - At our recent conference, a decision was taken to devote at least one page of your honourable journal to an article written in Dutch. So that this may not remain a pious resolution, I hereby set the ball rolling and with the following theme-

What is now the language of the Coloured, and to what extent does the learning of one language or the other help or hamper his education?

The coloured takes in a middle position between the whites and the original inhabitants. His habits and language are those of the former.

The mother-tongue of the majority of Coloureds is Dutch. Yet our King is an Englishman, as his subjects it is our duty to recognize his language as the official language, although our legislation gives equal rights to both European languages.

Now apart from the fact that our King speaks English, is it desireable, even necessary, to teach English to a great majority of children who have Dutch as their mother-tongue? We answer definitely: Yes, "because our children are employed in considerable numbers by the merchants or private houses, where they would be useless without any knowledge of the language. And how many of us have not appended our signature to documents in English which we did not understand, and which had as a result that we had to leave our houses and plots.

What matters is the way in which we teach our Dutch-speaking children to learn English and how to use it so that we don't turn out too many dandies whom we find later on loitering at the bisoscopes with cigarettes in their mouths and an Anglicized name of "Harry Jackson" instead of Hendrik Jagers".

We also ask; is Dutch necessary in the education of our children? Here too, the answer is: "Yes". For it is the mother-tongue of our people and the child thinks in it and gives expression to his thoughts in it. A simple example will illustrate this. The expression, "Jesus My Saviour" and Jesus Mijn Zaligmaker". The first one, does it not sprout from the brain? And the second one, does it not go deeper, namely to the heart?

Our argument can be summarised as follows:

Teach the child English, because that is the language of his King, and he needs it for his English Master; and he learns to create an understanding best through his mother-tongue, Dutch

Teach the child Dutch, as in the mission schools, so that he can read his Bible as the highest book of learning and in this way fulfil his call as mission child.

D.P.A.
(translated from the Dutch by
V.A. February).

A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (1)

V.E. Rylate (1)

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XXVIII, nr. 4, Oct., 1956

This is the first of a series of articles on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which is hoped readers will be assisted to view such matter as "moedertaalonderwys" and "official" languages in their social-historical perspective - Editor.

By its nature the language question extends beyond the frontiers - but not beyond the horizons of education. Its backdrop is not the classroom but the nation. Whether as subject, school or official medium, language itself is a means of communication - and of production - and, as such, is always a social, and sometimes a political, instrument. The language question in S. Africa does not arise out of the relative intrinsic merits - the "carrying power" - of this language or that, but out of a unique as well as typical matrix of social conditions. These have to be examined concretely and historically in order to reveal the mainsprings of the rôle of S. African languages in the antagonistic processes of oppression and liberation.

Many types of language changes can be found in the history of S. Africa. Languages, however, do not express their external dterminants automatically immediately or directly. They have their own momentum and inner laws. Language changes lag well behind the forces causing them. The causes for this conservatism may be natural (e.g. a child learns to speak from its parents, who pass on what they learnt from their parents and so on). They may be philological (e.g. the inertia of a language, the resistance to change of its lexicon, syntax, accidence, orthography or script, particularly if the latter be pictographic or logographic and not phonetic). Or, they may be social (e.g. Anglo-Saxon resistance to the Norman invaders' French; China's isolation before Sun Yat Sen and again before 1949; the conserving effect of the Reserve-Location system on Xhosa, etc.

Nevertheless, language changes do occur. These changes deepened and accelerated almost in geometric proportion as society developed from tribalism-to-feudalism-to-capitalism-to-socialism. Some backward languages died out. Others were localised. Yet others surrendered to a conqueror's language. Some were both preserved and retarded by colonial oppression. Some became unpopular, esoteric, religious and scientific media. A local dialect often became a national language. Many languages evolved internally to meet a social change.

On the other hand, the process is not always forward and upward, but may be artificial and reactionary. Nor are language changes due only to economic forces. Indeed, as in S. Africa, political factors may even over-ride economic ones (e.g. the linguistic effects of Reserve-Location set-up, the Treaty of Vereenging, C.N.O., Eiselen-de Vos Malanism (2) - as we shall try to show).

These prefatory remarks are intended partly as an aid to the short (largely political) history of S. African languages which follows and partly as a caution against over-simplifying the picture of the "language question" in South Africa, where it is, of neccessity, still in a rather tentative, explorative and sensitive state.

BATWA LANGUAGES (3)

We leave it to Herrenvolk linguist to deduce the inferiority of peoples from the backwardness of their languages. History tells us, on the contrary, that these reflected outmoded civilizations. The Batwa languages fell when their Late Stone Age hunters' culture was physically destroyed by the Dutch, Boers, British and Germans. Except for tone, exclamatory and vocabulary contributions to Khoi-Khoin, Bantu, Nederlands and Afrikaans, the Batwa languages were practically wiped out by one of the most ruthless conquests known.

KHOI-KHOIN LANGUAGES

The Khoi-Khoin civilization being higher than that of the Batwa, their languages contributed correspondingly more to other languages. Furthermore, whereas the Batwa, like the American Indians, were physically destroyed, the Khoi-Khoin were not so much decimated as they were uprooted and transferred to the D.E.I.C. slave economy, the semi-feudal Boer economy and the mission labour camps of the L.M.S. and Wesleyans. (4) There the transplanted Khoi-Khoin languages perished, but the enslaved and enserfed Khoi-Khoin adopted and, in adopting, transformed Nederlands (into what Th. Hahn, 1882, dubbed "Hottentots Hollands" or Afrikaans). In this process the Khoi-Khoin languages were virtually destroyed.

MALAYAN-PORTUGUESE

After 1657 most (90%) of the 17th century slaves came from Angola, Mozambique and Madagascar and hence spoke either Bantu or (if they were shanghaied from the coast) Portuguese. 10% came from Batavia and spoke Malayan or a commercial Pidgin-Portuguese which Hesseling (1897) and P.J. du Toit (1905) called "Maleis-Portugies". Despite Rev. A.T. Wirgman (1980) and Dr. D.B. Bosman (1927) there can be no doubt that, especially after the mass importation of Asian slaves in the 18th century (until banned in 1767) the Malayan, Portuguese (and Bantu) spoken by the slaves did stronly alter spoken Netherlands. Comm. Van Goens forbade Portuguese as early as 1657, yet it was used in Van Riebeek's own household. However, already by 1656 Khoi-Khoin herders and traders spoke Nederlands. In April 1664 the Chamber of 17 laid down that Khoi-Khoin children must be taught Nederlands and, in the end , the growing intercourse between Khoi-Khoin slaves and Dutch led rapidly to the absorption of Malayan-Portuguese into a "Creolised", mixed and Pidginised Nederlands (i.e. Afrikaans). By 1865 Comm. Van Rheede - a major architect of segregation - grumbled that, as a result of this process, "een gebroken spraek" (5) (i.e. Afrikaans) "gefondeert (5) werd". Except for the use of Korannic Arabic as a family-religious language (similar to Jewish Talmud Torah), the Malayan-Portuguese languages

disappeared by the end of the 18th century and early Afrikaans became, to use Bosman's vulgar idiom, "die moedertaal ook van die Hottentotte, slawe en Kleurlinge". (6) Thus perished yet a third group of South African languages.

NEDERLANDS

Although most of Van Riebeeck's crew could only sign their names with crosses, Nederlands was the official written language at the Cape. It soon died out in the mouths even of settled Company servants, remained a pen-and-ink language of the official aristocracy, and was replaced as official language in 1825 by English. After surviving the First Afrikaans Taalbeweging (1875-1900) and regaining official status at Union, it succumbed to the Second Taalbeweging (1902-1925), disappearing finally when Afrikaans replaced it as an official language.

AFRIKAANS: Origins.

Afrikaner linguists debased philology to such a degree that eventually a Van Rooy of the infamous C.N.O.-"beleid" (1948), (7) could rant into the very teeth of history: 'Ons wil geen taalvermenging, kultuurvermenging... of rassenvermenging hê nie". (8) Not even the First Taalbeweging dared proclaim the "purity" of Afrikaans. Thus Pannevis (1874) told his Bybelsgenootskap that Afrikaans was "een soort van verbasterd Hollands", (8) and the "Cape Monthly, Magazine" (1880) called it "n barbaars patois", (9) without a literature, a Dutch dialect "wat in de mond van de ontwikkelden in Zuid Afrika leefde" (10) a "patois" which began "in de achterbuurten van 't 17de-eeuwse Amsterdam" (11) and was brought to the Cape by Dutch colonists of "low origin", whose lack of education, and contact with indigenous peoples, caused "a loss of flexion" (normally a progressive step) and the "degeneration" of Hollands into Afrikaans. Prof. Hesseling (1897) dismissed Cachet's very personal "theory" that Afrikaans had a "Dutch father and a French mother", and said it came from "Maleis Portugees". He held that the Boers' religious and colour prejudices damped the influence of Khoi-Khoin and Bantu on Nederlands and that therefore

"Europeans" would not "simplify" their language when talking to "rou, baar Kaffers". (12). However, Dr. van Ginneken and later Bosman and Boshoff stressed the rôle of Khoi-Khoin and Bantu in the birth-process of Afrikaans. Bosman (1927) denied that Afrikaans developed "spontaneously" (i.e. as a pure "Van Rooyen" language), (13) holding that 17th century "Hollandse seemanstaal die boom was waarop Afrikaans geënt is" (14) and that Afrikaans was "die ontwikkeling van Nederlands onder die invloed van die geadapteerde Nederlands van vreemdelinge". (15) Van Rooy's forerunners spent much time in a vain effort to prove that the language first called Afrikaans in 1935 did not begin as a "werk-taal", i.e. as Pidgin-Dutch, analogous to Pidgin-English used on the Chinese Coasts in the 18th century, to Sango in French W. Africa, Luba in the Congo, and Fanagalo (16) on the Rand Mines. For Van Rooy's sake, at least, the following "modern" additions (from the official State Dictionary) should be mentioned as the "pure" contribution of Afrikaners to Afrikaans; Karroowoorde, Gansbaai-visserstaal, Knysna-boswerkerstaal, Transvaalsetaal, Vrystaatsetaal, Bolandse woorde, Namaqualandsetaal, and last, but by no means least, Kerktaal. (17)

(The next article will deal with the first, second and third Taalbewegings).

A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (II)

V.E. Rylate

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This is the second of a series on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which it is hoped readers will be assisted to view such matters as "moedertaalonderwys" and "official" languages in their social-historical perspective - Editor.

FIRST TAAL-BEWEGING

The "taal", (1) once formed had a most revealing up-and-down history. After spreading under the D.E.I.C. it fell back with the coming of

the British in 1806. Thereafter, ITS FORTUNES BECAME INSEPARABLE FROM THOSE OF THE PRIMITIVE-FEUDAL TREK-BOERS. Thus, the First Taalbeweging the "Genootskap Van Ware Afrikaners", (2) formed out of the "Bybelsgenootskap" (3) by S.J. du Toit, C.P. Hoogenhout, J.L. Cachet and A. Pannevis (4) in August, 1875, did not start as a language but as a POLITICAL movement.

Its first specific cause was the anti-British separatist Boer movement in the Eastern Cape after the Nonquase cattle slaughter and the British annexation of "Kaffraria". From 1866-9 De Transvaalse Argus carried articles on this issue. It received its second POLITICAL impetus when in 1873 Hoogenhout, on behalf of the land-grabbing Boers, denounced Waterboer's (5) right to the Griqualand diamond fields and demanded O.F.S. ownership. Three years later the first Afrikaans grammar was published and in 1877 the first Afrikaans "history" appeared. This glorified the Huguenots, Trekboere, Woltemade, (6) etc., and abused the Non-Europeans as foully as the doggerel poems in Du Toit's paper, Die Patriot, begun in 1876 as "een koerant in ons eie taal". (7) (Brandt's Zuid-Afrikaan, started in the 1820's, was in Nederlands.) The "Taal" movement received its third political stimulus from Shepstone's annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, soon after which (1879) Patriot called for an Afrikaner Bond. In 1878 the first Spel en Leesboek vir Afrikaner Kinders, (8) by "Oom Willem" (one J.W. v.d. Rijgt), came out - a POLITICAL act both in its timing and in content (anti-British, anti-Dutch, viciously anti-Non-European, though full of Khoi-Khoin Pidgin-Dutch). Du Toit himself never did pretend that this was a "Taal" movement. When he formed it he wrote of "'t verband tussen de nationale ontwaking van de Afrikander en de taalbeweging." (9) It paved the way for the Bond (formed 1879) which ran the "political side" while the Genootskap crowned its labours with the first printed Afrikaans Bible (1889).

For all its dust the first Taal-beweging was a storm in a teacup. The Genootskap at no time had more than 40 members. The British bought it off with consummate ease, when Du Toit (while S.G.E. (10) in the Transvaal) went with Kruger and Smuts to England in 1884. Du Toit returned to Paarl to edit Patriot. In 1890 he began to attack Kruger and support Rhodes to whom he clung even after the Nederlands-

speaking J.H. Hofmeyr had broken with him after the Jameson Raid in 1896. Not all the Boers supported the Taalbeweging, and in 1879 the Boerebeskermingsvereeniging (11) (an organisation as agglutinative as the "Taal") demanded rights not for Afrikaans but for Nederlands. A "Taal-Kongres" in (12) August, 1896, foundered on the question: Afrikaans or Nederlands. It decided on a periodical, Ons Klyntje, which appropriately died in infancy in 1906, two years after the unlamented demise of Patriot. Together with the Boer-volk, the First Taalbeweging collapsed in ignominy before the bribery and force of Britain.

So weak was Afrikaans at this stage that in 1876 Justice de Villiers said that is would never become the "mother-tongue" of S. Africa, and in 1895 Olive Schreiner wrote: "In fifty years, fight and struggle against it as we wish, there will be no Boer in S. Africa speaking the Taal, save as a curiosity".

THE SECOND TAALBEWEGING

It is easy to be wise after the event. In fact the future still has to decide whether Schreiner was wrong. In retrospect, however, it can be said that she "erred" in not foreseeing Milner's policy at Vereeniging. For there, in 1902, far from crushing the defeated Boers, England rehabilitated them. She subsidised ALL aspects of Boer life out of the super-profits made by the gold-mines from cheap Non-White labour. One of the directly and indirectly subsidised products of the Vereeniging Treaty was Afrikaans. Directly, the Tweedetaalbeweging (1902-1925) (13), outwardly "anti-British", owed ALL its success to British protection and subsidisation. Significantly, it began in the W. Cape, where British influence on the Afrikaner intellectuals was traditionally strongest. (In fact, as early as 1879 Patriot had mourned the Zulu's trouncing of England and the death of "Prins Napoleon" at Isandlwana). Milner and, later, Selborne tolerated the new Afrikaner papers: J.H.H. de Waal's De Goede Hoop (1903), Preller's articles in De Volkstem (1905), as well as their new organisations: the Pretoria Taalgenootskap (1905), and the Taalvereeniging the S.W. Cape (1906). Brandwag appeared in the year of Union - when the child baptised at Vereeni-

was confirmed and Britain made the Boers managers of her South African estate. In the interim E. Marais wrote 'n Winter Nag (14) and J.F.E. Celliers Die Vlakte, (15) Both typical of the sentimental nostalgia of a "Volk" (16) which pretended, quite uselessly, to turn up its bovine nose at the flesh-pots of Vereeniging and Union.

In 1907 the private Transvaal and O.F.S. (17) C.N.O. (18) schools, formed after Vereeniging (where "modern" Afrikaner "nationalism" was born, with Britain as midwife), were recognised as State schools by Selborne. In this way Britain blessed the first "C.N.O. beleid". (18) In 1914 Afrikaans became a school subject, in 1920 a medium of instruction and in 1925 an official language. The last event coincided with the "Civilized Labour Policy", the rehabilitation of the "Poor Whites" and His Majesty's first Nationalist (and "Labour") Government.

Indirectly, Afrikaans was subsidised by the mines' subsidisation of agriculture. Farming remained primitive, un-mechanised, based on cheap manual labour and divorced from the cities. English not only could not spread into, but actually receded from, the rural areas. Afrikaans became the "werktaal" (19) of the platteland, reflecting all its particular viciousness, vulgarity, coarseness, barbarism and backwardness. The townward migration of the Afrikaners between the two wars spread Afrikaans into the peri-urban and even into urban areas. Since they constituted the main bulk of the White labour aristocracy, and in violation of the rule that "money talks", Afrikaans tended to become a "werk-taal" (19) also in the cities, thereby reinforcing the Afrikaans spoken by the Non European workers who had migrated from the country to the town and acting as a human wall between the Non-Europeans and English. (Later we shall show that these Afrikaner attacks on English continued a process begun by the British themselves. At this stage it seems fair to ask: Was Schreiner perhaps right? Would Afrikaans (not have become "a curiosity" were it not for its resurrection at Vereeniging in 1902 and its hemelvaart (20) at Westminster in 1909? Leaving the question to the facts and the future, we turn now to:

THE "THIRD TAALBEWEGING: (21)

When World War II ended, Afrikanerdom packed away its British khaki

uniform and again donned the kappie and veld-skoen. (22) C.N.O. (23) raised its ugly head once more. In 1948 the C.N.O. Instituuut (23) published its "beleid", (23) drafted by De Vos Hugo, Meiring, Donges and E.G. Jansen. This C.N.O. policy, interrupted by the war, originated at a F.A.K. Kongres (24) held in July, 1939, in Bloemfontein. It stated that "tweetaligheid kannie as doel van die onderwys gestel word nie" (i.e. English must go). "Kleurlingonderwys" must be based on "rasbewusheid" which could best be fostered via Afrikaans as "moedertaal", i.e. (25) as an instrument of Colouredisation and Afrikanersiation (e.g., racism, inferiority and cultural vegation and isolation). The De Vos Malan Report (1956) reiterated this C.N.O. policy and the 1956 Cape Education Ordinance put it into effect.

"Naturelleonderwys", (26) C.N.O. went on, must be based on the "fact" that the Boerenasie (27) was the "senior blanke voog van die naturel". (28) This very junior servant of British capital declared: "Ons glo dat die moedertaal die basis van naturelle onderwys en opvoeding is". (29) Thus C.N.O. proclaimed BANTUISATION AS THE TWIN OF AFRIKANERISATION. With "Bantu-moedertaal" as medium and Afrikaans "voogtaal" as subject, C.N.O. set out to form a "selfstandige, self-onderhoudende... selfversorgende naturellegemeenskap". (30)

The Eiselen Report (1949-51) (31) endorsed the C.N.O. "moedertaal" policy. It left the door wide open for the Afrikanerisation of the African child by saying that he or she must learn "one or both" of the official languages (p. 146). The "one" being enforced by the N.A.D. (32) to-day is, of course, Afrikaans, which is declared to be an "inheemse", (33) while English is a "vreemde", (34) language to the Africans. That Afrikaans is, in fact, "foreign" to most African (as it is also to-most Indians and many Coloureds) was conceded by the Afrikaner Rev. A.J.V. Burger when he told a Protestant Mission Conference in August, 1956,, that there were only 275,400 Afrikaans-reading, as against 1,637,000 "Bantu"-reading and 638,000 English-reading Africans in the Union, English forming the largest single language read by Africans.. Despite these facts, the N.A.D. is to-day forcing Afrikaans as subject and "Bantu" as medium upon the African school-child, and is doing both at the expense of English and against the express wish of the parents, even on the admission of the Eiselen Report (pp. 145, 146, 175). This enforced Afrikanerisation is borne

out by a study of the new upper primary N.A.D. school syllabus, the Introduction to the Lower Primary Course of Bantu Schools and its Leerplan vir Afrikaans. In short, Afrikaans as "voogtaal" (35) and "Bantu" as "moedertaal" (36) have become, IN THE HANDS OF THE HERREN-VOLK, a double edged sword with which to hew down the linguistic and other means for the realisation fo the aspirations of the people.

(Concluding article: English, Indian languages; present-day language attitudes: some reference works.)

A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (III)

V.E. Rylate

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This is the third of a series of articles on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which it is hoped readers will be assisted to view such matters as "moedertaalonderwys" and "official" languages in their social-historical perspective - Editor.

Any discussion of the so-called African languages in S. Africa is beset by so many misconceptions sown by the missionaries, liberals, the N.A.D. (1) and its research laboratories, the Faculties of African Studies at the Universities, and by Pan-African mystics and chauvinists that it is necessary, in this particular case, to begin with a definition of our terms. The term "Bantu languages", when used here, refers to the family of agglutinative and classificatory languages represented by Xhosa, Swahili, etc., and is on a par with the terms Aryan or Indo-Germanic, Finno-Magyar, Tibeto-Chinese and other major philological phyla. "Bantu" here is a linguistic and not a Population Register, "race" or Eiselen classification. Likewise, we use the terms Xhosa, Tswana, etc., as members of the "Bantu" family on the same way as the Roman, Teutonic, Slavonian and Indic languages are members of the Indo-Germanic family, and not as "tribal" entities.

LANGUAGE AND "RACE"

Although, unlike the "African" and "Indian" languages, English has

spilled over or seeped through, and Afrikaans has been forcibly pumped across, the dam-walls of segregation in S. Africa, and although more Africans write in English than in any other single language, the "African group" remains predominantly "Bantu"-speaking. For S. African history has artificially confined a language group to a "population group" to such a degree that the language is either identified or associated with a particular "population group". Because the latter is in fact a racist grouping, language in turn is endowed with a "racial" soul, so to speak. The concept of an "African" language is thus as racist as the absurdity of a "Coloured" language or a "White" language. Furthermore, since Africa is not a unit politically, or even geographically, and still less linguistically, Portuguese, English, French and Arabic are as much and as little "African languages" as are Sudanic or Bantu. At best the idea of an "African" language" (though not necessarily the often unavoidable usage of the term) is tinged with a certain mystique associated with the idea of being indigenous or different. At worst it is a racist idea, viz.: the language of an "African". But a language, like its speakers, can have no racial properties. These points are vital for an understanding of what happened to the "Bantu" languages before and after they came to S. Africa, as well as for the struggle for a proper status for these languages in a democratic S. Africa.

INDIGENOUS AND FOREIGN ORIGINS

To divide languages into indigenous and foreign is dangerous because it fosters chauvinism and, at best, places birth above domicile as a qualification for citizenship. If indigenous means aboriginal, then, since the African Lake Districts were quite probably the cradle of the human race and the centre of its diaspora, the whole of world culture becomes by definition indigenous to Africa. In fact the very opposite is true: the "indigenous" languages are products of world culture and not merely of Africa. Thus Egyptian pictograms were converted into a "Semitic" alphabet (c. 1500-1000 B.C.) by Arabians, the consonants were developed by the Phoenicians, the vowels by the Greeks and the final product spread largely by merchants of Asia Minor and the Middle East. Likewise, "foreign" influence on "Bantu" was

enormous. At first it reflected a tribal economy: "The Bantu languages of Africa," writes Bodmer in "The Loom of Language", "illustrate features common to the speech of backward and relatively static cultures throughout the world... Only in a relatively static society at a primitive level of culture with little division of labour could classificatory particles retain a clear-cut function".

But as tribalism became outmoded and feudal and capitalist elements arose, the "Bantu" vernaculars, like the Sudanic, were converted into literary languages by Arabic and Roman orthographies. With the coming of Arabian, Indian, Persian and Muslim traders and slavers to Africa some local "Bantu" dialects became mighty commercial linguae francae (e.g. Swahili), and still later imperialist exploitation created "union languages" in French West Africa, and an adaptation of Swahili, known as Kingwana, in the Belgian Congo, Some "Bantu" vernaculars were fossilised into tribal dialects, suffering the fate of Manx, Welsh, Basque and Hebrew (which was revived solely by Zionism, the latter having much in common with Eiselenism). Some grew strong under conditions of proto-feudalism (e.g. under Mzilikatze), (2) others expanded as new tribal Confederacies arose (e.g. Zulu under Tshaka), (3) while yet other adapted themselves to feudal and, later, capitalist conditions.

It they did not do so to the extent that Old English changed through Middle English into Modern English, it was because the Norman invasion, the Peasant Revolt, the Elizabethan pirates and the Puritans all helped, in different ways, to put an end to the linguistic atomisation of England (Celtic, Danish, Anglo-Saxon, etc.) and to effect its linguistic unification, whereas, in Africa, imperialism, from the wars of conquest on, either destroyed the "indigenous" languages or preserved them in a backward and atomised state.

WARS OF DISPOSSESSION

Whereas the wars of dispossession in S. Africa led to the destruction of the Batwa and Khoi-Khoin languages, the "Bantu" languages were kept alive by a 200-year-long resistance, by the rare but glorious victories and by the physical survival of the resisters. The resistance gave new strength to Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana and virtually created Sotho as a major language (a product of Moshoeshoe's (4) cen-

tralised tribal monarchy).

Language became a military technique, a means of uniting the tribe, of marshalling a federation into tribal divisions, of identifying buffer tribes planted by the British. It was a code which the enemy could not at first decipher. In these and many other ways of resistance could the languages received an actual boost from the wars. But this very process made them reflect their tribal base all the more, shut out the linguistic influence of the invading imperialist "culture" and thus doubly intensified their backwardness.

THE RESERVES

The Reserve system of Philip, Rhodes, Shepstone and Grey divided the conquered on tribal-cum-language lines, as the very names of the Reserves imply. ("Xhosa-land", Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Zululand, Swaziland). The "Bantu" languages became an instrument of divide and rule, and hence of retardation and isolation. As the old outmoded tribal differences and mores crumbled in the crucible of capitalist-imperialism, the different "Bantu" languages became an important means of identifying and differentiating the people on "tribal" lines. The "differences" between the "tribes" being no longer visible, they became audible.

During the past century the Reserve system has had a fourfold effect on the "Bantu" languages.

1. It tended to preserve them in a backward condition (a) by cutting the first language teacher of the child, the mother, off from city life and its linguistic influence, (b) by segregating the Reserve dwellers geographically from other languages and from language-changing factors outside the Reserves, (c) by the total absence of industry, commerce, finance, transport and communication inside the Reserves, so that an economy arose infinitely more backward than the tribal economy it had replaced in these areas and hence an even greater drag on the languages spoken there. In addition, these family, geograhic and economic factors made it impossible for English - the language of capital in S. Africa - to find a firm base in the Reserves, so that even its few direct outposts - the missions, traders, police and recruiters - became "Bantu" rather than English language foci.

2. The Reserves hampered and even prevented the spread of "Bantu" to the outside and hence retarded their modernisation.

3. By rigidly segregating the people into linguistically separated Reserves (Transkei, Zululand, Basutoland, etc.) the Reserves prevented the formation of a possible "Bantu" lingua franca. On the contrary, the segregation tended to isolate the "Bantu" languages in each other and to freeze them.

4. The Reserves artifically retarded the "Bantu" languages by denying them an opportunity either (a) to adapt themselves to such modern forces as managed to burst through the bonds of colour or (b) to discover whether or not this task lay beyond the means of this or that "Bantu" language, so that language progress could take place not only by a process of enrichment and absorption but also by the important process of economising and elimination. (Cf. the elimination of Latin as a vernacular, Kemel Ataturk's Romanization of Turkish Arabic script and the replacement of the Yangtze-River, and even Fukienese and Cantonese dialects by the Chinese national language, "Mandarin". The Reserve system denied such opportunities to the "Bantu" languages.)

THE LOCATION AND COMPOUND SYSTEM

The artificial preservation, isolation and retardation of "Bantu" by the Reserve system were reinforced by the compound system, begun by Rhodes and Kimberley and later extended throughout the country and supplemented by the location system. Because the compound-location system aimed at preventing the rise of a modern city working class, it shut victims off from all city culture, including language. English could not come in and "Bantu" could not get out.

Since there were no children or women in the compounds, the fathers could not transmit those language influences which filtered through the colour bar until they returned to the culturally dessicated Reserves, where, in any case, these influences could grow no roots and died rapidly. Thus the compounds choked off the spread fo English and the development of "Bantu".

This regressive influence was aggravated by the creation of that monstrosity known as Fanagalo (5) - the Pidgin-English of the Rand mines.

It spread like a poison through the bloodstream of the "Bantu" languages, whose weakness in technical terms lowered their resistance to this blood-poisoning. Fanagalo is a direct product (a) of dividing the compounds along language-cum-"tribal" lines and (b) of the English- and later Afrikaans-speaking White labour aristocracy which created this confusion of the tongues, rather than allow the miners to learn a tried "world language" like English, with its power to "carry" and create technical terms. And so Fanagalo (5) flourished as a parasite while each "Bantu" language was literally placed in solitary confinement and on starvation cultural rations.

THE N.A.D.(6)

The N.A.D., as a state within a state, supported on two legs - one in the Compounds and the other in the Reserves - step by step replaced English by Afrikaans and "Bantu". This naked political intervention into the "normal" linguistic effects of a capitalist economy (i.e. the spread of English) created a unique language policy. This policy was based on the "research" of the N.A.D.'s unofficial study circles, the Faculties of African Studies. These combined into the Sub-Committee of the Inter-University Committee for African Studies in 1932, which paved the way for the 1936 Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education and its policy recommendations to the N.A.D. As a result the N.A.D. combined the policies of the Belgians and Portuguese in Africa.

In the Congo, Belgium had forced the "Bantu" vernacular on the people (cf. Eiselen Bantuisation) and shut them off from French and Flemish in order to grind them down into perpetual tribal backwarness. In Mozambique the Catholic-facist Portuguese mind had aimed at the same end by using the opposite method: the total obliteration of everything un-Portuguese, including "Bantu" and Arabic, and levelling the people down into a homogeneous slave-mass by thrusting Portuguese as moedertaal upon them (cf. Eiselen-De Vos Malan Afrikanerisation). Incidentally this Portuguese policy created a linguistic buffer-state which blocked the movement of Swahili, the most powerful, versatile and wide-spread of all "Bantu" languages, into S. Africa.

The N.A.D. could not adopt the French policy (of "assimilating"

an "elite" via French) nor the British policy (vernacular for the slaves, English for the Quislings) because power in S. Africa is to remain a White Afrikanerdom monopoly, there is to be no Non-White "elite" and even Quislings are to have the status of slaves. The Belgian-Portuguese policy it adopted found ultimate expression in Eiselen education.

THE BANTU AUTHORITIES AND EDUCATION ACTS consciously set out to rationalise the linguistic effects of the Reserves and Compounds and of N.A.D. policy since 1935 in particular, i.e. 1. to convert "Bantu" from a linguistic into a racial (Population Register) Group by means of retribalisation through the Bantu Authorities. 2. To drive English, as a "foreign language" out of the "Bantu" mind and to replace it with the inheemse language, Afrikaans. 3. To force the "vernaculars" as moedertaal and media upon the people and against their will.

The Eiselen Commission admits that the people are apposed to this programme of Bantuisation, Afrikanerisation, de -Anglicisation and tribalisation: "The Bantu population is indeed so alive to this" (the need for English) "that they consider it the main object of the child's schooling" (par. 923). Murray in his Minority Report says: "I believe that as soon as the Bantu population in S.A. has understood the situation its economically conditioned oppposition to the vernacular as medium will disappear". The attitude of C.A.T.A. (6) rejecting the "imposition of special Native sullabuses and vernacular media of instruction" (1952 Conference Resolution) has long been the attitude of the people. Nor is this attitude confined to S. Africa. Hailey writes: "Opposition to the policy of the development of Swahili as a lingua franca comes from Africans themselves in some parts, particularly in Buganda, as they regard it as an attempt to stop them from learning English" (p. 89 of his "Survey"). Again: "Educated native opinion resents anything which would prevent a maximum school period being devoted to learning English; it is a phenomenon seen equally in the coastal areas of West Africa, and was common to India before the "nationalist" revival" (ibid. p. 1223).

The Eiselen Commission (7) favoured a "Bantu lingua franca" (par 1007) as an instrument of Bantuisation, i.e. to boost its idea of the "Bantu" as a race, and thereby to strike a blow at Non-Euro-

pean unity. But is sat on the horns of a dillemma because a lingua franca (like parts of the Tomlinson Plan) would cut across the policy of dividing the Africans along "tribal" lines. It compromised by advocating a combination of a lingua franca with "tribal" vernaculars: "It is interesting and instructive to note that in the East African Bantu schools the lower primary education is conducted through the medium of the actual mother tongues, Kikuyu, Hebe, Konde, etc., and that Swahili... is used as medium of instruction only in... the higher primary standards" (par. 1007). For the N.A.D. a lingua franca is a means of cultural retardation, of lowering the horizon of the people.

For the people, however, the question as to whether it is indeed possible to form a "Bantu" lingua franca, or whether this will be as impossible as trying to combine Tamil with French merely because they are both Indo-Germanic languages, or whether there is any alternative to English as a lingua franca or interlingua (as used at the recent Bandung writers' conference in India where English was the medium of communication between 32 "Asian" languages), or in China where all science students have to learn English - for them this question is only a part of the whole language question. This can only be resolved by a democratic South Africa which alone can rescue "Bantu" from its artificial preservation in a state of backwardness, isolation, fragmentation and racist kraaling as a result of 200 years of imprisonment by Herrenvolk S. Africa.

(To be concluded).

A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (IV)

V.E. Rylate

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This is the last of a series of articles on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which it is hoped readers will be assisted to view such matters as "moedertaalonderwys: and "official" languages in their social-historical perspective. - Editor.

The graph of the history of English in South Africa has the year 1902 and the Treaty of Vereeniging (1) as the co-ordinates of

its maximum turning point. This point divides the history of the English Language into two parts: - (i) The century of its rise (1802-1902) and (i) The half-century or so of its decline (1902-?). The rise in the first period was due primarily to economic ("natural") factors, the decline in the second period mainly to political (in the case of South Africa, "artificial") factors.

THE RISE OF ENGLISH (1802-1902)

Despite the visits of early colonial explorers (Shilling, etc.) travellers and seamen, the English tongue did not take root in South Africa until the first (1795) and, more especially, the second British occupation of the Western Cape (1806). During the interregnum of Dutch rule (1802-1806), it was already clear that the lease of life of Dutch, like that of the Dutch, was fast expiring. After 1806 the official political, military, administrative and trading bureaucracy of the first permanent British settlement in South Africa introduced English to the peninsular corner of the sub-continent on the points of its bayonets and guns. Cape Town was rapidly anglicised, the artisan slaves, the servants and wage-labourers being the main carriers of the new language. In contra-distinction to the process of converting Dutch into one or other werktaal, (2) including, to a large extent, Afrikaans (see I in this series), no significant Pidgin language grew up in the Cape. The language of Government House, the Castle, the shops and small workshops, the press and Church, was taken up by the exploited and spoken and spread by them as well as by their new masters and agents of their masters.

Except for the establishments of English foci in Port Elizabeth, Kingwilliamstown, Somerset East and West, Caledon, George, Port Natal, Mafeking, etc., the wars of dispossession waged by the British did not automatically spread the language among the resisters (see Article III) but the path of conquest did pave the way for the traders, the 1820 settler-exploiters (and "buffer-state") and for an expansion of the activity of the English-speaking missionaries who had played such a vital rôle in the process of dispossession and disarmament of tribal resisters and who followed up their early rôle with proselytising ("educational") work in the Reserves and

in the towns. The language was spread through the Bible, through primers and later through instruction in Grey's manual craft, cheap labour, "industrial schools". (3) Despite the attempts by Wesleyan, Paris and L.M.S. (4) missionaries to learn and to use "Bantu", and although this was an additional factor in the retardation of the spread of English, the new language nevertheless spread and caught on rapidly and readily. For all sorts of reasons, many of them "wrong reasons", the conquered and enslaved clamoured for English. Partly this demand reflected the coming of a superior economic system to South Africa and was, to this extent, legitimate; partly it reflected illusions with regard to the missionaries, philanthropists, abolitionists and "anti-Boer" Liberals - the early manifestations of the slave - mentality which regarded the British as a "lesser evil" vis-a-vis the Boers.

Fundamentally, however, the spread of the English, language was one aspect of the spread of British capital in South Africa. And, peculiarly enough, it was this same British capital - as personified in Rhodes - which raised the greatest barriers to the spread of English and did most to preserve the infinitely less developed, if not more limited, Afrikaans and "Bantu" languages. These barriers were the compound and location systems, the industrial colour bar with its product, the civilised labour aristocracy, the rehabilitation of the Boer republics, the preservation of primitive, semi-feudal (squater, Boer, master and servant, etc.) relations and of outmoded tribal forms (the Shepstone Policy, the Glen-Grey (5) Act, the pre-Union N.A.D.'s and Native Law - all of which were the British-created progenitors of Bantuisation even as the rehabilitation of the Boers was the British-created basis for Afrikanerisation).

Despite the barriers which British commercial and, later, finance capital placed in the path of English, English was yet, historically, its medium, and this medium followed and introduced it wherever it went in the world, including South Africa. Thus the investment of British capital in the Western Cape vineyard, orchards, trade and harbour, rapidly routed Dutch and raised English to an offical status by 1825. Thus, too, did English follow in the wake of the wool farmers and 1820 settlers, in the Eastern Cape, the sugar plantations in Natal after the British conquest of Natal in the 1810's, the dia-

mond-diggings of Griqualand West in the 1860s and, finally, the Rand Gold Mines and its associated engineering and light industry, commerce, banking and transport after the 1880's. By this process of capital investment English became the dominant - very nearly the exclusive - language in all walks of life in the major cities of the Union - Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Kimberley and Johannesburg. Dutch capitulated and Afrikaans retreated (with the Trekkers) in this process, while the British-built walls of reserves and locations sheltered and retarded "Bantu". Only the most backward rural areas, the locations and reserves (except for mission stations and schools) remained cut off from this process - a measure of their isolation from the process of revolution which capitalism was bringing about. By the end of the 19th century there seemed no reason in the world why Olive Schreiner's prophecy - that English would become the mother-tongue of all - should not come true.

THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH (1902-?)

But Britain decreed otherwise. Her governments, through Milner and, later, Selborne, worked on the lines of the grand strategy for which Glenelg, Grey, Philip, Carnarvon, Shepstone and Rhodes (6) had been so ungratefully abused by the Boers - the strategy of a united White South Africa - of Imperial Rule via Home Rule, of a British mistress, a Boer housekeeper and a Non-White servant. They gave a name to the first major triumph of this strategy of semi-colonial domination. They called it the Treaty of Vereeniging.

Here, as later in the civilised Labour Policy, British capital shared a (minor) part of its super-profits with a local group. But the British subsidisation and rehabilitation of the Boers were not only economic and financial but political and "cultural" as well: Botha and Smuts personified the former, Marais and all the little Langenhovens (7) the latter; the Act of Union expressed the former and C.N.O. the latter. On the other hand, the treaty cost something too. And this cost was not only financial but political and "cultural" as well: Britain had to leave the Houses of Parliament (and rule from its economic chambers instead). Amongst the costs of Vereeninging was - the English language. For it was sacrified on the altar of

White unity and supremacy. This sacrifice was part of the costs of rahabilitation. Afrikaans was given parity in school and State, it became the adopted language of immigrants, the language of the labour aristocracy and civil service, of the peri-urban areas and suburbs, leaving only the very hubs of the very biggest cities as English-speaking. The Herrenvolk (8) became progressively de-Anglicised and more Afrikanerised. This process tended, in opposition to the economic influences upon language, to infiltrate among the oppressed. More and more Afrikaans (and "Bantu") was forced down the throats of the people (C.N.O.-, Eiselen/De Vos Malan-, (9) Moedertaal-Ordinances) and more and more attempts were made to reduce the status and rôle of English. The Herrenvolk policy of bilingualism - like its educational forms parallel or dual medium instruction - was but transitional to the factual (and later possibly to the statutory) supremacy of Afrikaans and inferiority of English. At the same time Afrikanerisation and Bantuisation joined hands as twin instruments for artificially (that is, against economic trends and against the people's wishes) reducing English to a third and later to an unofficial language and aimed at destroying it as a medium of instruction and means of communication. So far has this artificial policy - like all else that is artificial in South Africa - succeeded, that today English stands in mortal danger of becoming the Cinderella of South African languages.

The miracle is that this has not happened already. There is only one wholly satisfactory explanation of this: namely, that the Non-White oppressed, in the biggest cities and Reserves became the sole genuine defenders, carriers and protagonists of English. Not that they have always done this consciously or that they have not, as has been pointed out, done so for many "wrong reasons" - but they have, nevertheless, done so and, on the whole, the people's overwhelming and decided preference for English as medium over Afrikaans and "Bantu" (see Article III) is a reflection of their deep-felt need for a modern, highly cultured, nationally unified and democratic state as a member of the modern world, and of the vast and hemmed-in and untapped human talents capable of building such a state on the basis of the natural resources and technological achievements and possibilities of the country.

LANGUAGE POLICY

What of the future?

In evolving a language policy, the liberatory movement and its issue - a democratic state - naturally learns all it can from other countries, from their achievements and their mistakes. Among the former we may list (i) China's struggle, since Chu-Tin-Tzu-Mu's phonetic script of 39 Chinese letters was introduced into some schools in 1918, to Romanise her script; her spread of one language, Peking "Mandarin", as the lingua-franca of China; and her intruction that all scientist and engineers learn English as a scientific and technological inter-lingua; (ii) Japan's efforts to Romanise her Kana syllabic writing; (iii) Kemel Ataturk's Romanisation of Turkey's script in opposition to the followers of the Aga Khan; (iv) Russia's development of 100 nationality languages as part of her drive against White-Russianism, Pan-Slavism and for self-determination after the liquidation of the Czarist empire.

Among the "mistakes" could be included: (i) Nasser's anti-English, Pan-Arabic policy, despite the fact that canal pilots have all to be trained in English in order to conduct the ships of the world through the canal; (ii) Ceylon's policy of Sinhalese only as against parity with Tamil and against English. In this connection we quote from the "Ceylon Teacher": "The use of English has hitherto kept all the communities together, the attempt to displace English by an official language has caused serious disruptive tendencies" (e.g., the Gal Cya Valley riot in which 23 were killed and 237 injured last year). "Every child has the right to be educated in its mother tongue, but for higher education the rich English language should be retained". The Sinhalese policy had to be withdrawn as a result of popular demands for equality between Sinhalese and Tamil and for the restoration of English in the Public Service, schools, the Press and broadcasting; (iii) Java's elimination of Dutch created such chaos that they had to replace it with English as a second language in the Ministries and schools; (iv) India's nationalistic (middle class) but unsuccessful campaign against English and for the redivision of the country on language lines (a divide-and-rule device which has cost Nehru many headaches; although it has led to

"streamlining" in certain regions, it has involved large-scale population shifts and new "communal" schisms in India".

In looking at these and other overseas examples, it is well to remember that none can be applied directly here because of "peculiarities" in the make up and aims of the liberatory movement in South Africa. There is no room for nationalistic language policies anywhere today (that is, of middle-class, Quisling attitudes) still less in South Africa were (a) the Non-White middle class consists mainly of tribalistic concession hunters and where (b) the general aim of liberation is the national unification of South Africa (and not, as in the U.S.S.R., national autonomy and self-determination for nationalities). Since there are no nationalities in South Africa, no "groups" (outside the Population Register) and since any demand for autonomy or group self-determination is a demand for a White State, Bantustan or the Eiselen Line, and cannot come from a liberatory people, it follows that any language policy must be firmly based on the demand for a single-unit democratic state for all South Africans as members of one nation whose multi-ingualism and use of English or any other language as a national-cum-international lingua-franca will help to bring about the increasing cultural emancipation of the people.

(Concluded)

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The Language Question (1)

A.C. Jordan

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This is the first of another series of articles on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which it is hoped readers will be assisted to view such matters as "moedertaalonderwys" and "official" languages in their social-historical perspective. The previous series, by V.E. Rylate, of which the author of the present series has certain criticisms to offer, was published in the October, November-December 1956, January-February and March 1957 issues of the "Educational Journal", under the title "A short history of the language question in South Africa". The present article deals with the subject of "Language". - Editor.

V.E. Rylate does not take the trouble to make up his own mind what he understands by language. He straight away asserts that "many types of language changes can be found in the history of South Africa", and, without giving the reader the faintest idea as to the nature of these changes, he proceeds to enumerate their "causes". It then becomes evident that he has not made up his mind what he means by "language changes" either.

Language is (1) a social product, (2) a method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of sounds uttered and heard. (3) These sounds are so combined in systems evolved and conventionalized and recognized by common usage at any given period in the history of the human race within a given community that they are mutually intelligible to all normal members of such a community. Now, if each individual in a given community uttered and combined his own sounds

as he chose, and interpreted the sounds uttered and combined by other individuals as he chose, that would not be language. It is therefore absurd to label as "conservatism" the fact that "a child learns from its parents who pass on what they learnt from their parents and so on". Such terms as "lagging behind" and "conservatism" just do not apply in this case.

Linguistic study has come a long way since the beginning of the ninenteenth century, when philologists used to approach all linguistic problems with a bias, Greek and Latin being the "ideal languages" from the point of view of structure and expression. In those days, any language that did not conform to the "ideal structure" of Greek and Latin was "barbaric", and its speakers were "barbarians". Some classical scholars went so far as to assert that isolating languages like Chinese had "no grammer", because in them "the relation between words in a sentence is determined by work order, and not by change of form" (e.g., case-endings, verbal conjugation, etc.). And, of course, every speech community who happened to have a relatively primitive culture spoke a "primitive language", and should any of its linguistic features puzzle the classical scholars, such features were to be explained in terms of "the primitive mind" of the speech community concerned. It is this fatal approach that gives rise to the idea of "the inertia of a language" - given by Rylate as one of the "causes" of "conservation". No language is inert. Language is a creation of the human mind. To suggest that some languages are inert while others are "powerful" and "versatile" is to suggest that some speech communities are mentally inert while others are active and alert. This idea of "the inertia of a language" is on all fours with the idea that certain ethnic groups are "incapable of rising above tribal forms of culture".

When we discuss language, we do not regard the orthography that happens to have been used in the writing of any particular language as part of that language. Hieroglyphic is not the Egyptian language. The Roman alphabet is not Latin. Neither is it Xhosa or Afrikaans or English or French, even though it is employed in the writing of these languages. It is therefore childish of V.E. Rylate to name "orthography or script" as one of the "causes" of delay in "language changes". Languages existed thousands of years before the art of wri-

ting came into being. There are thousands of languages that have not yet been reduced to writing. To treat "orthography of script" as one of the features of language is in fact to say those speech communitites whose tongues have not been reduced to writing have no language.

After enumerating the "causes" of "conservatism", Rylate states that "these changes deepened and accelerated almost in geometric proportion as society developed from tribalism-to-feudalism-to-capitalism-to-socialism. If, in making this assertion, Rylate attaches the same meaning to the term "language changes" as he did in the preceding paragraph, then this assertion is most astounding. We have not heard that Chinese has ceased to be an isolating, tone language since the triumph of the revolution, or that Chiang Kai-Shek now needs an interpreter in order to understand it. We have not heard that Russian has undergone any notable structural changes since 1917. In fact, the very Bodmer whom Rylate uses as his major reference on language bemoans what he regards as the structural "backwardness" of Russian as a language (The Loom of Language, pp. 415-6). If Rylate is discussing structural changes when he uses the term "language changes", there is not a particle of linguistic evidence to support this assertion.

It is true that with the development of society, small contiguous speech communities come together to form larger communities. Then there are numerous possibilities.

(1) If these communities speak mutually intelligible dialects, the dialect of the dominant group often, but not always, gains ascendancy on the others, although it never completely excapes their influence.

(2) If the speech forms are not mutually intelligible, and the speech communities not equal in political, economic and intellectual prestige, the speech communities that are inferior in these respects volutarily assimilate the culture and language of the superior group, especially if there is no feeling of unity amongst themselves. This happened to the Celtic peoples of Gaul at the time of the Roman conquest. In the same way many Khoisan-speaking peoples who inhabited the south-eastern coast of Africa were absorbed by the dominant Xhosa-speaking group. Hence the presence of so many "click words" in the

Xhosa language.

(3) If the various communities are practically equal in political, economic and intellectual prestige, the languages usually live side by side, and the members of the respective speech communities tend to be bilingual or even multi-lingual. This has happened in Canada, where English and Canadian French exist side by side with a fairly defined linguistic frontier; also in Switzerland, where French, German, Italian and Romanic enjoy equal status. In Belgium, too, Flemish and French exist side by side. It has happened in South Africa too, wherever Nguni- and Sotho-speaking communities have come together on an equal footing. In the districts of Aliwal North, Herschel, Matatiele and Mt. Fletcher almost everybody is bilingual, speaking both Xhosa and Sotho (which are not mutually intelligible at all) with almost equal facility. Similarly, in the districts of Bethlehem, Harrismith, Lindley and Reitz, the Zulu-speaking and the Sotho-speaking are bilingual. Again, children brought up on the Rand speak Sotho and Xhosa or Zulu.

(4) Political and ecnonomic power are not always decisive factors. A feeling of unity, the numbers and the will of a subordinate speech community, the distribution of the population, the levels of social contact, the means of communication may decide in favour of the subordinate speech community or communities. In England, the Norman invaders found the people of England already united under one monarchy and, as their own culture was not really superior to that of the subject speech community, their language, Norman-French, was eventually absorbed.

(5) If, instead of natural social contact, members from various speech communities come together casually, e.g. crusaders, traders, slaves, recruited labourers, etc., then a compromise, superficial language is born. The basic vocabulary of such a lingo always consists of simplified words from one of the languages represented. With this as a basis, words are added on from some of the otherwise mutually incomprehensible languages, and in this way the various representatives are able to talk about the barest necessities - those mainly concerned with the business that bring them together. This is a <u>lingua franca</u> or <u>pidgin language</u>. It never advances beyond the most rudimentary stage, because it belongs to nobody. It is not na-

tural.

(6) If the people brought together as described in (5) above lose all touch with their respective speech communities and become a settled community, their descendants know no language besides the pidgin, and so it becomes their home language. Such a language is said to be creolised. An example is the creolised English spoken by the descendants of African slaves in Dutch Guiana.

The analysis given above show that the factors that decide the fate of a language are anything but linguistic. In other words, it is never the internal structure of a language that determines whether or not it will survive contact with other languages.

No language is incapable of expressing anything that has come into the consciousness of its speakers. That the internal structure of one language makes it possible to express in a certain way what some other language expresses differently reveals neither superiority nor inferiority. The absence in language A of a feature that is to be found in Language B, even if the two come from a common stock, like English and German, reveals nothing more than that in that one respect the two languages are developing differently. English and Afrikaans employ no case-endings (except for the him/hom etc. of the personal pronoun - a mere vestige). Neither do they employ grammatical gender (except again for the vestigial she/sy of pronouns). German retains both case-endings and grammatical gender. But this does not mean that German is inferior to English and Afrikaans or vice versa. The internal structure of the Xhosa verb is such that Xhosa can very often express in a single word what English expresses in two or more words, e.g. lala (sleep), ulele (he is asleep). elele (he being asleep), eza kulala (he being about to sleep), lalisa (put to sleep), walaliswa (he was put to sleep), elalisiwe (he having been put to sleep), eza kulaliswa (he being about to be put to sleep), ma kalaliswe (he had better be put to sleep). But all that this reveals is that Xhosa in this one respect is more economical than English. The resources of each language are determined by its own internal structure. It was failure to grasp this principle that led some philologists to believe that "in the languages of savage peoples the vocabulary averages just about three hundred words". Many of them still say that "in

the Bantu languages, adjectives are very few, and various devices have to be employed in order to make up for this deficiency."

No one language can be held up as an example of "perfection" or "near-perfection". Bodmer need not have apologised, as he did, for the structural "backwardness" of Russian as against English (op. cit. pp. 415-6). He may find that to Russian speakers those very features of English that he regards as instances of "progress" and "simplification" are perhaps the most puzzling and illogical. As long as it has not been established that the normal Russian-speaking child takes longer to master his mother-tongue than the normal English-speaking child, we cannot accept the assertion that Russian, because of its "complicated morphological structure", is more difficult to master than English, and therefore "backward".

Linguistics has been so revolutionised that even the popular theory that language evolves from isolating-to-agglutinative-to-inflexional has had to be abandoned in the face of evidence. Even the divisions are not so sharp. The idea that linguistic evolution is proportionate to cultural development is even more glaringly wrong. Chinese is as isolating as some West-African languages, Turkish more agglutinative than Xhosa. Masai, Galla and Khoi-khoin - spoken by pastoral peoples - are as inflexional as Greek and Latin. In fact, one of the most highly inflexional languages know to linguists is an Amerindian language called Takelma. As a great American student of culture and linguistics has said: "... all attempts to connect particular types of linguistic morphology with certain correlated stages of cultural development are vain... Both simple and complex types of language of an indefinite number of varieties may be found spoken at any desired level of cultural advance. When it comes to linguistic form, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the head-hunting savage of Assam".

(In the next article we shall examine Rylate's account of and attitude to, certain languages of South Africa in the light of these principles.)

The Language Question (II)

A.C. Jordan

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XXIX, nr. 3, october 1957

This is the second article of another series on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which it is hoped readers will be assisted to view such matters as "moedertaal onderwys" and "official" languages in their social-historical perspective. The previous series, by V.E. Rylate, of which the author of the present series has certain criticisms to offer, was published in the October, November-December 1956, January-February and March 1957 issues of the "Educational Journal", under the title "A short history of the language question in South Africa". The present article deals, inter alia, with the approach to Afrikaans - Editor.

The antiquity of language is not known. Since speech is a faculty peculiar to the human race, we are at least sure that language came into being after the emergence of man, and has been developing over thousands and thousands of years, if not millions. But while language is a creation of the human mind, LANGUAGES are not creations, but evolutions.

To illustrate this point: Latin is a language. It is a subgroup of Italic - the latter being the immediate parent-stock of three groups, namely, Latino-Faliscan, Osco-Umbrian and Sabellian. Italic is a descendant of Indo-European. But Indo-European itself is in all probability only a subgroup of a yet larger parent-stock. By the middle of the 9th century A.D. Latin had ceased to be a living language, and was only artificially preserved by administrators and by the Roman Catholic Church. It had given rise to the Romance languages. But it is impossible to say exactly when Latin ceased to be Latin and became Italian in Italy, French in France, Portuguese in Portugal, etc. It must have been changing over the centuries in the respective dialect-regions. By 842 A.D., the French writers found it unrealistic to continue to write in Latin, and so they began to write in the "vernacular", now known to linguists as Old French. But Old French did not begin to exist only in 842 A.D. It had all the time been evolving from the Latin spoken in France, and 842 A.D only marks its use as a written language. The writers in France did not create Old French. They gave up writing in a dead language, and reduced to writing a living language that had evolved from the dead one. (One hopes that the distinction made here between creation and

evolution, read together with the distinction made in the previous issue between language and orthography, will remove the fog from the minds of certain people who are under the impression that the phonemicists and phoneticians now working at a Roman alphabetical orthography for Chinese are "creating a new language"!)

Dutch is a decendant of Proto-Germanic, which is only a branch of the great Indo-European family. As spoken by the Dutch settlers in South Africa since 1652, Dutch began to undergo changes. When its speakers realised that it was no longer the Dutch of Holland, they gave it a new name - Afrikaans. Since Holland Dutch was now no longer intelligible to the bulk of the people to whom they wanted to address themselves, those writers who were not snobbish considered that it was not realistic to continue to write in Dutch. So they strove for the recognition of Afrikaans as a medium of literary expression. It may be mentioned here that France was not the only precedent in this respect. Dante, seeing the state of the languages in Italy in the 14th century, became just as realistic, and in his dissertation, De vulgari-eloquentia, he recognised the dignity of the "vernacular languages".

We need not bother from what stratum of Dutch society most of the 1652 settlers came. Only social and intellectual snobs would do that. Nor need we be horrified if in its evolution from Dutch, Afrikaans borrowed from the languages of the Khoi-Khoin, Malayan-Portuguese and Negro slaves. Every language borrows from other languages. To look for a pure language, as linguists know, is as vain as to look for a pure race.

It is obvious that Rylate does not know the nature of Fanakalo (misspelt Fanagalo), or he would not equate it with Afrikaans even at the earliest evolutionary stages of the latter.

(1) Afrikaans evolved naturally from a living, accepted language, on the lips of a permanently settled community who regarded the language they spoke as their home language, and used it as such: Fanakalo (or "Kitchen Kaffir") is confined to the Rand mines and Durban kitchens, despised and hated by those who have to use it, never used even inside the mine compounds amongst members of a common speech community, never used in the "married quarters" where the mine clerks live a relatively normal life with their families.

(2) For all the "mixing" with Malayan-Portuguese, Khoi-Khoin, etc., Afrikaans remains indisputably Germanic in its lexocologic, morphologic and syntactic structure: Fanakalo basically employs Nguni words but, ignoring both the morphologic and syntactic structure of Nguni, it transplants isolated Nguni words into an English syntactic word order. E.g. Yini wena funa? for Ufana ni? (What do you want?); Iphi wena bamba? for Uya phi? (Where are you going); lo hashi ka wena for eli hashi lakho (this horse of yours). In many cases it is just a jumble of Nguni, English and Afrikaans, e.g. Shova sterek! for Tybiliza ngamandla! (Shove hard!); Bamba lo fowl, voetsak feathers for Bamba inkuku, uyixhwithe (Catch a chicken and pluck it). In the middle 'twenties, an Anglican missionary "translated" the Lord's Prayer into Fanakalo to use among the mine-workers. His church was deserted!

IS A LANGUAGE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DOINGS OF ITS SPEAKERS?

Rylate thinks that, in writing a "history" of Afrikaans, all he has to do is to pick on some detestable historical event in which the Afrikaners were involved, and substitute "Afrikaans" for "Afrikaners" or "Boers". To the present writer this approach would seem to be something more than just a device to conceal bankruptcy. It seems to flow from a strong feeling against Afrikaans and the people who call themselves Afrikaners. Examine the following quotations from his second instalment (my italics throughout):-

(1) "Thereafter, ITS FORTUNES (i.e. the 'taal') BECAME INSEPARABLE FROM THOSE OF THE PRIMITIVE FEUDAL TREK-BOERS".

(2) "It (Afrikaans) received its second POLITICAL impetus when in 1873 Hoogenhout, on behalf of the land-grabbing Boers, denounced Waterboer's right to the Griqualand diamond fields..."

(3) "This (history) glorified the Huguenots, Trekboere Woltemade etc. and abused the Non-Europeans as foully as the doggerel poems in Du Toit's paper, Patriot..."

(4) "... the first Spel en Leesboek vir Afrikaner Kinders... came out - a POLITICAL act both in its timing and in content (anti-British, anti-Dutch, viciously anti-Non-European, though full of Khoi-Khoin Pidgin-Dutch)."

(5) "... far from crushing the defeated Boers, England rehabilitated them. She subsidised ALL aspects of Boer life out of the super-

profits made by the gold-mines from cheap Non-White labour."

(6) "... as early as 1879 Patriot had mourned the Zulu's trouncing of England and the death of 'Prins Napoleon' at Isandlwana."

(7) "These Afrikaner attacks on English." This refers to the coming of Afrikaners from the platteland to seek work in the cities.

(8) "Afrikaans became the 'werktaal' of the platteland, reflecting all its particular viciousness, vulgarity, coarseness, barbarism and backwardness."

This last quotation reveals an attitude of mind not unlike that which earned the Khoi-Khoin the swear-word "Hottentot" from the Dutch settlers. The latter thought that the Khoi-Khoin "spoke no intelligible language, but an absurd gibberish which was nothing but 'hot' and 'tot'. It is also not unlike the attitude of the French missionary, Arbousset. In 1837, this Christian gentleman wrote as follows about the Thwa people: "Their language is harsh, broken, full of monosyllables, which are uttered with strong aspiration from the chest, and a gutteral articulation as disagreeable as it is difficult... It is not without reason that it has been said of them that they cluck like turkeys... As this horrible aspiration recurs incessantly in the mouth of the Bushmen, one is inclined to say that they bark rather than speak."

It is also not unlike the attitude of those Durban herrenvolk who, at the time of the Ghetto Act, said that Indian music offended the ears of "civilised people".

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Allusion to historical events can be very useful, if appropriate. As a matter of fact, in 1952, speakers at public meetings referred to many such historical events in order to influence the people to boycott the Van Riebeeck celebrations. In that context, allusions were quite appropriate. But the present issue calls for a different approach. If herrenvolk historians, journalists and poets have abused the Non-Whites, that does not justify an emotional, unscientific approach to our own problems. As Joe Gargery said to Pip, "If you can't get to be uncommon through going straight, you'll never get to do it through going crooked." If Rylate is a democrat, he must accept the following principles: (1) that every speech community has the right to develop its own language, and every man the right to express his personality, artistically and otherwise, through his

mother-tongue, in town or country, (2) that every man, whatever language he speaks, has the right to seek work where he chooses. Rylate must also accept the sober fact that, whatever its origin, Afrikaans is today the language of about three million South Africans, including many who know no other language in the world.

One gathers from his articles that Rylate regards himself as an anti-racialist and anti-racist. But his approach to our problems, if accepted, could possibly engender chauvinism, racialism and even racism in the minds of the growing generation. Whatever defence he may put up, his painstaking "proofs" of the "mixed" origin of Afrikaans - and especially the tone in which all this is expressed - give the overall impression that Rylate in fact despises the language concerned. Contempt for a language usually flow from contempt for its speakers. If a man despises a language because of the "social status" of the various elements that are supposed to constitute its make-up, one wonders how far such a man is from despising people because of their social background and/or biological make-up.

It would interest Rylate to know that some of us have had to nip in the bud a tendency that came as a result of Youth League (1) influence among young students. There was an incipient hatred for the English language, and many youthful undergraduate were just unwilling to include English in their B.A. curricula, because "English is the language of this oppressor". The logical conclusion of Rylate's approach to Afrikaans is exactly the same as that of the Youth League. It is ironic that Rylate, having set out to champion the cause of English, is driven by the logic of his own approach to end where he ends. For if our attitude to English were to be decided by the English writings of historians (Theal (2) Whiteside), (3) novelists (Sarah Gertrude Millin) (4) and by consideration of land-grabbing, cheap Non-White labour, etc., then English would be the most hateful language to the Non-White peoples of the world. These, then, are the political implications of Rylate's treatment of Afrikaans and its history.

(Next issue: The Bantu Languages)

The Language Question (III), Vol. XXIX, nr. 4, nov.-dec. 1957

A.C. Jordan

This is the third of another series on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which is it hoped readers will be assisted to view such matters as "moedertaalonderwys" and "official" languages in their socio-historical perspective. The previous series by V.E. Rylate, of which the author of the present series has certain criticisms to offer, was published in the October, November-December 1956, January-February and March 1957 issues of the "Educational Journal", under the title "A short history of the language question in South Africa". - Editor.

The word "bantu" means "people", just like the Celtic word "teuto-", from which "Teutonic" is derived. As far as linguistic science is concerned, the term "Bantu" has never been confused with "race" or "tribe". It was first used as a purely linguistic term in the middle of the 19th century by W.H.I. Bleek, a German philologist who, in his comparative study of the South African languages, found it a suitable term to distinguish this language-family from the Khoi-San (Thwa and Khoi-Khoin) languages as well as from the Sudanic and the Hamitic language-families of Africa. Throughout the linguistic world, this term has ever since been used with this meaning. As applied to the people, it is a detestable designation. But as an exclusively linguistic term, it will be used in these articles.

Of all V.E. Rylate's contributions on the Language Question, by far the worst for illogic and misinformation is the third one, devoted to the Bantu languages. After his "definition" of the term "Bantu languages", he challenges the use of the term "African", as applied to any language or languages. And here the utter confusion in his own mind is revealed. In his "definition" he wrongly equates Xhosa, Tswana, etc. (which are individual languages) with Roman, Teutonic, Slavonian and Indic (which are language-groups or clusters). Immediately after the "definition", he wrongly equates Portuguese, French, English etc. (which are individual languages) with Sudanic and Bantu (which are whole families of languages). And all this after the pompous announcement that the "many misconceptions" which have been "sown" by certain groups of people are going to be removed! But the illogic of the rest of that paragraph is even more amazing.

Rylate is altogether incapable of separating people from language. Just as, whenever he sees the word "Afrikaans" he reads "Afrikaner", so when he sees the word "African" he reads "Black". Hence the astounding statement that "the concept of an 'African' language is thus as racist as the absurdity of a 'Coloured' language or 'White language". This is followed by yet another astounding statement, that Africa is "not a unit... even geographically" (my emphasis). And this is an attempt to repudiate the very idea of an "African language" by a writer who, in the first instalment of his series, styles Malayan-Portuguese "a third group of South African languages". He can conceive of a South Africa without being able to conceive of Africa. He might as well argue that Cape Town is in South Africa, but certainly not in Africa! On the other hand, Rylate accepts and uses the terms "Indo-Germanic" and "Indo-European". Does this mean that there is a political and/or geographical unit known as "Indo-Germany" or "Indo-Europe"?

In the examples he gives to "illustrate" that "the indigenous languages are products of world culture", Rylate again reveals his inability to distinguish between language and writing. On this point we quote for his benefit from page 29 of a book entitled Leave Your Language Alone!, by Robert A. Hall, Jr. (Linguistica 1950): "An episode in a current comic book shows the main characters of the story coming to a strange planet. They find a people who talk, but who have no writings. The heroes of the comic book produce the English alphabet and teach it to the inhabitants of the planet; at which point, one of the heroes remarks, 'Now the people of this planet have a language".

The fossilized ideas of Frederick Bodmer, on which Rylate bases his whole argument in this instalment, about the Bantu languages illustrating "features common to the speech of backward and relatively static cultures throughout the world" were dealt with in the first instalment of the present series. But one word more on Bodmer, for the benefit of all his admirers. On pages 250-2 of Leave Your Language Alone!, Hall gives a list of linguistic works that may be read with profit on those aspects of language that he has treated in the body of his own work. At the end he writes as follows: "One book needs especial mention as something to be avoided: 'The Loom of Language

by Frederich Bodmer and Lancelot Hogben... An attempt at popularization which caters to all the traditional misconceptions we have tried to refute: prescriptive dogmatism, misunderstanding of the relation of writing to language, and ethnocentric value-judgements. Pretentious, full of out-of-date notions, misinformation, and misrepresentation, and wholly misleading."

It is remarkable that while Rylate undertakes extensive research and gives copious information (albeit irrelevant) about Afrikaans, he takes no such pains about the Bantu languages. The only thing he seems to know first-hand is the C.A.T.A. (1) Resolution of 1952. For the rest he depends wholly on the Lord Haileys and Frederick Bodmers, little knowing that theirs is only second hand information gleaned from the writings of the very people that he chooses to label as "the N.A.D.'s unofficial study circles" (2) or "research laboratories". He therefore has no idea how the Bantu languages are distributed and what the respective language-populations are. Thus he says that some "Bantu vernaculars... grew strong under conditions of proto-feudalism, e.g. under Mzilikazi)". He does not know that Mzilikazi's people are a mere linguistic enclave or "island" consisting of just about 350,000 speakers, hedged in by the languages of the Shona group. He has been taken in by the popular idea that "Swahili" has spread across the centre of Africa. He does not know that genuine Swahili is to be found only in and around Mombasa and Zanzibar, and that the thing popularly called "Swahili" is a mere pidgin, very much like the Fanakalo of the Rand Mines. In fact, the speakers of genuine Swahili call this pidgin Ki-Settler, i.e. "the language of the Settlers", just as many Africans in the South regard Fanakalo as "the language of the White Man". He has not taken the trouble to find out what the dispossessed Africans used to call their respective territories before the conquest. So he quotes the names "Zululand", "Bechuanaland", etc. to establish his point that the conquerors "divided the conquered on tribal-cum-language lines, as the very names of the Reserves imply..." (my emphasis). This is ridiculous. For in fact all the place-names quoted are direct translations of the original names of the territories occupied by the groups concerned (although mere fractions of the original territories are left to them now). "Zululand is a direct translation of Kwa Zulu (the

domain of Zulu - the progenitor), "Bechuanaland" is a translation of Lotswana (region of the Tswana or "Chuana" people). Do these derivations differ from "England" (land of the Angles or Engels), "Scotland" (land of the Scots) and "Deutschland" (land of the Deutsch)?

Both the sociological and the linguistic picture of the Reserves painted by Rylate are completely wrong - the former flowing from his misunderstanding of social evolution, the latter from his Bodmerian "linguistics". He claims that as a result of the Reserve system, "an economy arose infinitely more backward than the tribal economy it had replaced in these areas and hence an even greater drag on the languages" (his own emphasis).

Now, sociologically, the evolutionary stage immediately preceding tribalism or higher barbarism is lower barbarism, which in turn is preceded by savagism. In asserting that Reserve society is today "infinitely more backward" than tribalism, Rylate is in fact say-Reserves. And it follows, according to the Bodmer-Rylate approach to linguistics, that the languages spoken there are "savage languages". What precious jewels-handed to the N.A.D. (2) on a platter!

We took it for granted that Rylate knew at least that the purpose of the Reserves was to force the people, as a cheap labour reservoir, into the money economy which is incompatible with tribalism. A money economy marks a much higher stage of social revolution than tribalism, and people who have been introduced into a money economy and who have to earn their living by working for wages are not savage, barbarian or tribal, however low their wages may be. A "backward economy: and "poverty" are not the same thing. In fact, the whole basis of our opposition to retribalisation is that tribalism is incompatible with a money economy. But according to Rylate's picture, it would seem as if Verwoerdism should be welcomed, because it is lifting the people from an "infinitely more backward" state to a former higher stage, namely tribalism!

In regard to language, we use Xhosa as a sample. In the "Xhosa-speaking area" (practically the whole of the Cape Province), there are no less than nine mutually intelligible Nguni dialects, the Xhosa dialect being the literary one. Xhosa was reduced to writing in 1823 at Gwali. (Old Lovedale). It was spread over the rest of the area

by the Presbyterian, Anglican and Wesleyan missionary bodies in the form of religious and secular books. Since it was in the buffer states that the missionaries first had a firm foothold, literacy reached these areas more quickly than the others. The first Xhosa-speaking preachers, teachers, interpreters, translators, etc. came from the Eastern Province, followed by the buffer states, and all these people spoke, wrote and taught the Xhosa dialect and English. Xhosa was accepted everywhere as the "standard language". So, far from being a means of perpetuating linguistic divisions, as Rylate asserts, the people from the buffer state became some of the leading agents in effecting "language unification".

The excellent translation of the Bible (in which Tiyo Soga participated after a sound education in Scotland), Tiyo Soga's (3) own classic translation of The Pilgrim's Progress, (3) his short stories and essays, Gqoba's prose and verse, Rubusana's monumental anthology of prose and traditional poetry, Mqhayi's (4) prose and verse, Bokwe's musical compositions, hymns translated from English or originally composed by numerous ministers and laymen all showed, long before the appearance of Mofolo's Chaka (4) in Sotho, long before Mangoaela's anthology of Sotho traditional poetry, long before Plaatje (5) translated Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors and Julius Caesar into Tswana, that the Bantu languages had all the capabilities popularly regarded as being an exclusive quality of the Indo-European languages.

After the remarkable achievements of this first, very small generation of literates, what was wanted was not so much a development of the languages, modern educational and cultural development without any reservations, especially in the cities. And it is precisely in the cities that we find an almost complete denial of cultural facilities to the African. Obviously the main medium of such acculturisation would be English. Naturally, the Bantu languages would be influenced by English on all levels to a much greater extent than they have been hitherto. For in the process of linguistic acculturisation the recipient language "loans" not only words indicating material things, but also those indicating abstract concepts, and also turns of phrase. The last two would fall mainly into the learned vocabulary of the professionals and technicians, in much the same way as the anglicized Greek, Latin and French words and turns of phrase belong to the learned vocabulary of English.

One can imagine Rylate smiling triumphantly and saying, "Exactly what I said! But this is something quite different from the Bodmer-Rylate approach. Bodmer's remarks about the "classificatory particles" of the Bantu languages show quite clearly that this idea is that in order to be able to express modern thought, the Bantu languages must discard their own grammatical structure. With exactly the same approach, the Native Affairs Department is messing about with the systems of numeration of the various African languages. Finding the numerals "too long", they are taking it upon themselves to "modernize" them by chopping off parts of the word-roots on the analogy of the Indo-European languages, e.g. German siebzehn (sieben-zehn), English twenty (two tens, fifty (five tens). So now Xhosa amashumi amabini (twenty) becomes shu-bini and amashumi amahlanu (fifty) becomes shu-hlanu. And this involves such a violation of grammatical structure, and conflicts so violently with the language as learnt naturally outside of the "Bantu" school, that one is sure that all teachers of arithmetic have to translate these monstrosities into Xhosa before they and their pupils can make any sense out of them. As somebody remarked in an article in the Imvo, (6) This is not Xhosa but Bantu-Educationese". It is as if, in "modernizing" English through Latin in the 15th century, English-speaking pupils were taught at school not to say "eighteen", but to say "two-from-twenty", on the analogy of duo-de-viginti, while out of school they continued to say "eighteen".

In order to translate Shakespeare, Plaatje did not have to discard the noun-class system and the alliterative concord of Tswana, just as the Englishman "civilizing" his language under Latin influence did not say walk-I, walk-you walks-he on the analogy of ambul-o, ambula-s ambula-t just as the English men did not create a "supine" on the analogy of ambulatum. Nor did the Englishman treat forest, spear, table and street as "feminine" just because the Latin equivalents are in the feminine gender.

A Xhosa translator of Somerset Maugham's Of Human Bondage or Bertrand Russels's History of Western Philosophy, which in Rylate's view are written in the "English of modern capitalism", would, in spite of many circumlocutions in rendering the latter, stick strictly

to the grammatical structure of Xhosa as it is; and the noun-class system, alliterative concord, adjectives following nouns, derivative verbal forms and ideophones would be as prominent as they used to be when Nongqawuse (7) spoke Xhosa a hundred years ago. This is what Edward Sapir means when he says: "When it comes to linguistic forms, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd. Confucius with the head-hunting savage of Assam."

(Next issue: Conclusion)

The Language Question (IV)

A.C. Jordan

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This is the final article of another series on the "Language Question" in South Africa, by means of which it is hoped readers will be assisted to view such matters as "moedertaalonderwys" and "official" languages in tieir social-historical perspective. The previous series, by V.E. Rylate, of which the author of the present series has certain criticisms to offer, was published in the October, November-December 1956, January-February and March 1957 issues of the "Educational Journal", under the title "A short history of the language question in South Africa". - Editor.

For a proper handling of the language question as it affects South Africa in general and the Non-White oppressed in particular, we must acquaint ourselves fully with the relevant socio-linguistic data, namely, (1) the distribution of the population, (2) the distribution of the languages, (3) the cultural needs of the population, (4) the present state of the languages as media of culture.

Besides English and Afrikaans, which together are the home languages of about 3,500,000 people, there are in South Africa seven written Bantu languages belonging to five mutually incomprehensible language groups. These are spoken by about 10,000,000 people in the Union and neighbouring territories. Xhosa alone is spoken by about 2,400,000. In tackling this question we do not think in terms of

the Union, but in terms of those speech communities, inside and outside of the Union, whose economic and general cultural interests are closely bound up with the Union. These are the Nguni-speaking people of Swaziland, the Sotho-speaking people of Basutoland and the Tswana-speaking people of Bechuanaland. This consideration is all the more important if we bear in mind that the Sotho-Tswana languages are for more heavily represented in the protectorates than in the Union, and that the Sotho-Tswana speakers in the Union regard the protectorates as the true "seats" of their languages and always look to these "seats" for the last word on any matters affecting their languages.

Since the function of language is to convey thought, it is obvious that in any given society, whatever its level of culture, the main medium of cultural transmission is language. It cannot be repeated too often that the fortunes of any particular language are quite independent of its innate structure. In other words they are never natural. The Culture of the ancient Greeks was superior to that of the Romans. By learning the Greek language and assimilating as much as possible of Greek culture, the Romans themselves implicity admitted that theirs was a "barbarian" civilization as compared with that of the Greeks. As far as we know, no one ever claimed the innate "superiority", "expressiveness", virility", "refinement" or "beauty" of Latin as against Greek. Yet it was Latin that spread over Western Europe and North Africa and dominated the western cultural world until the middle of the second millenium A.D. This was because of the political and military power of the Romans. Because of the non-linguistic factors that decide the fate of any given language, we cannot predict the fate of any one of the languages now spoken in Southern Africa. All we can do is to examine dispassionately the languages as we find them now, and try to estimate how far each one of them is likely to take us now along the way to fullest benefits of human culture. Every living language serves, to a greater or lesser degree, as a medium of culture in some community. Otherwise it would not be living a language. Therefore, we have no right to suppress or push to the background any language however "backward" its speakers may seem to us, and no matter how small the speech community. The Venda language, for instance, is by far the

the smalles of the four Bantu language groups represented in the Union. It is spoken by a community of just over 150.000. But whoever has to work among the Venda-speaking people in their cultural development has no choice but to use the Venda language as the starting point.

The proposition that every one of the existing written languages should be used as far as it can get us is no new proposition at all. Those Non-Whites whose home language is not English or Afrikaans were faced with the language question at the very beginning of modern education in this country, and they answered it in a straightforward manner by their attitude to their own languages and to English. As soon as they had learnt to read and write, they began to record in their own languages as much as they could remember or collect of their traditional history and folklore, and also to express their own experiences and aspirations. Those of them who went far enough to be able to handle English never felt called upon to make a choice between their own language and English. They at once recognised English as gateway to a much larger world. But from the writings it is obvious that they never intended that English should replace their own language. They used the two together - their own languages mainly for artistic purposes as members of particular speech communities, and English mainly for educational and informative purposes as members of a larger world community.

We know from the pronouncements of certain Cabinet Ministers and other parliamentarians during the debates on the Bantu Education Bill that the real motive for the present emphasis on mother-tongue instruction is to retard progress. Dr. Verwoerd made it quite plain that the purpose of Bantu education was to teach "the Native that he does not belong to a larger community but to his own community in South Africa, that is, the Bantu community" In his well-known statement of policy to the Senate, he spoke grudgingly of "the Native teacher displaying his knowledge of English culture". Dr. Albert Hertzog deplored the fact that "Natives were being taught Virgil and Euclid". There were also some remarks about "the Native being made into a black Englishman". Thus and much more.

A Non-White who knows a world language like English can be confined <u>forcibly</u> to a "Bantu community" or "Coloured community" physically, but certainly not ideologically. Therefore, the obvious

thing to do is to see to it that the Non-White's chances of acquiring any knowledge of English are reduced to a minimum. But in order to achieve their purpose, the rulers must exploit the universally accepted educational principle that the best way to impart knowledge is to use the pupil's own mothertongue. As educationists, we cannot reject this principle. But as democrats we reject the idea of a "Bantu community" or "Coloured community", and if the given mother-tongue is in such a state that it cannot take the child beyond the confines of the supposed 'own community", then we must insist that while the child continues to receive training in the use of his own mother-tongue, he should as early as possible receive instruction through a language that will ensure him a place in a world community.

Now, if we examine the state of the language in present-day South Africa, we find that English is indisputable the only language that can ensure our children a place in a world communtiy, and unless there is a super-gigantic social upheaval, English, is likely to remain for a long time unchallenged in this respect. It is only through the English language that South Africa has access to the greatest literature of classical and modern times, as well as to the philosophical, scientific, technical and artistic knowledge that we associate with universal human culture. On this consideration only, and with no reference at all to any supposed superior "expressiveness" or refinement" of the English language, and with no reference to its being an "official language", we insist that where the mother-tongue of the child is either a Bantu language or Afrikaans, English should be introduced as a subject and taught intensively in the very first year of schooling, and that as soon as the child is able to receive instruction through the medium of English, this language should be used as the medium

On this issue let us not lose ourselves in sophistry, emotionalism and ethnocentricism. It is true that a Bantu language or Afrikaans can and will be used to enslave the minds of the Non-White children. But English can be used just as efficiently if not more, especially if introduced at the stage at which we want it. Our duty as educationists is to use these languages just as efficiently to free the minds of our pupils. Again, to cham-

pion the cause of English as against other languages is not our concern. It is our own cause that we have to champion. If V.E. Rylate is correct in saying that English is "threatened by Afrikaans and Bantu", we are not called upon to come to the rescue of the English language. What we feel ourselves called upon to do is to claim our right to get the maximum cultural benefit out of English while it remains the unchallenged gateway to universal culture.

We are not the only multi-lingual country in the world, and, as democrats, we accord every language the right to develop to any depth and height and breadth, and every speech community the right to express itself, artistically and otherwise, in its own language. A man's mother-tongue is part and parcel of his whole being, and to teach him to read and write it, in addition to speaking it, is not to "force it down his throat", as Rylate seems to think, but to give him power to extend the uses to which he can put it. If South Africa is multi-lingual, Russia is multi-multi-lingual. But present-day Russia recognises the right of every language to live. "Under the Tsarist government the languages other than Great Russian were deliberately suppressed. There is now freedom of language for all communities, and efforts have been made to record the folkore, songs and literatures of the lesser-known languages of the Union. While local languages are used in all walks. of life and governmental departments in the various parts of the country, Great Russian is the lingua franca of the whole Union". (See Stanley Rundle: Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe, pp. 122-3, Faber & Faber 1944).

If we apply this principle, mutatis mutandis to our own language question in present-day South Africa, we shall put English in its present unchallenged position but accept the eight other-written languages and allow them to develop, if they can. We shall continue to get as much cultural benefit as possible from each and every one of them, if we can. Then we shall hear no more of ethnocentric attacks on the people's languages. Then we shall hear no more of herrenvolkers and mental slaves who admire and profess to appreciate Austrian folk dances, but condemn Zulu folk dances as "tribal antics", and no more of those "progressives" who readily

accept the Greek myth of the Quest of the Golden Fleece but sneer at the African myth of the Quest of the Nabulele* because to retell it is to "revive tribal mythology"! And if English should at any time be superseded by some other language, not as an "official" language but as an undisputed medium of universal culture, we shall accord that language its rightful place and get the maximum cultural benefit out of it. Be it remembered always that the issue is not any particular language for its own sake, but language as a medium of culture

*A fabulous water-monster famous for its beautiful moss-like hair.

"Moedertaal-Onderwys":(1) Afrikanerizing Instrument

J. Bastiaanse

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When the subject of "moedertaal-onderwys" is broached it seems to arouse a measure of confusion and uncertainty in some quarters, very often because "moedertaal-onderwys" is masqueraded as "mother-tongue instruction", whereas in fact it is no more than the political enforcement of Afrikaans as medium in schools. This uncertainty and confusion as to what is being attacked, a language or the use to which that language is being put, is perhaps caused by the zeal with which those attacking the moedertaal-onderwys policy are fighting and warning against a dangerous and vicious political scheme. Or perhaps in some people it is occasioned by the extent to which moedertaal-onderwys has already clouded their vision.

As has been stated so many times, it is educationally sound to use the home language of a child as medium of instruction in the lower primary school. But there is definitely a sinister political intent when so-called mother-tongue instruction sets out to exclude or retard the second official language (where it is English) during the most impressionable years of a child's life, the period when he can, without conscious effort and confusion learn more than one language; and when it aims at relentlessly implementing the C.N.O. (2) language policy in South African State and its schools by not

even introducing the second language in the primary school, that is, excluding even a reasonable bilingualism in a country with two official languages. One cannot but become suspicious when political interests and not those of the child motivate framers of policy to relegate to the background that official language which has far more to offer economically, commercially and, above all, culturally. For the proof is there that moedertaal-onderwys aims at forcing one specific language upon our children in order to deny them that "full development" which apartheid theorists and politicians so glibly promise to all sections of South African along "separate lines of development".

Thus when attacking this policy of language medium of the C.N.O. (supported by all Herrenvolk cultural organisations in the F.A.K.) (3) and the sinister forces that fashion State policy and language policy in schools, we are not attacking Afrikaans as a language. For there can hardly be valid objection to the use of any language as a social instrument, as a means of communication between man and man, whether in its daily use in speech in and outside homes, schools, State institutions, or whether in its use in writing - journalism or literature - or in its use as medium of instruction. What is being attacked is the use of Afrikaans as a political weapon not only for the supremacy of one section of the Herrenvolk over the other section, but, worse still for its use as an agency of domination over the millions of Non-Whites in this country.

When, therefore, moedertaal-onderwys in the employ of one section of the Herrenvolk is being attacked, and consequently we emphasize the advantages which our children will have to forego if the attempt to "Afrikanerize" by minimising the use and knowledge of the other official language succeeds, then this is done not out of any jingoism, or in the belief that English is inherently superior to Afrikaans as a means of communication. The plea is for the use (at a reasonable level and in a reasonable degree determined by educational theory and economic and social need) and the knowledge of that language which is of greater worth because of its value as a carrier of the world culture which is our heritage. In other words, the plea is for the use and knowledge of that language which can fit us for present-day world society. It is a choice between, to say the least, cultural and intellectual isolation, even starvation, and

genuine full development as human beings.

If one understands the great urgency motivating the compulsory imposition of moedertaal-onderwys, and sees how, in ways nowise subtle, this compulsion is forced on the oppressed, then one should understand that it is not the use of Afrikaans but its misuse which is being attacked. The fight for Afrikaans has always been part of the Afrikaner struggle for recognition in all spheres and for supremacy. The Afrikaner struggles before 1900 (die Eerste Taalbeweging) was for the recognition of Afrikaans amongs the Afrikaners then writing and learning Dutch. After 1900 (die Tweede Taalbeweging) the struggle was for the recognition of Afrikaners politically and of Afrikaans as an official language. The third phase of the Afrikaner struggle was for the extension op political power over those not of Afrikaner descent, that is, in the true fashion of the Kruger Republic to neutralise and eliminate politically those Whites whose heritage threatened to swamp the Afrikaner heritage. In this extension of power the Afrikaans language had to play an important part, and in 1949 Die Burger (22 jan) could boast that the future of Afrikaans was ensured for "Afrikaans is (vandag) die huistaal van die oorgrote meerderheid van die blanke bevolking" - the danger of its being swamped had been removed. But the removal of the fear of being swallowed up by the English-speaking White section politically and cultrually was by no means the end of the Afrikaner struggle for "volk en taal". Before the third phase ended, the fourth phase of his struggle had already commenced, for he feared something greater - that White South Africa would be swamped by Black South Africa. The fight, therefore, is not only to "Afrikanerize" the other White section, but, more important, to "Afrikanerize" the Non-White millions and so gain their sympathy and retard, isolate and divide them. In this respect Die Burger already claims a measure of success which the Afrikaans language has achieved: in an editorial article earlier in the year it boasted, in a strain which was tantamount to claiming Coloured and African Afrikaners in its Afrikaner empire, that almost all Coloureds and many Africans used Afrikaans as their home language. The proud boast is that the "vreemde" is gradually being replaced by the "inheemse" (i.e. the "foreign" by the "indigenous") amongst Whites and Non-Whites.

The "vreemde" has brought ideas of humanity, equality and dignity to the Non-Whites, and the "inheemse" (through moedertaal-onderwys) must be used to avert or, rather, to stay as long as possible the danger threatening Herrenvolk tyranny in South Africa as a result of this new conception of man's worth so diametrically opposed to the forces supporting the Herrenvolk structure built through the toil of millions of oppressed. Afrikaans, under the pretext of moedertaal-onderwys in the interests of the child, has to be an agency in this, and English as an instrument of enlightenment must be stifled. Not only must moedertaal-onderwys influence Non-White thought in Afrikaner-apartheid direction, but nothing must be encouraged which would assist in giving Non-White children the benefits of that true education which has been so well defined as: "the ideal system of education in which the sum total of knowledge and techniques gathered and gleaned by the best minds of humanity in its course of evolution are placed at the disposal of all humanity in the interests of all mankind".

The need for the Herrenvolk to enforce moedertaal-onderwys is, therefore, clear, and the proof of its application is clear too. The voice of parents in the matter of choice of medium for their children has been silenced more and more by amendments and additions to the language sections of the Ordinance.
Compulsory mother-tongue instruction, previously imposed as far as Std. III, has gradually been extended to higher levels. To-day, Std. VIII is the level of compulsion. The latest amendment makes compulsory mother-tongue instruction a law in Coloured mission schools as well - before mission schools invariably used the medium of their denomination regardless of the home language of the children. Furthermore, inspectresses are demanding that the second language (invariably English) be introduced in Std. I and even then only orally.

If cognisance is taken of what the De Vos Malan Commission "found" with regard to the home language of Coloured children (i.e. simply labelling over 90 per cent of Coloured children, contrary to the facts, as Afrikaans-speaking), and also of what the Commission recommends (i.e. that the language medium section of the Ordinance be applied more rigorously in all Coloured schools and be made applicable to mission schools as well), then one can only conclude that the intention is to prevent English from becoming of any use for the purpose

of further development. For by far the greater majority of Coloured children (over 80 per cent) never reach Std. VI, and more than 50 per cent never go beyond Std. III.

One can well imagine what it would mean linguistically and otherwise to our children were effect given to the Commission's recommendation (which openly gives the lie to the Commission's plea for better and higher educational facilities for our children) that, "because a large number of pupils now attend the primary school for only a short period, the very best use should be made of their time, so that they may derive the maximum benefit from it". What is recommended is a "minimum of education" (cf., p. 9 of Report) for over 50 per cent of our children, which would definitely not aim at the introduction of the "second" language (declared to be English).

The intention is clear; the proof of its implementation is clear; and as clear are the effects of moedertaal-onderwys. In some it has already brought about the intended contempt for English and the lack of interest in reading what English has to offer in literature of world stature. In some Coloured so-called writers the intended sympathy has already been engaged for Afrikaans and everything connected with it - Afrikaner kultuur and apartheid ideology. These writers make better propaganda for apartheid, racialism and Coloured Afrikaans than do their masters.

What is rejected, we repeat, is not Afrikaans as a language but the misuse to which it is being put. What is rejected is the inferior status to which Non-Whites are being subjected with the aid of all the legislative and administrative machinery, institutions and agencies, including schooling and moedertaal-onderwys (equivalent to onderwys through Afrikaans medium). Our fight against moedertaal-onderwys is therefore a fight against a hegemony aiming at the political, social and economic prostration of Non-Whites by retardation and mental enslavement. In which process a language (Afrikaans) is being employed as a blunt instrument.

INTRODUCTION

Notes

1. Hottentots (see Khoi-Khoi) and "Coloureds" - see: V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, 1981, pp. 12-20.
2. Shula Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" In: Journal of African History, 1972, 12, 1: 77.
3. Leonard Thompson, The Cape Coloured Franchise, Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1949.
4. See: The Educational Journal, vol. XXVIII, nr. 2, August 1956, p. 2 "A Concise History of the Coloured People".
5. Baas (Master) and Servant: see: V.A. February: Mind Your Colour, 1981, chapter 1.
6. George Peake - was a prominent civics leader and freedom fighter in the Cape Town area and was the first political prisoner on Robben Island in this century. Also a member of the Cape Town City Council - he continued this interest in local affairs during his period of exile in England in Slough. He died in exile.
7. See Evelyn Walker: "From Slave-School to Anti-CAD Slave-School" In: The Educational Journal, vol. XXV, nr. 4, December, 1963.
8. See Evelyn Walker in note 7 above.
9. See: The Educational Journal, Vol. XXVIII, nr. 2, August, 1956, p. 20.
10. Sarah Mokone: "Majority Rule: Some Notes (111) In: The Educational Journal, Vol. XLIX, nr. 3, October-November, 1977.
11. R. van der Ross: The Founding of the African Peoples' Organisation in Cape Town in 1903 and the Role of Dr. Abdurahman, California, Munger Africana, 1975, p. 12.
12. See: The Educational Journal, 1960, 21, 8: 5.
13. See: The Educational Journal, 1961, 32, 7: 6.
14. M.M. Herries: "The Ideological Matrix III. Political Trends and Developments among Non-Whites since Union" In: The Educational Journal Vol. XXXII, nr. 8, May-June, 1961, p. 20.
15. For Cas Greyling see: V.A. February: Mind Your Colour, 1981, p. 182.
16. Progressives - the reference here is to the Progressive Party - white liberals who apparently constitute the official "parliamentary" opposition in South Africa. U.P. = United Party - the old party of General Smuts, until 1948, the leading white interest group party (government).
17. Muriel Horrell, Action, reaction and counter-action. A brief review of Non-white political movements in South Africa, Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1971, p. 56.
18. Al. J. Venter, Coloured A Profile of Two Million South Africans, Human & Rousseau, Cape Town/Pretoria, 1974, pp. 415-416.
19. V.A. February (ed.), White Minorities, Black Majorities, Afrika Studiecentrum, Leiden, 1976/1, p. 17.

Section: Politics

Article: "In the Editor's Sanctum" In:

The Educational Journal, May 1915.

1. Coloured Afrikaner, p. 4. The "Coloureds" still thought of themselves as "Coloured" or "Brown" Afrikanders in the early years after the formation of the Union of South Africa (1910). This is totally in conformity with the ideas held on the various groups at that time. For a fuller discussion of this question of nomenclature see in particular, V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, London, Kegan and Paul Int., 1981.
2. "Natives" for Africans, the term as used here follows the general pattern in South Africa of that time. vide: Mind Your Colour, 1981.

Article: "Our children's Future", In:

The Educational Journal, July-Sept. 1926

1. Battswood, Wellington and Paarl. Battswood is situated in the Wynberg area near Cape Town and is a wellknown teacher training school for "Coloureds". Wellington and Paarl are two rural towns about an hour away from Cape Town where training schools were also established.

Article: "Hope", In:

The Educational Journal, vol. 19, nr. 3, sept., 1944.

1. Toiings junior. This is obviously a reference (sarcastically), to the novel Toiings written by the Afrikaner novelist, Mikro (C.H. Kühn). This novel is generally regarded by Afrikaner literary critics as one of the superb comic portrayals of the "Cape Coloured". "Coloureds" themselves do not share this view and look upon Toiings as yet another attempt to enshrine the "Coloured" as a buffoon. See in particular: V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, London, 1981 (chapter 2, pp. 40-51).
2. Cedric Dover, Half-Caste, London, Secker & Warburg, 1937, pp. 188-201.
3. Mr. Micawber, a character in the novel of Dickens (David Copperfield) whose efforts to alleviate his poverty stricken existence by all sort of wiles all come to naught.
4. South Africa Act (1909) paved the way for the Union of South Africa.
5. General J,B.M. Hertzog (1924-1933) (1933-1939); Prime Minister of South Africa first with his National Party and the Labour Party; then from 1933 onwards with the South African Party of J.C. Smuts.
6. 1947[2], p. 611. "that is, the material standards of life generally regarded as tolerable" by Europeans. This policy to protect the whites was introduced in 1924. (E.A. Walker, 1947[2], p. 611)
7. Uncivilized blanket kaffir = the reference is to an African - a black man, who still wears his blanket and has not yet embraced Western civilization - who, in white eyes, is raw and uncivilized.
In conformity with Hertzog's policy, three 'Native' Bills were passed to protect the whiteman in South Africa. Two dealt with 'Native' representation and sought the abolition of the Cape 'Native' Male vote, a third reserved 13% of the land for the blacks, leaving 80% for the whites. A fourth Bill to abolish the Cape Male "Coloured" vote was dropped.
8. Commission of Inquiry in 1934. This is a reference to the Wilcocks Commission of inquiry into the "Coloured" people of South Africa. It consisted of the following members: Prof. J. du Plessis, Prof. R.W. Wilcocks, Dr. W. de Vos, H.C. Fowler, and Dr. A. Abdurahman. By some critics the recommendations of this Commission in respect of the "Coloured" people were seen as the last plea for equal rights for this group.

9. Magna Charta. This is the great charter of liberties of England granted by John under pressure from the Barons at Runnymede, Surrey, on June 15, 1215.

Article: "The Political Situation of the Non-Europeans" by B.M. Kies, In: The Educational Journal, Vol. 21, nr. 2, August, 1949.

1. R.O. Dudley, E.L. Maurice, Stan T. Hamner, W.C. Janari and H. Jephtha, were prominent members of The Teachers' Leaugue of South Africa and inspired an entire generation with their radical ideas.
2. 1948. This is a reference to the 1948 elections in South Africa, when the National Party (N.P.) of Afrikaners, led by the Dutch Reformed Minister of Religion, D.F. Malan with his apartheid platform, was swept into power, thus ousting the once powerful United Party of General Smuts.
3. N.R.C. = Native Representative Council; came into being during the reign of Hertzog (1936). Another attempt to render blacks in the country politically helpless. vide abbreviations.
4. Dr. A.B. Xuma, medical doctor with training in America, Britain and Europe. Became Vice-President of the All African Convention (A.A.C.) in 1935 under D.D.T. Jabavu. In the 1937 conference of unity held in the Transvaal to revive the A.N.C. a major figure. Became A.N.C. President-General in 1940. see especially: P. Walshe: The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa. The African National Congress, Univ. California Press, L.A., 1971.
5. N.R.C. Quislings. for N.R.C. see abbreviations and note 3 above. This is a reference to those blacks who connived with the white government in order to facilitate the work of the Native Representative Council, which was an instrument of segregation.
6. African Youth League - see also Congress Youth League (C.Y.L.) initiated in 1943, founded in 1944; gave impetus for new methods of protest and mass action" (P. Walshe, 1971, p. 30). Prominent members were, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Robert Resha, Jordan Ngubane, Anton Lembede and W. Nkomo. Mandela and Sisulu are serving life sentences in South Africa.
7. Recent pogrom in Durban. This is a reference to the problems between Indians and Africans in Natal (Durban) which resulted in bloodshed. Some critics claim that this so-called ethnic hostility was fanned and deliberately encouraged by the whites. The year was 1948.

Article: "Majority Rule: Some Notes (III), In: The Educational Journal, vol. XLIX, nr. 3, October-November, 1977.

1. Jabavu, John Tengo, was born near Healdtown in 1859, educated by the missionaries, gained a teachers' certificate - the leading African personality at the turn of the century. Abdurahman was the leading Cape politician and leader of the A.P.O. (African Peoples' Organisation) Fredericks and Leenders were prominent in "Coloured" politics at the time of Abdurahman; Tiyo Soga, outstanding educationist, first African missionary to his own people, a product of Lovedale-education centre par excellence for Blacks in South Africa - translator of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and the composer of Linalise Dingalako Tixo We Nyaniso (Fulfil Thy Promise God of Truth):
2. W.P. Schreiner was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony (Oct. 14, 1898 - June 17, 1900).
3. Messrs. Innes, Sauer and Merriman were leading white liberal politicians at the turn of the century who were not loth to use the "native" to further their own political careers. They were prominent

members in the Cape Parliament of Cecil John Rhodes.
4. Isigidimi Sama Xhosa = Messenger of the Xhosa.
5. Imvo Zabantsundu = Black Opinion.
6. Dr. Rubusana was the first African to be elected to the Cape Provincial Council in 1910. He lost his seat when John Tengo Jabavu gediced to stand against him thus splitting the vote and allowing a white candidate, Payne, to be elected.
7. A.P.O. = African Peoples' Organization-vide: Abbreviations.
8. P.ka Seme = a lawyer who took the initiative for a national meeting of African leaders-leading to the formation of the South African Native Congress in 1912, which later changed it's name to the African National Congress (A.N.C.) in 1925.
9. Imvo see note 5.
10. John L. Dube, 1st President-general of the S.A.N.C. (later A.N.C.) Solomon Plaatje (1876-1972) was the first A.N.C. secretary -general, and a distinguished writer and novelist. See especially the December of 1981 issue of the African National Congress magazine Sechaba, pp. 23-32. See note 8 for P.ka Seme.
11. I.C.U. = Industrial and commercial Workers' Union started by Clements Kadalie from Nyassaland in 1919. It was facetiously interpreted as I.C.U. whiteman.

Article: "Majority Rule: Some Notes (VII) In:

The Educational Journal Vol. XLIX, nr. 7, April-May, 1978.

1. W.G. Ballinger and D. Molteno. Two white liberals supported by the ANC as candidates for the white House of Assembly to represent the interests of the Africans during the thirties - which was generally a period of compromise for black leaders.
2. J.B.M. Hertzog Prime Minister of South Africa in a Labour - Nationlist act government (1924-1933); again in a South African Party (SAP) with General J.C. Smuts as leader and his Nationalists (1933-1939). Oswald Pirow was the Minister of Justice in the Hertzog government (1933-1939).
J.C. Smuts. Afrikaner leader of the South African Party. Was appointed attorney - general under Kruger - Premier S.A. 1919-1924 then second in command under Hertzog (1933-1939); joined the English during the second world war. Was a member of the Imperial Cabinet. Generally respected in the Anglo-Saxon world. Regarded as a Statesman and not a mere South African politician. His United Party held away over South Africa for a long time. His fellow Afrikaners did not altogether share the English enthusiasm for Smuts-especially the die-hard nationalists. He was defeated in 1948 by D.F. Malan, which spelt the deathkenll of the United Party and the beginning of National Pary (N.P.) rule - the effective Afrikaner takeover. Smuts is still revered by many white South Africans. The oppressed think differently.
3. Wilcocks Commission. This commission was called into being to investigate the so-called "Coloured" people (1934).
4. van der Ross and F. Hendricks - prominent "Coloureds" in the Teachers' League of South Africa in the early 1940s.
5. Prof. R.F.A. Hoernlé was a prominent white, liberal academic in South Africa.

Article: Majority Rule: Some Notes (VIII) In:

The Educational Journal Vol. XLIX, nr. 8, june, 1978.

1. Moses Kotane. A member of the South African Communist Party; spent two years in Moscow; became an able theoretician; Sec. - General

in the 40s; prominent in post-war ANC (Walshe, 1971, p. 170).
2. Dr. G. Gool and B.M. Kies were prominent members of the N.E.U.M. They were both brilliant thinkers inspiring generation after generation in the Cape. They are both deceased. I.B. Tabata, J. Gool form part of the N.E.U.M. in exile and live in Zambia. Tabata was an exciting speaker and wrote that wellknown and informative book, Education for Barbarism (1960, Pall Mall Press, London) - C.M. Kobus, also a prominent political thinker was lawyer. Yayiya was one of the leading figures in the A.A.C. (All African convention).
3. Gool, Ahmed, Desmore, Kies, Roberts, Wessels, Tabata, Edross, and Fataar were the leading figures in the Anti-CAD and N.E.U.M.
4. Golding's Coloured Peoples' National Union (C.P.N.U.). Formerly a member of the Teachers' League of South Africa, Golding broke away when at the teachers' conference in 1943, the T.L.S.A. decided to embark on a decidely more political course and formed his own, more conservative C.P.N.U. He has played a very reactionary role in Cape politics.
5. Van der Ross. Father and son (now the "coloured" rector of the specially created ethnic college for "Coloureds" in Bellville, the Cape, were first prominent members of the T.L.S.A., then broke away in 1943 because of the new 'political' road taken by the T.L.S.A. to form the more conservative and for white South Africans, more acceptable, "coloured" Teachers' Educational and Professional and Educational Association (T.E.P.A.). Their main concern was to plead for higher (sometimes even equal?) salaries and better condition for "Coloureds" only.
6. Gatsha Buthelezi-Zulu leader, praised by South African liberal whites for his fight against injustice, by blacks accused of making the Bantustan policies of racist South Africa workable. K.M. = Kaiser Matanzima puppet, black leader in the Transkei.
7. Leon, Sonny was the first leader of the so-called "Coloured" Labour Party, which, because it worked with the Union Council of Coloured Affairs (UCCA), was regarded as reactionary by the politically-conscious "Coloureds".
Hendrickse is the present leader of the Labour Party. Under him attempts were made to seek links with the ANC. Recently he made a volte face with his "Coloured" Labour Party by agreeing to P.W. Botha's "three Houses of Parliament" for whites, "Coloureds" and Indians only. A political sell-out. Reddy is a wellknown Indian South African collaborator; so is Mangope - a Bantustan leader - puppet appointed (indirectly!!) by the white Pretoria-Cape Town axis.
8. Inkundla yaBantu = Gathering or meeting place of the people.

Article: The Wearing of Black In:

The Educational Journal, Vol. XLVI, nr. 5, jan.-feb. 1975.

1. Vorster B.J. = at one time Prime Minister and President of South Africa. Forced into retirement as a result of the publicity scandal which involved Eschel Roodie and Connie Mulder - known as the Muldergate Scandal.
2. Progs. = shortened form of the white opposition (to the government of the National party, but operating firmly within the white political framework) party, namely, the Progressive Party. It's leader is van Zyl.
3. Bush college staffers = reference to Blacks who willingly teach at ethnic universities.
4. Kaffirs = a derogatory name for Africans used by whites. Although initially from the Arabic meaning heathen, infidel, it came to be used by white South Africans exclusively as a term of abuse for Africans.

Hottentots = the indigenous people of South Africa miscegenated out of existence, destroyed by small pox epidemics, driven off the land by the Dutch. Used as a term of abuse for people designated as "Coloured" in South Africa. See especially, Mind Your Colour, Kegan and Paul Int. 1981, chapter 1: Prelude to Prejuice. Non-citizens prefer the more correct term for the early inhabitants, namely, Khoi-Khoin (shortened to Khoi).
Bushmen = indigenous people of South Africa, suffering the same fate of the Khoi, a term of abuse especially for the so-called "Coloured" people. More correctly known as San.
Coolies the term is used as one of abuse and reserved for the Indian population of South Africa.
5. Eiselen-de Vos. Eiselen was especially noted for his ideas to create a special type of African education-infamous for Bantu education; de Vos-Malan concentrated on the "Coloured" and created a special type of education for them. All part and parcel of the plan to keep the non-citizens in a perpetual state of fiefdom.
6. Progs. = Progressive Party
7. toorwoord = magic word or formula

Article: Black Consciousness: A Reactionary Tendency (II) Transplantation, Impact and Political Godparents. In:
The Educational Journal, vol. XLVII, nr. 7, april-may 1976.

1. the B.C. Movement = the Black Consciousness Movement. see: Abbreviations.
2. Bush Colleges = a reference to the specially created ethnic colleges for the various black groups in South Africa, so-called university institutions within the framework of apartheid.
3. Labour Party = The name is misleading giving the impression that it represents the workers of the country - in particular the "Coloured workers". Nothing is further from the truth. This party, led by the "Coloured" Sonny Leon, took part in what is generally looked upon by sane - thinking non-citizens, as the farcical Coloured Representative Council until it was recently dissolved to make way for the Presidential Council on which "Coloureds", Indians and Whites are represented, but not the majority of South Africans, the Africans.
Although they questioned aspects of apartheid and even claimed that they took part in the proceedings of a specially created "Coloured" department only to sabotage it from within, the Labour Party still operated firmly within the framework of the South African political setup. The present leader is Rev. A. Hendrickse.
4. Broederbond = a secret society of Afrikaners controlling every aspect of Afrikanerdom. Almost all cabinet ministers and leading church dignitaries are said to be members of the Broederbond. (1918)
5. Botha - Smuts embrace. The reference is to the break of. Gen. Hertzog with Botha and Smuts in Dec. 1912, when Hertzog was excluded from the cabinet. This coincided with emergent Afrikaner nationalism.
6. Bush broiler-houses established from 1959-60 as the logical extension of Eiselen - De Vos Malan schooling. These are the two men whose names are respectively associated with the implementation of "Bantu" Education and "Coloured" Education. The Bush Colleges are the tribal ethnic universities.
7. Buthelezi and Co. The leader of the Zulu people. His role is questioned by many Black South Africans because he prefers consultation to confrontation. Also is Chief minister of KwaZulu - the Bantustan eventually for the Zulus. Overseas and in liberal white circles at home in South Africa, he is admired for his stand.

8. David Curry and Middleton are "Coloureds" who, although outwardly against apartheid, still operate within the system.
Sonny Leon was one time leader of the "Coloured" Labour Party.
9. Beyers-Naudé = the defrocked Dutch Reform Minister, who became wellknown as a result of the activities of his Institute, the Christian Institute. Looked upon by many Churchmen overseas, in particular in the Netherlands, as the man who started a bekinnende kirche.
10. SASO = led by the now deceased Steve Biko, the major organization for Black South African students. The students' protest led to blood shed and their wanton shooting by the South African police in 1976 school children.
11. mieliepap = porridge.
pondokkies = hovels made of burlap, sink, scraps of metal and corrugated iron, sink - see for an excellent description; Alex La Guma, And a Threefold Cord, Berlin, Seven Seas, 1964.

Article: "Has a new "Middle Class" been Created? Some notes on Blacks in Business" In:
The Educational Journal, Vol. XLVII, nr. 3, October-November, 1975

1. ware = true; opregte = honest; suiwer = pure
2. Vereeniging in 1902. This is a reference to the peace treaty between the Boers and the English putting an end to the Anglo-Boer War. Milner's Kindergarten. Milner was governor of the Transvaal in 1902; also of the Orange River Colony, the youthfulness of his assistants earned him the nickname of "Milner's Kindergarten".
3. Santam en Sanlam = respectively; Suid-Afrikaanse Trust Assuransie Maatskappy en Suid-Afrikaanse Lewensversekeringsmaatskappy. The first was started in nov. 1917, the second in june 1918. These two life insurance bodies are important in that it coincided with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and signalled the Afrikaner involvement with organized capital.
4. Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut = Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce
5. Nats = a reference to the National Party, the only (major) governing) Afrikaner party
6. Langa and Sharpeville, the reference are to these locations and places for Blacks were the killings took place in 1960.
7. Boss and S.B. = respectively, Bureau of Secret Service and Special Branch
8. Bunga Men, C.R.C. and I.A.D. = respectively, those Africans who were prepared to serve on the white -created institutions for Africans in the 1930s and 1940s; Coloured Representative Council and Indian Affairs Department
9. Buthelezi = the leader of the Zulu; his role inside South Africa is questioned by politically-conscious Blacks; Sonny Leon and Jacques Rabie are so-called statutory "coloureds" and members of the Labour Party, who work within the framework of the apartheid-created institutions, e.g. the Coloured Affairs Department.
Matanzima = the first Black puppet leader of the Bantustau kwown as the Transkei.
10. Rylands Lenasia "Red" or Reservation" Indians -Chatsworth = very prosperous areas set aside for rich Indian merchants and businessmen who operate firmly within the framework of apartheid.
Rylands is in the Cape and Lenasia in Natal-hence the reference to Reservations- evoking images of the Amerindian situation in America and of Blacks (Reserves) inside South Africa.
11. Nanas, Kajees and Pathers = wellknown Indian South African collaborators.

Article: "From the Arsenal-The Ten-Point Programme" In:
The Educational Journal, Vol. XLVIII, nr. , Sept., 1976

1. Poll Tax = taxes imposed by whites whereby Africans were forced to be a part of a monetary economy, thus facilitating the way to cheap black labour.
2. The Masters' and Servants' Act was passed in 1841, relations between master and servant were regulated by law according to this act. An early piece of colour legislation which ensured a docile and cheap labour force for white South Africa.

HISTORY

Notes

Article "The Early History of the Cape" The Educational Journal, June 1916

1. W.C. Scully, History of South Africa from the earliest days to Union (London, 1915).
2. Ryk Tulbagh, also known as Father Tulbagh was Governor of the Cape (1751-1771) known for his anti-corruption campaign and sumptuary laws.
3. Bushman. The term is used for some of the original inhabitants of the Cape encountered by the Dutch in 1652. They are more correctly referred to as the San by the 'non-citizens' of South Africa. The term is also one of abuse applied to the so-called "Coloured" people of South Africa. vide: V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, 1981, pp. 1-10.
4. Hottentot and Bantu. The first term is used for the original inhabitants of the Cape encountered by the Dutch in 1652. They are generally referred to as the Khoi by the oppressed. The term is one of abuse applied to the so-called "Coloureds" vide: V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, 1981, pp. 1-10. The term Bantu is used for the black inhabitants of South Africa. It is a nonsensical term as used by White South Africa. Bantu is a class two plural noun in Nguni, meaning people. Bantu if applied to blacks therefore only means people and not blacks. vide: V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, 1981 pp. 1-10.

Article: "The Teaching of South African History in Schools" by W. P. van Schoor, In:

The Educational Journal, vol. 20, nr. 5, November-December, 1945

1. W.P. van Schoor was a very prominent member of the Teachers' League of South Africa and President of the League on several occasions.
2. Hottentot and Bushmen respectively Khoi and San. For these derogatory terms see: V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, 1981, pp. 1-10.
3. Een broeder van Thomas Ferreira die enige lectuur vermeend te hebben heeft de ontdekking gedaan dat de Hottentotten de afstammelingen van het vervloekte ras van Ham zijn en dus ter dienstbaarheid en mishandeling door de Almagtigen God zijn verdoemd.
Translation: A brother of Thomas Ferreira who is purported to have had some material, has made the discovery that the Hottentots are the descendants of the cursed race of Ham and consequently doomed to a life of servitude and mal-treatment by the Almighty God.
4. Kaffir Wars. These are frontier wars in the Eastern Cape waged between the whites and the Africans. White Historians tended to describe these wars as Kaffir Wars, implying therefore that the Blacks were uncivilised and savage. The oppressed prefer to call these wars, Wars of Dispossession, in which blacks were chased off their land and pushed into remote areas.
5. Diefsug = propensity for thieving or stealing.
6. Dr. van der Kemp (1747-1811) a Dutch physician and missionary of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) and the Rev, Read (1777-1852), colleague of the Dutchman - especially associated with the founding of the mission station at Bethelsdorp which, according to Walker (1947, p. 151) van der Kemp had turned into a "Zion of the Hottentots".
7. 1652. Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape in 1652 - one of the three ships was the drommedaris.
8. Eva and van Meerhoff.
Eva (Krotoa) (1642-1674) female Khoi interpreter, member of the Goringhaikona, the captain, Harry being her Uncle - that it, Strandlopers (Beachcombers) at the time of Van Riebeeck. Learnt Dutch in Van Riebeeck's house-

hold, understood Portuguese- an able translator; the first Khoi woman to be married according to civil law (26-4-1664). Her husband was the Dutch explorer, Pieter van Meerhoff. Eva suffered spells at the famous (infamous) Robben Island. She counts the present-day Zaaymans among her descendants in South Africa - also de Vries.
9. Coenraad Buis (see: De Buys (Du Buis) 1761 and after 1821; frontiersman wanderer, explorer and adventurer. He fell from grace because he preferred black and Khoi women. There is still a half-breed independent Buys clan in the Transvaal. See: Sarah Gertrude Millin's novel: King of the Bastards, Harper, New York, 1949: also V.A. February: Mind Your Colour, London, 1981, pp. 63-65.
10. Harry Smith (1787-1860); Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony (1847-1852). The first to use his powers as High Commissioner whereby the Cape Colony was no longer regarded as a Colony but as South Africa.
11. George Grey (1812-1898)-first secretary to the Colonies (1854-1855); then High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony (1854-1861).
12. Matabele-Mashona nation - this territory just north of Bechuanaland (now Botswana) under Chief Lobengula, formed part of Cecil John Rhodes' dream of a South African federation.
13. Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902), empire builder, arch imperialist and financier, founder of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) Cape Premier (1890-1896).
14. MacMillan, W.M. The Cape Colour Question, Faber & Gwyer, London, 1927
15. Walker, E.A. A History of South Africa, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1747

Article: "Before Van Riebeeck - The Forgotten Past" In:

The Educational Journal, Vol. 22, nr. 6, March 1951

1. David Stuurman. This is in all probability a pseudonym - see the name of the leader of the Khoi Khoi rebellion on the Eastern frontier.
2. Hottentots and Bushmen - for these terms see: V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, 1981, pp. 1-10.
3. Hottentot Queen of Punt. The reference is to the Queen of Punt - "a legendary gold - city", the Queen of Punt being of the modern Hottentot type" and "the characteristic steopygia" (Mnguni, 1952, p. 12).
4. Boadicea = the Queen of the Iceni in the east of Britain who fought against the Romans and was finally defeated by Suetonius Paulinus in 61 A.D.
5. Herbert Stanley - one of the early pioneers in Africa during the scramble by European powers, see: In Darkest Africa (1891)
6. Diaz, da Gama and D'Almeida. These are three famous Portuguese seafarers who all sailed round the Cape, Diaz in 1486, Da Gama in 1497 and D'Almeida killed at the Cape in 1510 for trying to rob the Khoi.
7. Drake, Sir Francis who sailed round the Cape and completed the circumnavigation of the world. He died in 1596. Drake called the Cape,"the fairest Cape in the whole universe".
Shilling, Andrew with Humphrey Fitz-Herbert who took possession of the Bay of Saldania in 1620 in the name of King James who declined.
8. "Soeten praatjes" = sweet talk literally, flattery.
9. sjambok = made of animal skin, used for flogging both humans and animals in South Africa, that is, black humans then.

Article: "History Teaching in our Schools" by B. Hammond In: The Educational Journal, Vol. XXXII, nr. 3, October, 1960

1. Christelike nasionale onderwys = Christian National Education (C.N.O. in Afrikaans and C.N.E. in English - the policy whereby blacks were brainwashed to become good boys and workers for the whiteman. Enunciated in 1948. See also: V.A. February: Mind Your Colour, 1981, p. 91+220.
2. Louw Wepeners, Anna Steenkamps and Paul Krugers.
Louw Wepener (1812-1865) killed at Thaba Bosigo, Orange Free State Commandant - one of the Boer Heroes;
Anna Steenkamp (1797-1891) one of the female Boer Trekkers who "spoke for many when she deprecated not so much the freedom of the slaves as their being placed on an equal footing with the Christians" (E.A. Walker, A History of South Africa, London, 1947, p. 206.
Paul Kruger (1825-1904). Transvaal Statesman, member of an old Afrikaner family; was present when the Voortrekkers were killed in 1838 in Natal; in Afrikaner folklore - a legendary figure; commandant-general of the Transvaal Republic (1873); opposed British plan for a South African federation; fought for independence of the Transvaal Republic. Part of the triumvirate governing the Transvaal Republic at the behest of the Volksraad (i.e. P.J. Joubert, M.W. Pretorius and S.J.P. Kruger. President of the Transvaal (1883-1902). During turbulent Anglo-Boer Wars. Forced into exile. Much sympathy in Holland (from Wilhelmina) and in Germany. Died in Clarence in Switzerland. The supreme Boer Folklore Hero. Blacks have a different opinion.

Article: "Interpreting and Teaching South African History. Thoughts on the Development of S.A. Historiography by Peter Kleyhans IN: The Educational Journal, Vol. XIII, nr. 8, June, 1972

1. The Oxford History of South Africa. South Africa to 1870 (eds.) Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, O.U.P., 1969 and The Oxford History of South Africa II. South Africa 1870-1966 (eds. M. Wilson and L. Thompson, O.U.P. 1971.
2. Dagjoernale = diaries
3. Theal and Cory = noted S.African historians - George McCall Theal: History of South Africa, a) Before 1795 (3 vols) b) 1795-1872 (5 vols.) c) 1873-1884 (2 vols.), G.E. Cory (1862-1935: The rise of South Africa (5 vols) London, 1910-1930.
4. Rose-Innes (1855-1942), judge, politician and cabinet minister, under secretary of Native Affairs in Cape Colony (1880-1896).
John X. Merriman (1841-1926), Cape parliamentarian and last Premier of the Cape Colony (1908-1910).
Sauer, J.W. (1850-1913) Cape parliamentarian and Union Cabinet Minister. secretary for Native Affairs (1881).
Lord de Villiers (1842-1914) - first Baron De Villiers of Wynberg, judge and Cape politician.
Molteno, J.T. (1865-1936), barrister and speaker
J.H. Hofmeyer (Onze Jan) (1845-1909) - Cape political leader.
5. MacMillan W.M. The Cape Colour Question (Faber & Gwyer Ltd., 1927; Walker, Eric, A. A History of South Africa, Longmans, Green & Co., 1928; Marais, J.S. The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937, Longmans, London, 1939.
6. Nienabers, Scholtz and Van Jaarsvelds, the Mullers - wellknown Afrikaner scholars and historians.

7. MacMillans (see note 5) Marais (see n. 5), Kepple Jones', de Kiewiets Thompsons, van der Berghes, Davenports, Wilsons and Welshes = wellknown South African scholars, historians and social scientists, the majority being English-speaking and descendants of the 1820 settlers.
R.F.A. Hoernlé (1880-1943) = wellknown philosopher with ideas on the so-called 'native' question. By white standards a liberal ahead of his times.

Article: "The 1820 "Settlers": The Myth within the Myth" by T.E. Caffrey In: The Edcuational Journal, Vol. XLV, nr. 8. June, 1974

1. Lord Charles Somerset (1767-1831) Lieutenant-General during the official British occupation of the Cape (1795-1823). Governor of the Cape during the period of the 1820 settlers. Autocrat 'conscious of the empire resting heavily on his shoulders'-opponent of Pringle, Fairbairn and Greig at the Cape in the struggle for a free press.
2. Gonnema of Saldanha. This is a reference to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars who lived near Saldanhabay under chief Gonnema.
3. Gunjema and Saldanhars - see note 2 above.
4. Hottentot-Kraals. For the derogatory term Hottentot see: V.A. February: Mind Your Colour, 1981. Kraal is enclosure.

Article: "Kotze's Catechism on History Teaching" by W. Webster In: The The Educational Journal, Vol. XLVII, nr. 4, December, 1975

1. C.A.D. = Coloured Affairs Department - see list of abbreviations
2. C.N.O. = Christelike Nasionale Onderwys, i.e. Christian National Education - see list of abbreviations
3. Ek beroep my op die keiser, dit wil sê by wyse van implikasie, op my Romeinse burgerskap - I appeal to the emperor, that is to say, by way of implication, to my Roman citizenship
4. Die beskaafde nasies beskerm hulle burgers waar en onder welke omstandighede hul ook al verkeer = Civilized nations protect their citizens wherever and under whatever circumstances they may find themselves in.
5. Die kultuurmens en positiewe burgerskap = the man of culture and positive citizenship.
6. Burgerskap as 'n mens se grootste besitting - jou waardevolste bate naas byvoorbeeld jou taal, godsdiens, vryheid van spraak ens. = citizenship as the greatest possession - your most valuable asset next too, your language, religion freedom of speech etc.
7. Respektabele burger = respectable citizen.
8. Burgerskap kom kortweg neer op lidmaatskap van 'n staat ... en selfs verpligte stemreg is nie 'n burgerskapvoorwaarde (of vereiste) nie. Dit hang van die omstandighede en ontwikkelingsstadium of regeringsvorm af. Die onontbeerlike vereiste is positiewe burgerskap. Citizenship in short boils down to membership of a State... and even compulsory franchise is not a condition for citizenship (or precondition). It depends on the circumstances and the stage of development or the form of government. The indispensable condition is positive citizenship.
9. Heimwee for verlate kranse en blou berge.
Longing for desolate krantzen and blue mountains.
Die Staatsburger moet so redeneer dat sy burgerskap slegs volksgerig bly - My land eerste, my staat deur dik en dun, reg of verkeerd. The citizen must argue thus that citizenship must only be directed towards the people .... My country first, my state through thick or thin, right or wrong.

10. Niemand neem self 'n Duitser kwalik dat hy tydens die Nazi verowering van Europa die wapen opgeneem het nie = Nobody even holds it against the German that he took up arms during the Nazi conquest of Europe.
They lead to "onsuiwer opvattings... en dubbele burgerskap wat 'n onding is en deur internasionale boewe om dubieuse oorweginge beoefen word = They lead to impure attitudes - dual citizenship which is a monster and practised by international scoundrels for dubious reasons.
11. Eiesoortige = literally, belonging to the own, i.e. peculiar to
12. Die skeppend-bewarende = creative and lasting (preserving)
13. Skeppingsdrang van positiewe burgerskap = the creative urge of positive citizenship.
14. Die Portugees se positiewe burgertrots het tot onlangs nog in die aangesig van 'n negatiewe wêreldmening laat glo aan sy beskawing se uitbouing en die kerstening van die heidene = The Portuguese pride in citizenship had in the face of world opinion, caused him to believe in the extension of his civilization and the conversion of the heathens.
15. Sy val is egter toe te skryf aan 'n verdwyning van skeppingsvermoë = His fall is however attributable to a disappearance of his creative ability.
16. Die Israeli glo aan die handhawing van sy Staat in die Midde-Ooste en slaag daarin uit hoofde van sy weergalose positiewe Joodse burgerskap = The Israeli believes in the maintenance of his State in the Middle East and succeeds in doing so on the basis of his incomparable and positive Jewish citizenship.
17. Daar is geen einde aan die proses van voortgesette revolusie nie = There is no end to this process of continued revolution.
En dit is juis hierteen wat gewaak moet word in die wêreld waarin ons lewe en wel wal gegooi moet word deur positiewe burgerskap te kweek en uit te leef in daardie lande (tuislande vermoedelik - W.W.) waar dit nog groeipotensiaal openbaar.
= And it is precisely against this that one should be on one's guard in the world in which we live and which must be opposed by cultivating positive citizenship and living it out in those countries (presumably the Bantustan homelands - W.W.) where there is still a growth potential.

Article: "S.A. History: The Davenport Version" by K.A. Blatcher, In: The Educational Journal, Vol. XLIX, nr. 3, October-November, 1977

1. The Glen-Grey Act (1894) was first applied to the Glen-Grey district - hence the name - in the Ciskei, and later extended to cover four districts in the Transkei. It was, in the words of Rhodes himself, his "native Bill for Africa".
2. Rhodes, Cecil, John (1853-1902) arch British Imperialist, statesman and financier-empire builder, founder of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Premier of the Cape Colony (1890-1896) during the very turbulent period prior to the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).
A. Milner (1854-1925). Together with Chamberlain, largely reponsible for British policy in South Africa - one of the main opponents of President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal Republic and chief actor during the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) in which the Boers were interned and chucked into concentration camps - thus arousing the sympathy of Germany and Holland in particular. Governor of the Cape Colony (1899-1902); High Commissioner and Governor of Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (1902-1905) - Milner an espouser of an Anglo-Saxonized South Africa.
3. Andries Pretorius (1798-1853), a Boer leader and Voortrekker, who inflicted defeat on the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River (16 December,

1838) in revenge for the killing of the other Boer leader and Voortrekker, Piet Retief (1780-1838) by Dingaan and his people. Here the Boers took a sacred vow and to this day, 16 December is celebrated as a holy day, that is, Covenant Day (Gelofte Dag) - a day of Afrikaner nationalistic outpourings and solidarity and also anti-Black feelings.

Article: "A New South African History": Book Review by Henry Plaatjies, In: The Educational Journal, Vol. XL, nr. 1, July-August, 1969

1. Hottentot = term for the indigenous people of South African encountered by the Dutch in 1652. Generally one of abuse-applied to the so-called "Coloured" people. The oppressed prefer the more correct term, Khoi-Khoi.
2. Bushmen = term of abuse used for the original inhabitants of South Africa encountered by the Dutch alongside the Khoi-Khoi. The oppressed prefer the more correct term, SAN.
3. Bantu as a term applied to mean black people is incorrect, because it simply means people and not black people. Only when it is used to refer to a language group does it have some validity.
4. Van Jaarsveld and Muller are two wellknown Afrikaner historians.
5. James Stewart (1831-1905) missionary, medical doctor, discoverer. Principal of the Lovedale Institute for African education. Turned it into an outstanding seat of learning for Africans.
6. Van der Kemp's Bethelsdorp: (1747-1811) Dutch physician, missionary of the London Missionary Society (LMS) with the Rev. Read (1777-1852) a colleague, associated with the founding of the mission station, Bethelsdorp, according to historical sources, 'a Zion of the Hottentots'.
7. Nongquase (Nongqawuse) (1841-1898) medium to Mhlakaza during the so-called National Suicide of the Amaxhosa (1856-57). The girl apparently received word from deceased Xhosa chiefs, e.g. Hintsa and Ndlambe etc. to instruct the Xhosa to slaughter their cattle and destroy their crops. This was done in 1857. The Xhosa died on a mass scale. Some of the dispossessed suspect the hand of the whites in this national suicide.

NOTES

LITERATURE

ARTICLE: "The Non-White in Afrikaans Literature" by Sampie in:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 19, nr. 6, January, 1945

1. G. Dekker and F.E.J. Malherbe were prominent South African literary critics confining their activities mainly to the Afrikaans language and literature.
2. Toiings- a novel written by Mikro (C.H. Kühn) - see V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, chapter II, pp. 40-51.
3. Ampie - a novel dealing with the poor-whites among the Afrikaners see Ampie, Jochem van Bruggen, (Amsterdam, Swets & Zeitlinger, 1924).

LITERATURE.

ARTICLE: "The Non-White in Afrikaans Literature" (2) by Sampie, In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 19, nr. 7, February, 1945

1. Toiings - see V.A. February, Mind Your Colour, 1981, pp. 40-51.
2. Baas Fanie - Master Fanie - the term Baas is enforced on Blacks by whites who in this crude fashion excercise power.
3. outa and aia - terms reserved for, respectively a "Coloured" man and a "Coloured" woman. In Afrikaner eyes these are terms of respect- even endearment. In "Coloured" eyes, these are racial terms indicating the inferiority of the oppressed - so also meid as a term of abuse for "coloured" women.
4. noi, like baas is a term reserved for a white woman. "Coloureds" resent usage of the term because it only confirms their inferior status.

LITERATURE
ARTICLES: "Censorship and 'Immoral' Literature" by C. Peters, In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 26, nr. 3, October, 1954

1. Roomse Gevaar, i.e. the Roman danger, i.e. Catholicism for the Dutch reformed Afrikaner.
2. Amakeia a poem by A.G. Vissers; see: p. 16, A.G. Visser, Die Purper Iris en ander nagelate gedigte (Kaapstad, nasionale Pers, 1930).
3. William Plomer, Turbotte Wolfe, (London, Hogarth Press, 1925).
4. F.A. Venter, Swart Pelgrim, (Kaapstad, Tafelberg, 1967).

LITERATURE

ARTICLE: DEAD ROOTS, poems by Arthur Nortje. Heineman African Writers' Series No. 141

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. XLV, nr. 8, june 1974

1. alleenloper = loner
2. Dennis Brutus = a wellknown South African poet in exile and has several anthologies to his credit. e.g. Letters to Martha (1968) and

Sirens, Knuckles Book (1963), Nelson Mandela, is the well respected leader of the African National Congress (ANC) now serving a life sentence in South Africa for opposing the regime in South Africa. Chief Albert Luthuli, winner of the Nobel Prize for peace was, in his lifetime, one of the great leaders of the African oppressed and President of the ANC.

LITERATURE

ARTICLE: "An Open Letter to André Brink" In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XLV, nr. 5, January-February, 1974

1. Griqua boy, an area called Griqualand in the Eastern Cape-also a people - see R. Ross, Adam Kok's Griquas, (London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976).
2. verligtes = enlightened ones
3. Baasvolk the - Master people (literally)
4. Sestigers = Those writers who came into prominence or whose writings determined the period of the Sixties.
5. Caesar, Brink, André P. (Kaapstad, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1961).
   Ambassadeur, Brink, André P. (Kaapstad/Pretoria, Human + Rousseau, 1963).
   Orgie, Brink, André P. (Kaapstad, John Malherbe, 1965).
   Kennis van die Aand (Kaapstad, Buren, 1974). A. Brink.
6. Klaasvolk = opposite of Baasvolk, that is, the oppressed.
7. Gus Adams-the reference here is to Prof. van der Ross who is the first "Coloured" rector of the tribal university for "Coloureds" in the Cape and who is generally looked upon as a political sell-out, conniving with the apartheid government of the Afrikaners, by progressive 'Coloureds'.
8. Non-Citizens = the term often used by the T.L.S.A. to denote those who do not have the vote and are generally oppressed.
9. Jongspan = a newspaper for young people; Potchefstroom = an Afrikaner university in the north based on the principles of Calvinism. Ruiterwag = youth organization of young Afrikaners-so also, Nasionale Jeugbond (Youth League). acacias (doringbome)
10. N.P. van Wyk - The most important Afrikanerpoet (1906-1970).

Major works
Alleenspraak (1935)
Die halwe kring (1937)
Raka (1941)
Gestaltes en diere (1942)
Nuwe verse (1954)
Germanicus (1956)

LITERATURE

ARTICLE: Lena and Boesman, a play in Two Acts by Athol Fugard.

Buren Publishers, Cape Town, 1969

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. XLI, nr. 6, march, 1970

1. The Blood Knot, Athol Fugard, (Johannesburg, Simondium Publishers, 1963).
2. C.A.P.A.B. = Cape Peninsula Arts Board.

3. klonkies = a derogatory term literally meaning "little boys" and reserved for "Coloureds" (young and old sometimes) by whites.
4. Hotnot = a derogatory term used by whites for "Coloureds".
Hotnot meid = a derogatory term for "Coloured" females.
outa = a term reserved for "Coloureds". Afrikaners claim it is a term of respect. The oppressed "Coloured" sees it as a term of derogation. vide also: V.A. February, MIND YOUR COLOUR (London, Kegan Paul Int., 1981). Goeie Kaffer = a good old Kaffir
5. pondok = a hovel or a shack, a shelter generally for the poor and the dispossessed made of burlap, sink, corrugated iron and bits of scrap metal and odds and ends. vide: Alex La Guma, AND A THREEFOLD CORD (Berlin, Seven Seas, 1964).
6. Korsten Shanty = a reference to a "Coloured" shanty area in the Eastern Cape
7. Klaasies = the opposite of Baasies (masters) - a term applying to the dispossessed and confirming their inferior status in 'white' eyes
8. lotsverbondenheid = common destiny
9. 'n goeie Kaffer = a good old Kaffir (a term of abuse for Blacks)
'n goeie ou Bantoe = a good old Bantu (term of abuse for Blacks with paternalism implied) vide: V.A. February, MIND YOUR COLOUR (London, Kegan Paul Int., 1981).
10. give me a dop = give me a swig (tot) of liquor; brandewyn = brandy see this in respect of the "tot" system in South Africa whereby "Coloured labourers are kept happy on the farms with liberal tots of liquor (brandy) to keep up productivity. weg wêreld - kom brandwyn = to hell with the world, come brandy
gat op die grond = arse on the ground.
11 jou moer = literally "your mother" - comes close to the Afro-American "Mother fucker" as a term of extreme abuse.
12. Colouredensis Capensis = The author deliberately uses a Latinized form to express his contempt and give vent to his laughter. This is a satiric dig at the attempts of whites and "coloureds" to turn the "coloureds" into a separate group (clan) (nation).

LITERATURE

ARTICLE: "The Sestigers": A Post-Mortem by P.P. Louw In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XLIV, nr. 6, March, 1973

1. Sestigers = a breed of Afrikaans writers writing in the sixties
2. These are the leading Sestigers. With the exception of Adam Small, they are all white and Afrikaner.
3. Volksfeeste = National feasts, for the Afrikaner Volk.
4. the reference here is to Yolanda Breytenbach who, because she is Vietnamese, and therefore "Coloured", was denied a visum to visit South Africa with Breytenbach who is white.
5. Rapport = Afrikaner newspaper
6. Rugby Springboks. Rugby is the national game of white South Africa. The national team is called the springboks after that animal found in the country.
7. U.P. = United Party, the ruling White Party of Gen. Smuts (1939-1948). Party = National Party, the three Dutch Reformed Churches and the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur (Federation of Afrikaans Culture) established in 1929 on Broederbond initiative. By 1937 the F.A.K. had

over 300 affiliated organizations. In 1939 the FAK organized a Christian National Education Conference from which was born the Institute for Christian National Education.
Three basic tenets of Afrikaner nationalism
8. Broederbond-Afrikaner secret society said to control every facet of Afrikaner life. It was founded in 1918. See: I. Wilkins + H. Strydom (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1978).
9. Langa-Sharpeville-two African locations-the first in the Cape, the latter in the North where the explosions occurred in 1960.
10. Kragdadigheid = with power and force
11. volksleiers = national leaders
12. volk = people, in Afrikaner eyes the volk has almost mythological connotations
13. These are important Afrikaner business men
14. Baas-Master, Afrikaners expect subservient blacks to address them with this term
15. Hertzog prize . In Afrikaans the most important award-something like the Dutch P.C. Hooft for literature.

LITERATURE

ARTICLE: The Sestigers: A Post-Mortem (II) by P.P. Louw

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. XLIV, nr. 7, April-May, 1973

1. Saamtrek = literally "get together".
2. UCT = University of Cape Town
3. buchu fields = leaves of species RUTACEAE - used as medicine e.g. for stomach complaints. Already known in 17th c. Also by Khoi Khoin with sheep's fat as cosmetic for anointing their bodies (vide: Jean Branford, A Dictionary of South Africa English (Cape Town, OUP, 1980, p. 43)
4. Kaffer, Hotnot, Koelie, Houtkop (wooden head), aia, meid klong (see: klonkie), jong and skepsel (creature with implication of chattel) have all been referred to at some time or the other and are all terms of abuse and derogation applying to the dispossessed of South Africa. see also: V.A. February, MIND YOUR COLOUR (London, Kegan Paul Int., 1981).

NOTES

EDUCATION

ARTICLE: "Why Not Our Own Teachers" In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, May, 1915

1. T3 Senior and T3 Junior = Teachers' Certificates of a low standard reserved for "Coloureds" in the early days after union.

Education

Article: Presidential Address 1943, In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, September, 1943

1. Harold Cressy- The first "Coloured" graduate, President of the Teachers League of South Africa and the first principal of Trafalgar High School, the oldest "Coloured" High School in South Africa.
2. I.B. Oppelt = Israel Benno Oppelt = many time president of the T.L.S.A.

Education

Article: " Christian National Education" By E.L. Maurice In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. 21, nr. 2, August, 1949

1. Christian National Education - abbreviated to C.N.E. (in Afrikaans it is known as Christelike nasionale onderwys, abbreviated to C.N.O.)
2. United Party = the party associated with General Smuts and the National Party with Dr. Malan and Dr. Verwoerd
3. Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (F.A.K.) an important factor in the shaping of Afrikaner nationalism

Education

Article: "From Slave-School to C.A.D. Slave-School 1652-1963: Social and Educational change" by Evelyn Walker In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, Vol. XXXV, nr. 4, December, 1963

1. Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape in 1652 with the object of starting a refreshment station to supply fresh fruit and meat to passing Dutch ships enroute to the Netherlands East Indies
2. Khoi-Khoin- the original inhabitants of South Africa
3. Jan Compagnie = the Dutch East Indies Company
4. The Amersfoort = ship carrying first slaves
5. Lord Mydrecht's regulations in 1685 - see nr. 6 and introduction no white children in slaves' schools and vice versa.
6. Van Rheede tot Drakensteyn VOC Official at Cape april 1685-July 1685 Lord of Mydrecht kept diary of daily activities at Cape
7. Governor Caledon - 1777-1839 - governor of the Cape in 1806 at age 29, i.e. during second British occupation of he Cape
8. Lord Charles Somerset - 1767-1831 - Cape Governor - 1820 settlers came during his period at Cape. - also his clash with those cam-

campaigning for a free press.
9. Genadendal- a mission station started in 1737, initially for Khoi-Khoin, now a "Coloured" mission station in the Cape. It was founded by the Moravian, George Schmidt, born in 1709 in German-speaking Moravia.
10. Lovedale -founded by Scottish missionaries in 1824. Its most distinguished pupil was Tiyo Soga (1829-1871).
11. The Acts of 1935-36. These are the Hertzog Acts which deprived Africans of their legal rights in South Africa.
12. The Anti-CAD, the Movement and the T.L.S.A. -see abbreviations
13. CAD, NAD, IAD = respectively, Coloured Affairs Department, Native Affairs Department and Indian Affairs Departement
14. C.N.O. see abbreviations
15. Eiselen, the man responsible for Bantu-Education; Botha-de Vos Malan for "Coloured" Education.
16. Tomlinson Report. This is a reference to the Commission for Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa (the Tomlinson Report) in 1954 under Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, which laid the basis for the so-called Bantustans.
17. Wilcocks Commission installed in 1934 to investigate the so-called "Coloureds".
18. C.N.O.-see abbreviations
19. Herrenvolk=master race, used for Afrikaners
20. Eiselen-see note 15

Notes

Language

Article: "Afrikaans" In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, September, 1918

1. Veld = South African word widespread in English for open fields
veldschoen = shoes made of skin for roaming in the veld
vley = from Dutch vallei = valley; in South Africa = a piece of low lying land filled with water during rainy season - also shallow pool of water.
Kraal = enclosures for living among Africans, Khoi (formerly).
Sluit = wrong for Sloot.

Language

Article: "A Short History of the Language Question in South Africa" (1) by V.E. Rylate In:

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. XXVII, nr. 4, October, 1956

1. V.E. Rylate = Very Late if read quickly. This is the pseudonym used by Hoseah Jaffe, who was born of Eastern European Jewish parents, married to a "Coloured" at one stage, and a prominent member of the Teachers' League and Unity Movement. Now in Exile in Luxembourg.
2. C.N.O. = Christelike Nasionale Onderwys, i.e. Christian National Education. Eiselen is the man who devised a special type of education for Africans, the so-called Bantu education; de Vos-Malan did the same for so-called "Coloured" education; the first Christian National Education Conference was organized in 1939.
3. Batwa languages = the reference here is to the languages spoken by the San, derogatorily referred to by white South Africa as Bushmen.
Khoi-Khoin languages = the reference here is to the languages spoken by the Khoi-Khoi, derogatorily referred to by white South Africa as, Hottentots.
4. L.M.S. = London Missionary Society - see list of abbreviations
Weslyans = followers of John Wesley who broke away from the Anglican Church. Many "Coloureds" belong to the Weslyan Church - also referred to as Methodists.
5. "een gebroken spraek"... gefondeert werd" "a broken speech was formed".
6. "die moedertaal ook van die Hottentotte, slawe en Kleurlinge" i.e. the mother-tongue also of the Hottentots, slaves and Coloureds.
7. C.N.O. beleid, C.N.O. policy - see list of abbreviations. 1948 is a reference to the van Rooyen commission which recommended this policy of C.N.O.
8. "Ons wil geen taalvermenging, kultuurvermenging ... of rasvermenging hê nie"
i.e. we do not want any form of language miscegenation, cultural miscegenation... or race miscegenation"
8. Afrikaans was "een soort van verbasterd Hollands" i.e. Afrikaans was some sort of basterdised Dutch.
9. "'n barbaars patois" i.e. a barbaric patois
10. a Dutch dialect " wat in die mond van de ontwikkelden in Zuid-Afrika leefde i.e. a Dutch dialect which was to be found in the mouths of the civilised in South Africa
11. a "patois.. in de achterbuurten van 't 17de eeuwse Amsterdam, i.e. a patois which found it's origin in the slums of 17thc century Amsterdam.

12. rou, baar Kaffers i.e. raw, uncivilised Kaffers (ie blacks).
13. a van Rooyen language = see reference to the C.N.O. policy of 1948. see note 7 above.
14. Hollandse seemanstaal die boom was waarop Afrikaans geënt was, i.e. Dutch sea mens' language onto which Afrikaans was grafted.
15. Die ontwikkeling van Nederlands onder die invloed van die geadapteerde Nederlands van vreemdelinge, i.e. the development of Dutch under the adapted Dutch of foreigners.
16. Fanagolo (Fanakalo) = Mixture of languages spoken in Durban kitchens and mines.
17. Karroowoorde = Karroowords, peculiar to the dry arid regions of the Cape; Gansbaai-visserstaal = language of the fisherfolk of Gansbaai, a fishing village in the Cape; Knysnaboswerkerstaal = Knysna forester language, i.e. language peculiar to the foresters of Knysna in the Cape, Transvaalse taal = language spoken in the Transvaal; Vrystaatsetaal = language usage of the people in the Free State; Bolandse taal = language peculiar to this area about 100 km away from Cape Town; Namaqualandsetaal = language peculiar to this area, Namaqualand in the north of the Cape Province.

Article: "A Short History of the Language Question in South Africa (11)" by V.E. Rylate In:

The Educational Journal, Vol. XXVIII, nr. 5, November-December, 1956.

1. taal = language
2. Genootskap van ware Afrikaners = Society of true Afrikaners
3. Bybelgenootskap = Bible Society
4. S.J. du Toit = pioneer of the Afrikaans language movement (1847-1911) wrote: Die eerste van drie artikelen over "De Afrikaansche Taal" C.P. Hoogenhout - another pioneer (1843-1922)

J.L. Cachet (1838-1912)- one of the early writers in Afrikaans. see: Di Geldduiwel. Afrikaanse verhale deur Neef Jan wat versies maak. A. Pannevis (1838-1884) Dutch teacher in S.A. one of the leading language pioneers. First to openly speak out on behalf of Afrikaans.
5. Waterboer = Nicholas, chief of the people in West Griqualand since 1953, one of the chief "Black" actors in the diamonds fields dispute. West Griqualand became part of the Cape Colony in 1880. The diamond rush started in 1869,
6. Woltemade = man who saved shipwrecked from the ship the Jonge Thomas with his horse and finally drowned himself.
7. een koerant in ons eie taal = a newspaper in our own language
8. Spel en Leesboek vir Afrikaner kinders = Spelling and Reading book for Afrikaner children.
9. 't verband tussen de nationale ontwaking van de Afrikander en de taalbeweging = the relation between the national awakening of the Afrikander and the language movement.
10. S.G.E. = Superintendent General of Ducation-see abbreviations
11. Boerebeskermingsvereeniging = Farmers' protection society
12. Taal-kongres = language conference
13. Tweede Taalbeweging = Second Language Movement
14. For Eugene Marais' Winternag-one of the first gems in Afrikaans, see: D.J. Opperman-Groot verseboek, Nasionale Boekhandel, Kaapstad, 1964[6], p.2.
15. For J.F.E. Celliers' Die Vlakte - see Groot verseboek, Nasionale Boekhandel, Kaapstad, 1964[6], p. 32.

16. Volk = people but with a heroic, mythical tinge to it.
17. O.F.S. = Orange Free State
18. C.N.O. = Christelike Nasionale Onderwys - see abbreviations
19. werktaal = work language
20. hemelvaart = ascension
21. Taalbeweging = language movement
22. kappie = bonnet; veld-skoen = shoes made of skin of animals symbolic of the rural Afrikaner attire
23. beleid = policy; for C.N.O. see list of abbreviations
24. F.A.K. Kongres = Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuur Kongres, i.e. The Federation for Afrikaans Culture Congress. One of the leading organizations responsible for fostering Afrikaner nationalism
25. tweetaligheid kannie as doel van die onderwys gestel word nie = bilinguality cannot be posed as one of the aims of education rasbewustheid = race consciousness; moedertaal = mother-tongue
26. Naturelleonderwys = Native Education - the word then in use was "Native for African". The word is a nonsense term for the oppressed Blacks. - now seldom in use. in vogue during the 1920s-1940s.
27. Boerenasie = Boer nation
28. senior Blanke voogd van die naturel = senior white guardian of the native
29. Ons glo dat die moedertaal die basis van die naturelle onderwys en opvoeding is = We believe that mother-tongue instruction is the basis of native education and upbringing.
30. self-standige, self-onderhoudende... self-versorgende naturelle gemeenskap = selfdependent, self-supporting... native community
31. Eiselen Report (1949-51). Eiselen was the architect of Bantu Education - for C.N.O. see abbreviations
32. N.A.D. = Native Affairs Department - see abbreviation
33. inheemse = indigenous
34. vreemde = foreign
35. voogtaal = guardian language
36. moedertaal = mother-tongue

Article: "A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (III)"

V.E. Rylate In:

The Educational Journal, Vol. XXVIII, nr. 6, Jan-Feb., 1957

1. N.A.D. = Native Affairs Department - see abbreviations
2. Mzilikatze = (1790-1868) founder and first king of the Matabele (Rhodesia) Zimbabwe Ndebele. He was born in Zululand. The Ndebele kingdom of Mzilikzai arose during the Mfecane. He was driven by the Afrikaner trekboers across the Limpopo in 1838.
3. Shaka (Chaka, Ushaka, Tschaka, Tsjaka) born 1787 died 1828 murdered by his half brothers, Dingane and Mhlangana, military genius, called the "black Napoleon, introduced the short stabbing spear and the shield in combat, many feats of bravery attributed him; - also legends e.g. his father was Senzangakhona and his mother Nandi - they were not supposed to consort with each other - therefore her condition was an intestinal disorder and not a pregnancy - i.e. a beetle (Ishaka) according to Western experts - Shaka had an oedipus complex, he welded the fissiparious Nguni groups into a mighty Zulu nation, under him praise poetry flourished. The imbongi (praise poet) occupied a prominent place.
4. Moshoeshoe (Moshweshwe (Moshesh) born 1786 died at Thaba Bosigo 1870 - founder and first paramount chief of the Basutho.
5. Fanagalo - according to A.C. Jordan it is a "Kitchen- Kaffir" used on the Rand Mines and in Durban Kitchens and generally despised by Blacks.

6. N.A.D. = Native Affairs Department - see abbreviations
7. Eiselen Commission - appointed with Dr. Eiselen as leader to draw up a form of Bantu Education for Blacks (1949-1951).

Article: A Short History of the Language Question in S.A. (IV)" In: The Educational Journal, Vol. XXVIII, nr. 7, March, 1957

1. Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902
2. werktaal = working language
3. Grey's manual craft - reference to Grey (1812-1898) Governor of the Cape Colony on his initiative the first principal of Lovedale, an institute of learning for Africans, introduced manual craft in 1855 at Lovedale.
4. L.M.S. = London Missionary Society - see abbreviations
5. Glen-Grey Act (1894) first applied to the Glen-grey district (Ciskei) then to 4 districts (Transkei) the "native bill for Africa
6. A. Milner 1854-1925, British Statesman, Governor and High Commissioner in South Africa. appointed Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa in 1897, convinced and ardent imperialist. Chief actor in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). With Chamberlain largely responsible for British policy in South Africa at the turn of the century, opponent of Kruger and espouser of an Anglosaxonized South Africa. When governor of the Orange River Colony in 1902-he surrounded himself with many youthful advisers-referred aa Milner's Kindergarten'
Palmer, William Waldegrave, Second Earl of Selborne (1859-1942). High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies (1905), succeeding A. Milner.
Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg) 1778-1866, British Colonial Secretary and philanthropist.
Sir George Grey (1812-1898), British Colonial Governor and Statesman arrived in the Cape in 1854 to succeed Sir George Cathcart as Governor - the so-called "native expert"
John Philip (1777-1851) superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa. Especially concerned about the plight of the Khoi in South Africa. See his book in two parts: Researches in South Africa (London 1828).

Herbert, Henry, Howard, Molyneux, fourth earl of Carnarvon (1831-1891), as secretary of State for the Colonies in the Disraeli government (1874) devoted his energies to South Africa and especially the so-called Bantu peoples.
Theophilus Shepstone (1817-1893) described as public servant and "Bantu administrator" - his father among the 1820 settler parties. Shepstone proficient in Xhosa and Zulu - the 'native expert' par excellence from a British point of view. Governor of Natal - his 'native policy' is still reflected in the Bantustan policies of present-day white administrators.
Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) arch imperialist, statesman and financial founder of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), premier of the Cape Colony 1890-1896.
Botha, General Louis, (1862-1919), Anglo-Boer War leader and General. First Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa (1910-1919).
Smuts, J.C. - philosopher, statesman, lawyer (1870-1950), played a role in South African politics ever since his appointment as staatsprocure i.e. state attorney in Paul Kruger's Transvaal Republic in 1898. In the first union government (3 ministeries given to him by Botha); Prime Minister upon Botha's death (1919-1924); then deputy to General Hertzog in the combined National Part and South

African Party Coalition (1933-1939). From 1939-1948 Prime Minister of South Africa until defeated by Dr. D.F. Malan and his National Party. Some diehard Afrikaners have ambiguous feelings about Smuts the Afrikaner. English-speaking South Africans and people from England generally look upon him as a truly international Statesman. Black South Africans do not share this view.
7. Marais, Eugene - South African poet and the first poet of note in Afrikaans - very few Afrikaans - speaking children are not treated to his poem, Winternag at a very tender age. (vide: D.J. Opperman, Groot Verseboek, 1964, p. 25).
C.J. Langenhoven - a leading Afrikaans writer and champion for the right of Afrikaans in its early days, wrote the Afrikaans national anthem - Uit die blou van onse hemel - from the azure blue of our skies
8. Herrenvolk = the Lord's people, the chosen people.
9. Eiselen/de Vos Malan = respectively the auctor actualis of the so-called "Bantu education and Coloured education policies, in the period 1948-1955.

Article: "The Language Question (11) by A.C. Jordan In:
The Educational Journal, Vol. XXIX, nr. 3, October, 1957

1. Youth League - the reference is here to the Congress Youth League the CYL established in the fourties with wellknown young men such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.
2. Theal, George McCall noted historian - see History of South Africa - Before 1795 (3 vols); from 1795-1872 (5 vols); from 1873-1884 (2 vols)
3. Whiteside, J. (1838-1921) Weslyan minister and author. wrote A New Geography of South Africa (1981) and, A New School History of South Africa (1897)
4. Sarah Gertude Millin = a prominent South African novelist who wrote extensively about race problems and miscegenation in her works. see V.A. February: Mind Your Colour, 1981, pp. 52-70.

Article: "The Language Question (III) by A.C. Jordan In:
The Educational Journal, Vol. XXXIX, nr. 4, nov.-dec., 1957

1. C.A.T.A. = The Cape African Teachers' Association. This is the African counterpart of the Teachers' League of South Africa. The two organizations cooperated with each other in a federal structure.
2. N.A.D. = Native Affairs Department. vide: abbreviation
3. Tiyo Soga. (c. 1829-1871). He was the first Xhosa to be ordained as a minister of the Church in 1856. Trained at the famous school for Africans, Lovedale, he stayed in Scotland twice. He was a translator of no mean repute, his translation of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress is still a standard work in Xhosa. He translated the Bible into Xhosa. see for Soga: J.A. Chambers - Tiyo Soga a page of South African Mission Work, London, 1878[2].
4. Thomas Mofolo - Chaka.
This is a reference to the famous novel by Thomas Mofolo, the Sotho writer which was first suppressed by the Missionaries at the Morija press who did not agree with the tone and tenor of the work-it being in their eyes a deviation from the Christian norms. Chaka was first published in translation in 1931. see for editions:
a. Chaka an historical romance by Thomas Mofolo. Introduction by Sir Henry Newbolt, translated by F.H. Dutton, London, International African Institute 1931 (later, Oxford Univ. Press, 1971). First published

by Morija Sesuto Book Depot in 1925.
b. Chaka by Thomas Mofolo, translated by D.P. Kunene for the African Writers' Series, Heinemann, London, 1981
4. Mqhayi, S.E. Krune, noted Xhosa writer. His classic work in Xhosa is: Ityala Lama-Wele (Cape, Lovedale Press, 1914). Also an anthology of Xhosa poetry: ImiHobe nemiBongo (London, Sheldon Press, 1927)
5. Plaatje (Solomon Tshekisho) 1875-1935), translator politician, journalist writer. see for his works:
a. Native life in South Africa before and since the and the Boer rebellion (London, 1916)
b. Sechunana proverbs with literal translations and their equivalents/ Diane tsa Se coane la maele a sekgooa a a Dumulanang naco (London, 1916)
c. with the Englishman, Daniel Jones:
A Sechuana reader, in international orthography with English translations (London, 1916)
d. Mhudi: an epic of South African native life a hundred years ago (Lovedale, 1930).
see also his Boer war diary edited by Comaroff.
6. Imvo (Zabantsundu) = Black opinion
7. Nongqause (Nongqawuse) (184 -1898), medium of the Xhosa prophet, Mhlakaza during the so-called national suicide of the AmaXhosa (1856-7). According to legend the girl was visited by their chiefs long dead, e.g. Ngqika, Hintsa, Ndlambe and others and told that the Xhosa should kill all their livestock, burn all their corn and that on an appointed day, these chiefs would rise from their graves and come and restore the Xhosa to their erswhile power and glory. The date was 18.2.1857. They followed her advice-with disastrous consequences.
This dispossessed of South Africa see in this episode, the hand of the Whites who were bent on the destruction of the power of the Xhosa on the eastern frontier.

Article: "Moedertaal-Onderwys: Afrikanerizing Instrument" By J. Bastiaanse In:

The Educational Journal, Vol. XXVIII, nr. 3, September, 1956.

1. Moedertaal-Onderwys = Mother-tongue instruction
2. C.N.O. = Christelike Nasionale Onderwys - see abbreviations
3. F.A.K. = Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur-see abbreviations.

Source material: Microfilm holdings - The South African Library, Cape Town (1915 - 1978)

1. Vol. 1, 2nd quarter, 1915
2. August, 1915
3. December, 1915
4. April, 1916
5. Vol. 2, nr. 7, Sept. 1st, 1916
6. Vol. 2, nr. 8, 1916
7. November 1st, 1916
8. Vol. 2, nr. 5, 2nd quarter, June, 1916
9. August, 1916
10. Vol. 2, nr. 10, December 1st, 1916
11. Vol. 2, nr. 11, 1916
12. Vol. 2, nr. 12, feb. 1st, 1917
13. Vol. 2, nr. 13, March 1st, 1916
14. Vol. 2, nr. 14, April, 1916
15. Vol. 2, nr. 15, May, 1917
16. Vol. 3, nr. 17, July, 1917
17. Vol. 3, nr. 18, August, 1917
18. Vol. 3, nr. 20, October, 1917
19. Vol. 3, nr. 21, November, 1917
20. Vol. 3, nr. 22, December, 1917
21. Vol. 3, nr. 25, April, 1918
22. Vol. 3, nr. 27, June, 1918
23. Vol. 3, nr. 30, September, 1918
24. Vol. 4, nr. 37, September, 1920
25. Vol. 4, nr. 38, October, 1920
26. Vol. 4, nr. 39, November, 1920
27. Vol. 4, nr. 40, December, 1920
28. Vol. 4, nr. 41, January, 1921
29. Vol. 4, nr. 42, February, 1921
30. Vol. 4, nr. 43, March, 1921
31. Vol. 4, nr. 44, 1921
32. Vol. 4, nr. 45, April, 1921
33. Vol. 4, nr. 46, June, 1921
34. Vol. 4, nr. 47, July, 1921
35. Vol. 4, nr. 48, August, 1921

36. Vol. 4, nr. 48, August, 1921
37. Vol. 5, nr. 49, September, 1921
38. Vol. 5, nr. 50, October, 1921
39. Vol. 5, nr. 51, November, 1921
40. Vol. 5, nr. 52, December, 1921
41. Vol. 5, nr. 53, January, 1922
42. Vol. 5, nr. 54, February, 1922
43. Vol. 5, nr. 55, March, 1922
44. Vol. 5, nr. 56, April, 1922
45. Vol. 5, nr. 57, May, 1922
46. Vol. 5, nr. 58, June, 1922
47. Vol. 5, nr. 59, July, 1922
48. Vol. 6, nr. 60, August, 1922
49. Vol. 6, nr. 61, September, 1922
50. Vol. 6, nr. 62, October, 1922
51. Vol. 6, nr. 63, November, 1922
52. Vol. 6, nr. 64, December, 1922
53. Vol. 6, nr. 65, January-February, 1923
54. Vol. 6, nr. 65, February, 1923
55. Vol. 6, nr. 67, March, 1923
56. Vol. 6, nr. 68, April, 1923
57. Vol. 6, nr. 69, May, 1923
58. Vol. 6, nr. 71, July, 1923
59. Vol. 6, nr. 72, August, 1923
60. Vol. 6, nr. 73, September, 1923
61. Vol. 6, nr. 74, October, 1923
62. Vol. 6, nr. 76, December, 1923
63. Vol. 7, nr. 77, January-March, 1925
64. Vol. 7, nr. 78, April-June, 1925
65. Vol. 7, nr. 79, October-December, 1925
66. Vol. 7, nr. 80, January-March, 1926
67. Vol. 7, nr. 81, April-June, 1926
68. Vol. 7, nr. 82, July-September, 1926
69. Vol. 7, nr. 84, January-June, 1927
70. Vol. 7, nr. 85, July-December, 1927
71. Vol. 7, nr. 87, June, 1928
72. Vol. 7, nr. 88, August, 1928
73. Vol. 7, nr. 89, September, 1928

74. Vol. 7, nr. 90, October, 1928
75. Vol. 7, nr. 91, November, 1928
76. Vol. 7, nr. 92, December, 1928
77. Vol. 7, nr. 93, March, 1929
78. Vol. 7, nr. 94, June, 1929
79. Vol. 7, nr. 95, September, 1929
80. Vol. 7, nr. 96, November, 1929
81. Vol. 7, nr. 97, December, 1929
82. Vol. 7, nr. 98, June, 1930
83. Vol. 7, nr. 99, January, 1931
84. Vol. 7, nr. 100, June, 1931
85. Vol. 7, nr. 101, October, 1931
86. Vol. 7, nr. 102, April, 1932
87. Vol. 7, nr. 103, June, 1932
88. Vol. 7, nr. 104, August, 1932
89. Vol. 7, nr. 105, October, 1932
90. Vol. 7, nr. 106, January, 1933
91. Vol. 7, nr. 106, June, 1933
92. Vol. 8, nr. 1, August, 1933
93. Vol. 8, nr. 2, October, 1933
94. Vol. 8, nr. 3, January, 1934
95. Vol. 8, nr. 4, May, 1934
96. Vol. 8, nr. 5, June, 1934
97. Vol. 9, nr. 1, August, 1934
98. Vol. 9, nr. 2, September, 1934
99. Vol. 9, nr. 2, October, 1934
100. Vol. 9, nr. 3, February, 1935
101. Vol. 9, nr. 4, April, 1935
102. Vol. 9, nr. 5, June, 1935
103. Vol. 10, nr. 1, August, 1935
104. Vol. 10, nr. 2, October, 1935
105. Vol. 10, nr. 3, February, 1936
106. Vol. 10, nr. 4, April, 1936
107. Vol. 10, nr. 5, June, 1936
108. Vol. 11, nr. 1, August, 1936
109. Vol. 11, nr. 2, October, 1936
110. Vol. 11, nr. 3, February, 1937
111. Vol. 11, nr. 4, April, 1937

112. Vol. 11, nr. 5, June, 1937
113. Vol. 12, nr. 1, August, 1937
114. Vol. 12, nr. 2, October, 1937
115. Vol. 12, nr. 3, February, 1938
116. Vol. 12, nr. 4, April, 1938
117. Vol. 12, nr. 5, June, 1938
118. Vol. 14, nr. 1, August, 1939
119. Vol. 14, nr. 2, October, 1939
120. Vol. 14, nr. 3, February, 1940
121. Vol. 14, nr. 4, April, 1940
122. Vol. 14, nr. 5, June, 1940
123. Vol. 15, nr. 1, August, 1940
124. Vol. 15, nr. 2, October, 1940
125. Vol. 15, nr. 3, February, 1941
126. Vol. 15, nr. 4, March, 1941
127. Vol. 15, nr. 5, April, 1941
128. Vol. 15, nr. 6, May, 1941
129. Vol. 15, nr. 7, June, 1941
130. Vol. 16, nr. 1, August, 1941
131. Vol. 16, nr. 3, October, 1941
132. Vol. 16, nr. 4, November, 1941
133. Vol. 16, nr. 6, March, 1942
134. Vol. 16, nr. 7, April, 1942
135. Vol. 16, nr. 8, May, 1942
136. Vol. 16, nr. 9, June, 1942
137. Vol. 17, nr. 1, August, 1942
138. Vol. 17, nr. 2, September, 1942
139. Vol. 17, nr. 3, October, 1942
140. Vol. 17, nr. 4, November, 1942
141. Vol. 17, nr. 5, February, 1943
142. Vol. 17, nr. 6, March, 1943
143. Vol. 17, nr. 7, April, 1943
144. Vol. 17, nr. 8, May, 1943
145. Vol. 17, nr. 8, May, 1943
146. Vol. 17, nr. 9, June, 1943
147. Vol. 18, nr. 1, August, 1943
148. Vol. 17, nr. 2, November, 1943
149. Vol. 19, nr. 1, June, 1944

150. Vol. 19, nr. 2, August, 1944
151. Vol. 19, nr. 3, September, 1944
152. Vol. 19, nr. 4, October, 1944
153. Vol. 19, nr. 5, November-December, 1944
154. Vol. 19, nr. 6, January, 1945
155. Vol. 19, nr. 7, February, 1945
156. Vol. 19, nr. 8, March, 1945
157. Vol. 19, nr. 9, April, 1945
158. Vol. 19, nr. 10, May, 1945
159. Vol. 19, nr. 11, June, 1945
160. Vol. 20, nr. 1, July, 1945
161. Vol. 20, nr. 2, August, 1945
162. Vol. 20, nr. 3, September, 1945
163. Vol. 20, nr. 4, October, 1945
164. Vol. 20, nr. 5, November-December, 1945
165. Vol. 20, nr. 6, January, 1946
166. Vol. 20, nr. 7, February, 1946
167. Vol. 20, nr. 8, March, 1946
168. Vol. 20, nr. 9, April, 1946
169. Vol. 20, nr. 10, May-June, 1946
170. Vol. 20, nr. 11, July, 1946
171. Vol. 20, nr. 12, August, 1946
172. Vol. 20, nr. 13, September, 1946
173. Vol. 20, nr. ?, October, 1946
174. Vol. 20, nr. ?, November-December, 1946
175. Vol. 20, nr. 13, January-February, 1947
176. Vol. 20, nr. 14, March, 1947
177. Vol. 20, nr. 15, April, 1947
178. Vol. 20, nr. 16, May-June, 1947
179. Vol. 20, nr. 17, July, 1947
180. Vol. 20, nr. 18, August, 1947
181. Vol. 20, nr. ?, September, 1947
182. Vol. 20, nr. ?, October, 1947
183. Vol. 20, nr. ?, November-December, 1947
184. Vol. 20, nr. 7, February, 1948
185. Vol. 20, nr. 8, March, 1948
186. Vol. 20, nr. 9, April, 1948
187. Vol. 20, nr. 10, May-June, 1948

188. Vol. 20, nr. 10, July-August, 1948
189. Vol. 20, nr. 11, September, 1948
190. Vol. 20, nr. 11, October, 1948
191. Vol. 20, nr. 11, November-December, 1948
192. Vol. 20, nr. 12, January-February, 1949
193. Vol. 20, nr. 13, March, 1949
194. Vol. 20, nr. 14, April, 1949
195. Vol. 20, nr. 15, May-June, 1949
196. Vol. 21, nr. 1, July, 1949
197. Vol. 21, nr. 2, August, 1949
198. Vol. 21, nr. 3, September, 1949
199. Vol. 21, nr. 4, October, 1949
200. Vol. 21, nr. 5, November-December, 1949
201. Vol. 21, nr. 6, January-February, 1950
202. Vol. 21, nr. 7, March, 1950
203. Vol. 21, nr. 8, April, 1950
204. Vol. 21, nr. 9, June, 1950
205. Vol. 22, nr. 1, July-August, 1950
206. Vol. 22, nr. 2, September, 1950
207. Vol. 22, nr. 3, October, 1950
208. Vol. 22, nr. 4, December, 1950
209. Vol. 22, nr. 5, January-february, 1951
210. Vol. 22, nr. 6, March, 1951
211. Vol. 22, nr. 7, April, 1951
212. Vol. 23, nr. 8, May-June, 1951
213. Vol. 23, nr. 1, July-August, 1951
214. Vol. 23, nr. 2, September, 1951
215. Vol. 23, nr. 3, October, 1951
216. Vol. 23, nr. 4, November-December, 1951
217. Vol. 23, nr. 5, January-February, 1952
218. Vol. 23, nr. 6, March, 1952
219. Vol. 23, nr. 7, April 1952
220. Vol. 23, nr. 8, May-June, 1952
221. Vol. 24, nr. 1, July-August, 1952
222. Vol. 24, nr. 2, September, 1052
223. Vol. 24, nr. 3, October, 1952
224. Vol. 24, nr. 4, December, 1952

225. Vol. 24, nr. 5, January-February, 1953
226. Vol. 24, nr. 6, March, 1953
227. Vol. 24, nr. 7, April, 1953
228. Vol. 24, nr. 8, May-June, 1953
229. Vol. 25, nr. 1, July-August, 1953
230. Vol. 25, nr. 2, September, 1953
231. Vol. 25, nr. 3, October, 1953
232. Vol. 25, nr. 4, November-December, 1953
233. Vol. 25, nr. 5, January-February, 1954
234. Vol. 25, nr. 6, March, 1954
235. Vol. 25, nr. 7, April, 1954
236. Vol. 25, nr. 8, May-June, 1954
237. Vol. 26, nr. 1, July-August, 1954
238. Vol. 26, nr. 2, September, 1954
239. Vol. 26, nr. 3, October, 1954
240. Vol. 26, nr. 4, December, 1954
241. Vol. 26, nr. 5, January-February, 1955
242. Vol. 26, nr. 6, March, 1955
243. Vol. 26, nr. 7, April, 1955
244. Vol. 26, nr. 8, June, 1955
245. Vol. 27, nr. 1, July, 1955
246. Vol. 27, nr. 2, August, 1955
247. Vol. 27, nr. 3, September, 1955
248. Vol. 27, nr. 4, October, 1955
249. Vol. 27, nr. 5, November-December, 1955
250. Vol. 27, nr. 6, January-February, 1956
251. Vol. 27, nr. 7, March, 1956
252. Vol. 27, nr. 8, April, 1956
253. Vol. 27, nr. 9, May-June, 1956
254. Vol. 28, nr. 1, July, 1956
255. Vol. 28, nr. 3, September, 1956
256. Vol. 28, nr. 4, October, 1956
257. Vol. 28, nr. 5, November-December, 1956
258. Vol. 28, nr. 6, January-February, 1957
259. Vol. 28, nr. 7, March, 1957
260. Vol. 28, nr. 8, April, 1957
261. Vol. 28, nr. 9, May-June, 1957
262. Vol. 29, nr. 2, September, 1957

263. Vol. 29, nr. 3, October, 1957
264. Vol. 29, nr. 4, November-December, 1957
265. Vol. 29, nr. 5, January-February, 1958
266. Vol. 29, nr. 6, March, 1958
267. Vol. 29, nr. 7, April, 1958
268. Vol. 29, nr. 8, May-June, 1958
269. Vol. 30, nr. 1, July-August, 1958
270. Vol. 30, nr. 2, September, 1958
271. Vol. 30, nr. 3, October, 1958
272. Vol. 30, nr. 4, November-December, 1958
273. Vol. 30, nr. 5, January-February, 1959
274. Vol. 30, nr. 6, March, 1959
275. Vol. 30, nr. 7, April, 1959
276. Vol. 30, nr. 8, May-June, 1959
277. Vol. 31, nr. 7, April-May, 1960
278. Vol. 31, nr. 8, June, 1960.
279. Vol. 32, nr. 1, July-August, 1960
280. Vol. 32, nr. 2, September, 1960
281. Vol. 32, nr. 4, November-December, 1960
282. Vol. 32, nr. 5, January-February, 1961
283. Vol. 32, nr. 6, March, 1961
284. Vol. 32, nr. 7, April, 1961
285. Vol. 32, nr. 8, May-June, 1961
286. Vol. 33, nr. 1, July, 1961
287. Vol. 33, nr. 2, August, 1961
288. Vol. 33, nr. 4, October, 1961
289. Vol. 33, nr. 5, November-December, 1961
290. Vol. 33, nr. 6, January-February, 1962
291. Vol. 33, nr. 7, March, 1962
292. Vol. 33, nr. 9, April, 1962
293. Vol. 33, nr. 10, May-June, 1962
294. Vol. 34, nr. 1, July, 1962
295. Vol. 34, nr. 2, September-October, 1962
296. Vol. 34, nr. 4, November-December, 1962
297. Vol. 34, nr. 5, January-February, 1963
298. Vol. 34, nr. 6, March, 1963
299. Vol. 34, nr. 7, April, 1963
300. Vol. 34, nr. 8, May-June, 1963

301. Vol. 35, nr. 1, July-August, 1963
302. Vol. 35, nr. 2, September, 1963
303. Vol. 35, nr. 3, October-november, 1963
304. Vol. 35, nr. 4, December, 1963
305. Vol. 35, nr. 5, January-February 1964
306. Vol. 35, nr. 6, March, 1964
307. Vol. 35, nr. 7, April, 1964
308. Vol. 35, nr. 8, May, 1964
309. Vol. 35, nr. 9, June, 1964
310. Vol. 36, nr. 1, July, 1964
311. Vol. 36, nr. 2, August, 1964
312. Vol. 36, nr. 3, September, 1964
313. Vol. 36, nr. 4, October, 1964
314. Vol. 36, nr. 5, November-December, 1964
315. Vol. 36, nr. 6, January-February, 1965
316. Vol. 36, nr. 7, March, 1965
317. Vol. 36, nr. 8, April, 1965
318. Vol. 36, nr. 9, May, 1965
319. Vol. 36, nr, 10, June, 1965
320. Vol. 37, nr. 1, July-August, 1965
321. Vol. 37, nr. 2, September, 1965
322. Vol. 37, nr. 3, October, 1965
323. Vol. 37, nr. 4, November-December, 1965
333. Vol. 37, nr. 5, January-February, 1966
334. Vol. 37, nr. 6, March, 1966
335. Vol. 37, nr. 7, April-May, 1966
336. Vol. 37, nr. 8, June, 1966
337. Vol. 38, nr. 1, July-August, 1966
338. Vol. 38, nr. 2, September, 1966
339. Vol. 38, nr. 3, October-November, 1966
340. Vol. 38, nr. 4, December, 1966
341. Vol. 38, nr. 5, January-February, 1967
342. Vol. 38, nr. 6, March, 1967
343. Vol. 38, nr. 7, April-May, 1967
344. Vol. 38, nr. 8, June, 1967
345. Vol. 39, nr. 1, July-August, 1967
346. Vol. 39, nr. 4, December, 1967
347. Vol. 39, nr. 5, January-February, 1968

348. Vol. 39, nr. 6, March, 1968
349. Vol. 39, nr. 7, April-May, 1968
350. Vol. 39, nr. 8, June, 1968
351. Vol. 40, nr. 1, July-August, 1968
352. Vol. 40, nr. 2, September, 1968
353. Vol. 40, nr. 3, October-November, 1968
354. Vol. 40, nr. 4, December, 1968
355. Vol. 40, nr. 5, January-February, 1969
356. Vol. 40, nr. 6, March, 1969
357. Vol. 40, nr. 7, April-May, 1969
358. Vol. 40, nr. 8, June, 1969
359. Vol. 41, nr. 1, July-August, 1969
360. Vol. 41, nr. 2, September, 1969
361. Vol. 41, nr. 3, October-November, 1969
362. Vol. 41, nr. 4, December, 1969
363. Vol. 41, nr. 5, January-February, 1970
364. Vol. 41, nr. 6, March, 1970
365. Vol. 41, nr. 7, April-May, 1970
366. Vol. 41, nr. 8, June, 1960
367. Vol. 42, nr. 1, July-August, 1970
368. Vol. 42, nr. 3, October-November, 1970
369. Vol. 42, December, 1970
370. Vol. 42, nr. 5, January-February, 1971
371. Vol. 42, nr. 6, March, 1971
372. Vol. 42, nr. 7, April-May, 1971
373. Vol. 42, nr. 8, June, 1971
374. Vol. 43, nr. 1, July-August, 1971
375. Vol. 43, nr. 2, September, 1971
376. Vol. 43, nr. 3, October-November 1971
377. Vol. 43, nr. 4, January-February, 1972
378. Vol. 43, nr. 6, March, 1972
379. Vol. 43, nr. 7, April-May, 1972
380. Vol. 43, nr. 8, June, 1972
381. Vol. 44, nr. 1, July-August, 1972
382. Vol. 44, nr. 2, September, 1972
383. Vol. 44, nr. 3, October-November, 1972
384. Vol. 44, nr. 4, December, 1972
385. Vol. 44, nr. 6, March, 1973

386. Vol. 44, nr. 7, April-May, 1973
387. Vol. 44, nr. 8, June, 1973
388. Vol. 45, nr. 1, July-August, 1973
389. Vol. 45, nr. 2, September, 1973
390. Vol. 45, nr. 3, October-November, 1973
391. Vol. 45, nr. 4, December, 1973
392. Vol. 45, nr. 5, January-February, 1974
393. Vol. 45, nr. 6, March, 1974
394. Vol. 45, nr. 7, April-May, 1974
395. Vol. 45, nr. 8, June, 1974
396. Vol. 46, nr. 1, July-August, 1974
397. Vol. 46, nr. 2, September, 1974
398. Vol. 46, nr. 3, October-Nocember, 1974
399. Vol. 46, nr. 4, December, 1974
400. Vol. 46, nr. 5, January-February, 1975
401. Vol. 46, nr. 6, March, 1975
402. Vol. 46, nr. 7, April-May, 1975
403. Vol. 46, nr. 8, June, 1975
404. Vol. 47, nr. 1, July-August, 1975
405. Vol. 47, nr. 2, September, 1975
406. Vol. 47, nr. 3, October-November, 1975
407. Vol. 47, nr. 4, December, 1975
408. Vol. 47, nr. 5, January-February, 1976
409. Vol. 47, nr. 6, March, 1976
410. Vol. 47, nr. 8, June, 1976
411. Vol. 48, nr. 1, July-August, 1976
412. Vol. 48, nr. 2, September, 1976
413. Vol. 48, nr. 3, October-November, 1976
414. Vol. 48, nr. 4, December, 1976
415. Vol. 48, nr. 5, January-February, 1977
416. Vol. 48, nr. 6, March, 1977
417. Vol. 48, nr. 7, April-May, 1977
418. Vol. 48, nr. 8, June, 1977
419. Vol. 49, nr. 1, July-August, 1977
420. Vol. 49, nr. 2, September, 1977
421. Vol. 49, nr. 3, October-November, 1977
422. Vol. 49, nr. 4, December, 1977
423. Vol. 49, nr. 5, January-February, 1978

424. Vol. 49, nr. 6, March, 1978
425. Vol. 49, nr. 7, April-May, 1978
426. Vol. 49, nr. 8, June, 1978
427. Vol. 50, nr. 1, July-August, 1978
428. Vol. 50, nr. 2, September, 1978
429. Vol. 50, nr. 3, October-November, 1978
430. Vol. 50, nr. 4, December, 1978

INDEX

Letter A

Abbyssinia, (see Ethiopia), 52
Abrahams, Dr. Kenneth, 18

Acts, The apprenticeship act, 222; act of Union, 222; Bantu Authorities Act, 137; Bantu education act, 225; Bantu self-government bill, 144; the civilised labour policy and wage act, 222; the coloured education act (1963), 223; Education act (1865), 220; The factories act, 222; the franchise act (1892), 42; the franchise laws' amendment act (1931), 28; Glen-grey act, 135, 250; Group areas act, (1950), 12, 89, 225; The Hertzog acts, 50, 55, 60, 61; Hertzog Native Bills, 12; (see also the acts of 1935-36), 223; The Industrial Conciliation act, 222; Immorality act (1950-57), 12, 177; Land act (1913), 46; Masters' and Servants' act (1841), 93, 218; the Mines and Works' (ordinance) act, 222; Mixed Marriages act (1949), 12; Pass laws, 93; Parliamentary Registration act (1887), 7; The Pensions act (1922), 12; Poll tax, 93; Proclamation 123 (1967), 13; Publications and Entertainment act, 181; Registration of Voters (1893), 42; Riotous Assemblies act, 93; Separate Representation of Voters' act (1950), 10, 12; Slave emancipation act and ordinance, 218; The Suppression of Communism act, 225; Womens' enfranchisement act (193), 28;
Adams, Gus, 167, 168;
African(s), 32, 64, 65; see natives, 11;
All African Convention (AAC), 50, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61,68;
African National Congress (ANC), 17, 18, 19, 20, 34, 39, 48, 49, 50, 61;
(see also South African Native National Congress; 49, 50, 55, 56, 137;
African Peoples' Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA), 18;
African Peoples' Organisation (see A.P.O. and Abdurahman), 2, 9, 10, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48, 50, 56, 60, 61, 70, 222;
Ahmed, H., 65
aia, 153, 186
Alexander, Dr. Neville, 18
Alexandra bus boycott, 37
The Amersfoort, 216
Ampie (see van Bruggen, J.), 152, 156
andersoortigheid, 226
Anglo-Boer war, 9, 136
apartheid, 7, 172, 176, 278; cultural, 213; aparte, 173;
Arendse, p, 8, 47

Baas, 6, 153, 154, 155, 175; goed, 154; skap, 7, 221; volk, 167, 168;
Ballinger, 50
Bantu, 58, 75, 95, 168, 174, 186, 225, 266
Bantoe, (174); education, 55; language, 142, 233, 242, 243, 244, 245, 265; 266, 268, 272; middle-class, 84, 89; migrations, 107; pastoralists, 107; speakers, 146; Bantustan(s), 73, 74, 79, 122, 254; Bungamen, 91; Homelands, 74; leaders, 91
Bastiaanse, J., 277
Batty, 50
Beyers-Naudé, 81
Biko, Steve, 20;

Black (s); blackness, 71; bourgeoisie, 90; consciousness, 1, 19, 75, 77, 78, 81, 83; movement, 80; rector, 75; staff, 75; Black Peoples' Convention (B.P.C.), 20
Blatcher, K1, 132
Bleek, W.H.I. 266;
The Blood Knot, 172
Boadicea, 106
Bodmer (The Loom of Language), 243, 257, 267, 268;
boers, 6, 7, 187
Boesman, 172, 173; Bushman, 95, 105, 106, 142; Batwa, 234; language, 142;
Boesman en Lena, 172, 176
Boshoff, 236
Bosman, D.B., 234, 235, 236;
Boss and S.B. (Special Branch), 90
Botha, General Louis, 79, 251
Botha, P.W., 84
Breyten Breytenbach, 170, 176, 177, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187
Brink, André, 166, 167, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182
Broederbond, 79, 80, 81, 208
Bruggen, Jochem van (see Ampie), 152, 156
Brutus, Dennis, 165, 170
Buis, Coenraad, 101
Burger(s), 4; dom, 7; children, 5; civic rights, 7;
Die Burger, 279
Bush Colleges, 16, 22, 71, 75, 78; see Belleville, 75; Belleville Bush, 160;
Buthelezi, Gatsha, 68, 81, 91
Butler, Guy, 122

Cachet, J.L., 237
Caffrey, T.E., 122
Caledon, Governor, 217
Campbell, J., 125
Cape Colony, 6
Cape Coloured Permanent Commission (CCPC), 61, 63, 64, 65
Cape Liberal Tradition, 11, 27, 222
Cape Vote, 9
Carelse, W., 8, 47
Carr, E.H., 117, 118, 119
Carnarvon, 251
Celliers, JFE (Die Vlakte), 239
Christian National Education (CNE) or Christelike Nasionale Onderwys (CNO), 30, 116, 127, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 215, 225, 226, 233, 239, 240, 251, 252, 278,
Churches
Reformed, 216
civilised; Labour Policy, 28, 239, 251;
Collins, W., 8, 47;
Coloured (s), 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 28, 32, 64, 65, 168; Afrikaner, 229; Afrikaans-speaking, 145; Afrikander, 25; Bruin Afrikaners, 11; battalions, 25; British subjects, 24; Cape Colour-blind franchise, 39, 40, 41, 45; Cape Coloured franchise, 5; Cape Coloured people, 6, 13, 27; Cape colour-blind franchise, 39, 40, 41, 45; Cape men, 43; colouredism, 2; Colourdised, 55; Colouredensis Capensis, 176; colour bar, 9,

69, 221; Creoles, 43; education, 191; French subjects, 24; free persons of colour, 6, 7, 148; liberalism, 46; middle-class, 84,89; nation, 73; newspaper (Cape Herald), 20; other coloured, 13; part, 5; sector, 68; teachers' union, 10; voters, 46, 47, 48,
Commissions; Corbett, 29; de Vos-Malan (Botha), 16;
Wilcocks, 12, 28, 55, 221, 225
Communist Party, 56, 57, 60, 69, 70, 71
Cory, 120, 135
Cressy, Harold, 1, 10, 195
Cronje (Paardekraal), 139
Curry, David, 81
Curry, James, 8, 43

da Gama, Vasco, 110
Dale, Langham, 7, 220
d'Almeida, 110
Daniels, JCA, 18
Davenport, T, 121, 132, 136, 137, 138, 148
Dead Roots (see: A Nortje), 160, 161
Dekker, G., 151
Desmore, AJB., 65
Dessin, Joachim, van, 95
Diaz, B., 110
Dover, Cedric, 27
Drake, 110
Dube, J.L., 49
Dudley, R.O., 14, 30
Dutch; language, 216; Reformed Churches, 6, 157

Edross, Solly, 14, 65
Education Act (1856), 7
Educational Journal (see: The Journal), 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 14, 15, 20, 23, 255, 261, 272
eiesoortigheid, 226
Effendi, Attoan, 8, 43
Eiselen (de-Vos-Malan(Botha), 73, 74, 80, 225, 227, 247, 252, 254, 280
Eksteen, P.J., 8, 47

F.A.K. (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur), 178, 208, 278; kongres, 240
Fataar, A., 14, 15, 65
February, Basil, 19
February, V.A., 1, 10, 11, 19, 171, 231
Federale Mynbou, 88
Federale Volksbeleggings, 88
Fisher, H.A.L., 118
Franchise, 222
Fredericks, Matt, 8, 41, 47
Free State (see Orange Free State), 7, 10
Frobenius, Leo, 107
Fugard, Athol, 172, 176
Fyfe, J., 15

Genadendal, 219, 220
Ginneken, van, 236
Glenelg, 251
Goens, Governor van, 234
Gonnema (Saldanhars), 124
Gool, Dr. G.H., 14, 61, 65

Gool, Jane, 19, 61
Gordimer, Nadine, 170
Responsible Government (1872), 7
Gow, Dr. 61
Grammer, Frank, 14, 15
Grey, Sir George, 101, 135, 136, 251
Greyling, Cas, 15
Griqua (see Coloureds), 13; nation, 73

Half-caste (see: Dover), 27
Hall, R.A. (Leave Your Language Alone), 267
Hammond, B., 113
Hanmer, S.T., 30
Harris, Wilson, 8
Hendrickse, A., 68
Herrenvolk, 15, 23, 37, 53, 81, 84, 88, 91, 151, 152, 157, 176, 226, 248, 252, 264, 278, 288
(see White people); kers, 276; kism, 223; linguist, 233
Hertzog, General, A., 11, 12, 27, 51, 79; Native Bills, 12; prizes, 182
Hesseling, 235
Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, 51, 55, 223
Hobson, J.A. (Imperialism: A Study), 135, 136
Hoernlé, R., 58, 121
Hofmeyer, J.H., 120, 238
Hogben, Lancelot, 268
Hoogenhout, C.P., 237
Honono, 19
Horrell, Muriel, 18
Hottentots (see Khoi Khoin), 95, 101, 106, 125, 142, 264; Hottentotte, 235; hotnot boy, 153; hotnot, 173, 174, 186, coloured, 72; Hotnots-forget-me-nots, 175; language, 142; hotnot meid, 173; Queen of Punt, 106
Houtkop, 186
Houtman, Cornelius de, 110
Howarth, Anna(Jan: An Afrikaner), 158
Hugo (Quislings or Realists?), 3

I.C.U. (Industrial Commercial Workers' Union), 49, 50
Imvo (Zabantsundu), 42, 45, 46, 48, 271
Indian(s), 13, 32, 43, 64, 65, 91, 168; Advisory Council, 90; Affairs Department, 74, 90; Congress, 60; middle-class, 89;
Inkundla, yaBantu, 68;
Inskeep, R., 141, 142
Isigidimi samaXhosa, 44
Iskor, 88

Jaarsveld, van F.A., 121, 144
Jabavu, John Tengu, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50
Jacobsen, Stella, 14
Jameson Raid, 136
Janari, W.C., 30
Janz. en Proot (see Haarlem), 111
Jayiya, S.A., 61
Jephtha, H., 30
Jones, Peter, 20

Keppel-Jones, 121
Jong, 186
Jongspan, 171
Jordan, A.C., 255, 260. 266, 272
Joubert, D., 7
Joubert, F., 195

Kadalie, Clements (see: I.C.U.), 50
Kaffer (see English Kaffir), 75, 100, 173, 174, 175, 185; native(s), 72; rou-baar, 236; tribes, 100; uncivilised blanket, 28; wars, 100;
Katzen, M.F., 145
Kennis van die aand (see: A.Brink), 170
Kemp, Dr. van der, 101, 147; Bethelsdorp, 147
Kgosana, P, 17
Khoi Khoin (see also Hottentots), 4, 5, 6, 124, 125, 143, 145, 216, 218, 219, 264; civilisation, 234; Khoisan-speaking people, 257
Kies, Bennie, 14, 15, 29, 61, 65
Kiewiet, C.de, 121
Klaasies, 174
Kleurlinge, 186, 235
Kleynhans, 116
klong, 186
klonkie, 172, 174
koelie, 186
Kotane, Moses, 60
Kotze, D.A., 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132
Kruger, Paul, 7, 116, 237

Labour Party, 79
Langa, 17, 18, 20, 178, 181
Langenhoven, C.J., 251
languages; Afrikaans, 228; genootskap van ware Afrikaners, 237; The First Taalbeweging, 235, 237, 238; Die eerste taalbeweging, 279; The second language movement, 235; Die tweede taalbeweging, 279; Afrikanerizing instrument, 277; Bantu, 233; Bantu languages, 250; Bantu lingua franca, 247, 248; barbaars-patois, 235; Batwa languages, 233; creolised, mixed, pidginised Nederlands, 234; creolised English (Dutch Guiana), 259; Dutch, 228; pidgin Dutch, 236; English, 228; pidgin English, 236; Jewish (Talmud, Torah), 234; Fanagalo (Fanakalo), 236, 245, 246, 262, 263; Hollands, 229; Hottentots-Hollands, 234; Khoi Khoin languages, 233; Khoisan (Twa, Khoi Khoin), 266; Korannic Arabic, 234; Luba, 236; Malayan-Portuguese, (Maleis-Portugies), 234, 235, 263; moedertaal ordinances (Afrikaans, Bantu, English), 252; mother-tongue medium, 228, 238, 266, 277, 278, 280, 281; moedertaal-onderwys, 236, 241, 280; Nguni-and Sotho-speaking communities, 258; nguni dialects, 269; nguni-speaking (Swaziland), 273; pidgin language, 258, 259; pidgin Portuguese, 234; Portuguese, 234; The Taal, 238; Taal kongres, 238; Taalgenootskap, 238; Taalvereeniging, 238; Tswana-speaking (Bechuananaland/Botswana), 273; Venda language, 273; West African languages, 260; Xhosa, 258; Zulu, 258;
Bishop Lavis, 61
Lawrence, Harry, 18, 61, 67
Leenders, 41
Leon, Sonny, 68, 81
Leroux, Etienne, 176, 177

Livingstone, David, 109
Lobengula, 101
Louw, N.P. van Wyk, 171, 180
Louw, P.P., 176
Lovedale, 44, 147, 220
Luthuli, Albert, 18, 165

MacMillan, W., 120, 121
Madeley, 54
Magna Charta, 28, 39
Makiwane, Rev. E., 44
Malan, D.F., 7, 12
Malays (see Coloureds), 12, 13
Malherbe, F.E.J., 151
Mandela, Nelson, 165
Mangope, 68
Marais, Eugene (Winternag), 181, 239
Marais, J.S. (The Cape Coloured People), 58, 121
Matanzima, K., 91, 68
Maugham, Somerset (Of Human Bondage), 271
Maurice Bros., 14
Maurice, Edgar, L. 30, 206
meid, 153, 186
Merriman, John X., 42, 120
Middleton, Norman 81
Mijdrecht (Lord-see van Rheede tot Drakensteyn), 216
Mikro (see: Toiings), 151, 153
Millin, Sarah, Gertude, 265
Milner, Lord Alfred (Kindergarten and Union), 87, 135, 136, 238
Moeranes, 78
Mofolo, Thomas (see: Chaka), 270
Mokone, Sarah, 39, 50, 59
Moller, Hans, 183, 184
Molteno, D., 50, 120
Moravians, 219, 220
Moslems, 43
Mphahlele, E. 170
Mqhayi, 270
Muller, 121, 144

Nana, Kajee, Pather, 91
National(ist) Party-see Afrikaners, 7, 69, 70, 75, 80, 81, 206, 208, 224; nasionale jeugbond, 171
National Liberation League (N.L.L.), 56, 60
Native(s)- see Africans, 11, 42, 43, 75; Affairs, 46; cause, 46; policy, 221; representative Council (NRC), 34, 50, 64, 68; union, 48; voters, 43, 45
Nazi, 54
Negro; Africa, 107; culture, 107; kingdom, 107; negritude, 19
Nehru, 23
New Era Fellowship (NEF), 13, 50, 55, 57, 58, 61, 65
Nguni, 124, 143, 144,
Nienaber, P.J, 121
Nkrumah, Kwame, 87
Non-European(s)
see also: Hottentots, Bushmen, Coolies, 57, 59, 72, 92; organisations; non-European Unity Movement (also the Movement-NEUM), UMSA),

14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 59; Non-European United Front (NEUF), 56, 60; soldiers, 60; non-white (see Blacks, including Coloureds), 76, 151
Nongqause (see also Nongqawuse-cattle killing), 147, 272
noi (nooi), 154
Nortje, Arthur (Dead Roots), 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166
Nusas (National Union of South African Students), 77, 81

Oppelt, Israel Benno, 195, 229
Orange Free State, 7, 10
Ordinance Fifty (50), 5, 6
outa, 153, 174
Oxford History (see: The Oxford History of South Africa), 116, 133, 140

Pan African Congress (PAC), 17, 18, 20, 137
Pannevis, Arnoldus, 237
Pass Laws, 7, 103
Payne, 46
Die Patriot, 237
Peace Preservation Acts, 7
Peake, George, 6
Peters, C., 157
Philip, Reverend, 5, 251
Pirow, Oswold, 51
Plaatje, Solomon, 270
Plaatjies, H., 140
Plomer, William (Turbott Wolfe), 159
Poll Tax, 63, 103
Poswa, Mildred, 77
Potchefstroom, 171
Poqo (see PAC), 18
Pretorius, Andries (Blood River), 139
Progressive Party Progs), 18, 71, 75, 81, 138

Quisling(s), 34, 38, 254
Quislings or Realists? (see Pierre Hugo), 3
Quisling Vidkun (see: Norway), 54

Rabie, Jacques, 91
Rabie, Jan, 167, 176
Rajap, O.T., 84
Rapport, 171, 177, 183
Reade, Reverend, 101
Reddingsdaadbond, 88, 208
Reddy, 68
Rheede, H.A. van (Lord of Mijdrecht and Drakensteyn), 5, 217, 234
Rhodes, Cecil, John, 7, 8, 42, 101, 135, 136, 221, 237, 251
Rhodesia(n), 19
Riebeeck, Jan van, 4, 104, 111, 144
Rivonia, 18
Roberts, E.C., 65
Roberts, W.A., 8, 47
Rocker, R, 128
Rommel, 53, 54
Rooke, Daphne (Mitty), 158
Roomse Gevaar, 157
Rose-Innes, 42, 43, 44, 120

Ross, D. van der, 18
(with Hendricks), 56
Rubusana, Dr. 46
Rugby Springboks, 177
Ruiterwag, 171
Rundle, Stanley Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe), 276
Russel (History of Western Philosophy), 271
Rylate, (V.E.), 232, 236, 241, 248, 255, 256, 260, 264, 265, 266, 267 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 275, (see also Mnguni: Three Hundred Years, 254).

Schoor, Willem van, 3, 14, 96
Slave(s), 4, 145, 105, 6; slavery, 6, 215; serfdom, 215; labour, 5; freed (1834), 6
empires, 110; children, 216, 217, population, 216; schools, 215, 216; lodge, 217;
Pre-Cad slave schooling, 227
slawe, 235
small pox, 4
servant, 6
schools(ling); High, Trafalgar, Livingstone, Harold Cressy, 16, 21; Battwood, Wellington, Paarl, 25; mission, 192, 193; training, 196;
other schools, 196; colouredised, Bantuised, Indianised, 227
naturelle onderwys, 240
Stel, Simon van der, 5, 94
Stellenbosch, 5
Synod (1837), 6
South African Republic (1858), 7
Stemmet, W., 8, 47
The Draft South Africa Act (1909), 9
S.G.E. (Superintendent-General of Education), 11, 196
Sobukwe, R., (PAC), 17
Sharpeville, 17, 18, 88, 178, 181
Surinamese (Wie Eegie Sani), 19
South African Students' Organisation (SASO)- see Steve Biko & Peter Jones, 20, 71, 75, 81
Solomons, Frans, 20, 71
Soweto, 20
Stanley, Lord, 40
Smith, Sir Harry, 40, 101
Soga Tiyo, 41, 270
Schreiner, W.P., 41, 48
Sauer, 42, 46, 120
Stewart, Dr. James, 44, 147
Seme, P.Ka I., 48, 49
Smuts, Jan Christiaan, 51, 53, 60, 79, 88, 224, 237, 251
Steyn Colin, 60
South African Institute for Race Relations, 61
Santam, Sanlam, 88
Sasol, 88
Scully, W.C. (History of S.A), 94, 158 (Daniel Vananda)
Stuurman, David, 104
Stanley, H., 109
Shilling, 110
Steenkamp, 116

Scholtz, 121
Settlers, 122, 134, 135, 137, 145
Somerset, Lord Charles, 123, 124, 125, 217, 219
South Africa: A Modern History (T. Davenport), 132
Shepstone, Theophilus, 136, 251
location system, 149; policy, 250
San or Ke, 143, 145, 146
Shakan Revolution, 149
Sampie, 153
Small, Adam, 167, 168, 176
Sestigers, 167, 171, 176, 177, 178, 179, 183, 185; sestig, 180, 181, 182; saamtrek, 183, 185
Skepsel(s); wyfies, -ooie, 186
South Africanism, 188
segregation, 221, 224
Schreiner, Olive, 251
Sapir, Edward, 272

Tabata, I.B., 18, 19, 61, 65
Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (TEPA), 14, 36, 67, 224
Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA also referred to as The League) 1, 3, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 36, 38, 50, 56, 57, 58, 59, 104, 195, 196, 224
Teachers' certificate; T3 Junior, 189; T3 Senior, 189
Theal, G.M., 120, 135, 265
Thompson, Leonard (see The Cape Coloured Franchise), 5, 6, 9, 121, 149
Tobin (see Stone meetings St. Marks), 48
Toiings junior, 27
Toiings (Mikro), 151, 153
Toit, P.J. du, 234
Toit, S. du, 237
The Torch, 17, 18
Transvaal, 10
Great Trek, 6
Trek, 57, 59
Trotskyist, 71
Tulbagh, Rijk (Governor), 95
Turbott Wolfe, (W. Plomer), 159

Act of Union, 7
Umkhonto Wesizwe (Spear of the nation), 18
UMSA (Unity Movement of South Africa-see NEUM), 18
Union Council of Coloured Affairs U.C.C.A.), 16
Union of South Africa, 2
United Party (U.P.), 18, 69, 70, 206
Unity Movement (see Non-European Unity Movement- N.E.U.M. or the Movement), 224
University Christian Movement (U.C.M.), 75, 77

Venter, A.L., 19
Vereeniging; Treaty, 87, 233, 248
Verwoerdism, 269
de Villiers, Lord, 120
Visser, A.G., (Amakeia), 159
Voortrekker spirit, 103

Voster, B.J., 71, 75, 80, 90
Vorster, Dr. K., 75

Walker, E.A., (History of South Africa), 121
Walker, Evelyn, 215
Walshe, A.P., 44
Waterboer, N., 237
Webster, W., 126
Welsh, D., 121
Wepener, Louw, 116
Wessels, Rev. D.M., 65
White; nation, 73; supremacy, 224
White Minorities, Black Majorities, 19
Whiteside, 265
Wilcox, Commission, 12, 55, 221, 223, 225
Wilson, M. and L. Thompson, 125, 140, 141, 143 (see: The Oxford History of South Africa)
Wilson, Monica, 121, 146, 147, 143
Wirgman, 234
Workers' Democratic League, 17
World War Two (Third Reich), 52, 60

Xhosa nation, p. 73
Xuma, Dr. P.34

Yu Chi Chan Club (or Yui Chui Chan Club-see: Dr. K. Abrahams & Dr. N. Alexander), p. 18

Zambezi, p. 8
Zuid-Afrikaan, p. 237
Zulu nation, p. 73

ABBREVIATIONS: MAJOR ORGANISATIONS/BODIES AND/OR MAGAZINES/NEWSPAPERS REFFERED TO IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

1. A.A.C. = All African Convention (1935)
2. A.N.C. = African National Congress (1912)
3. A.P.O. = African Peoples' Organization (1902/3)
4. Anti-CAD = Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (1943)
5. B.A.D. = Bantu Affairs Department
6. B.P.C. = Black Peoples' Convention
7. C.A.D. = Coloured Affairs Department (1943)
8. C.A.T.A. = Cape African Teachers' Association
9. C.C.P.C. = Cape Coloured Permanent Commission - later Coloured Affairs (1943)
10. C.N.O. = Christelike Nasionale Onderwys; C.N.E. = Christian National Education
11. C.P. = Communist Party
12. C.P.N.U. = Coloured Peoples' National Union (1944)
13. I.C.U. = Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (1919)
14. Imvo (Zabantsundu) = Black Opinion
15. I.A.D. = Indian Affairs Department
16. Inkundla (yaBantu) = Gathering or Meeting place of the people
17. L.M.S. = London Missionaries Society
18. N.A.D. = Native Affairs Department
19. Native Reps = Native Representatives (N.R.C.)
20. N.E.F. = New Era Fellowship (1937)
21. N.E.U.F. = Non-European United Front
22. N.E.U.M. = Non-European Unity Movement (1944)
23. N.P. = National Party
24. P.A.C. = Pan African Party (1960)
25. Progs. = Progressive Party
26. SACPO = South African Coloured Peoples' Organization (1950)
27. SASO = South African Students' Organization
28. S.G.E. = Superintendent-General of Education
29. TEPA = Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (1944)
30. TLSA = Teachers' League of South Africa (1913)
31. U.C.M. = University Christian Movement
32. U.C.C.A. = Union Council of Coloured Affairs (1969)
33. UMSA = Unity Movement of South Africa
34. Umteteli waBantu = Mouthpiece of the People
35. U.P. = United Party
36. W.D.L. = Workers' Democratic League

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Cape Herald, February 26 1983

Match your colour to your mood?

WHERE medical science and miracle makers have failed the government has succeeded again — it managed to change the race classification of 996 people last year.

Minister of internal affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, revealed yesterday that he could change people from being White to Chinese and vice versa.

And from black (African) to Griqua and even other Asian to Cape Coloured and back again.

He does seem to have trouble, though, changing blacks to whites or whites to blacks — there were no such changes last year.

The easiest, apparently, is from Cape Coloured to white where he decreed 722 changes.

The re-classifications were revealed in a reply to questions asked in Parliament by Mr Roger Hulley, MP (PFP Constantia). The full list of changes was:

Indian to White 1
White to Cape Coloured 3
Cape Coloured to white 722
Cape Coloured to Chinese 4
White to Chinese 15
Chinese to white 7
White to Malay 1
Malay to white 4
White to Indian 1
Indian to Cape Coloured 34
Cape Coloured to Indian 39
Indian to Malay 19
Malay to Indian 16
Other Asian to Cape Coloured 3
Cape Coloured to Other Asian 1
Black to Cape Coloured 109
Cape Coloured to black 11
Black to Other Asian 3
Black to Indian 1
Black to Griqua 3

'Racism'

SIR, — I re
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cle