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EDUCATION AND BLACK STUDENTS' CONSCIOUSNESS
IN SOUTH AFRICA (1948-1977)

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DEDICATION

To the Memory of my beloved father

To my adored mother

To all the members of my family

To my best friends and my colleagues

To my students

To my nieces and nephews

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ملخص رسالة ماجستير

(التعليم و النهضة عند الطلبة السود في جنوب إفريقيا بين 1948 و 1977)

ان بداية تاريخ جنوب إفريقيا South Africa في القرن 16 يرتبط باستيطان أوروبي على أراضيها .

أكثر المستوطنين كانوا من ألمانيا و إنجلترا والدين حافظوا على سيطرتهم للسكان الأصليين لأكثر من قرن. وعبر هذا الزمن ' قاموا بتأسيس حضارة جديدة عن طريق نشر التعليم من طرف الطوائف التبشيرية والذين الحوا على فكرة المساواة بين الأجناس مما جعل الأفارقة السود يبتعدون عن ثقافتهم الأصلية ويشكلون زعماء يمكنهم التصدي للقوات الأجنبية. فالحكومة البريطانية والمبشرين أكدوا على التعليم كوسيلة لتكوين طاقم تعليم رخيص الكلفة و يفيدهم في الإدارة و الاقتصاد كما أن الأفارقة أصبحوا بدورهم معلمين في الكنائس مما جعلهم يشكلون خطرا على الأوروبيين .

في 1948 فاز الحزب الوطني the National Party بالانتخابات ' فسان تفوقه في البلاد بإتباعه سياسة التفرقة العنصرية 'Apartheid' فقام بسن قوانين تحافظ على تطبيق العنصرية على السكان وخاصة السود منهم .

من بين هذه القوانين مخطط محافظات البانتو Bantustan Scheme وهو الحفاظ على كل جنس في منطقة معينة دون اختلاطهم. وقانون آخر ' تعليم البانتو في The bantu Education Act 1953 والذي يحث على إعطاء السود تعليما خاصا والذي لا يتعدى القراءة و الكتابة وبعض المواد الأخرى قليلة الأهمية وذلك حسب المستوى المعيشي للمتعلم وتحت مراقبة تامة للدولة لتفادي أي فكرة مخربة في المجتمع.

لكن الأفارقة السود ' وخاصة الطلبة رفضوا هذه السياسة لأنهم فهموا انه بالرغم من تعلمهم وثقافتهم إلا أنهم بقيو يمثلون أدنى جنس ويعتبرون مقلدين مساكين لأسيادهم الأوروبيون ' وهذا ما جعلهم يصرون على احترامهم للجنس السود و ثقافتهم الإفريقية وذلك بحرصهم على أخذ حقوقهم فوق أراضيهم .

هذه النهضة العرقية تألقت عند منظمة طلبة جنوب إفريقيا The South African Students Organisation ' تحت قيادة ستيف بيكو Steve Biko والتي تصدت لقوانين التمييز العنصري عن طريق المقاومة السلمية . و من بين الثورات التي قامت بها ثورة سويتو Sweto Uprising والتي راح ضحيتها المناء من الطلبة السود سنة 1976 .

ثم قام الحزب الوطني الإفريقي The African National Congress (A.N.C) تحت قيادة نيلسون مانديلا Nelson Mandella و لوتيلي Luthuli بشن ثورات مسلحة ضد الاضطهاد العرقي. وفي نهاية السبعينات قام الوزير الأول فوستير Voster بإعلان إدانة جميع القادة و الطلبة السياسيين وحضر جميع الجمعيات و الأحزاب الإفريقية وتناس وان هذا لا يمنع الأفارقة و خاصة الطلبة السود من تحقيق الحرية و المساواة فوق أراضيهم والذين لم يكونوا ليكتسبوا هذه القوة لولا سياسة التعليم الأولى التي انتهجها الإفريكان The Afrikaners.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

- ANC African National Congress
- AZAPO Azanian Peoples' Organisation
- BCM Black Consciousness Movement
- BPC Black Peoples' Convention
- BSM Black Students Manifesto
- CP Communist Party
- CNE Christian National Education
- CNCLM Constitution of National and Cultural Liberation Movement
- DEIC Dutch East India Company
- DRC Dutch Reformed Church
- GSC General Student Council
- GMS Glasgow Missionary Society
- IDAMASA Inter-Dominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa
- LMS London Missionary Society
- LP Liberal Party
- NP National Party
- NUSAS National Union of South African Students
- OUP Orangia Unie Party
- PAC Pan-Africanist Congress
- PNP Purified National Party
- SANNC South African Native National Congress.
- SASO South African Students' Organisation
- SASCO South African Students' Congress Organisation
- SASM South African Student Movement
- SANSC South African National Students' Congress
- SAP South African Party
- SRC Student Representative Council
- SSRC Soweto Student Representative Congress
- UP United Party
- UCM University Christ Movement
- ZNC Zulu National Congress

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INTRODUCTION

South Africa was a country of contradictions. Its geological position made it the most favored country in mineral resources in the continent. But because it has the most discriminating racial problems especially, it was, from another point of view, the continent's unhappiest country.

Prior to European settlement in the Cape during the seventeenth century, San (Bushmen) and Khoi-khoi (Hottentots) were in the western Cape where the Boers and other Europeans were also seen. The Bantu speaking people were settled in the Eastern half of the Cape colony and Natal and there were also other various groups such as Indians and Coloureds. ⁽¹⁾

From this distribution of Blacks, Europeans, Coloureds and Asians, and their different total population for each ethnic group, we can see the diversity of ethnicity which created a racial problem with the coming European settlers in South Africa until the late nineteenth century. ⁽²⁾

Facing the situation of segregation in this African country, South Africans elites reacted differently ⁽³⁾but with one major aim which was making themselves living in social, political and economic welfare. Black Students were representing the intellectual elite which played an

essential role in the South Africans' awareness of their situation and who, later on, through their education, demonstrated a rejection of the system of government used. Two concepts could be of great importance: First, education is defined by some as "the action exercised by the older generations upon those who are not yet ready for social life" (4). Others define education as a set of objectives " Its object is to awaken and develop in the child those physical, intellectual and moral brains which are required of him both by his sociology as a whole and by the milieu for which he is specially destined." (5) So, after his initiation, the student enters into a new life whereby he is re-formed by his teacher and has to undergo a twofold course of discipline, physical and spiritual one, and what the school can do depends upon the society of which it is a part, and this is especially true in the matter of intergroup relations. Let the teacher say what he thinks about ethnic equality; his words will be negated by his pupils' everyday experiences in a community which exercises racial discrimination. If Whites go to a school and Blacks to another one, then reference to "the brilliance of individual Blacks" (6) will not be specially effective.

To answer the question of what should the Natives of South Africa be taught, the missionaries introduced the idea of differentiation between Blacks and Whites; even if, they used the same curriculum as the European schools. But later on, they forgot that it required more than formal schooling to change a people, especially, a "barbarian" (7) one into a civilized community. Moreover, they thought that it would be dangerous to give millions of natives a taste for reading and writing because " education cannot be divorced from political concerns" (8) .

The educational and training deficit was a direct result of more than forty years of Apartheid. The white minority government of South

Africa who won the elections of 1948 and spent literally 10 times ⁽⁹⁾ more consideration on each white pupil than it did on each black pupil.

Moreover, it spent less to train black teachers, provided inferior services which were useless most of the time, and imposed narrow, rigid curricula on black schools. So, Africans were educated for inferiority on purpose because no societal institutions reflected the Apartheid philosophy more clearly than those in the field of education. The natives, then, understood that an African without modern schools and teaching could never make progress; everyone agreed on that. But the provision of this kind of education ran into three big obstacles. One problem was that money for schools and teaching was always in short supply. ⁽¹⁰⁾

All the four colonies, the Cape, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Natal ⁽¹¹⁾ received primary, secondary, and higher education which was very shortly provided, but in every colony, there were areas where most children had no chance of going to school because there were no schools to go to.

By 1945, which marked the end of the second world war, even in the less backward colonies, the proportion of children who could go to school was smaller than in every ten. The ability to read and write was still a rare skill. A second obstacle was parents' poverty . Few could afford school fees, books, clothes, or journey. A third obstacle was the nature of colonial education. When young people managed to go to school; what could they learn? The elements of a little literacy and religion were the main subjects taught in the first year of education. They were usually the only subjects taught in later years, included some history and geography, and perhaps one or two other subjects. But all

these subjects were taught from a racist standpoint, tending to show that whatever came from Europe was good or useful, and that whatever came from Africa was either the reverse or not worth studying. In history, for example, Africans were taught about British colonial schools and about British kings and heroes. The general objective and assumption behind such teaching was that Africans lacked the capacity to solve their own problems, and Europeans must show them how to do.

By 1945, however, a lot of people began to see that there was something wrong with the education provided by the missionaries and from this, there came a new mood of questioning and of criticism. It was the point at which, after 1948, schools which were intended to teach students to accept and even to admire the colonial systems began to turn into schools where students became increasingly critical of those systems. Then, It was natural that African teachers should often take the lead in this growing trend of independent thought.

The missionaries also oppressed the Africans by teaching that they lived a heathen and barbarous life. Their only salvation and recovery laid in adaptation to Christianity, which meant rejecting their native education, their social organizations, traditional customs, their culture and they were convinced to believe themselves inferior. The very language of the Church to express this feeling "Black and evil"⁽¹²⁾ were exchangeable terms and so did the racist South Africans.

A big strike by African mine workers in the South African gold-mines, was ruthlessly put down, in 1946, by armed police because mine workers understood that the Whites' racist system of segregation was due to the capitalist system which exploited human labour. So, it

became very important to the Whites to think about how to dominate South Africa in a new way.⁽¹³⁾

The access of the white nationalists to power in 1948 marked a new era in the history of South Africa. A large majority of Blacks were effectively threatened by this feeling of inferiority. The Afrikaners' first task, then, was to strengthen their hold and practice supremacy thanks to Apartheid policy. The Bantu underwent severe discriminatory measures including the tightening of the pass laws, the introduction of inferior education, the banning of political leaders and the growing ferocity of the police.⁽¹⁴⁾

The National Party wanted to safeguard and strengthen 'White Supremacy'. It supported the idea that the races in South Africa would be best developed when they would be physically separated from one another. Each race could be independent and self-sufficient on its own. Facing this intense form of exploitation and degradation of the African masses, Black students organized themselves into different organisations to express their refusal of all kinds of humiliation through Pass Laws, racist Bantu Education Acts, refusal of residence rights, arrests and violence.

Steve Biko was one of these Black students who founded the South African Students Organisation which played an important role in South Africans' consciousness; for two major reasons: they had unified themselves in different educational institutions, especially, in schools and colleges in order to reject the Whites' racism and introduced the educated African resistance through demonstrations such as the Soweto uprising of 1976. But with the banning of the students' organizations and political parties such as the African National Congress and the Pan-

African Congress, the educated elite moved to another way of rebellion⁽¹⁵⁾ which became violent.

Therefore, the attempt of this work is to analyse the role of education and the Black Students' consciousness in raising the Natives' awareness and struggle for freedom between the period 1948, which marked the introduction of Apartheid by the elected Afrikaners National Party, and the year 1977 which witnessed the death of Steve Biko who was the first student criticizing the racist legislative Acts which strengthened the Apartheid policy.

In this respect, this research paper will be divided into three chapters. Chapter one will study the period before 1948. It will briefly introduce the colonial settlement in South Africa and the spread of missionaries' culture and education for the Natives, who were the original inhabitants of the country. Then, the last part of this chapter will show the education provided to Black Africans in the four provinces of the country in the same period.

The second chapter will look at the period after 1948 till the 1960's where Apartheid will be explained as a concept and as a flagrant system of rule used by the White Nationalists. It will also state the most brutal laws of segregation, especially as far as education and students are concerned.

The third and last chapter will examine the impact of education and students' consciousness on the South African Nationalism up to 1977. It will point out three major ideas; first, the founding of the South African Students' Organisation which guided the Black students' resistance movements; second, passive resistance which was a starting

point for Black African struggle for national freedom; third, political nationalism and the ANC armed struggle which was considered a legitimate defense ⁽¹⁶⁾ against the Apartheid policy in their own country.

Notes to Introduction

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CHAPTER ONE

Colonial Occupation and the Missionaries' Work in South Africa before 1948

The era which extended from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century⁽¹⁾ corresponds to a historical process mixed with events that unavoidably marked the international scene and the African one .

South Africa witnessed a long history of education which went through different stages and widened the Black Africans' mind. The

colonial occupation that lasted centuries introduced a large work made by the missionaries who had a big impact on the educational atmosphere of the South African society. Moreover, the missionaries' education initiated the awakening of the Black educated elite and expanded their vision about their educational, social and political position.

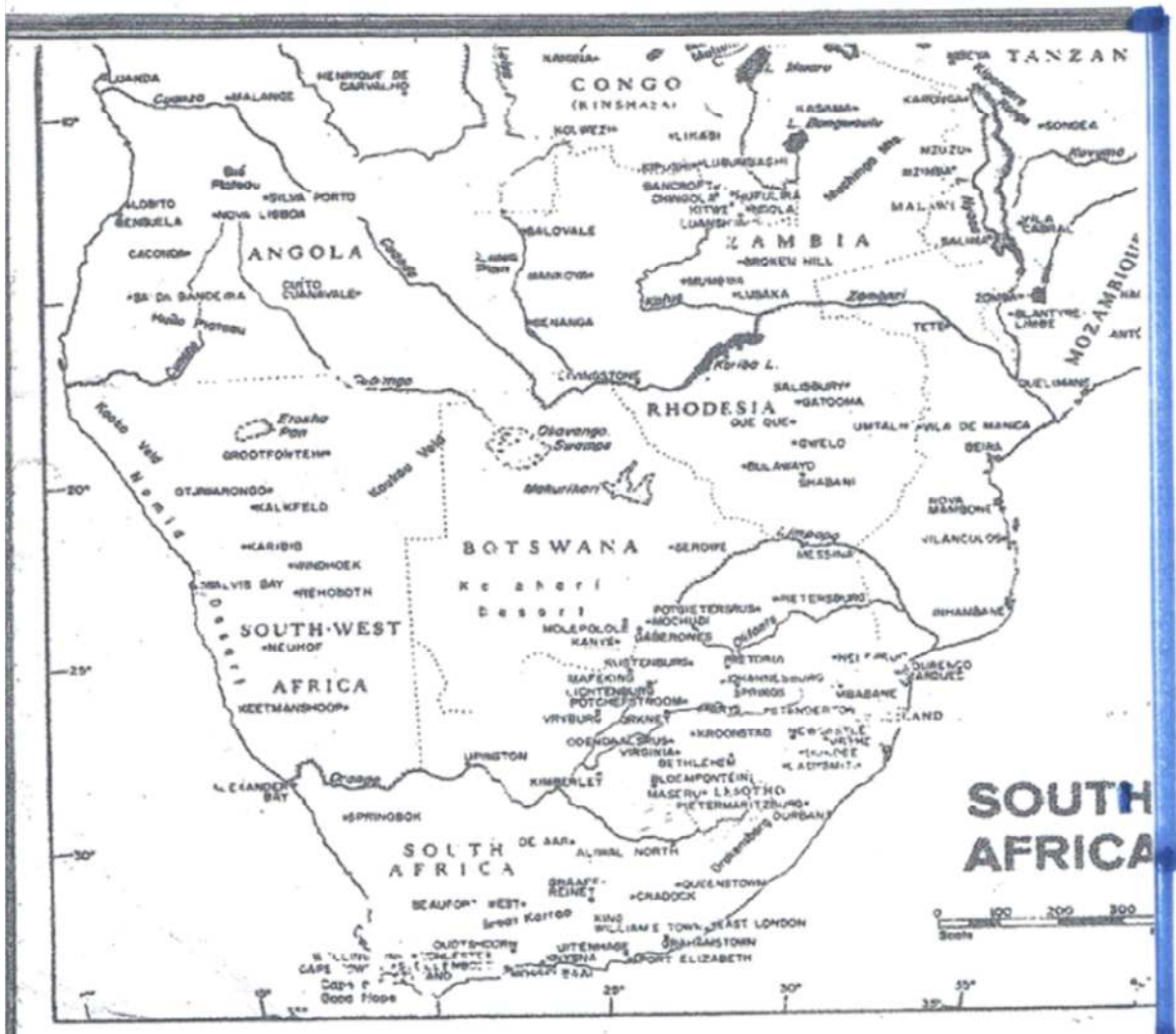
This chapter is an attempt to discuss some of these events. First it will examine how the Europeans, more precisely, British and Dutch occupied South Africa (see map 1). Then, how the work of the missionaries was introduced to spread European education there. It will also study the educational development in the four provinces of the country, mainly the Cape of Good Hope, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Natal. At last, it will also examine the emergence of the new African educated elite through the work of missionaries in the mission schools, and other different institutions such high schools and universities with different circumstances which were based on differences and segregation imposed by Whites on the African society.

I. A Background to Colonisation (1745 - 1948)

The Southernmost tip of the African continent was of a considerable significance to the Europeans since circumnavigating⁽²⁾ Africa to reach the Orient was a common practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the mid-seventeenth century European nations set up a permanent establishment there.

South Africa experienced the rule of two European powers, namely the Dutch and the British. In 1652, the Netherlands ⁽³⁾ established a refreshment station under the supervision of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC)⁽⁴⁾, which was formed of united Dutch companies for trade and education. The DEIC created a Board of Education which was set up to promote education. It consisted of highly placed company officials and one or more ministers and leaders who were called the Scholarchs. They were, without exception, men engaged in full-time occupations to present their services on this Board of Education and they received no pay. The Company's role ended in

Map 1: The Geography of South Africa in 1745



Source: Robert O. Collins, *African History*, University of California
Santa Barbara, Kardum House, New York, 1971, p. 460.

1795 as a consequence of wars in Europe and marked the beginning of British occupation. Then, the British had to cope with the presence of two different peoples: the African people who were the original and natural inhabitants of the continent, and the Dutch descendents who had been living in the South African country for more than a century and a half⁽⁵⁾.

To maintain a strong position, the British brought a series of changes to the established order which affected the Afrikaners'⁽⁶⁾ relationship with their African servants. The first incident happened in 1815⁽⁷⁾, when a Hottentot servant complained about his master's rough treatments with the result that the latter was sentenced to imprisonment. The rebellion that followed his resistance to Hottentot soldiers marked the starting point for Boer⁽⁸⁾ anger towards British rule. Besides placing the non - White peoples on an equal footing with the Whites, the law deprived the Boers of their Hottentot servants⁽⁹⁾, .

The most important of these changes to the Afrikaner people were the Fiftieth Ordinance of 1828⁽¹⁰⁾, which extended the use of African land and weakened the economic base of African society

through taxation, restrictions of free movement and traders, and the abolition of slavery in 1834 ⁽¹¹⁾. The first act gave the Africans the freedom of movement and ownership in the colony and the second emancipated the slaves altogether and put the subject race on an equal footing with the dominant one.

To the Afrikaners, this equality was an insult to their Christian faith and civilization. For them equality between Whites and Blacks was against the law of God. As a reaction to British rule, the Afrikaners trekked away i.e. they placed a considerable distance between them and the British. The trek was a reaction to the placing of slaves “on unnatural distinction of race and colour” ⁽¹²⁾. The Afrikaners’ trek ⁽¹³⁾ was also the result of their rejection of British control and society. It made it clear that the British government made no distinction in favour of, or against race or colour.

Besides, the British government’s policy was influenced by the missionaries in favour of the Black people in South Africa at home and in the colony. It was under their pressures that the government initiated a policy by which Blacks’ situation was improved.

The English missionaries preached equality of all men whether Whites or Blacks and stood as the protectors of the oppressed. This policy was welcomed by all Black people in South Africa because they saw themselves as individuals who could play their role in such a society of multiracial groups.

II. Missionaries and the Spread of European Education

To transmit God’s message, which was the basic aim of learning, the missionaries needed literacy. Thus, they established mission schools where their African converts read the Bible. These religious institutions encouraged Black nationalism since they were the primary source of the Black South African educated group that voiced its people’s indignation and distress.

The clergymen found themselves in a paradoxical situation. Though the Church preached equality between the Whites and the Blacks, it followed the pattern of racial segregation prevailing in the South African society. The Black clergymen did not receive a honored

treatment because they received lower salaries than their White mates and were not given the same responsibilities.

A white priest held his black mate in contempt and looked at him as an inferior person not fit to accomplish his duty correctly. The disparity between the words and the deeds shocked the black ministers and pushed them to establish African churches. This movement was called Ethiopianism⁽¹⁴⁾, after the use of Ethiopia as a name of Africa used in the Bible.

Here, it is important to mention how the early African society was structured in respecting religious beliefs. Accordingly, the original inhabitants of South Africa were organized into separate and self-directed tribes, namely; the Nguni⁽¹⁵⁾, the Sotho⁽¹⁶⁾, the Tsonga⁽¹⁷⁾ and the Venda⁽¹⁸⁾. Their autonomy did not prevent them from forming larger groups or kingdoms. Among the most major important groups, there were the Nguni and the Sotho. The groups were ruled independently with no interference from other chiefs.

The importance of the chiefs was directly linked to that of the ancestors within the South African religious system of beliefs and laid within the social structure. After the improvement of the communities welfare, they became converted to Christianity.

That important and serious change in the Africans' life, namely the introduction of an alien religion, initiated the establishment of mission stations. Missionary work in South Africa endorsed two paradoxical aspects. On the one hand, they acted on behalf of the African people and thus gained their confidence. On the other hand, the missions reproduced the patterns of racial segregation.

One of the most important churches which characterized the religious life in the colonies of South Africa was the Dutch Reformed Church⁽¹⁹⁾ (DRC). An attempt was made by a missionary named Schmidt to start some evangelical work amongst the Hottentots in 1737⁽²⁰⁾. However, his concern with Africans' education and liberation maddened the DRC which pushed him to leave the colony in 1747.

The DRC ministers were delegated with the conduct of primary schools for the Boers' children, and from which the non-White children were automatically excluded. A secondary school was launched in the colony in 1714⁽²¹⁾ but failed to work for lack of financial support.

The Boers, who were a rural people, were more involved in the acquisition of land and cattle than in providing an adequate education to the Africans and even to their own children. Many of them were taught reading and writing by their parents. The wealthiest Burghers ⁽²²⁾ who were the farmers, of the colony who could support the cost of education abroad, sent their children to Europe for education.

The establishment of British rule in the colony brought with it a variety of missions for the most from Great Britain. These missions and their representatives influenced the DRC and led to the establishment of a missionary society called the South African Society for Promoting the Extension of Christ Kingdom (SASPECK) in 1799 ⁽²³⁾.

The latter received a message from the London Missionary Society (LMS), which was the leading mission in London who directed all the missionaries in the African country, to the White Christians of South Africa to take care of their African followers. Although the Dutch ministers responded to the British missions' call they, however, were conventional to the racist and segregationist society. They refused the presence of non - whites in the Church.

In 1855, forty ⁽²⁴⁾ worshippers of the Stockenstrom, a district near Graham's town, asked the church council to establish a separate congregation for the black members. Consequently, three churches were established for the different racial groups in South Africa. Their presence was the Christianization and civilization of its people. To reach this aim, they needed literacy to enable the African converts to read the Bible.

They also learnt the vernacular languages to translate the Scriptures and established mission schools. In addition, the converts abandoned their native religion and adopted Christian names and European life style.

By the end of the nineteenth century, seven missions of the London Missionary Society (LMS) existed. They opened Lovedale ⁽²⁵⁾ College, which was a mission station and an educational institute in the Cape province and it was founded by Dr. John Love who was one of the leading members of the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) in 1824, for the sons of chiefs and missionaries to train teachers. It was an important institution since it rejected racial discrimination and provided education and training for students, regardless of the colour of their skin .

As it was the policy of the school in its early days, a small group of African students were to receive the same education as their White schoolmates. Just as Bishop Colenso, the Reverend W. Govan ⁽²⁶⁾, the headmaster believed that education was the means by which they would be able to produce African copies of civilized Englishmen.

Besides the religious teaching, Lovedale provided its students with a vocational training taking into consideration the milieu in which they were living. The students were trained in professions such as printing, building shoemaking, bookkeeping and the like. Women were also integrated in education. In 1871 ⁽²⁷⁾, Lovedale College began to train women and girls as domestic servants .

The new director of Lovedale, Dr James Stewart, bore Whites' feeling of superiority and paternalism towards the African people. Stewart felt that the Africans were undeveloped, and thus unable to attain the standard of civilization the Whites had attained . Consequently, the school launched practical and vocational education to accommodate with Africans' abilities. A limited number of students were however, permitted to qualify as teachers and to reach matriculation. Those who desired to go beyond matriculation were allowed to do so but at their own expense ⁽²⁸⁾ .

Vocational training was not restricted to Lovedale alone, but to Adams College also. Then, the secondary school of the American Board in Natal adopted it also. Conversely, with the economic changes which were introduced in South Africa, especially after the mineral discoveries; the Whites needed Black cheap labour and not inactive African educated people, as expressed by Langham Dale, (1839-1892)

Superintendent General of Education in the Cape Colony in 1875⁽²⁹⁾. The position of the Africans themselves to the kind of education they were intended to receive differed. Those Africans who saw it as a means of control resented the restriction of Africans' education to vocational courses. The first example could be Z.K. Matthews, a famous African politician who saw his position as the headmaster of Adams College as an opportunity to ameliorate the quality of education dispensed to his people. He pointed out in a report to the College Advisory Board that matriculation was not beyond the limits of the African students as it was argued.

The second example is those who saw that they should receive an education that would fit their position in the country and shared the missionaries' approach on native education. In addition to vocational training, the missionaries expressed the importance of higher education which could offered opportunities to the African people.

In 1903 and 1905, demands were made for the establishment of more colleges for Blacks in South Africa (see table 1). However, Whites' concern with providing the African people with higher education was carried by their fear to see the South African students abroad influenced by the black Americans who had achieved some autonomy by establishing separate schools for their own people and infused the black South Africans with ideas of rebellion and freedom. Then, the University College of Fort Hare came as a response to these demands in 1916⁽³⁰⁾.

Higher education was seen by the black South Africans as well as by the missionaries as a means to better the Africans' social and economic situation. Education and vocational training would provide them with jobs and with the financial means to buy plots and land. However, the missionaries' work was disapproved by many white South Africans who thought that education, as provided by the missionaries, did destabilize their black servants. The missionaries' commitment on behalf of the African people brought some improvement and relief to

Table 1: The Total Population of South Africa with later Statistics of the 1946's Census

Province	Europeans	Natives	Coloureds	Asians	Totals
Transvaal	1.165.000	3.393.000	62.000	43.000	4.670.000
Cape	927.000	2.469.000	909.000	17.000	4.378.000
Natal	271.000	1.778.000	29.000	298.000	2.378.000
Orange Free State	227.000	770.000	14.000i	Nil	1.011.000

Source : E. G. Pells, *300 Years of Education in South Africa*, Connecticut Greenwood Press Publishers , 1970 , p. 13.

the racial situation the latter were enduring. However, the missions failed, to a certain extent, in achieving the Christian principle of equality between all human beings.

III. Educational Development in the Four Provinces of South Africa

In all countries under European civilisation, the organisation of formal education passed through three practically well – distinct stages. In the first stage, the condition and control of education was exclusively a Church matter because churches and monasteries provided the schools with priests and ministers who were the teachers. The resources of the Church became inadequate to supply the educational needs when the population was growing rapidly. Therefore, a following stage was needed. It was the provision of aid, mainly financial, by the State to the churches to enable them to expand their educational activities .

However, the failure of the churches, even with State aid, brought about the third step in which the State stepped in, and provided education independently from the organisations of the churches.

With its unlimited resources, the State soon became responsible of the educational field except a few big schools which remained under the Church control. The transition from pure Church control to State – aided Church control and then to State control in the 1890's⁽³¹⁾ made the churches lose all say in the running of the schools .

By the end of the eighteenth century, under the aided system, the central authority became with effective power through Dr. Thomas Muir⁽³²⁾ (1892-1915) the chief agent who was the new super intendent – general of education in the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who placed it in a supreme position. So, the church was gradually ousted as a controlling power.

In order to grasp the process of education and demonstrate its long change with different leaders who made it possible, it will suffice to outline the major stages of education that characterized each province in South Africa.

III.1. The Province of the Cape Colony

The Cape Colony was the principal province in the field of education before the union of South Africa because its policies were generally liberal, but with the Act of Union of 1910⁽³³⁾, the White South Africans formed their Union of four provinces –the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, the Cape and Natal. There also existed a spreading of African organisations⁽³⁴⁾ in each province, their need was unity. Then, education could be introduced in all the four provinces and in different levels.

Primary education was Muir's first concerns. It was based on elementary school courses by the introduction, first, of singing and needlework, and later of woodwork, drawing, nature study and cookery. He effected this by appointing well-qualified instructors whose duty was to go from school to school introducing special subjects and training teachers in the correct methods of approach and treatment. By this means, Muir initiated all the schools of moderate size by the beginning of the twentieth century. The method was almost used in the four provinces of South Africa.

The most significant feature of the last three decades of the nineteenth century was the genesis and rapid development of secondary education (see table 2). Hitherto, the few hundred pupils who sought

Table2: Major Higher Schools in South Africa in the Last Part of the Nineteenth Century

Name	Location	year
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Rhodean Girls 'High School	Johannesburg	1899
South African College	Cape Town	1837
The University of the Cape of Good Hope	Cape Town	1858
Grey College	Port Elizabeth	1856
Graaff- Reinet College	Bloem Fontein	1855
Gill College	Somerset East	1864
Diocesan College	Rondebosh	1867
St. Andrews ' College	Grahamstown	1872
The Public School (later the Victoria College)	Stellenbosch	1878
The Normal College	Cape Town	1889

Source : E. G. Pells., *300 Years of Education in South Africa*, Connecticut Greenwood Press Publishers, 1970, p. 42.

secondary education to qualify for entry into the professions, went to the colleges. There were fifty – three first- class and seventy – four second – class schools⁽³⁵⁾, in each of which some pupils were doing secondary work. The most important centre of advanced secondary education at the Cape was the South African College at Cape Town.

The main work for the major part of the century was the provision of advanced secondary education. It was also called the center for higher education. Muir selected a good corps of inspectors at his command. His aim was to make education universal and compulsory. However, to make it compulsory implied that school places should be provided for all. The State was thus required to step in and make adequate education provision .

Accordingly, compulsory education implied State provision of education and State financial responsibility. Muir's period greatly increased the power of the state authority, developed the inspectorate, established the departmental library, assisted in the establishment of a library in every school, brought about the nationalization of school buildings, widened both the primary and secondary school syllabus, issued suitable text – books and improved the training of teachers.

One of Muir's primary acts was to introduce the previous points in compulsory education, and to institute suitable school buildings. The latter automatically became the property of the province, and therefore of the nation. Another of Muir's first concerns was the liberalization of the elementary school course by appointing well – qualified instructors . The subjects of study in the secondary department of these high schools consisted of reading, speaking, grammar, and composition in “ the main languages ”⁽³⁶⁾, which was either English or Dutch or both. The student had to study arithmetic, mathematics, and one science chosen from chemistry or physics.

In practice, the curriculum was very strictly determined by the syllabus prescribed by the University of the Cape of Good Hope. On condition that the pupil had the necessary ambition and intelligence, no barrier existed at any stage to slow down his passage from the primary classes through the secondary and high school to matriculation but the phases of education differed between Whites and other races for example it took seven years to reach higher primary phase for Blacks, but it took only six years for Whites to reach senior primary phase (see table 3).

III.2. The Province of the Transvaal Colony

In Transvaal, François Burgers, who was a Dutch reformed minister at Hanover in the Cape, established two classes of schools. First, Ward Schools provided the farming population with the elements of reading and writing. Second, Dorpscholen school were district or town schools which offered the pupils with Latin and Greek, French and German, mathematics, science, geography history, astronomy, logic, music and painting methods. The achievements of the children were apparently not always appropriate with the expenditure of money upon them⁽³⁷⁾.

The system looked fine on paper, but it was too - heavy in practice. Therefore, the Transvaal citizens said it was irreligious, and they forced Burgers to include Bible reading and Bible history as subjects which they saw elementary for the Transvaal ⁽³⁸⁾.

In the late 1877 ⁽³⁹⁾ the Theory Burgers' s Act was still operative , when Dr.V.Lyle was appointed to administer education. He made a

small analysis about the children of school - going age, who were attending government schools. He found that their attendance differed from 8 percent in Transvaal, 60 percent in Natal, 50 percent in the Cape and 12 percent in the Orange Free State. He realized that Burgers' scheme was too rigid and too State - dominated. Consequently, Dr. V. Lyle issued a report, and his help method was based on the " Payment - By - Result " principle, i.e. teachers would be paid according to students' educational results. After Dr. V. Lyle's death, H. Bosman⁽⁴⁰⁾ became acting director of the Education Department. He continued Lyle's double system which was based on two methods of teaching, there were competent teachers who were not included in the principle and those who should present their final level results to be paid. This action was simply by a descending level, based on a classification of schools determined by the total number of marks obtained by the school at the annual inspection. However, the child as the object of education was forgotten, he was cruelly hammered and frightened in order to squeeze

Standard level	Whites and Asians	Coloured	Black
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12	Standard 10	Senior Secondary Phase	Senior Secondary Phase	Senior Secondary Phase
11	Standard 09			
10	Standard 08			
09	Standard 07	Junior Secondary Phase	Junior Secondary Phase	Junior Secondary Phase
08	Standard 06			
07	Standard 05	Senior Primary Phase	Senior Primary Phase	Higher Primary Phase
06	Standard 04			
05	Standard 03			
04	Standard 02	Junior Primary Phase		Lower Primary Phase
03	Standard 01			
02	Standard B			Junior Primary Phase
01	Standard A			

Table 3: The Structure of Primary and Secondary Education in 1960's

Source: H.D. Nelson, South Africa, *A Country Study*, Washington, Foreign Area Studies, 2nd edition, 1980, p. 147.

out the maximum of marks, but this situation changed after the Boer victories ⁽⁴¹⁾ at the end of the eighteenth century

South Africa went through the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902)⁽⁴²⁾, a war which has been named an 'anti-imperialist struggle'. Accordingly, Black learners demonstrated satisfaction when a strong anti - British feeling among the Boers resulted which caused the elimination of English as the medium of instruction.

Stephanus Jacobus du Toit (1847-1911)⁽⁴³⁾, a South African Afrikaans language pioneer who succeeded Busman as director of the Educational Department, commenced the anti - English campaign in the Transvaal. His Education Law of 1882⁽⁴⁴⁾ recognized only Dutch as the medium of instruction until the arrival of Dr. Derek Mansvelt⁽⁴⁵⁾, who became the vice president of the Transvaal in 1881.

Then, Afrikaans as a literary language began to attract attention and the growth of Afrikaans literature was a direct fruit culture established by the educational system of the South African States. Accordingly, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (10 October 1825- 14 July 1904)⁽⁴⁶⁾ and he was a State President of the South African Republic in the Transvaal, created an institution called the State Gymnasium⁽⁴⁷⁾ which was a secondary school aimed at preparing students for a diploma which would gain them admission to the interior university colleges and to overseas universities, too. It provided general education and focused on four branches: humanities education, modern languages, mathematical-scientific education, and economic and social education.

That was a model institution with well - equipped men who were specialists in such subjects as classics, English, Dutch, French, German history, science, mathematics and drawing. That State Gymnasium was therefore as important to the Transvaal as what the South African College was central to the Cape Colony.

III.3. The Province of the Orange Free State Colony

Now, when going round the little Republic of the Free State, Church and State were one. In 1870, they decided to find sufficient money to organize a new system of education in the province. John Brebner ⁽⁴⁸⁾ was appointed superintendent and remained at the

educational controls until the outbreak of the Anglo – Boer Wars (1899-1902).

Then, the Orange Free State gained the title of the world's model republic. The system was based on modest income. School fees were charged and were collected by the school committee. This gave the teacher an independent and dignified position. As a medium of teaching, there was a big ambiguity because Dutch medium was to be standard in all government schools and English, as a subject of instruction, was optional. However, grammar, arithmetic and geography books were available only in English.

Finally, the intermediate language used was Dutch which was known as the Afrikaans' language. It was extremely difficult to understand those Dutch teachers coming from Holland, but by the time, many teachers were using Afrikaans in the secondary classrooms in the Orange Free State as in the Cape. However, these schools were never of a long duration. They were during the Anglo-Boer War, but after the Peace of Vereeniging in May 1902⁽⁴⁹⁾, Brebner's system of schools disappeared during the three years conflict between the Boers and the English Whites.

III.4. The Province of Natal Colony

Natal is the last province to deal with. It was a territory where high-quality primary schools did not yet exist in 1873 ⁽⁵⁰⁾. It embodied the Cape educational policy which recommended that the government should not give any aid to those who could manage to get along without government help.

There were also many difficulties in the school body. No coherent system existed, the school buildings were for the most part inadequate and only teachers had text-books, one book for each teacher, but pupils did not have any. Moreover, different subjects such as arithmetic, geography, history and religious instruction were weakly instructed and with little information. On the other hand, educational committees made no effort to motivate lazy pupils or eliminate incompetent teachers.

Consequently to that great failure of schools with the mentioned conditions, Robert Russell ⁽⁵¹⁾ introduced a modified structure of the “ payment - by - results “ which was introduced in Transvaal as seen in the previous title, i.e. by the end of the period to achieve knowledge, learners should pass a final exam to have a mark. Through the result of learning, teachers got their salaries, for example if the learners marks were bad, then, the teacher’s salary should be low.

Conversely, the true aim of education was lost. Much of the school work was a sham, designed only to earn the maximum grant and all the subjects in teaching were neglected or totally ignored, and the superintendent of education had no real control. In addition, the smallness of the population and the lack of interest of the Natives being a rural province contributed in making Natal remain of modest dimensions. In the process, Dr. Muir’s efforts at a reorganization of the educational system were crowned by the institution of the School Board Act of 1905 ⁽⁵²⁾. The Act established permanent, legally incorporated local education authority with power to raise money, to establish schools and to own school property. It also maintained an efficient inspectorate, a close supervision over all the activities of the local boards and supported a strong policy of evolutionary educational efforts whose aim was legal and financial stability and continuity.

In general, one school board, elected by the ordinary voters, who could be teachers or instructed learners’ parents, was established for each division of the country. It acted as intermediaries between the school committees, which were elected by the learners’ parents, and the departments of education . This brought the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal into line with the general organization of education. The system was applied for all the South African States, except Natal. On May 31, 1910⁽⁵²⁾ , the British imperial government in London offered the educational authority and power to the two White minorities : Those who spoke English and those who spoke Afrikaans.

Finally, it became obvious that the Act of Union in 1910 divided the educational body horizontally; higher education under the control of the newly established Union Government, acting through a minister of education while primary and secondary education remained the sphere of each province. Then, Training colleges were established for the

training of primary school teachers and, later on, they were trained in special institutions. The universities became responsible for the training of all secondary teachers by the end of 1928⁽⁵³⁾.

By 1930, there were sufficient teachers for all needs of the Cape, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. They formed the first South African Teachers' Association. But the stagnation in education caused by the depression of 1929, continued into the early 1940's as a result of World War Two (1939 - 45) ⁽⁵⁴⁾. Therefore, the teaching as a profession had become the most poorly rewarded of all the professions, especially, education for Natives which was not so important as for Whites. The Whites of the four former states disagreed in many ways, but they were confidently united against the Blacks. Gradually, the South Africans understood that they needed unity and learning in order to achieve freedom as Black Africans .

IV. The Emergence of a New African Educated Elite

Though the presence of Christian missionaries was traced back to the sixteenth century, their work became significant only towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Most missionaries came from urban centers and the majority of them originated from middle and lower class. Their early formation was their faith only, but later on, it was necessary for the missionaries to receive a training which would help them in their contact with the natives of Africa.

Missionaries' impact was one of the most important factors which influenced the South African elites. Through their teaching, European missionaries introduced new concepts and norms to African children, transformed their character, and contributed to the growth of a Westernized African educated elite. Most South African leaders attended

various missionary institutions. Yet, Criticism of the education provided by the missionaries and colonial regimes had been widespread throughout South Africa .

To understand how this complicated situation came about, it is necessary to examine briefly the historical development of the South African elite and their emergence in the South African society The establishment of different schools was, then, a necessity. So schools were founded early in the history of the Cape Colony. But, by the end of the seventeenth century, there was a number of elementary schools run by farmers and Parish clerks⁽⁵⁵⁾ .

Missionary stations were established in the Eastern Cape where they taught the Xhosa how to read and to write, mainly in English. Subsequently, a detailed program for a system of elementary, secondary and teacher training schools were developed in 1805 . The British tried to extend the school system to the country areas in order to spread the use of English. Efforts to educate Black Africans were undertaken by European missionaries in the Eastern Cape and in Natal in the early eighteenth century.

In 1841⁽⁵⁶⁾, an institution was founded in the Eastern Cape to train Black African teachers. Financial assistance was given to these Black teaching schools by the government because their educational work was considered as a way to pacify the Natives of the South African areas. At the beginning of their work, the mission schools in the Cape Colony and Natal had no “ colour – bar “, i.e. White, Coloured, and Black children often attended the same public schools, especially, in the lower primary grades. However, separate schools were gradually developed for White students. In the

Orange Free State and Transvaal, a separate education for White and Black pupils existed from the start.

In the late nineteenth century and after the Anglo – Boer War, the language medium used in the schools became a subject of controversy for the White population. In the urban areas, the Whites were largely English speakers because many teachers were brought from Britain, and few of them learned Afrikaans, but Afrikaans speaking children were taught in English. As a result, many Afrikaners demanded an instruction in their mother tongue because the State was unable to introduce bilingualism in the schools for financial reasons.

Then, it became obvious that the development of education and the educational institutions did not emerge noticeably. However, there were various missionary institutions such as, Lovedale, the Industrial School, St. Mathew' College and Zamebloem in Cape Town, the Native College at Grahams Town, Adams' College in Natal, the Kilnerton Training Institute in the Transvaal, the Wellington European Girls ' School, the Head town Native School, Fort Hare College, and the Livingstonia Missionary Institute in Nyasaland which gave Black South Africans an outstanding spokesman like Clements Kadalie (1896 – 1951) who completed his secondary schooling there. He was qualified as a teacher⁽⁵⁷⁾.

All these missionary institutions represented an important factor in the growth of the African national consciousness. Lovedale, for instance represented an exception to all missionary bodies by its non – racial character, the quality of its education program, its high standard and the number of its passes. It started with eleven Africans and nine

European pupils⁽⁵⁸⁾. But, Lovedale soon became famous in the country thanks to its Scottish teachers such as W. Govan and Dr. James Stewart. Their philosophy was to further the spiritual and material conditions of their students. In its primary education level, Lovadale remained for many years the only centre in South Africa to provide non – Whites with secondary education⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Hundreds of teachers emerged from this missionary institution because it also paid a particular attention to industrial education which attracted students from all parts of the Union of South Africa. This prestigious College contributed as a direct instrumental factor in the creation of the African educated elite .

Lovedale gave the Blacks the opportunity to meet fellow students from different nationalities, speaking different languages and following different customs. Unlike other missionary bodies which generally focused on religious teaching, Lovedale offered a wide range of activities which led to its rapid expansion . However , this institution, which showed prestige for many years introduced the discrimination between the Whites and the Blacks in the mid-1930's.

The University College of Fort Hare was another important factor in the growth of the African national consciousness. It was the first university college for Blacks in South Africa. Its opening was the combination of missionaries' and Africans' efforts to spread education amongst Africans .

Fort Hare followed Lovedale tradition and tried to meet African needs in several ways. Its principal objective was to prepare the African students (males and females) for their future life together. It was also different from other schools

because it took into account the social milieu of its students . It used syllabuses which widened its students' point of view by referring to other societies . The most important objective of this university school was to introduce its students into a colour bar - free world, and made them self - confident .

In 1920, it was a general practice in all the four provinces for Whites and non - White children to attend different schools. Those for White pupils were financed and administered by the provinces, whereas, the rest were operated by the missions with State aids.

By 1940 ⁽⁶⁰⁾, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State which were dominated by Afrikaners had made the use of their mother tongue compulsory in primary schools. Then, the medium to be used in secondary schools was left to a decision made by the parents. But, this policy changed after the political victory of the National Party in 1948. The Nationalists' government insisted on the use of their mother tongue, Afrikaans, in all schools instructions. Therefore, they applied an educational philosophy known as the " Christian National Education " (C.N.E.) ⁽⁶¹⁾ .

According to the C.N.E., a White child was, by law, required to attend the school, and in most cases, he went to a public school where education was free. There, his experiences confirmed and strengthened the attitude he had acquired in his home . His school environment was an exclusive atmosphere as his home environment . His teachers and fellow pupils were drawn from his own community . The only non - Whites to be found on the school grounds were servants , and the major fidelity established by the school was to the community or the White Caste ⁽⁶²⁾. Previously , there were a number of schools which supplied education for both

communities because it was the United Party Policy (U.P.P.) to encourage such schools as a means of reducing the Afrikaner community exclusiveness .

The Christian National Education (C.N.E.) policy was opposed by the National Party (N.P.) because they feared that the Afrikaner children would become denationalized in such schools . Therefore , the Institute for Christian National Education of the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Association decorated the CNE policy in 1948 ⁽⁶³⁾. Its basic thesis was that each of the White communities should provide children with an education preserving its strange tradition. It was the dominant educational philosophy in the Transvaal where it was obligatory for the White child to be educated in his home language . The CNE policy made the Afrikaans language also compulsory in primary and secondary schools in the Orange Free State and the Cape .

A similar policy was applied in Natal, but parents encouraged by the United Party preserved the right to decide which language would be used in the schools. Regardless of the medium chosen and upon the achievement of the secondary school, all students were expected to be skillful in both Afrikaans and English. All people had their own distinctive culture which education was expected to strengthen , and a new subject called Race Studies had been added, where the CNE maintained that the Black education system should be based on the principles of trusteeship and segregation ⁽⁶⁴⁾, and that it should not be placed at the level of the White system .

According to the CNE , education should help the Blacks develop their own interpretation and acceptance of the Christian and national values. This rapid spread of

understanding Christianity was achieved through mission schools mainly. Education was limited to the fundamentals of reading, writing, arithmetic, and little interest in learning existed beyond that level. Teaching and teacher training would be carried out by Blacks, but under the control and guidance of the state. In this process, Black education would not cause damage to White education.

By the end of 1948, there were over five thousand⁽⁵⁶⁾ mission schools in South Africa and they received considerable financial support from the state. Most of the missionaries were of European rather than South African origin; therefore, they regarded their purpose as educators to transmit modern knowledge to African people. By contrast, the White-settlers' mentality was against this. They thought that to educate Blacks was to give them contact with the external world which inculcated such mischievous and intolerable ideas as democracy, brotherhood of man, fundamental human freedoms, and the like.

Throughout the coming chapter, there will be an attempt to the manner in which the Apartheid policy was transmitted as a new philosophy⁽⁶⁵⁾ created by the White government in 1948. It will also examine how did the African National Party emerged as a leading minority. It will also select the most inflexible acts and laws which were applied through that system of segregation in ruling different races, mainly the Blacks and except the Whites in South Africa, and to which extent it affected Africans' education.

Notes to Chapter One

1.E. G. Pells, *300 Years of Education in South Africa*, Connecticut, Greenwood Press Publishers, 1970, p. 13.

2. Ali A. Mazrui and Toby Klelan Levine, *The African*, New York, the Annenberg Collection, 1986, p. 43.

3. Netherlands was one of the numerous established communities of European extraction, such as from the United Kingdom, Portugal, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, France, Scandinavia and Greece, who spoke the two official languages as well as their mother tongue. Ibid., p.44.

4. Ibid.

5. A.R.C. Ottaway, *Education and Society*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul L.T.D., Broad Way publishing House, 1966, p. 6.

6. Afrikaners : this term was first used by a French Huguenot settler called Bibauld in 1705. It came to crystallize the belief that South Africa was henceforward the mother land of the white community. Ibid., p. 8.

7. A. R. Thompson, *Education and Development in Africa*, London, Macmillan Press LTD, 1981, p.p. 45-46.

8. Boers : European farmers in Dutch language (Boere is the plural form).

Legum, Colin, *Africa: A Handbook to the Continent*. New York, USA H-Africa publication, 1967, p. 328.

9. Khoi-khoi or Hottentots : (men of the men) yellow skinned herders who spoke Khoisan language and whose ancestors proved to be indigenous

hunters who at a particular period in history acquired cattle and became herders and pastoralists.

Bernard Nantet, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Civilisations Africaines*, Paris, Larousse publication, 1999, p. 139.

10. Brian, M. Dutoit , “ Missionaries, Anthropologists and the Policy of The Dutch Reformed Church ”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1984, Vol.22, N°4, p. 618.

11. Ibid., p. 620

12. Ibid., p. 629

13. Ibid.

14. Ethiopianism was based on the idea “ Africa for the Africans”. A.R. Thompson, op., cit p. 11.

15. The Nguni: were composed of the Zulu, the Xhosa and the Swazi tribes. They occupied the area extending from the South of the Limpopo until the Great Kei River. First, The Zulu - speaking people were associated with Natal and KwaZulu. Second, the Xhosa - speaking people were associated with Ciskei and Transkei and they were the first who contacted the Khoekoen people and the white frontier folk in the area of the Kei River. Then, the Swazi-speaking people were associated with the kingdom of Swaziland and KaNgwne.

David de Villiers , *The Case for South Africa* , London, Tom Stacey Ltd, 1970. p. 12.

16. The Sotho : The Northern, Southern and Western Sotho formed the Sotho group. The North Sotho lived in Lebowa and Northern Transvaal. The

West Sotho resided in Botswana, Bophuthatswana, Western Transvaal and Northern Cape. The South Sotho were associated with Lesotho, Qwaqwa and Eastern of the Orange Free State. Ibid., p. 13.

17. The Tsonga: the Tsonga-speaking people inhabited the east of Lebombo mountains and the Eastern Transvaal till Mozambique. Ibid.

18. The Venda : the Venda-speaking people were the most recent black immigrants to settle in the area south of the Limpopo River. Ibid., p. 14.

19. Brian , M. Dutoit. op., cit.

20. A.R.C. Ottaway . op., cit., p. 10.

21. A. R. Thompson. Op., cit. p. 48

22. John W. Degruchy, *Apartheid is a Heresy*, Cape Town, Degruchy and C. Villa, Vinceencio publication, 1983, pp.11-12.

23. Cyril Bidy, *Race, Prejudice and Education*, London, Dust Jacket Rare and Collectable Publication, 1959, p. 21

24. Willem Saayman , “ Subversive Subservience”, *Missionalia*, Vol.24, n° 3, 1996, p. 136.

25. H.D. Nelson, *South Africa, A Country Study*, Washington, Foreign Area Studies 2nd edition, 1980, p. 12.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., p. 137.

28. Ibid., p. 148.

29. Cyril Bidy, op., cit., p. 22.

30. F., Troup, *South Africa : A Historical Introduction*, London , Pelican Books, 1962, p. 42.

31. E. G. Pells, op., cit., p. 11.

32. *Www. Researchgate. Net/ [Thomas](#) Muir 189061915. (2007).*

33. B., Lahouel, op., cit. p. 317.

34. African organisations The Native United Political Associations of the Transvaal Colony (April 25, 1905), the Orange River Colony Native Congress (June 1906), the Natal Native Congress (October 1908), the 'aboriginal natives of South Africa, resident in the Transvaal' (October 22, 1908), the South African Native Congress (April 10, 1906). E. G. Pells, op. cit., p. 48.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p. 50.

37. Ibid., p. 52.

38. July Poirier, *Le Transvaal (1652-1899)*, Paris, Librairie CH. Delagrave, 1897, p. 299.

39. Peter H. Katjavivi., *A History of Resistance in Namibia*, Paris, Unesco Press, 1988, p. 28.

40. Ibid., p. 61.

41. T., Pakenham, *The Anglo-Boer War (1889-1902)*, Johannesburg, South African press, 1979, pp. 119-120.

42. The Boer victories followed the territorial wars fought between the British and the Boers. The latter were settlers in South Africa but were of Dutch origin. The first war was from 16 December 1880 to 23 March 1881 while the Second ran from 9 October 1899 to 31 May 1902. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Verrning in May 1902 and the British in the end handed the Boers self government in 1907. The Anglo-Boer wars were also called the anti-imperialist struggles.

[http://answers.ask.com/Society/history/what is the Boer-war](http://answers.ask.com/Society/history/what%20is%20the%20Boer-war) (2007)

43. [Www.geni.com/people/Stephanus Jacobus du Toit](http://www.geni.com/people/Stephanus_Jacobus_du_Toit) /15 fév. (2010).

44. E. G. Pells, op., cit. p. 61.

45. Peter H. Katjavivi, Op., cit., p. 65.

46. *Www. Boer war. Com /personalities/ Kruger Paul. Html* (22 Juin 2008)

47. <http://www.wikipedia.org//Gymnasium>. Secondary school (2009)

48. E. G. Pells, op., cit.

49. H.D. Nelson, op., cit., p. 30.

50. A. E. Afigbo, A. E. Ayandele, R. C. Gavin, J. D. Omer-Cooper, and R. Palmer, *The Making of Modern Africa*, London, Longman publication, 1900, p. 280.

51. [http://answers.ask.com/Society/history/\(2013\)](http://answers.ask.com/Society/history/(2013)).

52. H.D. Nelson, op., cit., p. 30.

53. Robert O. Collins, *African History*, New York, University of California press, 1971, p. 476.

54. H.D. Nelson, op., cit., p. 50.

55. Ibid., p. 52.

56. Robert O. Collins, op., cit., p. 476.

57. Ibid., p. 477.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., p. 478.

60. Peter Harries Jones, *Freedom Labour*, Great Britain, St Martin's press, 1975, p. 21.

61. Ibid., p. 22.

62. Basil Davidson, *Modern Africa, A Social and Political History*, London, New York Third Edition Press, 1983, p. 5.

63. Ibid., p. 7.

64. Cyril Bidy, op., cit., p. 30.

65. Ibid., p. 32.

CHAPTER TWO

Apartheid As a New Political Policy against non-Whites mainly Black South Africans after 1948

Unlike the other African States, South Africa is the only White dominated state in Africa. The Whites had a monopoly of political power based on a system which distinguished between the different races.

Race and Color remained important factors which allowed the Europeans to apply a policy of segregation based on separate developments of the races. It was based on different discriminating laws which should be applied under a theory created by Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd⁽¹⁾, the principal creator of Apartheid.

This chapter is an attempt to discuss some of these events. It will introduce the Apartheid policy, how it was created and in which atmosphere. Then, it will give a brief summary about the foundation of the National Party, its leaders, and how this party reached the top of

the South African government. By the end of the chapter, it will focus on how Apartheid applied on different races, and how it was enforced by different discriminating laws in all fields of the African life, especially in Education.

I. Apartheid as a New Concept

All South Africans and especially the students suffered a great deal of segregation which led them to different reactions, from passive to violent ones. Thousands have already been killed. The conflict seemed set to become worse and to last for many years. The cause was generally agreed to be the government's policy of Apartheid.

The questions that can be discussed are : What was Apartheid ? What was this policy about ? How was it applied ? How did the peoples of one of the most large and rich countries in the world come to adopt so unskilled social arrangement ? and why did the African students persist with it when all the world could see it as a useless system and a strange educational, social and political disease ?

What is Apartheid?⁽²⁾, The man who brought the word to the world's attention in its political sense was Dr Daniel François Malan⁽³⁾, a leader of the National Party in the South African general election of 1948. His party's victory and its preservation of power brought about the introduction of Apartheid not just as the government's dominant policy but as the means of keeping western civilization from the destruction by Black masses. However, racial discrimination had already been performed in South Africa for more than three hundred years⁽⁴⁾. Subsequently, Apartheid is a term created to label severe racial differences especially from 1948 on. Then, people from different skin colour found it disagreeable and cruel.

In the decades after 1948, on the one hand, while the European empires were collapsing and the imperial relationship was everywhere being rejected, South Africa's White population secured and applied race relations of the past on to their actual society. On the other hand, most social rules were informal and capable of some flexibility, but since 1948 in South Africa they have been made rigid and enforced by discriminatory laws. This obsessional old-fashioned law-making and its harsh policing were what constituted Apartheid.

At the time of the 1948 election, Apartheid was primarily a slogan⁽⁵⁾ for winning votes. Malan had no idea how it might be realized in practice. The National Party candidates told voters that apartheid

meant “total segregation” which was sending all Blacks to “homelands” or “native reserves”, which were lands reserved for Blacks only, where they could rule themselves by themselves but in White’s areas or towns they were treated as second-class people because all Blacks had to carry passes⁽⁶⁾.

The pass had to contain an employer’s stamp but without it a Black was legally responsible to be ordered to leave the town. It gave the authorities legal power to send any Black they thought undesirable to a “native reserve”. The Pass Laws ⁽⁷⁾ provoked more conflicts and protests than any other law of the apartheid state. For the most part, it was a hard and severe mythology applied on an anxious, under attack people who have never been assured of a continued national existence.

II. The Emergence of the Afrikaner National Party

To deal with the emergence of the Afrikaner White National Party(NP) that directed the South African government for more than forty years, it is necessary to have a brief look at its early existence and its development through these years.

On October 11, 1899 ⁽⁸⁾, the Boers –the descendents of the early Dutch settlers- of the Transvaal declared war against Britain. The Boers were initially victorious when their commandos reached both the Cape and Natal but they attempted to reduce the British strong points at Kimberly and Mafeking.

Even after the arrival of the British additional forces, the Boers continued to win. After discussions, the Boers’ leaders voted to accept the terms offered by Lord Kitchener, the British commander at the time. The British promised to grant internal self-government at an early date.

The Peace Treaty was signed on May 31, 1902 ⁽⁹⁾. After the fall of power of the conservative government in London in 1905, the new cabinet of the Liberal Party (LP) was set up to regain the friendship of the Boers. The Liberal Party leadership granted responsible government to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State with purely White electorates, having not only the Black Africans but also the Coloured and Indian population permanently without a political voice.

The new government came into being in March 1907 ⁽¹⁰⁾. Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, two former generals of the Boer army, were its principal political leaders. The pro-Afrikaner Party also won the 1908 elections in the Cape Colony. The three new colony governments, namely the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal, were seeking both economic and political strength through unity. The new state came into being as the Union of South Africa on May 30, 1910 ⁽¹¹⁾. In that year, the British imperial government in London took out Britain's political power from South Africa and gave all this power to the two White minorities: those who spoke English and those who spoke Afrikaans.

The White government presidents of the four states, the Cape, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Natal, disagreed in many ways but they were definitely united against the Blacks. The Whites worked for the implementation of the discriminatory political views for the maintenance of a White supremacy stated in the previous constitutions, the White race was a superior one and could never equal the black one⁽¹²⁾.

This White government permitted the White minority to establish a new constitution with three major administrative regions: Cape Town as a legislative capital, Pretoria as an administrative one and Bloemfontein as a judicial one. The constitution was also provided for the welfare of both the British and the Dutch Boers. The co-existence ⁽¹³⁾ of the Boers and the English speaking Whites led to the creation of the South African Union. The latter came into being under the leadership of General Louis Botha who became the Prime Minister of the Union.

The granting of a representative government to the colonies provided the opportunity for Afrikaner nationalists to seize political power. In the Transvaal, the Hetvolk ⁽¹⁴⁾ which was a Boer party led by Louis Botha and Jan Christian Smuts (1870-1950), won a large majority. In the Orange River Colony, control passed into the hands of the Orangia Unie Party (OUP) under J.B.M. Hertzog. The latter was a lawyer who distinguished himself as a Boer general by incorporating his ideals into written laws. They were applied in education by the first Parliament when Herzog became the Minister of Education in 1908 ⁽¹⁵⁾ .

Although nationalist, none of these Afrikaner parties was prepared to break with the British. Smuts and Botha were prepared to create the Union of South Africa in association with the British. Later on, the force of the Afrikaner nationalists became more visibly apparent. The first elections under the new constitution were held in 1911.

The Afrikaner parties of the four provinces formed the South African Party (SAP) under Botha as prime minister and Smuts as General and it won the elections. However, J.B.M. Hertzog was initially included in the cabinet, but he broke away in 1912 to help form the National Party (NP).

The opposition was divided along class lines: English speaking Unionists represented commerce, finance, mining, and Natal agricultural interests. Then, a small Labour Party⁽¹⁶⁾, dominated by English men and led by Greswell, who was a British colonel, represented the remaining White working class within which Afrikaners were a growing minority. The chief idea of the Union was to drive Africans into the labour service for white farms, white industries and white families as house servants. One of the new government's first acts was to propose the creation of a state - owned steel industry⁽¹⁷⁾ in 1919.

The Nationalists felt that the creation of their own steel industry would end the country's dependence on Britain for its steel needs. In the same period, private economic enterprises of the Afrikaners were beginning to challenge English dominance in a number of other fields.

Fearing that the Nationalists might lose the 1934 elections, Hertzog sought a coalition government with Smuts to bring the country out of the economic depression. The two parties, the (S.A.P.) and the (O.U.P.) merged in the same year to form the United Party (U.P.). On the other hand, Dr. Daniel Malan ⁽¹⁸⁾ formed the Purified National Party (P.N.P.). The Purified Nationalists were later on rejoined by thirty-seven Hertzogists. War-time elections in 1943 again returned the United Party to power with a large majority.

The reunited National Party or simply the National Party began to turn its efforts towards the 1948 elections and proclaimed that it offered voters a new policy to ensure continued White dominance on the other races, mainly the Blacks. The new policy of the (N.P.) was in

line with the theory of H.F. Verwoerd which was designed to call for separation of the races in South Africa by rigid barriers and the exercise of segregation in multiracial areas. This Apartheid policy, as defined previously, was to be carried into every field.

III. The Enforcement of Apartheid Policy up to the 1960's

Concerning Black-White relations, the champions of the two main parties that fought the election were Smuts and Malan who had much in common. They had known each other since they were children in the little town of Riebeeck West in Cape Province; then, they were classmates at Stellenbosch University. The two had, for decades, supported the policy of segregation and saw no way it can be replaced. They were proud to be Afrikaners and found educated Blacks troublemakers.

When Apartheid was primarily a slogan for winning votes, Malan had no idea how it might be executed and made in practice later on. In deciding his election tactics, Malan faced a difficulty because the single concern that had united his nationalist supporters ever since his break with Hertzog in 1934 had been republicanism⁽¹⁹⁾. For that reason,

Malan and his colleagues did their best to provoke fear of communism through voters describing Smuts as a communist and drawing attention to his admiration for Stalin as a war-time friend. As the election approached, only one matter seemed capable of swinging voters to Malan, the issue that motivated the Nationalists, the Whites widespread dislike to the Blacks who were seen as a national danger.

In the 1929⁽²⁰⁾ elections, Hertzog had accused Smuts of being soft on the Blacks. This time Malan used the same method. He could also draw attention to the growing number of Blacks working in the towns, to the farmers who had lost their Black labour-force⁽²¹⁾, to the many Afrikaners who were without jobs, to the softness of Smuts's war-time administration in imposing the pass laws, to Smuts's 1942 Institute of Race Relations⁽²²⁾ speech for improving the health, housing and education of urban African.

In general, Malan based his global attention on the fact that Smut's government was more concerned with the interests of Blacks

than of the Whites, which was untrue. But to many White voters it was believable .

What the National Party wanted was White supremacy with the Blacks forced to leave the towns and returned to their proper place, the Native reserves . The whole successive story of Apartheid needs to be seen in the light of the finding of the Native Laws Commission ⁽²³⁾. Its leader was Mr. Justice H. A. Fagan ⁽²⁴⁾.

The Fagan commission of 1947 found that total segregation required sufficient extension of the Native areas to enable them to house, feed and employ more than twice the number then living. Moreover, it required Europeans to stop employing black workers .

On top of the United Party, Smuts accepted both the principles and the proposals of the Fagan report. Then, the problem was that Afrikaner businessmen and farmers needed their Black workers. So “ total Apartheid“ ⁽²⁵⁾ would be followed slowly, and to be with the necessary care to avoid the disturbance of the country’s agriculture and industries .

Therefore, two stages of Apartheid were outlined. In the first, Blacks would be allowed to work in White areas and in the second they would not . But how long stage one would last and how long industry would survive when its’ ending was left totally unclear .

Fagan with a group of thinkers put forward proposals for serious immigration from the Netherlands and Germany to provide White workers and intensive mechanization to demonstrate Blacks. Then, the Native Consolidation Act ⁽²⁶⁾ was questioned in 1945 which did not permit a Black to stay in the White areas for more than 72 hours unless he worked there for one employer for not less than ten years or he was allowed special permission to be in the area for work . Otherwise, Blacks had to work in the White areas and come back to their homelands the same day. Afterward, many other more rigid legislations were enacted. The 1948 elections drove the Nationalists to a commanding position with seventy legislative seats⁽²⁷⁾. From that year, the government controlled by the National Party, enacted legislations to implement the Apartheid philosophy having the aim of creating an

Afrikaner dominated state in which all liberal oppositions would be effectively silenced .

The coming era can be characterized by more brutal and more extensive racial segregation than has been the case previously. Then, different discriminating legislations were brought about. The Immorality Act of 1949 ⁽²⁸⁾ was one of the most brutal acts. It intended to keep the number of mixed race children to a minimum. Mixed marriages had not been very numerous since 1925, but sexual intercourse between Whites and Blacks was made illegal after 1949, and was made punishable by up to seven years in prison.

Then, the Group Areas Act ⁽²⁹⁾ was introduced in 1950. It aimed at separating residential areas and community centers of each of the ethnic groups. It controlled the sale of property from members of one group to another for occupation, or for ownership or for both by a particular ethnic group. The result was that persons of any other group were disqualified from owning property or living there except by a special permit.

Proclamations, sometimes, disqualified coloured persons from areas in which they and their families had lived for generations. In some cases, a whole community with its church, schools and shops was affected. Asian traders; for instance, faced many difficulties. They had either to move to an Asian group area, or try to obtain temporary permits to carry on their businesses with their customers who were members of other racial group. Their problem was that their businesses might fail if they had to move to Asian areas. So, working under short – term permits, they could not plan any activity in the future or extend their businesses .

Over the years, the group area legislation had been modified so that land ownership was reduced or removed. Owners of properties had no longer the right to have their own property. So, they had to leave. The only advantage of this system is that local authorities were given the opportunity of clearing slums and building new residential areas for non-White people. The authorities were providing roads, schools and other services in these areas, and building houses. There were nine

group areas for eight ethnic groups who would practice their civil rights in their own areas . They had their own schools, hospitals, shopping centers, sport fields, swimming baths and other facilities. For the first time, the various groups participated in the administration of their community affairs .

In 1950 , the Population Registration Act ⁽³⁰⁾ was introduced. It provided for the classification of the South African population. This classification was based on the family history, social acceptance and physical appearance. Then, in 1952, the Pass Laws Act was enacted. Black Africans were required to carry passes or “reference books “ ⁽³¹⁾ which included information which were necessary for the government to be able to control urban and industrial areas.

These were documents fully required for all Blacks over the age of sixteen. A Black African might visit a White urban area, where he did not usually live, for up to 72 hours ⁽³²⁾ without obtaining an employment permit from a labour bureau. Those with employment permits or those qualified by residence to live in these areas could be accompanied by their wives and unmarried children under the age of eighteen. Those without permits had to leave the urban areas and return to their own land.

Then, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 ⁽³³⁾ enforced separation of races in all educational institutions, and many mission schools had to close. The Blacks were considered as people who could only cut wood and carry water .

This Act was strengthened by the Universities Education Act ⁽³⁴⁾ of 1959. Black students were to receive an education clearly different from that given to White students. This educational system was carried out despite the Black protests against the degradation of their educational standards.

The Native Labour Act of 1953 outlawed the Black workers who would organise strikes. It was followed by the Criminal Law Amendment Act which provided for five ‘years imprisonment for anyone who would try to break the law in protest against the Apartheid policy. In 1955, the police were given a total authority to enter and search,

without giving explanation, through the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act⁽³⁵⁾. Indeed, it allowed the police to do their work freely.

One year later, the Industrial Conciliation Act prohibited mixed trade unions and reserved certain jobs for different races. It granted work to Whites at the expense of non-Whites and transferred Africans to manual work. The Whites considered this action as a positive one due to the number of poor unemployed Whites who might help with their voice in the elections.

In 1957, there was the Native Law Act which restricted freedom of worship by allowing the Minister of Native Affairs to forbid the attendance of Blacks at any church service in a White area⁽³⁶⁾. In the same year, there was the Nursing Act which introduced Apartheid into the nursing profession in hospitals. In 1959, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act eliminated Black representation in parliament and introduced ways for setting up the so-called "self-government"⁽³⁷⁾ in the reserves. On the Blacks' side, they were not allowed to use any organisation to express their point of view and to ask for their rights. Moreover, through the Unlawful Organisation Act⁽³⁸⁾, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress were banned by the authorities.

In 1967, the Terrorism Act⁽³⁹⁾ was enacted. It was the most rigid one. Under the Act, a person would be guilty of terrorism if he tried to cause danger to law and order, or if the person's deed would have one of the twelve results mentioned in the Act. The most unreasonable one was "section 6" in the Terrorism Act which made a Black African guilty if he would try to advance or encourage the reaching of any political aim, or any social or economic change by force or violence, under the direction or guidance of any foreign government or institution.

These laws were passed by the Nationalists to separate as much as possible themselves from the non-Whites. They should never meet except as rulers and subjects. However, the Africans rejected these discriminating laws and they reacted in different ways according to their social awareness and intellectual level.

But, this policy changed after the political victory of the National Party in 1948, the Nationalist government insisted on the use of their

mother tongue, Afrikaans, in all schools instructions. Therefore, they applied an educational philosophy known as the “ Christian National Education “ (CNE) ⁽⁴⁰⁾ .

According to the CNE, a White child was, by law, required to attend the school, and in most cases he went to a public school where education was free. There, his experiences confirmed and strengthened the attitude he had acquired in his home . His school environment was an exclusive atmosphere as his home environment. His teachers and fellow pupils were drawn from his own society. The only non - Whites to be found on the school grounds were servants, and the major fidelity established by the school was to the community or the White Caste ⁽⁴¹⁾.

Previously, there were a number of schools which supplied education for both communities because it was the United Party Policy to encourage such schools as a means of reducing the Afrikaner community exclusiveness . The Christian National Education (C.N.E.) policy opposed the National Party (N.P.) because they feared that the Afrikaner children would become denationalized in such schools. Therefore, the Institute for Christian National Education of the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Association decorated the CNE policy in 1948 ⁽⁴²⁾. Its basic thesis was that each of the White communities should provide children with an education preserving its traditions. It was the dominant educational philosophy in the Transvaal where it was obligatory for the White child to be educated in his home language .

The CNE policy made the Afrikaans language also compulsory in primary and secondary schools in the Orange Free State and the Cape . A similar policy was applied in Natal, but parents encouraged by the United Party preserved the right to decide which language would be used in the schools. Regardless of the medium chosen and the achievement of the secondary school, all students were expected to be skillful in both Afrikaans and English. All people had their own distinctive culture which education was expected to strengthen, and a new subject called Race Studies had been added, where the CNE maintained that the Black education system should be based on the principles of trusteeship and segregation ⁽⁴³⁾, and that it should not be placed at the level of the White system.

According to the CNE, education should help the Blacks develop their own interpretation and acceptance of the Christian and national values. This rapid spread of understanding Christianity was achieved through mission schools mainly. Education was limited to the fundamentals of reading, writing arithmetic, and little interests in learning existed beyond that level. Teaching and teacher training would be carried out by Blacks, but under the control and guidance of the state. In this process, Black education would not cause damage to White education.

By the end of 1948, there were over five thousand⁽⁴⁴⁾ mission schools in South Africa, and they received considerable financial support from the state. Most of the missionaries were of European rather than South African origin, and they regarded it as their purpose as educators to transmit modern knowledge regardless unequal life conditions of the learners.

But from the National Party's point of view, this was dangerous because the party leaders realized that the economic system demanded that some modern education should be provided for the subordinate castes. They wished to prevent the subordinate from being dissatisfied with their subordinate roles.

In 1953, the parliament passed the Bantu Education Act which started a radical transformation of the African school education. The transformation was almost complete when the African education was dealt with and controlled by the Central Government Department of Bantu Education. No private school for Africans could exist without an annual license from the government. In several cases, the government refused to grant licenses to the schools such as Christ the King School in Sophia Town, and Adams College in Natal, and most of the missionary schools were transferred to the government.

By 1962, fewer than seven hundred schools⁽⁴⁵⁾ remained under private control. Then, the Bantu Education Department provided some elementary education for most African children and secondary education for a few of them. Most of the mission schools used English as the medium of instruction after the first year or after two years of

schooling. It was used as a literary language of the African population, and it seemed to become the lingua franca⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Since 1964, a process of decentralizing African schooling to the “ Homelands “ ⁽⁴⁷⁾ areas, and delegating control and some policy matters to the territorial authorities started to be applicable .

When these had been officially constituted, schooling for African children was neither free nor compulsory and parents were responsible for some of the books and equipment changes .

Consequently, the number of African students who received some schooling doubled in the twenty years following the 1953 Bantu Education Act because the parliament’s passage of the National Education Policy Act of 1967 sought to correct the weakness of the White system. The Act established certain guiding principles of education in the White primary and secondary schools. Many of the same provisions were incorporated in similar legislation governing the operation of non – White schools .

The Act specified that education was to be free if the students’ parents were citizens of or lived in South Africa. It also provided for uniformity of teachers’ conditions, of service and salary scales. As a result of the 1967 Act and similar legislations governing the structure of education for non – Whites, South Africa primary and secondary schools had followed a four – phase program that required twelve years for completion. All students, regardless of racial category, took the same examination and success qualified the individuals for entrance into some form of higher education .

In Black and Coloured schools, students who did not go beyond the primary school or the junior phase of secondary school could receive appropriate certificates attesting to successful completion of these levels. It has long been the government’s aim to ensure that . All Black children had to receive at least four years of education, but attainment of this goal had not been easy because most Black families had to pay some fees for their children’s education. Although the fees were modest by national standards, many families were unable to afford the cost. Then, many Black children were dropped out before completing standard two.

By 1968, the expenditure on African education was one – eighth of the amount spent on the Whites. Other statistics could be mentioned, about half the schools held double sessions, about a quarter of the teachers were qualified and about 85% of African children entered primary schools, but just under half left the first year. Only one-tenth⁽⁴⁸⁾ entered secondary schools and only half of them passed the examination .

In the 1970's, the White population continued to decline in number while the Black component increased even more rapidly. In these circumstances, the unused white schools were often underutilized while vast numbers of non – whites were deprived of education for lack of schools. Many Blacks, Asians, and Coloureds were subjected to half days of instruction because the teachers attempted to serve a large school population through double sessions.

By the end of the 1970's, the Bantu language of an area was the sole medium of instruction in public schools through the eighth grades and the only medium of examination in all grades. In the twelfth grade, much time was given to the teaching of Afrikaans as learners of English.

Up to the time when the schools were transferred to the central government responsibility, most if not all the farm schools, were run by the churches. After their transfer, they became the responsibility of the farmers on whose land they were located, and this was fruitful for many Blacks. It has been stated that “ what Africans wanted at this time and throughout the colonial period, was literary, assimilative education in a European language for this was seen as the route to high wages, equality and power. To educate them is to give them contact with world movements and world thinking and inculcate ideas as democracy , the brotherhood of men, fundamental human freedoms, and the like ”⁽⁴⁹⁾.

It remains clear that the educated elite suffered a great deal from White discrimination. The different educational institutions were the nucleus from which different organizations and political parties emerged. In this context, many questions may be asked: what was the ground of Black students aspirations, what was the impact of the African Students on the Black ' consciousness, the African movements, organizations and

political parties and what were the education consequences on the African cultural and political nationalism .

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Hendrik Verwoerd, the creator of Apartheid, born on 08 September 1901 in Amsterdam, then assassinated on 06 September 1966 in the Cape.

Jacques Marchand, *La Propagande de L'Apartheid*, karthala editions, Paris, 1985, p. 8.

2. Apartheid was called a 'Pronounced apart-hate', the word was an Afrikaans one, which was the South African language derived from Dutch, for apartness or separation. Ibid.

3. Daniel François Malan born on 22 Mai 1874 in Ribeeek west South Africa, then died on 7 February 1959 in Stellenbosch in South Africa. He had a high university degree.

H. D. Nelson , *South Africa, A Country Study*, Washington, Foreign Area Studies, 2nd Edition, 1980, p. 34.

4. E. G. PELLIS., op., cit., p. 23.

5. Paul Coquerel , *L'Afrique du Sud des Afrikaners* , Belgium, Editions Complexe , 1992, p. 59.

6. Ibid., p. 60.

7. Brian Lapping, *Apartheid A History*, London, Paladin Grafton Books, 1986, p. 129.

8. Ibid., p. 131.

9. R. and Marianne Cornevin , *Histoire de L'Afrique des Origines à Nos Jours*, Paris, Payot Edition, 1956, p. 164.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 166.

12. Ali A. Mazrui and Toby Kleban Levine, op., cit., p. 245.

13. Mazrui A. and Tidy M., *Nationalism and New States in Africa, From about 1935 to the Present* , London, Heimann Educational Books LTD, 1984, p. 164.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 165.

16. Ibid.

17. David Hirschman, “ A Study of Black Trade Unionism”, *A Journal African Affairs*, V. 18, N° 310, 1977, p. 178.

18. Daniel Malan who was a high priest of Afrikaner nationalism, an Afrikaner extremist and later on a Prime Minister in the 1948 government, Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 180.

20. Brian Lapping, op. cit., p. 80.

21. Ibid., p. 135.

22. Ibid., p. 137.

23. Service Information , *L'Anatomie de L'Apartheid* , Newyork , Edition des Nations Unies, 1968, p. 3.

24. Fagan had been a Nationalist and later on, he became a chief justice of the Union of South Africa . He was appointed by Smuts in August 1946. In March 1948 , Fagan delivered his famous report on what was the basis of Total Segregation. Ibid.

25. Brian Lapping, op. cit., p. 166.

26. Ibid., p. 135.

27. H. D. Nelson , op. cit., p. 171.

28. David de Villiers , *The Case for South Africa*, Paris, Tom Stacey Ltd, 1970, p. 97.

29. Leonard, M., Thompson, *Politics in the Republic of South Africa*, Boston, Little Brown Company Edition, 1965 , p. 55.

30. Ibid., p. 57.

31. Ibid.

32. H. D. Nelson , op. cit., p. 224.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., p. 230.

35. Ibid.

36. A . Arnold , *The Testimony of Steve Biko , Black Consciousness in South Africa*, London, Panther Books, 1987 , p. 25.

37. Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson, *Universities: British, Indian, African, Study in the Ecology of Higher Education*, England, Harvard Edition, 1966, p. 345.

38. Ali A. Mazrui and Toby Kleban Levine, *the Africans, A Reader*, London, Annenberg Collection, 1986 , p. 257.

39. A . Arnold, op. cit., p.25.

40. Ibid.

41. A Caste contained two or more distinguishable communities in South Africa. In the White Caste, the Afrikaner and the English speaking communities could be found and in the coloured Caste, the Christian and muslim communities. In the Black Caste, tribal communities existed such as the Xhosa, the Zulu, the Sotho. Ibid.

42. G. PELLIS, p. 26.

43. LAHOUEL, Badra, *The Origins of Nationalism in Algeria, The Gold Coast and South Africa with Special Reference to the period 1919-1937*. PhD. Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, Vol. 2, 1984, p. 388.

44. C. F., Hallencreutz, *Religion and Politics in Southern Africa*, Uppsala, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1991, p. 46.

45. H. D. Nelson , op. cit., p. 145.

46. A lingua franca was the English language used as a medium of communication between two people not having the same spoken language. Ibid.

47. Leonard M. Thompson , op. cit., p. 100.

48. " South Africa ", *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Paris , Vol. 1, 1974, p. 72.

49. Peter H. Katjavivi, *A History of Resistance in Namibia (Apartheid and Society)*, Paris, British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data, 1986, p. 27.

CHAPTER THREE

The Impact of Education and Students' Consciousness on the South African Nationalism up to 1977

It has been stated that “ what Africans wanted throughout the colonial period was literary and assimilative education in a European language “ (1). This was seen as the route to high wages, equality and power. To reach their goal which was based on an educational consciousness and socio-political position in the South African society, the African educated elite went through different internal and external events which inspired a new vision to the actual situation.

An important component of Black consciousness was Black spirituality and liberation from the point of view of people who were oppressed because of their colour. They accused the South African Christian Churches of being one of the most powerful instruments in making possible the political oppression of Black people.

This chapter explores the impact of education on the African cultural nationalism. It will illustrate how inspirations and different organizations participated in making the Africans aware about the segregation applied on them. By the end of this chapter, there will be an attempt on the Black Students' Movement , Mahatma Gandhi's who was called the prophet of non-violence, passive resistance and Soweto manifestations as one of Apartheid results on the South African society.

Black theology ⁽²⁾ was not anti-Christian, but sought to relate God and Christ to the black man and his problems. It also succeeded in making organized Christianity more political. One group of churchmen organized the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa (IDAMASA) ⁽³⁾. The experience of the Second World War gave a new spirit to anti-colonial ⁽⁴⁾ protest. It brought a new force for anti-colonial change. War experience also helped to develop a better political understanding of the colonial systems, and it raised cultural and political consciousness.

The South African regime developed a harsher education policy after 1948 which ended in the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The clearest statement of the ideology came from the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, when he said: "there is no place for the African in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.... Education will be in Sub-standard A and B, and probably up to Standard II, including reading, writing and arithmetic through mother-tongue instructions, as well as principles of the Christian religion" ⁽⁵⁾.

In such a way, the Bantu child would be able to find his way in European communities, to follow oral and written instructions and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest. These ideas about colonial injustice and inequality were reinforced by another experience of the war. Colonial Whites had always claimed that Europeans would defeat non-Europeans. Now the war showed Europeans as defeated by the Japanese⁽⁶⁾, but then the Japanese in turn were defeated, and partly by African soldiers, and this taught lessons.

The younger generation of black South Africans saw that when the Africans fought in the last century they were not fighting for "a return to the past" or for the preservation of their social system. On the contrary

they fought for its dependence and development, they fought and died for the defense of hard-earned achievements, for a noble cause such as Education, Christianity, and Technical superiority should not be misused for the exploitation and destruction of people, but should be used for progress. Poverty and pass laws had tended to confine Africans in one

area or region and this was also a source of inspiration for African revolt against colonialists, an expression of distrust, resistance, a sign of the vitality of the cultural heritage of the Africans.

The theory of negritude must be placed in the historical and the social context of the African world. The simple fact that he was black did not make the Negro, which was a word “ based on a biological factor and fundamentally apart from other human beings” (7) radically different from the white man or the yellow man. It was the environment in which he lived that conditioned his reactions, formed his mind and his feelings, in a word gave him a particular way of expression and manifested his being. The interesting thing is that negritude (8) expressed itself in a refusal of uncritical acceptance to doctrines coming from outside. In this sense it constituted an element of resistance, a defensive attitude on the part of the African Negro civilization.

Marcus Garvey’s ideas on “Black Zionism” (9) , was based on a complete equality of Blacks and Whites led to the idea of a complete liberation of Africa from colonial rule. Garvey’s aim was to lead blacks to take pride in their origins, creating for the first time a sentiment of international solidarity among all those of African descent. As Africans, his writings and his slogan “Africa for the Africans” were welcomed by blacks in South Africa. Meetings were held at various towns calling for black unity and a black administration. So, the Garvey ideology built upon a notion of Negro consciousness had made widespread appeal to the various ethnic groups in South Africa. Part of its attraction laid in its offer of an alternative identity for the various peoples of that land, an identity which, to a large part, emerged out of an aspiration for self-determination.

Pan-Africanism has nourished colonial liberation movements in Africa, mainly in South Africa. even though, the Pan-African movement was launched by American and Caribbean blacks, but because of the universality of its message it was able to attract the emerging leadership of Africa. The colonialisation of peoples in Black Africa has led them to look for a common platform in the fight for independence and consider all Africa to be their native land. This is why it was common to hear African leaders say that independence for their own

country alone was not enough, and that the anti-colonial struggle would not be at an end until the whole continent would be freed.

Undoubtedly Africans deeply desired unity which was a heavily emotional and affective subject. This was the reason that made the South Africans devoted to Pan-Africanism as an ideal. A Black press, which was established by the missionaries who played a pioneering role, created a system of spelling and of writing languages, established rules of typography and helped to train compositors and printers. One of the first published writing ⁽¹⁰⁾ was *Umshumayeli Wendaba* (Preacher of the News) in July 1837, the second periodical to appear was *Isibuto Samava* (Collection of Opinions) in January 1843.

Since 1922, *the Christian Express* has become known as *the South African Outlook*, which was a missionary journal. Later on, *Abantu-Batho* was really the first African paper with the clear purpose of developing the political awareness and national consciousness of the Africans.

The developments taking place in South Africa, were also reflected and found expression in the speeches and writings of Africans from South Africa studying abroad. All these events collaborated to create a sense of consciousness in all the Africans segregated life and especially the educated elite.

I. Cultural Nationalism and the Rise of Black Students' Organisations

The discouragement of African race was felt strongly by the educated South Africans. They saw all their ambitions and hopes die away and felt their rejection as a betrayal. The educated elite understood that, in spite of all their European knowledge and culture, they would remain a representative of an inferior race and poor imitator of Europeans Nobles. The awakening of racial consciousness came as a response to the attitude of those Europeans. The educated elite represented an effort to demonstrate that the African race could equal other races, namely the White race.

Cultural associations was traced back to one of the very first movements to be known "INKATHA KA ZULU" ⁽¹¹⁾, which meant the Zulu National Congress (ZNC) under the leadership of Solomon Ka Dinizulu

who attempted to bring back some of the Zulu identity and consciousness. The chief aims of INKATHA, at the beginning, was to encourage the spirit of unity among the people of the Zulu Nation throughout the Union of South Africa in the 1930's (12). later on, it was developed to the Constitution of the National and Cultural Liberation Movement (CNCLM) in June 1975 (13).

One of the major aims and ideals of the INKATHA movement became more particular and significant was liberation which meant 'freedom from' and 'freedom to', i.e. freedom from injustice and freedom to enact justice and enshrine it in the institutions of the country. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, who was the leader and the spokesman for INKATHA and one of its organizers, addressed the students at the University of Willamette, which was the free university of Amsterdam, in February 1977, the following : "Liberation is not about the acquisition of rights. The struggle for liberation is the struggle to defend rights and to claim rights which exist...", he added that the struggle for liberation was not a struggle to make things evolve faster, and that The fight was the dismantling of Apartheid society in order to realize human rights and human dignity(14).

In this regard, M. Buthelezi also Stated that : " It became clear that there was no need to imitate an alien race while the Africans possessed all the resources and the qualities to prove that they could imitate it" (15). The Africans understood that they had to revive and improve the value of African culture as a distinctive feature of this race

Cultural struggle could be considered as basic for the development of the Nationalist movements. The educated Africans also understood that they could not gain respect as long as they tried to refer to European civilization and forget their own .

Besides, they realized that they had been brought up to be the European' copies by the missionaries' schools as well as by their studies in European universities and many organizations and movements illustrated the South Africans cultural struggle for liberation. As far as the Black consciousness organisations are concerned, we can distinguish the groups which were flourishing the cultural atmosphere

and inspired the Black African resistance. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was a liberal organization dominated by White students and it was formed in 1924. It was an exclusively White student body that represented student interests. In the 1960's White members became sympathetic to the Black students' cause.

As a result, Black students membership began to increase. Many of these students, the majority of whom were based at the University of Natal, became increasingly dissatisfied with the inability of NUSAS to engage in deep racist structures and policies of both the government and universities.

In the period 1967-1968, Steve Bantu Biko (18 December, 1946 – 12 September, 1977) ⁽¹⁵⁾, a medical student at Natal University, was one of the students who began to analyze and criticize the unhealthy political situation in the country. At Natal University's medical school for Blacks, Biko was elected to the Students' Representative Council (SRC).

In 1967, Biko attended a conference of students that was dangerous for the government. Primarily because NUSAS was dominated by Whites, who were coming from Rhodes University; the conference mass refused to allow mixed-race accommodation or eating facilities. Reacting angrily to the incident, Biko was down for the incomplete integration of student politics under the existing system and sent away the talk of liberalism as an empty gesture by Whites who really wished to maintain the status and keep Blacks as second – rate citizens.

Besides, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was created to mark the Blacks' reaction towards NUSAS. BCM grew up before 1976 and it was inspired largely by the outstanding and brilliant young leader, Steve Biko, who guided the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). One incident in particular was that Biko became the theoretician of the evolving theory of Black Consciousness. White power was seen as the enemy, and the only answer to it was the slow but sure construction of black strength.

According to Biko, two important factors were needed in the BCM; the Blacks' awareness of the nature of their problem and the need for self-determination and independent planning of their aims and

procedures. Once they overcome dependence both on White liberals and on ethnicism, they could move forward in unity and in total certainty. The Black Consciousness Movement started in 1968 when Biko founded the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) for Black university students. Biko became SASO's first president.

The formation of SASO was preceded and influenced by the formation of the University Christ Movement (UCM) in 1967 ⁽¹⁶⁾. UCM was a religious movement that allowed students from different universities to meet on a regular basis. It was influenced by Black theology that taught religion from an oppressed person's point of view. It was based on liberation theology which aimed to inspire Black people to realise equality with White people and that their Blackness and inferiority was not a punishment nor a bad condition created by God. which basis was to transform society into a just and fraternal society. UCM aim was based on black theology and accepted this teaching as relevant for Black South Africans and important for their liberation.

Conversely, Steve Biko and his associates were not content with the UCM. They observed that the UCM was reinforcing the inferior status of Black people by having a large number of White people in their leadership structures, even if the majority of its members were Black.

In the same period two corresponding organisations were set up : The South African Student Movement (SASM) for secondary school students and the Black People's Convention (BPC) for non-students. The movement worked within the law, was non-violent and it excluded Whites. In this context, Biko explained more the situation when he said: "We needed time to look at our own problems, and not leave them to people without experience of the terrible conditions in the black townships or of the system of Bantu education." ⁽¹⁷⁾

Biko was, however, more than a theoretician because he helped to organize self-help methods with many of his colleagues and they suffered frequently from the political repression of B. J. Vorster's ⁽¹⁸⁾ government, He was called Balthazar Johannes Vorster and he was the new Minister of Justice in 1963. He enacted the Sabotage Act which was outbidding his antecedents in imprisoning, banning, and restricting

the protests. In 1973 Biko was banned from political involvement and he was restricted to his home town for five years, i.e. from 1973 to 1977. In this period, he was always arrested for breaking banning orders.

As a result, Black student's membership began to increase. Many of these students at the university of Natal became increasingly dissatisfied with the inability of NUSAS to deal with deep racist structures and policies of both the government and universities.

Subsequently, in 1968 during a UCM meeting, Black students decided to form an exclusively Black student organisation and a conference for only Black students should be organised. The conference was attended by thirty ⁽¹⁹⁾ members from various Student's Representative Council (SRC) from Black universities. The conference saw the birth of the South African Student Organisation (SASO). It was formed in 1968 when some members of the University of Natal's Black Campus⁽²⁰⁾, who were students representative council, decided to break away from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). In the 1960's White members of the SASO became sympathetic to the Black students' cause.

In the following year, in July 1969, SASO had its introductory conference which was held at the University of the North near Pietersburg. At this conference, Steve Biko was elected as the first president and the best student from the University of Natal who played a fundamental role in the formation of this student structure.

The decision to break away from NUSAS was also motivated largely by the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) which was also founded by Steve Biko (as mentioned before). BC was a new philosophy influenced by the development of "Black Theology" ⁽²¹⁾ among the University of Natal Black students. The Black Consciousness Movement that Biko founded rejected the notion that Whites could play a role in the liberation of Blacks. "The main thing was to get black people to articulate their own struggle and reject the White liberal establishment from prescribing to people," said Barney Pitso, Biko's friend ⁽²²⁾.

Biko and his colleagues felt Blacks needed to learn to speak for themselves and NUSAS was not revolutionary enough. Other liberal organisations like some churches were not open to Blacks. For example, at a non-racial church conference, which Biko attended, White participants discouraged Blacks from confronting restrictions of the Group Areas Act, which limited Blacks to 72 hours ⁽²³⁾ in a White area. It also underlined the extent to which Black South Africans were isolated even in the churches.

SASO adopted a peace-making tone towards NUSAS stating that its objective was to promote contact between Black students in different universities as well as contact between White and Black students. SASO was deeply concerned that breaking away from NUSAS would alienate it from those Black students who were strongly committed to working within and with NUSAS.

One such student was Ben Ngubane, who was of the opinion that Black politics should grow hand in hand with the White liberals, and who had also suffered from state abuse and humiliation and he believed that Blacks really deserved support, respect and freedom to love Black South Africa. He was further concerned that breaking away from a national body like NUSAS to form an additional national body would weaken the liberation movement.

Another student concerned with the formation of SASO was Aubrey Mokoape ⁽²⁴⁾. He was an Africanist and former member of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) since his high school days. He was against the inclusion of Coloureds and Indians in the Black Consciousness Movement on the reason that they were neither Blacks nor Africans descendents.

Faced with these conflicting perspectives, it became essential for SASO to adopt a careful approach for fear that it alienated the largeness of students understanding to its cause because so many apprehended different views.

Towards the middle of the 1970's, SASO began to emphasize its ideological stance and political objectives. The organisation had grown in confidence because of increased student support and forcefulness of the independent political organisation. As a result, during the first SASO

General Student Council (GSC), the first opening was improved to emphasize Black Consciousness and the independence of Black students to act according to their own free will in response to Apartheid and racism in general.

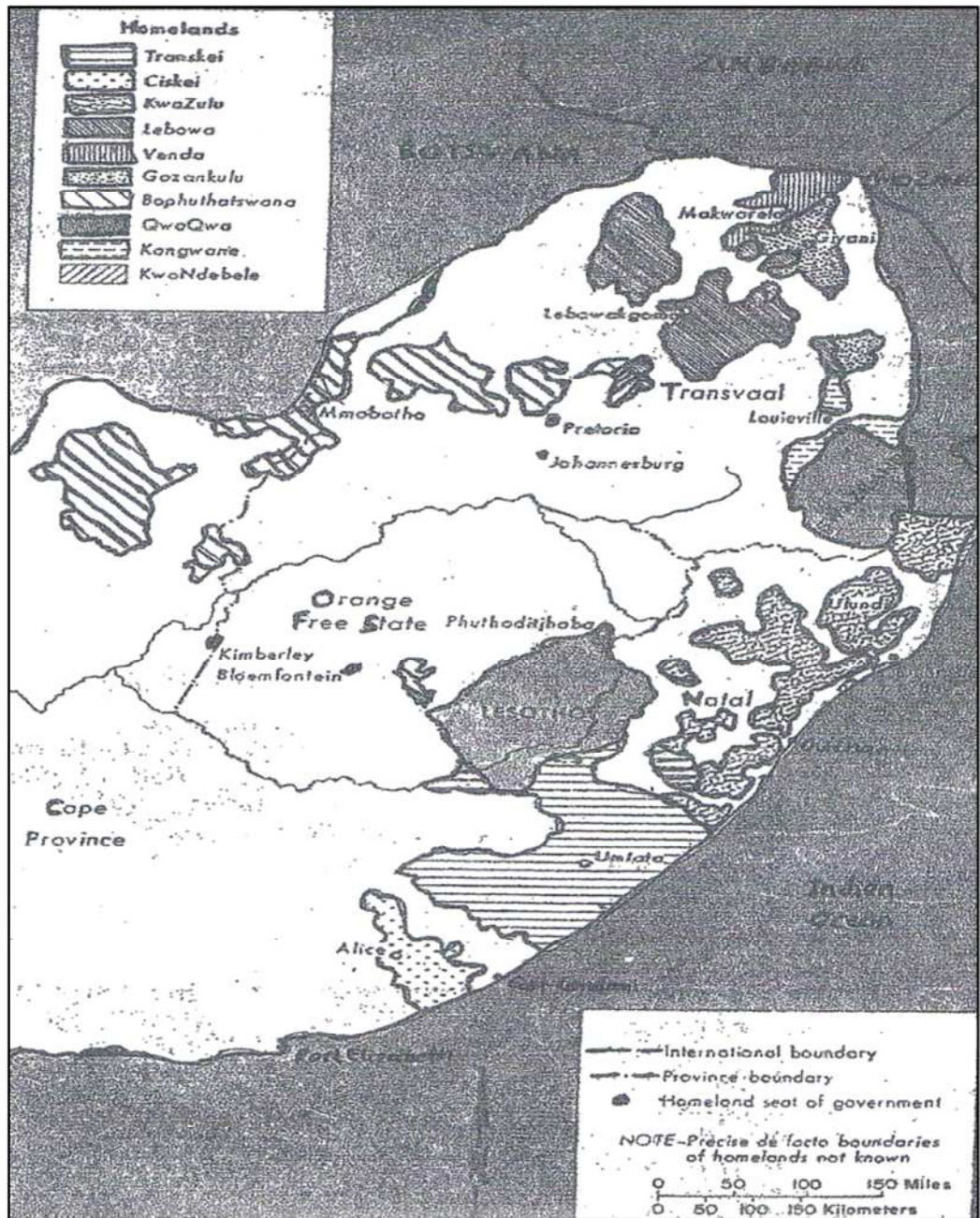
In July 1972 ⁽²⁵⁾, to encourage adult participation and support their extensive objectives, SASO leaders and representatives from some twenty-seven black organisations established an adult wing of their organisation, the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) under the presidency of Winnie Kgwane. So, the 1970's was a turning point for SASO because it introduced a self-confident spirit for the African community. It also set up ideas about self-reliance and Black Consciousness. These projects aimed at schools and black communities. Social and historical projects at schools quickly became SASO's most important program.

The aim of the schools' project was to produce a new type of youth leaders, ready to confront the challenges faced by Black people. The 1970's was the most important period because SASO began to define itself as a powerful force opposing the state and Apartheid.

SASO also called on homeland leaders, who were forced to stay and apply all their social rights in their homelands which were reserved for them (see map 2), to remove from Apartheid structures and stop being "ambassadors of oppression" ⁽²⁶⁾ i.e. representatives of White domination without any resistance.

On the subject of education, SASO adopted a more radical and a clear position, rejecting the Apartheid educational system for black people which was introduced through the Bantu Education Act of 1953⁽²⁷⁾. In July 1971, SASO adopted the declaration of student rights which marked a departure from their earlier watchful approach. What made the declaration radical was the inclusion in its clauses of the right to disagree with university instructors. The declaration was preceded by the adoption of a policy called the Black Student Manifesto (BSM) that had divided South Africans into groups of those "who are part of the solution (Black people)" and those "who are part of the problem (White people)" ⁽²⁸⁾. Following the acceptance of these policies, SASO organised an Education Commission to study possible ways of making education relevant to Black South Africans.

Map 2: Black Homelands in South Africa in 1970's



Source : Harold D. Nelson, *South Africa, a Country Study*, Washington, Foreign Area Studies, 2nd Edition, 1981, p. 69.

In 1972, SASO rejected a separate development platform and excluded its third president Themba Sono, who was only president for one year from 1971 to 1972. He called for the practical use of separate development platforms to advance the liberation struggle. Then, in the same year, the Education Commission nominated a “Black Education Manifesto” ⁽²⁹⁾ (BEM) to be accepted by the third GSC. The BEM took a different turn in that it rejected racist education and the notion that universities were neutral bodies in the process of acquiring knowledge. SASO saw its role in these years closely related to the transformation of race relations in South Africa by making a technique of a political future independent from any political organisation and government.

Moreover, SASO wanted to revive pride in African culture and knowledge systems to inspire pride in Black identity and Black roots. As Black consciousness became more radical, it acquired the appearance of a different society in the making. When this change appeared, police observation and state authoritarianism increased.

On 26 February 1973, the South African Minister of Justice, PELSER issued interdiction orders to eight SASO leaders. The matter became public on 8 March, the same year when it was confirmed in parliament before a surprised disagreement when PELSER justified his action by arguing that he was preventing SASO from spreading its message of a ‘Black Revolution’. The banning was received by SASO as an indication that stood for the true liberation of Black people. From 1973 until 1977 when SASO was banned, the State oppression increased. SASO reached its final stage as a strong organisation in 1974, when it was listed as an “affected” or an exaggerated association under the Affected Organisation Act of 1974 ⁽³⁰⁾. This meant that SASO could no longer rely on foreign financial support to pursue its objectives.

However, its ideologies and political objectives were adopted by successive organisations such as The South African National Students’ Congress Organisation (SANSCO) and the Azanian People’s Organisation (AZAPO).

AZAPO was linked with the BCM history which was considered as the umbrella body of all organisations subscribing to the philosophy of black consciousness. It articulated what the BCM aimed at and it argued

that South Africa should be renamed Azania to signify the achievement of national liberation. But, banning SASO left Black students generally radicalized ⁽³¹⁾ into self-conscious ideas about attaining their own freedom.

Black communalism was the term that black consciousness gave to its political and economic policies. Black intellectuals saw a close link between the politics of White domination and the economics of capitalism. Black consciousness developed a political and economic policy aimed at modifying the worst elements of capitalism. BCM declared that social and political change in South Africa will only have meaning if there was a corresponding change in the country's economy. Such a change would require a fundamental redistribution of wealth and resources in a land where these were markedly tilted in favour of Whites. This re-structuring of the economy necessitated public intervention which presupposed a change in political power.

In the early 1970's, SASO, SASM and BPC expanded progressively and attempted to overcome feelings among their members of black inferiority. The South African Students Movement (SASM) was an organisation of mainly high school students, under the leadership of Kehla Nthembu ⁽³²⁾ who was its founding secretary. It was formed to represent students, articulate complaints and encourage contact between students at various schools, regionally and nationally. The body first emerged as the African Student Movement, and it was enlarged and renamed in 1972 as SASM. It came to national prominence when its members organised the boycotts against the Bantu Education Act, and especially against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, which resulted in the June 1976 civil disobedience.

Another significant organisation was initially founded as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) on 8 January 1912 in Bloemfontein where Black intellectuals and leaders throughout South Africa met to express unity. Their aim was based on fighting for the rights of black South Africans.

In 1923 the organization was renamed the African National Congress (ANC) which had very modest aspirations and means. Despite the fact that the organisation's early period was characterized by

political inactivity due to power struggles and lack of resources, increasing repression and the establishment of White minority rule fired up the party. The ANC was the most practical national organisation since the early part of the twentieth century. It represented a coordinated opposition against Afrikaner nationalism and Apartheid which emerged in 1949.

In this year, a group of African intellectuals led by Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tombo and Nelson Mandela ⁽³⁴⁾ gained control of the African National Congress, which adopted their program of making use of strikes, civil disobedience, and boycotts to force the government to abandon its criminal legislations. In 1952, the ANC group succeeded in making Albert J. Luthuli, a religious Christian, president of the ANC and also the president of the executive committee for many years, under his leadership the first organized campaign against the Afrikaner government was undertaken.

As a result of the establishment of Apartheid, the ANC together with the South African Congress of the People (SACP) formed a military wing, which they called *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), in 1961 ⁽³⁵⁾. Many intellectuals (see table 4) worked in unity in order to form the South African National Executive Committee which guided the country as its real citizens. Another community which played a big role in inspiring the Blacks revolt and introducing the harshness of the South African system of Apartheid to the external world was the South African Black students in Exile.

The major problem of the refugee black student of South Africa was the Bantu Education Act which was an attempt to eliminate the development of an educated African elite who should be taught one purpose, namely, to serve the labor needs of the White community. This so-called "education" system was in fact a clever and organized effort to eliminate a well-educated leadership among the African people.

By 1960, most of the Black leaders were imprisoned, executed or exiled. The South African government wished to assure themselves that the Africans would always remain a voiceless, rightless mass, usable but unessential. The Afrikaner nationalists moved towards the introduction of Apartheid in all universities through the Extension of

University Education Act of 1959. This Act meant that Non-White students wishing to enter White universities to take courses not offered

Table 4: ANC National Executive Committee 1952-1960

1952-55	1955-58	1958-60
President-General		
Chief A.J. Luthuli	Chief A.J. Luthuli	Chief A.J. Luthuli
Secretary-General		
W.M. Sisulu	O.R. Tambo	D.Nokwe
Dr S.M. Molema	Dr A.E. Letele	Dr A.E. Letele
National Executive Committee		
W.Z. Conco	W.Z. Conco	W.Z. Conco
D. Tloome	A. Hutchinson	L.Massina
A. Hutchinson	J. Mafora	Z.K. Matthews
J. Mafora	L.Massina	C. Mayekiso
L.Massina	P. Mathole	P. Molaoa
C. Mayekiso	Z. K. Matthews	O. Mpeta
L. Ngoyi	C. Mayekiso	T. Mqota
J. Nkadimeng	L. Ngoyi	L. Ngoyi
D. Nokwe	J. Nkadimeng	G. S. D. Nyembe
M. Rokaoana	D. Nokwe	A. Nzo
R. Resha	M. Rakaoana	R. Resha
O. R. Tambo	G. Sibande	G. Sibande
M. B. Yengwa	T. Tshume	O. R. Tambo
	M. B. Yengwa	

Source : Francis Meli, *South Africa Belongs to Us, A History of the ANC*, London, India University Press, 1985, p. 123.

in their own colleges were required to apply to the Minister of Education for his special permission, and of course very few non-White students have received the permission.

Consequently, a large number of students from all over the country refused to compromise on the matter of university Apartheid. The reaction to such question was, in 1958/59 ⁽³⁶⁾, a major emigration of scholars, educators and students who preferred to further their education outside South Africa. Some migrated to the earlier British Protectorates such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Rhodesia; others went to the United States and Britain.

In 1968, the University Christian Movement in the United States gave a grant to a researcher to try to get a comprehensive picture of the difficulties faced by many of these exiled South Africans in the United States. The most important lesson that the exiled Black students was to experience a sense of political freedom and to establish an identity with Africans who had struggled to obtain independence. Another point which should be mentioned is that the Black Consciousness Movement has also played an important role in the reactivation of political awareness amongst the Black people in South Africa.

Black consciousness became a political force to be taken into consideration. All the strikes that have occurred in the country since 1970 were a reflection of the role being played directly or indirectly by the Black Consciousness Movement. The shared point between all Black African organizations was the conception of a radical change through the transformation and the creation of an egalitarian society in South Africa. These changes should be in another phase of resistance.

II. The Black Students' Resistance in South Africa up to 1977

In his introduction to *The Question of Elite*, Rachel Schurmann, who was an African scholar, stated that the mark of a true revolution was the destruction of a society's elite. After a true revolution society could not reach out for leadership from erstwhile members of the elite because their capacity to influence would be totally destroyed. Instead,

major institutions of society were controlled by new leaders, often with little or no social status, whose right to control depended on their ability to lead. Later those might add social status to political power and so constituted themselves as an elite of the new political order ⁽³⁷⁾.

The general idea, that we can have from Schurmann's point, is that all elites are the society's controllers and leaders, especially the educated elite who played an important role in nationalist struggles throughout Africa and particularly in South Africa where students and churchmen were leading figures in campaigns against the Apartheid regime through two stages, from passive resistance to violent struggle.

II.1. Gandhi's Passive Resistance and Its Aftermath

In its earlier stages, up to 1960, non-White nationalism in South Africa was deeply affected by Gandhi's policy of non-violent civil disobedience. It was between 1906 and 1908 that a civil disobedience campaign was launched in South Africa under the leadership of Gandhi, who had South African origins. It was directed against laws in the Transvaal which required Indians to carry registration certificates ⁽³⁸⁾.

The movement had an impact on African opinion in South Africa for example, African women in Bloemfontein used the technique of civil disobedience in 1913 in their protests against the extension of pass laws⁽³⁹⁾ to them by municipalities in the Orange Free State. The women's movement spread to other towns and continued for a few years.

In 1919, the African National Congress started experimenting with these techniques of Gandhi's passive disobedience in Johannesburg. The Communist Party (CP), also, went Gandhian in 1930. The Indians in South Africa resisted in 1946 in a similar way in protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act.

The Gandhian resistance, in South Africa in the early 1950's, was an alliance between Blacks and Indians in the Union. In July 1951, the African and the Indians Congresses appointed a Joint Planning Council. The aim was to co-ordinate the efforts of African, Indian and Coloured peoples in a mass campaign for the abolition of the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act which

added reduced political rights to coloureds, and the Bantu Authorities Act searching for ensuring a retribalization of Africans. The campaign was a success in terms of the degree of involvement of the three groups (Blacks, Indians and Coloureds) , but a failure in terms of its aims. The failure was even more significant as an indicator of the limits of Gandhism at a time when the system in South Africa was closing up and getting more intolerant.

Accordingly, civil disobedience, which concentrated on protests against segregated public places, had no effect on a brutal government which had no guilty conscience about using the police and the courts in severe repressive measures. In 1953, a new law, the Criminal Law Amendment Act⁽⁴⁰⁾, was specifically directed against civil disobedience. Many of the demonstrators were imprisoned and their leaders were banned, which made the White government achieving its purpose in keeping the leaders out of circulation for a long time.

The failure of passive resistance and the campaign by the Congress of the People created new divisions within the ANC. The more radical members, led by Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe (1924-1978)⁽⁴¹⁾, who argued that the alliance with the Indians, Coloureds, and Whites only weakened the African National Congress, whose non-violence should be abandoned for whatever means were necessary to liberate the black African majority of the South African population.

In 1959, the radicals separated from the ANC to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and the competition between these two organisations had clearly helped to deactivate their effectiveness. Hoping to preserve the initiative between the two organisations, they planned a new campaign against the pass laws to be anticipated. The PAC was not only not committed to non-violence and interracialism but was also more socialist in its aims than the ANC.

Finally, Gandhian methods were carried on by the ANC for some time after 1952. However, Chief Albert Luthuli (1898-1967), the president of the ANC at the time and a former teacher and government chief in Zululand, who was a convinced pacifist and admirer of Gandhi and Gandhism, encouraged the ANC to back a series of boycotts in Alexandra Township against higher prices and working conditions. Even

if Chief Albert Luthuli received the Nobel Peace Prize in Europe in December 1961⁽⁴²⁾ for his efforts towards non-violent change in South Africa, he was convinced that non-violence had failed already and replaced by more militant activist⁽⁴³⁾ of the ANC and PAC who formed the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* which represented the armed movements.

II.2. Soweto Uprising as a Turning point in the Blacks' Resistance and Africans' Struggle for Freedom

The educated elite in South Africa could hardly get access to superior posts because it was out of the question to share the rule with subordinate people. Consequently, the clash of interests between the Whites and the educated Blacks drove them to understand more their situation in the colonial context. The whites understood that the Blacks were considered as trouble makers who should be excluded .

This was the most important factor that awakened their political consciousness and led them to opposition . This awareness helped them reformulate their protests in order to gain the place they deserved as an African elite . The significance of the Soweto rising is twofold. First, it marked a transition from the traditional patterns of Gandhian-style ⁽⁴⁴⁾ of non-violent resistance to more violent form of protest. Second, it made the language of Black Student Consciousness everywhere heard.

Wednesday 16 June 1976 ⁽⁴⁵⁾, was a cold day morning in Soweto, a South African township of a million or more Blacks. But, it was an off-class day and no one went to his class-room because the students destination was the Orlando football stadium, where they hold a mass meeting to protest against the enforced use of Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction for mathematics and social studies.

The police was surprised by the big march of hundred pupils from several Bantu schools and hundred students from five Black universities. The great mass of the protesting school children of Soweto were totally defenseless. They were whistling, shouting, and singing "Amandla Awethu" (i.e. power to the people) or "Morena Boloka Sechaba sa Heso" (i.e. God bless our nation), and all were unarmed against police gas and bullets with comparatively harmless bottles and stones⁽⁴⁶⁾.

More than 700 students died. Answering the criticism of the high death rate, the Minister M. C. Botha said that the riots were “definitely organized” and that “he had no authority to suspend Afrikaans because both English and Afrikaans were used as official languages in the constitution” (47).

The consequences of the Soweto rising was marked by the emergence of a widespread countrywide resistance movement at first organized by the Black consciousness Soweto Students Representative Congress (SSRC) and the South African Students Movement (SASM). In August 1976, anti-government rioting broke out in other Rand townships and in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Coloureds also held solidarity demonstrations in Cape Town, and in September they battled against the police with petrol bombs. Also in September there were strikes all over the Rand, involving half million workers.

As opposition developed throughout the country, it extended from a focus on education and it expressed many grievances and criticism of black people. Moreover, the protest movement in the schools continued into 1977(48). Soweto schools remained closed for many months.

However, the government managed to contain both the Soweto rising and the general explosion of demonstrations in its result. By the end of 1976, the police has killed a thousand (49) protesters in South Africa. the revolt was limited in area to effect the homelands and the mine workers. Yet, the wave of protest was restricted but not suppressed. The schools boycott increased in intensity in 1977(50). In Soweto few schools reopened. In September 1977, 600 Soweto teachers joined the pupils boycott which spread throughout the country so that in October 196000 black students were boycotting their schools. Besides, in Soweto, opposition also took the form of a struggle against the proposed payment rise, which was led by the SSRC. The increases were postponed and then implemented in three stages and this result was a victory of arrangements with the SSRC.

The same year, 1977, also saw a mass movement of opposition in the western Cape against the shortage of African housing. This situation was made worse by the government decisions to demolish squatter Shanty towns where Blacks remained unlawful residents

around Cape Town. The response of B. J. Voster ⁽⁵¹⁾, who was the first minister government, to this continuing protest was to resort to terror tactics again. The intensification of state repression concluded in the death of Steve Biko in 12 September 1977. He was continuously detained and finally beaten up by the Security Branch of the police. He died in Pretoria Central Prison. Then, on 19 October 1977⁽⁵²⁾, SASO and its associated BC organisations were banned by the state and became illegal.

After the latter date, there were no attempts to transform the organization into an underground and political party. However, its ideologies and political objectives were adopted by successive organisations such as the Azanian People Organisation (AZAPO) ⁽⁵³⁾ and the South African National Students' Congress (SANSC). The banning of SASO left Black students broadly radicalised into self-conscious ideas about attaining their own freedom. But there is a very important question that can be raised after the Soweto uprisings. Why was Steve Biko considered by the Apartheid regime to be so dangerous that he had to be eliminated.

Biko's movement was non-violent and he was not a terrorist, but the government feared that Black Consciousness ideas were weakening Apartheid. Thoughts and ideas are as dangerous to domination as actions. Biko was especially dangerous because he had emerged as his country's most expressive, skilful and powerful believer of non-violent change. He allied political organizational skills to a fascinating personality and this was what the Black South Africans required. His ideas had won over black students in universities, teacher-training institutes, theological seminaries and secondary schools and those on the SSRC.

The government followed up the murder of Biko by banning the Black Consciousness organisation and detaining many of its leaders. The failure of the country - wide protests at Biko's death highlighted the one obvious major weakness of his movement which was the limited - ability of non-violent tactics. Facing such events even subsequent to the death of Biko, the Nationalist Party managed to drive many young black South Africans to support violence in order to silence the logical development for black nationalism in the eyes of the young. In this

way, they intensified the guerilla struggle and thousands of young blacks fled abroad to escape police oppression during the period of struggles in 1976-77 and to sign up in the ANC guerilla army. *UMKHONTO* was an army of volunteers drawn from from the revolutionary sections of the black people. By joining *UMKHONTO* combatants committed themselves to the solemn and noble duty of serving their suffering and dispossessed people in the struggle that would continue for each and all of until victory or death.

III. Political Nationalism and The ANC Armed Struggle

One of the reasons, that led most South African organizations to violent process, was the Sharpeville , near Johannesburg, massacre of March 21, 1960 ⁽⁵⁴⁾. When preparing their new campaign, the radicals who separated from the ANC, called their followers to circle at police stations, hoping to disturb the machinery of injustice and to create labor deficiency. But the big shock was when the police shot into a crowd, killing 69 Africans and injuring 178 persons. A week later, both the ANC and the PAC held a day of sadness in which 30.000 Africans marched to the center of Cape Town. The government reacted quickly and severely. The armed forces were mobilized and the ANC and PAC were outlawed.

Then, thousands of South Africans of all colours were arrested and the campaign was broken. Arriving to such an end, being deprived of the last means of lawful opposition, made all organizations marked by Gandhi's method of non-violence and inspired their black strength from the African awareness of their actual situation.

These events before 1976, made again the Black Consciousness movement (BCM) play a role in inspiring and organizing the Soweto rising which was a turning point in the South African history. Even the South African women played an essential role in these events for example Cheryl Walker ⁽⁵⁵⁾ who worked for the University Women's Association and also revolted in different boycotts and struggles.

In face of the unprotected force with which the White Government crushed their peaceful demonstrations, Africans were coming to consider it useless to reply on non-violent methods because

the violence of the State was about to provoke counter-violence. There was an occurrence that in October 1961, at the very time when the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Luthuli was announced, sabotage broke out but no one was harmed. This symbolic sabotage was to show that it was first and foremost by their own struggle and sacrifice inside South Africa that victory over White domination and Apartheid could be won.

For nearly twenty years⁽⁵⁶⁾, Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo and others had worked firmly. In October 1962, Mandela was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for inviting people to stay at home and for leaving the country to Algeria illegally. Then, Sisulu, with Kotane, who were also two leaders in the ANC, were sentenced to six years' imprisonment in March 1963. And, though the new Minister of justice B. J. Voster with his Sabotage Act, was ordering his predecessors in imprisoning, banning, and restricting the protests continued.

For the oppressed peoples, the future looked blacker than ever because many leaders were imprisoned, banned or under house arrest. The Sabotage Act has successfully intimidated the Press and bookshops from publishing or circulating the words of Chief Luthuli or others of the banned leaders. Therefore, their diminishing voices could be heard only in the outside world of South Africa.

Two violent organisations which represented the military wings of the ANC could be mentioned at this time. On 22 November 1962⁽⁵⁷⁾, more than one hundred Africans, who were members in the PAC, bounded the police office of Paarl (in Cape Town) to release seven of them. Then, Paarl police killed five Africans and two Europeans. The social disturbance caused by Apartheid has ensured an expansion of a revolting criminals menacing blacks and whites alike. This violent revolting group organisation was called *POQO* ('we go it alone')⁽⁵⁸⁾. In March 1968, the police of West Victoria captured a group of *POQO* such as Robert Sobukwe who was imprisoned for nine years⁽⁵⁹⁾. *POQO* also killed K. Matansima, who was the future prime Minister of Transkei..

The second wing was *Umkhonto we Sizwe* which launched its first acts of sabotage with a series of explosions in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. The sabotage Act had not stopped sabotage. In 1963,

Voster appointed an old friend, Hendrik Van Den Bergh ⁽⁶⁰⁾, as the head of the security police and allowed to arrest without warrant any persons suspected of committing, or intending to commit, or having information about certain political offences. Then, in July 1963 ⁽⁶¹⁾, the security police captured practically the entire leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, including the senior leaders of the ANC, namely, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and the leader of the Afrikaner illegal Communist Party, Braam Fischer.

Consequently, African progress which was made despite every obstacle, whether in education, or political organisation, was met by White resistance and the more advanced the Africans became, the harsher the restrictions were against them.

In this context, Kwame Nkrumah said at the Accra conference in April 1958 that from then on nobody could look down on Africa and that every idea that would come from the West would suffer a sea-change before it would be accepted in Africa. Africans often felt that European values should not be so much rejected as purified-producing education without privilege, government without superiority, technology without inhumanity and above all, Christianity without racialism. In the new secular schools and colleges of independent Africa, Christianity was no longer regarded as the key to learning civilization. Yet the idea of the 'African Personality' was not particularly attractive⁽⁶²⁾ because the black people, as Du Bois wrote in his philosophy, "needed to take pride in their racial and cultural distinctiveness and not to adopt the negative image that the Whites held of Blacks" ⁽⁶³⁾.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Peter H. Katjavivi, *A History of Resistance in Namibia*, Paris, British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data, 1986, p. 27.
2. Dennis Herbstein, *White Man, We Want to Talk to You*, Johannesburg, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 68.

3. IDAMASA was an association that had been in existence for half a century. It began with 1000 members who acquired an interest in experimental farming, school syllabuses and the problem of inter-tribal fighting. Ibid., p. 70.

4. Robert O. Collins, *African History*, New York, University of California Santa Barbara publishing, 1971, p. 553.

5. Valentine J. Belfiglio, *How Will Majority Rule Come About in Azania / South Africa*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 39.

6. Basil Davidson, *Modern Africa A Social Political History*, London, Longman, 1994, p. 123.

7. Marable W. Manning, *A Black School in South Africa*, Negro History Bulletin XXXVII, June-July, 1974, p. 258.

8. Baruch Hirson, "Language in Control and Resistance in South Africa," *African Affairs*, Vol. 80, N°319, 1981, p. 234.

9. Adrian Hastings, the Christianity Churches and Liberation Movement in South Africa, *African Affairs*, Vol. 80, N° 319, 1980, p. 347.

10. Marable W. Manning, op. cit., p. 213.

11. Valentine J. Belfiglio, *How Will Majority Rule Come about in South Africa*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 379.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 383.

14. Brian M. Du Toit, *Consciousness Identification and Resistance in South Africa*, *the Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 21, N° 3, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 385.

15. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, (a Zulu prince) the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party in 1975. <http://www.SouthAfrica.info/>(accessed 17 Nov. 2011).

16. Mazrui, Ali A. and Tidy M., *Nationalism and New States in Africa: from about 1945 to the present*, London, Heimann Educational Books ltd, 1984, p. 169.

17. Steve Biko was born in King William's Town in the eastern Cape. He studied medicine at Natal University where he observed the futility of the multiracial approach to opposition to Apartheid of the White . Biko as the pioneer of the Black Consciousness philosophy was arrested on the outskirts of the Eastern Cape on 18 August 1977 and taken to the Apartheid security police command center in Port Elizabeth. He was accused of writing inflammatory pamphlets and provocative turbulence among the Black community. Once in police supervision, Biko was badly beaten then driven to Pretoria where he was thrown into a small room. On 12 September 1977, he died chained up and naked on a dirty floor of a police hospital.

<http://www.SouthAfrica.info/> // (Accessed 2008) Biko: First Liberate the Mind from History and Heritage.

18. Balthazar Johannes Voster, who was the first White prime minister who permitted Europeans to build factories inside Blacks homelands.

Marry Benson, *The African Patriots, The Story of the ANC*, Chicago, Encyclopedia Britannica Press, 1963, p. 290.

19. Brian M. Du Toit, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

20. Magaziner, D. R. *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa*, South Africa, Jacana Media Publication, 1968 – 1977.
21. Dennis Herbstein, op. cit., p. 69.
22. [http:// www. South Africa.info](http://www.South Africa.info) // (Accessed 2008) Ibid .
23. Ali A. Mazrui & Toby Kleban Levine, *The Africans, A Reader*, New York, The Annenberg Collection, 1986, p. 247.
24. Copy right © *South African History on Line* (Badat: 1999).
25. Leonard M. Thompson, *Politics in the Republic of South Africa*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1965, pp. 49-50.
26. Copy right © *South African History on Line* (Badat: 1999). op. cit.
27. Mazrui, Ali A. and Tidy M., op. cit., p. 163.
28. Copy right © *South African History on Line* (Badat: 1999). op. cit.
29. Ibid.
30. Ali A. Mazrui & Toby Kleban Levine, op. cit., 250.
31. P. J. M. McEwan, *Twentieth Century Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 268.

32. Copy right © *South African History on Line* (Badat: 1999). op. cit.

33. Brian Du Toit, op. cit., p. 377.

34. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (1918-2013) is one of South African's primary African nationalist and was serving a sentence of life imprisonment on Robben Island. Mandela left the university of Fort Hare in 1940 and went to Jhannesburg, where he became involved in the formation of the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC). As a volunteer in chief in the passive resistance campaign in defiance of Apartheid legislations, Mandela was elected to the National Executive of the ANC. Then, restrictions were placed on him by the government and in 1956 he was arrested till 1961 when South Africa declared itself a republic. While controlled he also acted as one of the leaders of a

sabotage group known as Umkhonto We Siswe. As many of the leaders who were arrested at Rivonia including Mandela who were sentenced to life imprisonment. Robert O. Collins, *African History*, New York, University of California Press, 1971 p. 478.

35. Peter Harries Jones, *Freedom and Labour*, Great Britain, York University Press, 1975, p. 155.

36. Roger Thurow, South Africa Schools Reap Bitter Harvest, *The Wall Street Journal*, February 6, 1990, p. 11.

37. *Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory Site*. (Accessed 1902-1989).

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Robert Sobukwe was the founder and the leader of PAC and editor of the Africanist Magazine and in 1960 a languages Assistant at the University of Witwatersrand. He was held in prison from March 1960 until May 1963 when he was transported to Robben Island for 3years.

Mazrui, Ali A. and Tidy M., op. cit., p. 168.

41. Ibid., p. 170.

42. Ibid.

43. Tristan Delanoé, « L'opposition Sud-Africaine Mythes et Realités », *Revue Francaise d'Etude Politiques Africaines*, Juillet 1967, N° 19, p. 4.

44. Ibid.

45. Denis Herbstein, *Soweto - the First Four Days*, Johannesburg, Oxford University Press, 1978, p.11.

46. Ibid., p. 14.

47. *Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory Site*. (Accessed 1902-1989).

48. Mazrui, Ali A. and Tidy M., p. 176.

49. Jacques Marchand, *la Propaganda de l'Apartheid*, Paris, Edition Karthala, 1985, p. 13.

50. S., Badat, 1999. *Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: From SASO to SANSCO*, Pretoria: Human sciences Research Council .

51. Marry Benson, op. cit.

52. Amy Kaslow, "Apartheid System Takes Its Toll", *African Studies*, Johannesburg, January 12, 1990, p. 2.

53. David de Villiers, *The Case for South Africa*, London, Tom Stacey Ltd Edition, 1970, p. 115.

54. Basil Davidson, op. cit., p. 167.

55. Cherryl Walker was born in 1951 near Cape Town and grew up on a wine farm. She graduated from the University of Cape Town in 1977 with a high school certificate in history. She became a teacher and she did a research work about community work related to forced removals under Apartheid in the rural areas.

Cherryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, Nottingham, Onyx Press, 1982, p. 145.

56. Mary Benson, op. cit., p. 294.

57. Cornevin Robert, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, Vol. 3, Paris, Payot Edition, 1976, pp. 66-67.

58. Mary Benson, op. cit.

59. Kasrilo Ronnie, « The Massacre Sharpeville », *Sechaba Official Organ of the African National Congress in South Africa*, Vol. 23, N° 8, 1988, p.38.

60. Mary Benson, op. cit. p. 36.

61. Cornevin Robert, op. cit.

62. Kwame Nkrumah was a black Ghanaian teacher. He studied in Lincoln Blacks' University and he was elected responsible about the African Students Association in USA in 1945. He participated in 5th Panafrican Congress in the same year where he mentioned his consent to the SASO requirement for students rights.

Odette Guitard, *L'Apartheid*, Paris, Press Universitaire de France, 1983, p.70.

63. W. E. B. Du Bois was an important American thinker, a philosopher, historian, sociologist, writer, educator and sociopolitical activist. So long as racist white privilege existed and suppressed the dreams, the life and the work of blacks, that was very different to him. He was driven to leave the academy because, after he saw the violence of racism. Then, he thought he had found a philosophy where all persons were treated equally. Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Black Ethnicities, Communities and Political Expression in late Victorian Cape Town", *Journal of African History*, Vol. 36, N° 3, 1995, pp. 458-459.

CONCLUSION

South African history of the sixteenth century began with the settlement of Europeans on their soil. They were mainly British and Dutch who maintained their rule upon the Natives for more than a century.

The introduction of European settlement established a new civilization. Then, the missionaries education which preached equality of all men, destabilized the role of traditional culture and gave birth to a new class of leaders who could oppose the alien power. When the National Party won the election of 1948, it maintained its superiority in South Africa. The NP based its rule on Verwoerd philosophy of Apartheid to control the multiracial society where Whites played a leading position all over the other ethnic groups. To keep up its dominance, the National Party enacted different discriminating laws and applied them on the South African people.

The unusual distinguishing rules of education like the Bantustan Method, which was an inquiry of an appropriate education for Blacks, has been at the core of the Apartheid system ever since the master designer of the theory, Verwoerd, and argued that education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live. However, all the Black Africans, mainly students, rejected this policy. The educated elite understood that in spite of all their western knowledge and culture, they would remain representatives of an inferior race and poor imitators of European overlords. So, the assertion of the African race

value and the return to African culture were also ways to emphasize the Africans' rights on the African soil.

The awakening of racial consciousness came as a response to the attitude of those ruling Europeans and there were many educational associations such as the South African Students' Organisation with its leader Steve Biko who showed to the world that Black consciousness was not a Black racist answer to White racism. Its aim was to raise African self-confidence after the defeats of the 1960's. More widely, it was a political way of working for unity against racist oppression by passive resistance.

It represented an effort to demonstrate that the African race would equal other races, namely the White race. Soweto uprising, for example, showed that there was no need to imitate an alien race while the Africans possessed all the resources and the qualities to prove that they could revive their own race. Then, this idea formed a coherent plan for Black students' organisations and other political parties to introduce Black armed nationalism through the ANC and PAC.

Therefore, South Africa continued to be shocked by school boycotts and workers' strikes and demonstrators continued to be killed. Followed by police harsh resistance, the Black Africans turned to violent and armed actions. So, the Afrikaner Nationalists had created a policy which demolished their social and political life as it was illustrated by Ahmed Kathrada, who was one of the university students and who motivated Soweto uprising. He was jailed for more than a quarter of a century, he worked closely with the African National Congress, and he asserted that the White compatriots should see their greatest danger not in the Black people, but in their real enemy which was Apartheid.

Consequently, The Black students' consciousness, the intensification of Apartheid and the growing isolation of South Africa have forced the Nationalist Party regime to change South Africa's foreign policy in order to try to improve relations with the independent black African states. In the course of the late 1970's the Vewoerdian model developed during the prime of Apartheid began to break down. The National Party government experimented with a number of reforms designed to correct Apartheid to changing educational and social circumstances.

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APPENDIXES

Manifesto of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, issued on 16 December 1961

Umkhonto We Sizwe was a new independent body, formed by Africans. It included in its ranks South Africans of all races. It was not connected in any way with a so-called "Committee for National Liberation". It was created to carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods. However, it was well known that the main national liberation organisations in the country followed a policy of non-violence. They conducted themselves peacefully at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government attempts to provoke them to violence because the African people preferred peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering of civil war. However, the white Government interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness and the people's non-violence policies was taken as green light for Government violence and an invitation to use armed force against the people without revenges. Therefore, the methods of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* marked a break with the past because it was the striking force of the Africans for rights and for their liberty. The Government policy of force, repression and violence would no longer be met with non-violent resistance only because the nationalist Government chose the course of force and massacre as it did in Soweto and Sharpeville.

Chronology of Key Events in South African History (1948-1977)

1948: The Nationalist Party comes to power, entrenching White minority domination of the African country; Apartheid system, based on existing system of discrimination, became legalized.

1949: ANC conference adopted the Program of action-strikes, boycotts and resistance.

1950: The Orange Free State peasants come out in rebellion against the state policy of cattle culling, shortage of land and starvation. Many were killed by the racist police.

1 May: General strike against all discriminatory laws and for full franchise rights for all takes place. Trigger-Happy police opened fire in Alexandra township and other areas, killing 18 and wounding 30.

26 June: A massive campaign called by the ANC as an act of national mourning and protest at the police killing of 1 May. Since then, June 26 has been observed annually as South African Freedom Day.

1951: The NP introduced a legislation to remove the Coloured people of the Cape Province from the voters' roll.

1952: Suppression of Communism Act promulgated followed by a whole series of other repressive measures.

26 June: The ANC and the South African Indian Congress launch the nationwide campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws.

December: Chief A. J. Luthuli elected as President-General of the ANC.

July: Sisulu, Nokwe and others left South Africa without passports to visit various overseas countries, including Romania, USSR and China.

1955: April: ANC launched massive boycott of Bantu education and schools by both teachers and pupils, together with an attempt to organise an alternative system of education.

9 August: Over 20000 woman marched on Pretoria in militant struggle against the extension of passes to African woman. The arrest of 156 leaders of the ANC throughout the country on an accusation of High Treason.

1960: 21 March: Sharpeville massacre, in which 69 people were killed and many more injured.

28 March: O. R. Tambo leaves South Africa illegally on the instruction of the ANC to carry on work outside the country.

30 March: the NP declared a state of emergency and arrested over 2000 people. Unlawful Organisations Act used to ban the ANC and the PAC.

1961: All-in Africa Conference with 1400 delegates held in Pietermaritzburg under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Conference called for a national convention to decide on a new constitution.

31 May: The nationwide strike protested against the establishment of the Republic of South Africa.

26 June: Mandela declared the next stage of the struggle and remained the spokesman for the National Action Council.

11 December: Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the ANC, received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo and declared: " There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown."

16 December: Formation of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, the people's army.

1962: January: Mandela secretly left South Africa to participate in the conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central and

Southern Africa in Addis Ababa. He also visited several other countries, and received military training in Algeria and returned to South Africa to continue the struggle underground.

1963: January: the NP Government placed a blanket ban on all named and banned people.

October-June: The Revonia Trial took place, which resulted in Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu, Goldberg, Kathrada, Mhlaba, Mlangeni and Motsoaledi who were sentenced to life imprisonment.

1964: 6 November: Mini, Mkaba and Khayingo , three prominent trade union leaders from the eastern Cape, were executed.

1967: 21 July: Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the ANC, feared and hated by the Apartheid regime, was killed.

1969: July: Inaugural conference of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) held at Turfloop University.

1973: Waves of massive strikes in Natal shake the Apartheid regime

1976: 16 June: The Soweto violent demonstrations by blacks, massacre and uprising. About 1000 children killed in Soweto and in hundreds of other parts of the country during the ensuing months of nationwide resistance.

12 September: Death in detention of Steve Biko. This murder drew attention to not only the bestiality of the South African police, but also to the corruption of the medical profession, whose members had evidently been issuing false death certificates to cover such assassinations.

October: Banning of 17 organisations, including the World Weekend World newspapers, in massive state repression of people's resistance.

Biographical Index

GARVEY MARCUS MOZIAH (1887-1940): An international black separatist leader, he was the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He was born in Jamaica. He moved to the USA and preached black separateness and the return of blacks to Africa. His ideas influenced a number of prominent black leaders, including Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela.

LUTHULI ALBERT JOHN (1898-1967): A South African black nationalist, a Zulu leader and a Nobel laureate, Luthuli joined the ANC in 1946 and was elected the national president of the South African ANC in 1952. Active in the Passive resistance campaign of 1952. In 1961, in recognition of his lifelong commitment to non-violence and his leadership in the cause of black freedom, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

MALAN DANIEL FRANÇOIS (1874 - 1959): Prime Minister of South Africa. Malan was one of the principal architects and ideologues of the country's policies of racial separation (Apartheid).

MANDELA NELSON ROLIHLAHLA (18 July 1918 - 05 December 2013): A South African black nationalist leader, trained as a lawyer, Mandela joined the ANC in 1944. He became active in the legal resistance to apartheid and white rule. From 1953-1955, he was under a banning order and later on treason charges. Released in 1961, he resumed his political activities, both within and outside the country. In 1962, he was captured and condemned to life imprisonment.

STEVE BANTU BIKO (18 Dec 1946-12 Sept 1977). He was called the "father" of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. There was some justification for that. Born in King William's Town, Cape Province; a town which played a significant role in the emergence of African Nationalism at the turn of the century. On 18 December 1946, Steve Bantu Biko went to the Roman Catholic Marian-Hill School in Natal (after a short spell at Lovedale), where he matriculated at the end of 1965. He entered the medical school of the University of Natal for non-white Section in Durban at the beginning of 1966. He attended a NUSAS conference while still at Marian-Hill School in 1966. He joined

NUSAS, while he was a student at Wentworth (University of Natal, Non-European), and became "active and indeed prominent in that organization". He broke with them in 1968 and was involved in forming SASO. In the 1960's the student movement throughout the world had become stronger and in South Africa, the student population increased. There was also the influence and impact of the attainment of independence by most African countries, and liberation struggles in Angola and Mozambique. This explained the atmosphere for the emergence of black consciousness in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Biko had another quality of an extraordinary gift of leadership. From 1971, Biko became involved in political activity and in 1972, his course at Wentworth was terminated. He then helped to set up the Black Community Program (BCP) in Durban. In 1973, he was banned with seven SASO leaders. In 1975, an extra clause was inserted in his banning order prohibiting him from working for BCP. In 1977, he was appointed Honorary President of BCP (in his absence because he was banned so restricted to full life to avoid further police action against him). Biko had problems with Ciskei authorities. He detained many times under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. In 1975, he was arrested and detained for 137 days without trial or charge. In August 1976, during Soweto uprisings, he was arrested and held in solidarity confinement for 101 days. In March 1977, he was arrested, detained and then released. In July 1977, arrested, charged and released on bail. Finally, in August 1977, he never came back alive from jail. On the 12 September 1977, he was murdered, 25 days after his last arrest.

VERWOERD HENDRIK FRENSCH " Architect of Apartheid "

Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd (1901-1966) was the sixth prime minister of South Africa. He transformed Apartheid into an effective instrument for the entrenchment of white domination. He was born near Amsterdam, Holland, on Sept. 8, 1901. A few months later, his parents emigrated to South Africa. He read psychology and sociology in Stellenbosch and from 1925 onward studied for a doctorate in psychology and sociology in Germany. He returned to occupy the chair of applied psychology and then of sociology and social work in Stellenbosch.

In 1934 Verwoerd was asked to organize a conference on poor whites. An assertive idealist, he viewed the poor-white question as a specifically Afrikaans problem which had to be solved by political initiatives developed in an Afrikaans framework. This framework had already been defined by Die Broederbond as (The League of the Brothers), an anti-African and anti-British league. Founded in 1919, it labored to establish a Boer, Protestant republic and to make the Afrikaner South Africa, an unquestioned master. The 1948 general elections, which brought Daniel Malan to power. Malan, who was also a Broeder, offered Verwoerd a seat in the Senate. He became the minister of native affairs in 1950. An insensitive advocate of segregation, Verwoerd wasted little time in "solving" the color problem. Year after year, he placed before Parliament legislation to bring every aspect of the Africans' life under his control and enforce the segregation of African linguistic groups from one another. Verwoerd developed a system designed to keep the African the intellectual inferior of the white man. All African men and women were fingerprinted and forced to carry a pass containing intimate personal details. On April 9, 1960, David Beresford Pratt who was a wealthy businessman and farmer of British descent fired two bullets into Verwoerd's head. Verwoerd survived, but was killed six years later by Dimitri Tsafendas, a Greek sea man who joined the South African Communist Party in the 1930's. D. Tsafendas assassinated Verwoerd during a parliamentary session on the 6th of September 1966.