

## CHAPTER VI.

### Survey of Policies.

and

### Summary.

#### a) General Remarks:

Dr. A. Taylor, of the University College of Ghana, says that the educational systems evolving in Africa South of the Sahara, although showing a remarkable diversity in their shape, size and origins, still reveal the influence of the colonial powers to which they were - and possibly still may be - attached.<sup>(1)</sup>

Developed in the first place to meet the needs of government, religious and employing bodies, the emphasis has been largely on instruction in proficiency in academic, technical and social skills, rather than on education in the broad sense, Dr. Taylor argues.

He cites certain common elements which permeate the majority of systems:<sup>(2)</sup>

1. Reasonably broad provision of educational facilities at the primary level, but as yet inadequate facilities at the secondary, technical or higher levels, resulting in a chronic shortage of educated indigenous personnel to meet the needs of the emerging self-government communities.

2. Grave financial limitations resulting from the relatively undeveloped economies of these areas.

3. Shortage of trained teachers at all levels, resulting partly from the inadequate facilities for post primary education and partly due to the very large increase in school populations resulting from the liberalisation of educational provision since World War II.

4. The growing active concern of Governments about the contents of school curricula and the quality of instruction resulting in closer government control and increasing financial and professional aid to non-government educational authorities.

(1) cf. Hailey; p.9.

(2) C.S.A. Specialists, Lagos, p.3.

5. A growing realization that the aim of education should be more clearly stated and that, as a general education becomes available for all, the moral, spiritual and aesthetic aspects of personality development are as vital and urgent educational problems as the mastery of academic and technical facts and skills, coupled with the realization of the significance of education in the development of the qualities of citizenship in this modern age. Amongst the most urgent of the tasks facing those responsible for educational policy and practice is the need to formulate clearly. To give an understanding to leaders of the various communities, the need for defined goals which will give prominence to the fact that whilst the Western ideal of the full development of the child, mentally, morally, physically and spiritually should be a cardinal principle, nevertheless this has to be worked out in the variety of African milieus and if it is to be achieved can only be done by a continued and close examination of existing practices and provision in the light of such as aim together with an attitude which will not hesitate to change the provisions and practices when they are defective in supplying not only the needs of the individual but also those of the community. Such an attitude is considered necessary if education is to get the prominence and full financial support necessary for it to play its part in the development of African communities.

Speaking on the educational heritage of the Western World, Dr. A. Hudson, of the National Institute for Personal Research says "the educational heritage of the Western World with a historical perspective of more than two thousand years springs from two main formative forces, Hellenism and Christianity. Antagonism and compromise between these ancient rival systems are reflected in educational philosophy," he states.<sup>(1)</sup>

The essence of Hellenism was the worship of collective human power, which made it possible not only to have life, but to have it more abundantly. Plato and Aristotle wrote the educational corollary to this view. Education should be geared to the fulfilment of human needs,

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(1) C.S.A. Specialists, Lagos. Annex, 11, p.1-3.

and should encompass the whole body of knowledge. Its end should be the study of the good itself; but that end would be insufficient unless integrated into community life. The educated were to be regarded as servants of their society. Christianity incorporated in its creed the Hellenic practice of deifying a human being, but it rejected much that was characteristic of the older culture. Hellenism stood for human perfectibility. Christianity preached human frailty. Belief in collective human power was replaced by faith in divine power. The victory of Christianity over the older order inaugurated an educational system, which, for many centuries, pontified concerning knowledge, restricted the exercise of reason, but dispensed its grace and benefits regardless of class, community or culture. The Renaissance revived the Hellenic characteristics of western culture. Great educators like Vittorino da Feltre, Erasmus, Techlin and Vives tried to reach a compromise between the two great educational systems. Reformation and Counter-reformation alike forged the weapon of educational uniformity, which was later to emerge in the guise of national educational systems. The ages of reason and enlightenment, influenced by Locke's early educational humanism and by Rousseau's sociological theses, gradually enhanced the status of the individual in the educational scheme of things. Fear of state interference and the objectives of vested interests were eventually overcome by educational reformers, until by the early twentieth century public education, in Britain at least, was compulsory, universal, gratuitous and state-controlled. Humanistically inclined, its aim was to compromise between Hellenism and Christianity. Spencer (1) reiterated this purpose which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of an educational course is, to judge is what degree it emphasised the psychological demands of education, when he stated "the necessity in a true school that every boy, be he clever or stupid, must have proper individual attention paid to him. If he has not, the boy who has not, so far as he is neglected, is not at school." Matthew Arnold (2) emphasised

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(1) Spencer, Education, p.7.

(2) Arnold, Thoughts on Education, p.44.

the danger of uniformity, in that it might result in "the elimination of superiorities, an educational practice which may spread instruction wide among a people, but which will not elevate it."

b) The Impact of Western Education on Africans:

Sir Christopher Cox<sup>(1)</sup> studying the impact of British education on indigenous peoples, describes the results of introducing an alien educational system by a ruling alien race. "The effect of introducing, from outside and from above, western schooling into strongly traditional societies has been to bring about a sharp divergence between two forms of education, foreign contrasted with traditional, formal with informal, that of the school with that of the community, education for livelihood in contrast with that for living well." This traditional community education produces a social personality, which at the same time absorbs and diffuses a culture in which it is bred, and which may differ in essential psychological characteristics from that of an exotic culture, whose educational system is first imposed. Biesheuvel<sup>(2)</sup> in his study of race, culture and personality in Africa contrasts the inner-directed personality structure of western man with the tradition-directed personality structure of the African. In contradistinction to the "Ulysses" characteristics of western culture, he places something that has an affinity with the creed of the lotus-eaters - "négritude", "which represents African personality as something which retains the capacity to respond to natural forces in an instinctive way, which rejects materialism, the culture of cities, the consuming drive for technological achievement, the inability to relax and play." If one accepts these views, how is the integration of western education and African social personality to be brought about? Are they totally incompatible, and must we accept the opinions of an African politician that literacy is not necessary for a democracy? "People can talk man to man, and they vote on bread and butter issues. They do not need to be able to read and write to understand."

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(1) Cox, The Impact of British Education on the Indigenous Peoples of Overseas Territories, p.9.

(2) Biesheuvel, Race, Culture and Personality, p.7.

But the emerging African states are faced with participation in a world community of advanced technological development and high material culture. If they desire to belong to this community, they must have some understanding of it and some acquaintance with the knowledge, skill and discipline, which are characteristic of it. Hence, though *négritude* may be the negation of western culture, or though there may be a danger of suborning educational principles for vocational ends, the process of educating cannot stop, while an acceptable solution is being sought. Sir Christopher Cox <sup>(1)</sup> points out that education has reached an almost obsessional stage in British African territories - "The stage of total acceptance of what is believed to be a complete western schooling, identical with that of the British rulers and guaranteed by common examinations." So there can be no educational hesitation in Africa now. Whether the African himself will be willing to accept educational adaptations to African conditions depends upon the wisdom of his own educators. Will they, having initially accepted western education, be able to realise the values of their own traditional culture? Will they succeed in persuading their own people to return to an appreciation of the place of that traditional culture in African racial identity?

"De idealen der opvoeding wisselen met de tijden - zy staan in verband met heel de cultuur". <sup>(2)</sup> As cultural changes take place, educational ideals will change, with a greater or lesser degree of success which will require comparison.

c) Success:

The growth of educational undertakings in the central African States by the British, the French and the Belgians is phenomenal, and as such would be crowned with the word "success." We shall, however, have to do more than merely compare facts and figures of some years back and indicate by comparative table or graph the upward trend, the growth as portrayed in figures and the increase

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(1) Cox, *The Impact of British Education on the Indigenous Peoples of Overseas Territories*. P.9.

.24. "The ideals of education - they stand in relation

to the whole culture."

in institutions and their inmates. These would without doubt reveal that growth which cannot fail to be termed "success", with regard to which we owe sincere recognition and praise.

What was attempted - to give a certain amount of people a certain amount of knowledge and train them to a certain state of academic, technical, industrial, economic or agricultural development - was accomplished, as a perusal of the relevant and available tables and charts will disclose.

But success must be sought in a field wider than that of the classroom, and must be considered in the range of policies which have grown out of the history of the educators and the educated, portraying an inter-relationship between the two on a national and on an international scale. Had our study been merely the success even of various policies of education, much more could be said for some of the continental policies which have been singularly successful in achieving what they sought.

A study of the policies themselves, however, must necessarily bring to light that while what was attempted was in fact achieved, there was, nevertheless, especially as regards the policies responsible for educational trends in the African States, viz. the British, the Belgian and the French, evidence of a desire to reproduce on African soil that which probably grew well in the European. This desire, as well as its achievement, was criticised by the African as foreign. Those blinded by European achievements did not always see the African perspective so clearly.

Let it be clearly understood that no policy is to be singled out as "foreign", for all policies emanating from an older and more cultured race or nation, and applied to the education of a foreign race or nation, are "foreign."

Government political aims and policies govern the government's educational aims and policies, and affect the educational organisation and administration. It is therefore necessary to study and appreciate the political aims and policies of the governments concerned in this study, and to understand the factors that were mainly responsible for

those aims and policies.

Here it may be well to underline the fact that our study covers (i) mainly and primarily the education of the African in the Republic of South Africa, and then, by contract and comparison, (ii) the education of the African in certain African States, namely those which were administered by a) the British, b) the French and c) the Belgians, all three being "foreign" at least in this sense that they are not geographically African.

d) Education and National Income:

It is necessary, in passing, to glance at the income of various national groups.

(i) The Union of South Africa: TABLE LXXIV

shows the national income per capita for the population of the Union of South Africa according to racial grouping for the year 1958-1959. These figures must be seen in conjunction with the fact that during the year in question the Government paid £r58,650,887 as its Total Direct Expenditure on the Bantu, taxes from the Bantu themselves covering only 28.2 per cent of the expenditure on Bantu Education or 12.9 per cent of the total expenditure on the Bantu in general.<sup>(1)</sup>

(ii) National Groups:

In comparison with the Union of South Africa, 44 national groups have been given per capita in TABLE LXXV.

(iii) Countries relative to our study have been separately cited in TABLE LXXVI with regard to their per capita national income.

(iv) Expenditure on Education as percentage of total national revenue is given in TABLE LXXVII with regard to countries relative to our study.

This study of per capita income would throw light on further African educational studies.

e) A Study of Education in Africa -Summary.

Such a study has, to my mind, never been completed.

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(1) Report, Controller and Auditor-General, Union Government.

TABLE LXXIV: Union of South Africa: Shows the national income per capita for the population according to racial grouping for the year 1958-1959:(1)

Group	Estimated number (middle 1959)	Portion of national income earned by each racial group	%	National income per capita to nearest £
European	3,067,000	£1,258,500,000	70.0	£410
Asiatic	450,000	36,000,000	2.0	80
Coloured	1,405,000	81,000,000	4.5	58
Bantu	9,514,000	422,500,000	23.5	46

TABLE LXXV: National Groups: Shows the national income per capita for 44 national groups for the year 1958:(2)

National Group		Per Capita
1.	Tanganyika .....	£17
2.	Pakistan .....	18
3.	Uganda .....	20
4.	India .....	23
5.	Gambia .....	24
6.	Sierra Leone .....	25
7.	Nigeria .....	25
8.	Belgian Congo .....	27
9.	Kenia .....	28
10.	Egypt .....	39
11.	Zanzibar .....	40
12.	Ceylon .....	41
13.	Madagascar .....	43
14.	French Equatorial Africa .....	45
15.	South African Bantu .....	46
16.	Federation Rhodesia Nyasaland	47
17.	French West Africa .....	48
18.	Camarouns .....	51
19.	South African Coloureds .....	58
20.	Tunisia .....	63
21.	Morocco (Southern Zone) .....	68
22.	Ghana .....	69
23.	Portugal .....	71
24.	Algeria .....	79
25.	South African Indians .....	80
26.	Mauritius .....	83
27.	Spain .....	88
28.	Japan .....	91
29.	Greece .....	106
30.	South African All Races .....	125
31.	Italy .....	153
32.	Austria .....	200
33.	Netherlands .....	253

(1) Statistics supplied by "Tegniek - Die Afrikaanse Nywerheidsblad".

(2) United Nations statistics, quoted by "Tegniek".



TABLE LXXV (continued)

National Group		Per Capita
34.	Germany (West) .....	£286
35.	France .....	292
36.	Norway .....	318
37.	Denmark .....	323
38.	Britain .....	351
39.	Australia .....	401
40.	South Africa Europeans .....	410
41.	New Zealand .....	421
42.	Sweden .....	467
43.	Canada .....	581
44.	United States of America .....	748

TABLE LXXVI: Extracts from Table LXXV: Countries relative to our study:

7.	Nigeria .....	£ 25
8.	Belgian Congo .....	27
14.	French Equatorial Africa .....	45
15.	South African Bantu .....	46
16.	Federation Rhodesia Nyasaland	47
19.	South African Coloureds .....	58
22.	Ghana .....	69
25.	South African Indians .....	80
30.	South Africa All Races .....	125
40.	South Africa Europeans .....	410

Many students have attempted the task, but because of its enormity it has always proved too comprehensive, and their work has proved to be statisticians rather than pedagogues.

Two severe handicaps to the study would be (a) the lack of correct, dependable statistics, and (b) the fact that the sources supplying the statistics and other information do not always give the same interpretation or connotation to words and ideas. As examples of these two difficulties Bingle<sup>(1)</sup> cites (a) the Unesco estimate that there are between 500 and 550 million children of school age in the world - a margin of 50 million, which certainly is a colossal figure! and (b) literacy is interpreted by some as the ability to read, by others as the ability to read and write, and by yet others as the attainment of a certain degree of proficiency in reading and writing.

The State of New York calls a man literate if he can write his own name.<sup>(2)</sup>

Some consider a man literate when he can read "a few sentences in print." Others require him to "read and write letters."<sup>(3)</sup>

If, however, we can, in spite of variances in actual statistics, and get a picture of Africa from the Africans themselves - their aims and ideals, their hopes and aspirations, their ideological strivings and human desires for themselves but especially for their children, in the wide sphere of life but especially in that of education, - we see that the education of the African (mass literacy, technological instruction, academic training) is today receiving more general and specialized attention than ever before, and that at an amazing rate.

One fact may not be omitted from our picture; and its importance may not be under-estimated: European colonization in Africa did not have humanitarian aims, Christian endeavour or educational advancement in mind, but slavery in its actual and implied sense of exploitation, and this conception has never entirely vanished from the minds of the European powers, which has, directly and indirectly, evoked a sense of dissatisfaction based also on selfrespect,

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(1) Onderwys in Afrika, p.2.

(2) Fundamental Education, p. 24.

(3) *ibid.*

on the part of the African whose emancipation was undergoing a slow but real, vital and irresistible evolution. A notable exception to this state of affairs is to be found in the South African situation where any idea of colonization is entirely and essentially absent. People of various nationalities and different colours are living together and must live together in the same country, and must find a way so to live. While it is no concern of this study what solution they devise or how they arrive at that solution, it is most definitely our concern how that device affects the education of all peoples in the Republic. The question will be whether this device helps or hinders this education. We contend that the available statistics prove conclusively that there is a tremendous advance on the educational front, and that the expressed aims and policy of the government will lead to even greater attainment in the time envisaged.

In the Republic secondary and higher education is being proportionally more generally offered and accepted than in any of the African States. Compulsory education is being applied nowhere as in the Republic, and the same applies to the education of girls.

The British policy has emphasised the appreciation and cultivation of the best in African culture, but the English language and culture have never been sufficiently absent to ensure independent African development. The European, in the sense of Continental, policy, therefore that of the French and the Belgians (which are closer to each other than to the British) has emphasised the European hall-marked education, and added the political assimilation, economically and cultural, with, as Bingle phrases it: "die Europese tutor-mag die nukleus".<sup>(1)</sup>

Religious influences on the peoples, and subsequently on their education, would indicate the fruit of years and centuries of the three major beliefs - amongst the less developed peoples of Africa, especially in Northern Nigeria, Mahomedanism; amongst the more developed peoples of Africa, especially in Belgian and French territories, Roman Catholicism; amongst the more developed peoples of Africa, especially in British territories, Southern Nigeria, Ghana and the Federation, and also South Africa, Protestantism.

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(1) "the European tutor-control as nucleus." Onderwys in Afrika, p.5.

TABLE LXXVII: Countries relative to our study: Public expenditure on Education as percentage of Total National Revenue:

Country	Total National Revenue	Public Expenditure on Education	Percentage of total Revenue spent on Education	Rate of Exchange in U.S. Dollars
1. Southern Rhodesia 1951 figures	£99,200,000	£1,856,109 European Coloured Asiatic  £874,317 African	1.8  0.8	2.8
2. Northern Rhodesia 1951 figures	£15,897,273	£360,033 European  £459,019 African	2.2	2.8
3. Nyasaland 1952 figures	£4,052,000	£283,000	6.9	2.8
4. Belgian Congo 1951 figures	5,125,501,000 Belgian francs	633,000,000 Belgian francs	12.3	0.02
5. French Equatorial Africa 1952 figures	27,380,302,000 French francs	1,495,445,000 French francs	5.4	0.2857
6. Ghana (Gold Coast) 1951 figures	18,106,495 pounds	2,509,093 pounds	13.8	2.8
7. Nigeria 1950 figures		3,210,486 pounds		2.8
8. Union of South Africa 1951 figures	£1,114,000,000	£38,025,975	3.4	2.8

In the above table it was necessary to make use of figures from, as far as possible, the same years. The years 1950 (for Nigeria) and 1952 (for Nyasaland and French Equatorial Africa) presented the best comparative range.

It is remarkable to what an extent uniformity of school system is becoming an essential. The technicalities of administration have received so much attention that an almost universal system has been evolved and has gained international recognition.

I entered a primary school class in Funchal, Madeira; I entered one in Degania, Israel; I entered one in Madras, India; I entered one in Ibadan, Nigeria; I entered one in Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa; I entered one in Kroonstad, Republic of South Africa. I was struck by the obvious differences in the dress and the colour of the children, the languages spoken, and the illustrations on the walls, but when the principal explained the school system to me in each case, I realized that there were certain basic principles which had obtained universal recognition, with, naturally, variations *à la mode*, often, inevitably, with the hallmark of the particular homeland present to a greater or a lesser extent, *à la Parisienne* in Brazzaville, *à la Anglaise* in Salisbury, and *à la Africa* in the Republic of South Africa.

In all the African States, as in the Republic of South Africa, there is a dire need for teachers, trained teachers, qualified teachers. Teacher training would seem to be that aspect of education which requires the most careful attention today, with special regard to the material selected for training and the training given to that material. In the African States, where there has been less recognition of the independence of the African in the educational field, it may take longer to train the required number of teachers to the full stature of responsibility; in the Republic of South Africa, where the Bantu has been encouraged to more independent development, the ideal of responsibility on the shoulders of the trained teacher will be attained much sooner. In both the African States and the Republic of South Africa there is gold ready for the refinery. An own natural development with a view to ultimate independent responsibility will transform the ingot into a work of art; undue concern to ensure the European hall-mark will result in the detracting from the purity of the metal and an unfortunate resultant alloy.

Education, like so many other essentials, costs money. As the financial tables will show in the case of

each of the countries studied, that there has been a vast drainage of the resources of the European factors presenting the educational facilities, hence the necessity for contributions from the taxes paid by that section receiving the education.

Voices have been heard sounding a warning note that education must be harnessed as a factor contributing to the combating of detribalization. The disrupting elements of modern ways of living, the changing economic structure, improved means of transport, and many more, have so completed the menace of detribalization that it would be more correct to see the function of education as teaching the detribalised African how to live in this new detribalized state.

This would not be the sole function of education when the evil of denationalization is faced. Here the function of education would be not merely (in so far as that may be necessary) to teach the African how to live in his denationalised state, but - and this is the most important! - to teach him that denationalization, integration, or assimilation must essentially defeat its own ends, and that in the preservation and development of what is innate and natural to each race lies the preservation not only of that race, but of all that is strong and vital, growing out of the separate identity, existence and development of each into the larger, composite and corporate whole, mankind. Education along the lines of separate development in the sense of respect for and cultivation of what is peculiar to each race, will enhance the beauty and value of each separate racial contribution in its economic, industrial, artistic, religious, agricultural aspect, and assure the health and wealth of the whole through the health and wealth of each component part. "The body is one, and hath many members .. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased Him."<sup>(1)</sup>

In the medical world the human body as a whole has its distinctive, separate, component parts, each presenting

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(1) The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, Chapter 12, verses 12, 17 and 18.

its own distinctive nasal, opthalmic or aural field of study, the medical health of the human body being dependent on the healthy medical functional ability of each distinctive, separate, component part; in the educational world the body of society as a whole has its distinctive, separate, component parts, each presenting its own distinctive Bantu, Indian, Coloured or European field of study, the educational health of the social body being dependent on the healthy educational functional ability of each distinctive, separate, component part.

On the future of education in Africa, Bingle<sup>(1)</sup> says: "Die toekoms van die onderwys in Afrika is in die weegskaal, en daaroor sal nie deur die Westerse blanke lande beslis word nie! Die naturel sal self daaroor beslis, en hy wil - onder invloed van die Westerse lande in die verlede en vandag nog ten dele, dog grootliks onder Russiese leiding - niks anders en niks minder as die onderwys van die moderne beskawing he nie!"<sup>(2)</sup>

The future of education in Africa certainly presents its problems. If the age of colonization is past - and we cannot doubt that this is so, nor can we grudge the races concerned their joy in feeling that they have gained something real by shaking off all overseas ties - then the following questions arise, demanding unequivocal answers:

a) Will the African be able to chart the future course without the centuries of experience which the Western powers, whose colonial rule he detested and overthrew, had at their disposal and used for his benefit?

b) Will the African, in rejecting what savours of "European", not fall into the snare of iconoclasm and break down what is so vital to any man, to any race - tradition?

c) Will the African not expose himself to a new

(1) Onderwys in Afrika, p. 15.

(2) "The future of education in Africa is in the balance, and the decision does not lie with the Western European powers. The native himself will decide, and - under the influence of the Western countries in the past, and still to a certain extent today, though largely under Russian leadership - he wants nothing else, and nothing less, than the education of modern civilization."

form of "colonization" on the educational front, falling a prey to the slavery of strange ideologies, as did his forebears to the slavery of physical fetters?

d) Will the South African policy of Bantu Education, so often viewed through the monocle of prejudice, not prove to lead the Bantu along the sure road of development within the orb of his own cultural wealth to that state of independence and responsibility where he is truly free?

These questions merit immediate and earnest consideration. But does the African himself foresee an educational future?

f) It has been said in jocular vein that the Hex River Mountains obscure the view of the rest of South Africa for the people of the Western Province, as does the Drakensberg for the people of Natal, but it may well be said in all seriousness that the Mountains of Ignorance obscure the view of Central Africa for the South Africans, and of South Africa for the African States.

An African Member of Parliament, when I explained the South African concept of "separate development" to him, asked "Why do we hear so much of the "separate" and so little of the "development"?" I replied that Mountains of Ignorance, with their heavy lists of prejudice, were exceptionally effective in obscuring the view of truth!

Education on Africa is being given in South Africa to South Africans in many ways - radio talks on Africa, such as that of Professor Pauw in the "Afrika-Instituut" series;<sup>(1)</sup> the study done by the "Afrika-Seminaar" of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education;<sup>(2)</sup> the "October Seminaar" at the Pretoria Technical College in conjunction with the Pretoria Council for Adult Education;<sup>(3)</sup> and many other similar attempts at disseminating knowledge of truth - "and the truth shall make you free."<sup>(4)</sup>

In my peregrinations through the States of Africa

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(1) Ontwikkelinge in Afrika op die Gebied van die Onderwys.

(2) (a) Die Onbekende Afrika; Coetzee.

(b) Onderwys in Afrika; Bingle.

(3) (a) Education in the Congo; Prof. W.de Pauw.

(b) Educational Development in Africa; Prof. E.Potgieter.

(4) The Gospel according to S.John, chapter 8, verse 32b.



I came across - after careful search and earnest enquiry - exceptionally few attempts comparable to those cited above, to gain information regarding the true state of affairs in South Africa, and, without making myself guilty of the same charge which I am laying against a host of my friends, students all, in the African States, I felt that prejudice was strong enough to attract the needle of the compass away from the magnetic meridian, so preventing the ship of study from steering a true course.

It will be remembered that "prejudice" is "prejudgement" - a judgement decided upon before the whole case has been heard. One wonders whence something so contrary to every rule of jurisprudence and scientific investigation emanates. The answer must be sought in the realm of wilful malicious malignant propaganda, the source of which would be a study under a department other than that of education.

Facts, which would eradicate, or at least lessen, the incidence of ignorance and possibly also prejudice, may still be required to prove the receptivity of the African mind.

g) Educability:

The degree of educability of the Native has often arisen as a reason for the disparity between European and Native educational standards.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education says "one finds in South Africa fairly widespread doubts as to the educability of the Native", <sup>(1)</sup> and is of opinion that these doubts account for much of the hesitancy on the part of the average South African to give much encouragement to Native education.

The doubts as to the educability of the Native have arisen mainly from two sources, the Committee finds:

"(i) The general a priori argument that it took the White man more than a thousand years to emerge from barbarism to civilization. How then can it be expected that the Native will become civilized in a few generations?

(ii) The evidence, of a more or less empirical nature, afforded by the results of intelligence tests." <sup>(2)</sup>

The Committee's findings may be summarised briefly

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(1) Report Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education; 1935-1936; p. 104, para. 526.

(2) *ibid.*

as follows:

(a) Much of the Native pupil's scholastic deficiency is due to environmental factors;<sup>(1)</sup>

(b) It is unscientific to conclude at this stage that the Native's intellectual backwardness is attributable to lack of innate mental ability;<sup>(2)</sup>

(c) A great deal of careful research needs to be undertaken before the conclusion can be arrived at with any degree of scientific certainty, that the potential or inborn intelligence of the Native is lower than that of the White man.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Commission on Native Education, in discussing intelligence and aptitude, says: "While the volume of evidence on this subject presented to the Commission was considerable, it was of a very contradictory nature. Your Commissioners have therefore maintained an open mind on the subject. No evidence of a decisive nature was adduced to show that as a group the Bantu could not benefit from education or that their intelligence and aptitudes were of so special and peculiar a nature as to demand on these grounds a special type of education."<sup>(4)</sup>

I learned that from official sources a thorough study is being made of this aspect of Bantu education and saw the work in its initial stages. It would not be wise or fair at this stage to divulge any of the findings of that as yet uncompleted study which may have come to my notice.

The question would arise, however, in how far the African mind desires European education.

#### h) The African Mind:

The average African is of an enquiring mind, often misnamed inquisitive. He often lacks application, not having learned the art. An educationalist maintained that the African climate had much to do with his lack of application, and also coupled it with restlessness caused

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(1) Report Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education; 1935-1936; p.105, par. 531.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) *ibid.*, par. 527.

(4) Report, ~~Commission~~ on Native Education, 1949-1951, par. 60.

by the swift tempo of the development of national consciousness in the case of many states. He cautioned that we must not be tempted to "erect prefabs in the mind of the African student", but teach him the long road, the right road, to the attainment of education strongly built on a solid foundation.

In spite of the fact that the African is of an enquiring mind, and because he often lacks application, the African is inclined to allow his teacher, if he has confidence in him, to do much of his thinking for him.

Sinclair tells of a teacher whose students had such implicit confidence in his knowledge, and such reverence for his opinion, that after leaving him they no longer cared to think for themselves. "They were satisfied by the conclusions reached by a mind so much superior to their own, possessing a grasp and insight which they realized was so far in advance of anything they could ever hope to attain."<sup>(1)</sup>

The positive side of this is the admiration the African student has for those he considers his superiors in knowledge or attainment. It is sometimes akin to an almost childlike hero worship, and can be exploited to encourage the student to develop along personal and national lines to the creation and attainment of something which he can call his own.

It is necessary that the young African should be enabled to actualize capacities essential for modern life, while developing his national identity.<sup>(2)</sup> Does he realize this as an ideal, or at any rate as a possibility? Does he see education as a means to this end?

i) Why do Natives desire Education?

The question inevitably recurs - why is education desired by scholars? In 1935 the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research<sup>(3)</sup> submitted a questionnaire to native pupils in Standard VI and above, in all native schools in the Union. Replies were received

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(1) The Possibility of a Science of Education

(2) of C.S.A. Specialists; p.20.

(3) Report Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935-1936; Appendix H; p. 145.

from 12,533 pupils. The question put was "Why do I desire an education?" and the replies were as follows:

1. Education improves one mentally and physically: 26.79 per cent;
2. Through education better employment opportunities become available, especially in face of present economic competition: 19.25 per cent;
3. To help and to improve the Nation demands education: 14.83 per cent;
4. The educated person is greatly in demand as a help to his less fortunate fellows: 8.41 per cent;
5. The educated Native group enjoys social prestige and the child desires to become identified with this group: 7.33 per cent;
6. Reading, writing and a knowledge of English are an essential asset in society: 6.72 per cent;
7. Education of the child will be of direct benefit to his family: 6.99 per cent;
8. A knowledge of Christian principles and the acquisition of a Christian spirit may be achieved through education: 3.71 per cent;
9. The uneducated, the savage, heathen and superstitious are inferior, as is the culture of the forefathers. Through education this inferiority may be avoided: 2.64 per cent;
10. The uneducated person is dependent upon the help of others. Education will remove such dependence: 1.67 per cent;
11. Education is the basis of European superiority. Equality may be obtained through education: 1.20 per cent;
12. To maintain oneself in the face of exploitation by the educated demands education: 0.70 per cent.
13. No clear conception of an educational objective actuates the child: 0.09 per cent.

The following points are important with regards to the above: .

(i) Item one expresses clear motives based on the belief in the saying "Knowledge is power."

(ii) Item two gives a "bread and butter" reason, and one wonders why the percentage there is not higher.

(iii) Items three and four (and perhaps seven)

indicate nationalistic and altruistic tendencies, and here, too, one wonders why the percentage is not higher in this respect.

(iv) "Knowledge is power," "bread and butter" and "nationalism and altruism" have accounted for 76.27 per cent of all answers.

(v) A desire for social prestige, and an escape from inferiority, are the underlying motives in items five, six, nine, ten, eleven and twelve. Surely more Natives desire education for these reasons?

(vi) Item eight is vague in the absence of a clear explanation as to what is understood and what is meant by the pupil by "a knowledge of Christian principles" and "the acquisition of a Christian spirit."

(vii) Item thirteen shows an exceptionally low percentage. Without questioning the validity of such a questionnaire one wonders whether only 0.09 per cent have "no clear conception of an educational objective." Does this mean that the other 99.1 per cent (that is 11,424 out of the 12,553 pupils questioned) were actually "actuated by a clear conception of an educational objective?"

j. Contemporary Africa:

Africa poses the acute problem of the "plural society" - a society comprising two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit."<sup>(1)</sup>

T. Walker Wallbank sees three ways open for Africa from which to choose her road for the future:

- (i) The African must eventually surrender entirely his ancient ways for those of the White man;
- (ii) The African must somehow work for and mingle with Europeans and yet retain his distinctive way of life as is proposed in the "apartheid" policy of the Union of South Africa;
- (iii) The African is fated to lose the old culture that once gave meaning and direction to his life, without being able to assimilate the alien culture

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(1) A term invented, according to T. Walker Wallbank in his *Contemporary Africa*, p. 12, by J.S. Furnivall in his *Netherlands India*, p. 446.

of the West. (1)

In the African States I immediately sensed two facts which conditioned the attitude of the European to the African in the matter of educational policy. The average European had, in his European homeland, never experienced any real contact with the African; the African was, to a large extent, a colonial who had never trespassed as an integral part of the homelife of the European. The average European had experienced contact with the small minority of educated Africans, which had never constituted any serious challenge to his European separateness, and he had never seriously considered, or tried to consider, or succeeded in considering, or grasped the situation which would be created by an educational policy of assimilation or integration carried into effect not in a remote colony, but within the borders of the homeland, should immigration reach the magnitude it is reaching in, for example, England today.

While endeavouring to avoid trespassing into related fields, I feel constrained to repeat a conversation almost verbatim which I had with a leading European educationalist while discussing student life.

"Do you feel that students of different races should meet on the academic platform?"

"Most decidedly."

"Does this, in your experience, inevitably mean that they meet socially too?"

"Not inevitably, but casually."

"You have told me that you have daughters. Students often dance. Have African students danced with your daughters?"

"Yes."

"Did you like it?"

"No, but what could I do?"

Here the argument seems illogical. If this last answer were "yes", that would alter the situation, for our contention is not at this stage that academic or social intercourse between students of different races and colours should or should not be encouraged. Our contention is,

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(1) Contemporary Africa, p. 13.

however, that if academic and social intercourse eventually leads to a position where a mother is left helpless with the admission "I don't like it but what can I do?", then there is something seriously wrong.

Can any special policy be held responsible for any special situation? That the various countries (and we are thinking especially of Britain, France and Belgium) have done much for African education leaves no doubt in one's mind, but our interest lies more specifically in the policy itself.

k) Policies:

(i) The British Policy:

The British New Colonial Policy was declared in the House of Commons in 1943 by the British Colonial Secretary:<sup>(1)</sup> "We are pledged to guide Colonial peoples along the road to self-government, within the framework of the British Empire. We are pledged to build up their social and economic institutions, and we are pledged to develop their national resources."

The execution of this policy affected the education of the colonies in a very real way, and any error in the conception of the policy would be reflected in its application. The fact that colony after colony expressed in no uncertain terms its desire to develop along the road to self-government but outside the framework of the British Empire, had its effect on the development of the education of the colonies concerned.

Speaking of European impact and changing African, Wallbank<sup>(2)</sup> says "the impact of the West on the African way of life is one of the great transformations of modern times, especially when one considers its speed, the main agents of this Western impact being the White man's government, mines, plantations and farms, and the Christian Missionary."

In the new life that is opening up for the African, with education as one of the enlightening factors, and African nationalism one of the most important results of

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(1) Contemporary Africa, p. 48.

(2) *ibid.*, p.50.

the impact of Western culture, only Christianity can provide the moral basis for reasonable and civilized action. The African admires the power, wealth and diversity of Western civilization. He becomes detribalized. The result is confusion and frustration. He feels superior to the old life from which he has cut adrift, but he has received no status in the new world to which he wants to belong. Professor Macmillan<sup>(1)</sup> says: "It is a misfortune that civilization today offers no clear-cut system of ideas for Africans to follow, no creed such as Christianity or Islam once offered with confidence, no simple and thrilling rule of life for the convert from barbarism to embrace, hardly even a civic system of which he can feel himself a part."

It is precisely this complaint which makes it clear that an educational system which is going to be of intrinsic and lasting value to the African, must be one which will assure him of the protection of his rights - his right to free existence, his right to full development, his right to participation in and eventual control of his education. Any suspicion on his part of an ulterior motive in the educational policy will immediately make him resent its application.

The British colonial policy, in which the educational policy is incorporated, is one which will condescendingly educate the African "within the framework of the British Empire" - a clause which must, to any selfrespecting and selfdeveloping nation, be nothing short of anathema.

The Belgian policy, debarring its African subjects from any form of democratic government, and giving the clear impression that Belgium retains an interest in the Congo for what she can glean from it, will lead to rebellion against a dominating and domineering father.

The French policy, emphasising the humanistic, but with little concern for the national development of the African, attempting rather to keep him a subjected, if educated, component part of the French colonial system, will necessarily clash with the wave of awakened and growing African nationalism, which must resent any

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(1) Africa Emergent, p. 67.



any savour of colonialism.

The South African policy, providing for separate development of European and Bantu, but respecting the ethnical grouping of the Bantu, acknowledging his mother tongue, encouraging to the full his national development, and affording every opportunity for self-government, here especially in educational organisation, bids the Bantu every advantage of which he is capable, as it bids the European every advantage of which he is capable.

Two facts must be stressed at this juncture. The first is that educational policy is closely woven into and integrally knit as part of the national policy of whatever country it may be. The second is that while the British, the Belgian and the French policies concerning Africa and therefore African education are Colonial policies, the South African policy is essentially a national policy in the sense that it concerns this country, the Republic of South Africa, and the two main groups living in it, the European and the Bantu, neither of which has any oceans to divide any colony from its homeland, and neither of which has any conveniently distant colony or homeland to which it could emigrate in the event of failure of policy.

The history of South Africa is the history of a sincere study of what educational development should be afforded the Bantu. In 1908 a leading article in a daily newspaper stated the problem as follows:<sup>(1)</sup> "The Native problem is the White problem. The future of the country as a European community is bound up with the existence and development of the Native. The difference between us and the Native races is not a difference of rival civilizations, but a difference between civilization and barbarism. On the other hand, how is the dominant race to keep its place against a preponderance in numbers of the inferior races such as we have here? Civilization built on slavery contains the seeds of decay. The problem for us is the development of a community consisting of two distinct populations separated by an impassable gulf in physical and intellectual characteristics, but each of which

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(1) The Star, 11th July, 1908.

is free to advance along its own lines. How under such conditions is the superior race to prevail when it cannot either coerce or absorb or exterminate the lower?"

"Our aim is a synthesis of order and liberty, local initiative and national direction, voluntary agencies and the State." In these few words Mr. R.A. Butler, the Minister who was responsible for the Education Act of 1944 when it was before the British Parliament, the aim of British Education.<sup>(1)</sup>

The British call their Educational System "essentially a partnership with the State as principal partner, symbolising unity, and the other participants with their differing attitudes and particular traditions acting as a check upon excessive centralisation and preventing a monotonous uniformity."<sup>(2)</sup>

Two Acts of Parliament, the Board of Education Act of 1899, and the Education Act of 1902, were responsible for the establishment of the principle of partnership between central and local government, and after half a century the British Minister of Education commented on this democratic idea of partnership as having been progressive in its attempt to build a single, but not uniform, system out of many diverse elements.

Judging by the reception this idea of partnership has had, it would seem to have widened educational opportunities and raised standards, and to have knit the educational system more closely into the life of an increasingly democratic and industrialised community. British education is certainly not for the child only, but for national wellbeing.

In England particularly, the Church has for centuries been primarily interested in and directly responsible for education. During the middle ages Christendom was undivided, but by the nineteenth century England belonged to various churches, although the Church of England was the established Church and by far the largest.

The British colonial policy has been briefly and ably stated by Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley as follows: "It is

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(1) Sargent, p. 48.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 48.

that of the maximum practical self-government within the Empire at the earliest practicable time .... it is self-government and not independence which I believe to be the real advantage of the Colonial territories." (1)

The British policy is termed by Wallbank "the British gamble." (2) He says "the British have gone further than any other African power in passing over the reins of government." (3) But to whom have "the reins of government" been passed over? Wallbank gives the answer, and, after admitting that "this is a gigantic gamble", quotes professor Margery Perham: "There is no precedent for the sudden grant of the parliamentary franchise to a large, illiterate, tribal population, utterly remote from the political experience of Western Peoples." (4)

Speaking of the British educational system in Africa, Unesco says "in spite of the inevitable export of the educational ideas and philosophy of the metropolitan country into the colonial territories, the results in British Africa have been on the whole a welding of the two cultures and not a distinctive stamp." (5)

The impression I gained by my visit to the British (or had-been British) colonies was certainly that of a dilemma caused by "a welding of the two cultures", but on the other hand that of a distinctive stamp, or effort to impress a distinctive stamp, the British stamp. In the "Library of Stocks and Prescribed Works" in Lagos I noticed that the British legacy in that domain was strangely exclusively British - British interest on every shelf. Perhaps a study of a book of Poems, "Further Poems of Spirit and Action", selected by W.M. Smyth, taken at random from that section, will be indicative. Without any attempt at an evaluation of their poetic value, I was puzzled to appreciate the reception of Ogden Nash, Robert Louis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, Walter de la Mare, Sir Henry Newbolt, Sir Walter Scott, W.B. Yeats, Alfred

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- (1) Speech delivered by Rt.Hon. Oliver Stanley, to the American Outpost, London, March 19, 1945. In "British Speeches of the Day", London, 1945, pp. 318-320. Courtesy, British Information Services. Cited Wallbank Contemporary Africa, p. 133.  
 (2) Contemporary Africa, p. 100.  
 (3) *ibid.*  
 (4) *ibid.*  
 (5) Fundamental Education, p. 172.

Noyes, John Masefield, Lord Tennyson, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Lord Macaulay and Robert Browning by Nigerian students I had just visited in their schoolroom. I wondered whether there were no Nigerian poets. Nigeria has had her wars, but the military "spirit and action" was confined to "War Song of the Saracens", (reaching its climax in the last verse

"Upon Saint Crispin's Day  
Fought was the noble fray,  
Which fame did not delay  
To England to carry.  
O when shall Englishmen  
With such acts fill a pen,  
Or England breed again

Such a King Harry?); "Flodden" (1513, in the reign of Henry VIII, when a Scottish army under James IV was defeated by the English army under the Earl of Surrey - and at that time Spain was conquering Nigeria!); and "1805" (Viscount Nelson's funeral at St. Paul's.)

I searched for something about my own country - and found it in a pleasant little poem, "Hex River Mountains", describing a train "roaring, rocking and ringing out her paean of conquering men", but it was spoilt for me by the information it supplied that "The Hex River is in the Transvaal."<sup>(1)</sup>

Even Hailey betrays just the slightest suggestion of humour at this unmistakable distinctive British stamp when he says "British policy may be illustrated by the History Books used in Africa, beginning with a reference to "our ancestors the Gauls."<sup>(2)</sup>

Educational views are often influenced by political opinions, as was evident in various countries at the time of their independence, and may, as such, be biased and unfair, yet reveal an element of truth.

Nigeria was very conscious of "the British legacy", and well-featured articles, as well as books, criticised it severely. One writer, having cited Lagos as "the greatest slum in West Africa, and blaming the British for this, writes about education as follows: "The legacy

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(1) Here it would be dishonest not to admit that a feeling of prejudice crept over me, caused (and partly justified?) by the fact that my ancestral home is in the Hex River Mountains.

(2) Hailey; African Survey, p. 1223.

we shall inherit in the machinery that works our educational system can only be the same as England gives herself - 'educational laissez faire'. 'You should get education,' England seems to say. 'It is good for you.' But even in England, you are not really forced to go to school. You could sit in bed all day, but as long as your parents can keep you educationally abreast of your age-group students doing formal schooling, all is well."

Continuing under the heading Educational bondage, the writer says, "It is this laissez faire that keeps Nigeria in its educational bondage today. All the lawyers and doctors there were in Nigeria up to 1952 were not the finished products of a militant and purposeful educational system. They were, and largely still are, the emanations and inconsequential throw-outs which paradoxically engendered enough power to fashion themselves into the new personalities they eventually became. Educational laissez faire is the most unpredictable, yet the most paradoxical of all weapons any lords could design to encompass any serfs. In 1960, no part of the Federation of Nigeria would dare say to the people - 'education shall be free, universal and compulsory.' The reason for this is that we had never seen that expression translated into action anywhere around us. After 1960, we are going to have plenty of good doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects and so on. We will also have thousands of gifted men and women but all of whom will live among the 'undiscovered.' And nobody would shed a tear because none of us has ever been taught to regard as a wicked one, a State that refused to educate, compulsorily, the children of that State. In other words, we shall step into 1960 with an army of undesirables, battalions of loafers, a motley crew of misfits, ever-restless streams of human parasites and hangers-on lining our streets and jamming up our Independence fun fares, with their faces full of smiles and their hearts full of loathe and bitterness, who had no opportunity of receiving education. But they have

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(1) Tai Solarin, "British Legacy to Nigeria." Daily Times, Lagos, July 20, 1959. Article reproduced in toto.

missed their boat and they know it, and they are very sensitive about it. They are ours for keeps and this country has to reckon with them and start thinking now about them and of the solution to their problem. That gentleman who walks into your office and declares that although he is not much grounded in book-work he 'will do anything else you can give me to do, and I don't want you to refuse me something,' is one of them. He will not go to the land. He is not used to it. He is not qualified for the office work. He sits between the farmer and the white collar job man, like Janus, looking this way and that, with the speed of the shuttle in the sewing machine, to keep alive. He constitutes around 80 per cent of the urban population. He is a legacy of no mean order. The saddest thing, I feel, the British have bequeathed to us, is in the paucity of philosophers. Politicians certainly are philosophers, but they are political philosophers. Professor Eyo Ita, Dr. Azikwe, Chief Awolowo are all political philosophers. During our almost century-old tutelage under the British, we never reared a Lin Yu Tang or Vinova Bhave, a Nehru, a J.B. Priestley, a Dewey, a Shaw, a John Lancaster, a Max Muller, a Harold ~~Maski~~, a C.D.H. Cole, a H.G. Wells, a Dr. Schweitzer and a Huxley; I mean those men with independent and original thinking whose views you often want to read on the week-end review or the Sunday morning papers. But one can console himself with the fact that no subject people can genuinely do original thinking. The fear of what the 'boss' might say is too heavy a dagger hanging, as it were on a lock of hair over one's unprotected head. And to this may be added the cold fact that a subject race is a hungry race - a people in genuine hunger for bread and butter. And no people, anywhere, with its stomach empty or only partially filled, could philosophise." (1)

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- (1) Tai Solarin, "British Legacy to Nigeria", Daily Times, Lagos, July 20, 1959. Article reproduced in toto. In reply to Tai Solarin's article on the British legacy may I point out that China and India produced their philosophers without the help of other countries. Had Nigeria had philosophers they would have appeared in spite of British rule.

Merely to criticise the British (or any other) system will, however, not produce the desired results. Deeper causes must be sought. In Nigeria poorly or badly trained teachers form one of the greatest hindrances towards the improvement of the current educational system.

The Lagos Conference pointed out the necessity for the maintenance of Higher Education at a level "in conformity with University traditions." Professors should be appointed, and degrees granted, "in accordance with the rules in force at the parent University."<sup>(1)</sup>

This, however, is something which cannot merely be given to any country, but must grow from the people themselves.

What was admitted to me by an educationalist in Nigeria about his country may be true of other countries too. He admitted a desire on the part of his people for education at all levels, but also admitted that in many cases the objective of education was to gain a degree which would lead to the type of employment which would bring prestige, rather than using education to solve the problems and improve the social and economic conditions of their country.

The British system in Nigeria brought noteworthy results on the academic plane, but the Nigerians themselves, while reaping the benefit of these results, still look upon them as a "British legacy,"<sup>(2)</sup> because they have not been produced as Nigerian growth.

The writer who complains that "no subject people can genuinely do original thinking"<sup>(3)</sup> fails to remember that the famous Negro Spirituals were born in slavery; that Bunyan wrote his Pilgrim's Progress in prison; that undoubtedly many an unacknowledged African philosopher sits at the entrance to a native village, and, because he is illiterate, his thoughts have never been written down and so preserved for posterity.

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(1) C.S.A. Specialists, p.19.

(2) Tai Solarin, "British Legacy to Nigeria."

(3) *ibid.*

The success or failure of a system, and certainly of the British system in Nigeria, will have to be measured by the extent to which the people themselves have learnt to think and produce thinkers.

(ii) The French Policy:

The French were never concerned with the national development - the development of educationally and economically inferior groups into nationhood - of the Africans in their colonies. In fact, not only were they not concerned with it, but they avoided it, feared it, opposed it. Education was given to the African with the purpose of making him a suitable component part of the French colonial system.

It was in the depth of the primeval forest that, as I was walking along a narrow path in the company of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, a shinningly naked African lad of some seven years of age approached, stood aside, clicked his little heels, bowed, and greeted us with a perfect French accent, "Bon jour, M'sieur". We were Europeans, and to all intents and purposes French, and his education has taught him that his language, his customs, his very existence, were of lesser (if any) importance. His value lay in his fitting into the French pattern.

Hailey rightly shows that the framework of the French system of education was largely devised for the purpose of securing a class of elite as auxiliaries in the task of administration.

"The most characteristic features of French educational policy have been: first, the universal use of French as the medium of instruction; second, a general policy of relating the provision of the more advanced type of education to the demand which appears to exist for its product; third, the strong emphasis on vocational training as the form which such education should take; and, fourth, the progressive assimilation of the curricula and examination standards to those prevailing in metropolitan France. This last feature in particular involves the employment of an increasing proportion of European teachers."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) African Survey, p.1197.



The product of the French educational system would necessarily fit into the French scheme of things.

The resolution on education passed by the Brazzaville Conference of 1944 asserted that "while instruction must be directed to teaching the mass of the people how to improve their standard of life, its result must also be "aboutie à une sélection sûre et rapide des élites." (1)

One wonders what interpretation would, in a changing society, be given to the word "élite"; one wonders whether this policy would hold should the "élite" be non-European in composition.

In so far as the sons of chiefs might be, or might be trained as, "élite", it is important to note that General Faidherbe who administered Senegal (1854-1860), was responsible for the founding of the "École des Otages for the Sons of Chiefs", of which it has been said "le nom indique sans équivoque les conditions de recrutement." (2)

The French colonial theory is a "precise and logical" one - the theory of assimilation.

Wallbank says of the French "they mingle with the Africans giving the impression of racial harmony, for .. the French territories know little of the color bar." (3)

In the first paper read before the Afrika-seminaar at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (4) mention was made of the obvious fact that France looked upon her African colonies as integral part of the French Union, therefore it was inconceivable that France could leave her African subjects to their fate.

The wide extent of an area such as French Equatorial Africa would necessarily cause a certain amount of decentralization of its education with regard to control and administration. Policy and principles, dictated by the central government, in many instances by the Ministry of Education in France, would naturally remain constant for all areas. This would include matters such as syllabuses, prescribed books, status of teachers, and the like.

The main responsibility of the local government would be to apply the predetermined principles and methods

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(1) Hailey, p. 1198.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 1194.

(3) Contemporary Africa, p. 97.

(4) Die Onbekende Africa, Coetzee.

to local conditions.

We may summarise as did Bingle in his thorough presentation to the "Afrika-Siminaar:"<sup>(1)</sup> "Though education in the overseas territories retains its own highly decentralized organization, which allows for adaptation to local conditions and would permit it, should the need arise, to take highly individual forms, it is more and more approximating, by its methods, the standards of its work, the efficiency of its staff, and the broadly humanistic outlook which inspires it, to that of the home country. It is French culture which is being spread in the primary schools, the lycées and the collèges of the overseas territories, and this fact constitutes one of the firmest links uniting them to the rest of the Republic."

"As an heir to an ancient tradition of Humanism, France seeks the best means to ensure its perpetuation through adaptation to these times of accelerated evolution."<sup>(2)</sup> The Roman Catholic Church, until the last century the main repository of this tradition in France, holds and maintains that it has the duty of organising a system of education which includes not only religious instruction proper but "the guidance of conscience and judgment into the road of salvation (including an exact perception of the relationship between wordly knowledge and religious truth)". French universities, faced with the growing diversity of religious sects and philosophical systems, are elaborating a secular approach which is at once constructive, tolerant of all convictions and based upon the accepted premises of conscience. They believe that God has not been excluded from a school of "these apparent abstractions" represented by all that is true, good and beautiful and just are to be found there; and if moral education offers these to youth "as real and supreme values."

"We conceive of general education," said Paul Langevin, "as an initiation into the diverse forms of human activity, not only in order to determine the aptitudes of the individual - but in order to allow him to remain in contact with his fellow-men." As the philosopher

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(1) Onderwys in Afrika, p.10.

(2) Sargent, p. 110.

Comte has said, "Upbringing must have humanity as its goal; it must develop in each of us, that is to say, everything that can go to make an enlightened man, capable of detaching himself from his occupation, his party or sect, so that he may judge his time untrammelled, and judge it in the light of the lessons of the past, and of the requirements of the future alike."<sup>(1)</sup>

Thus conceived, Humanism can generate peace and fraternal collaboration between men. It is not a question of renouncing their convictions, or of losing their personal identity, but of their knowing how to respect all forms of culture and of caring deeply for their development, until they can echo the deathbed words of the ancient philosopher Marcus Aurelius: "My soul, art thou now good, pure, one and naked, able to understand all and to love all? Go forth then to see if they are right who believe only in the existence of atoms, or if they are right who believe in immortality."<sup>(2)</sup>

The French critics are disappointed to find that English children learn a large number of subjects, each more or less independently of the others, too often without seeing much connection among them.

Ernest Lavisse remarks: "A case of a fragment of an educator addressing itself to a fragment of a pupil,"<sup>(3)</sup> and John Adams says he might have added "about a fragment of a subject."<sup>(4)</sup>

John Adams criticises the French who are so impressed by the ultimate Unity of the Sciences that they are tempted to seek a solution in a unification of the subject-matter of the curriculum. He says the wiser among them realize that the educational solution must be found in the educational process itself. "What is wanted is not merely that the curriculum should be so organised as to present an organic unity of subject-matter, but that the staff of the school should act as an educational unity in

(1) Quoted by Sargent, p. 110.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) "Une Education Manquée" in his work "L'éducation de la Démocratie."

(4) Modern Developments in Educational Practice, p. 17.

its influence on the individual pupil."(1)

"How does France view the Congo?" was a question I repeatedly asked. The answer was simple.

Under the French colonial policy British interests were ousted, while both the soil and the aborigines were exploited with a view to an increasing yield in rubber; resistance on the part of the latter meeting with bloody opposition. When foreign criticism led to an investigation by de Brazza, no report was ever published, but by 1922 compulsory labour was dwindling, and only eleven out of the original forty companies with French preferential concessions were left.

France always considered her Colonies as economic and cultural units of the homeland. Albert Sarraut has called them "the French bloc." The development of ethnical groups was not tolerated.

Foreign criticism of the French colonial policy led to an investigation by General de Gaulle in Brazzaville in 1949, but the French idea of the homeland as the mother country was fixed. Congolese who by virtue of their educational and cultural development were approved bearers of the French spirit were considered "citoyens Francais", and were given a part in the political administration of the Congo, like any other French citizen, while the less developed Congolese remained an ordinary French subject.

The French policy appears to be a compromise between assimilation and association; a compromise, therefore, between two conceptions; a dualism which was doomed to failure because of its lack of clarity and singleness of purpose.

Cramer and Browne contend that France "is an example of a self-contained nation with intense pride in what she believes to be her cultural leadership of Western civilization."(2)

In reply to the question as to how the French policy conceived primary education in the French overseas territories, Unesco, through its Educational Organisation, replies: "It was really inspired by two principles, seemingly different and even opposed by nature, but in reality

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(1) Modern Developments in Educational Practice, p. 17.

(2) Contemporary Education, p.7.

complementary and coincident: the principle of assimilation and the principle of adaptation. At first the policy of assimilation held the field and, although its development has had to take account of the facts, it has nevertheless maintained its force and ambitions in certain regions. It was born of the ideas of 1789; it considers that all men, irrespective of birth and race, are equal before the law and before the future. Henceforth, colonising becomes an assimilation, a conversion of peoples to civilization, their incorporation within the French nation."<sup>(1)</sup>

This idea the "all men, irrespective of birth and race, are equal before the law and before the future", is indisputable and irrefutable, but one wonders by what process of argument the deduction is reached that "henceforth colonising becomes an assimilation, a conversion of peoples to civilization, their incorporation within the French nation." If this means that the three above-mentioned are synonymous - (a) assimilation, (b) conversion to civilization and (c) incorporation within the French nation - then one is inclined to doubt not only the logical reasoning of the argument, but (and that affects this study most intimately) one is inclined to doubt whether that is true education.

The aim of this education is, according to Unesco reports,<sup>(2)</sup> to "create overseas Frenchmen." "This incorporation cannot be limited to the élite, to trained staffs or to the elements responsible for steering development; it must be carried to the very heart of the population itself; it must be general, fundamental. The aim is to create French nationals, citizens, overseas Frenchmen, French provinces. It is France overseas. The "Africans learn to be French", to quote the title of an English book on France's educational policy in French West Africa."<sup>(3)</sup>

If this is the aim of French education in Africa, then a criticism of its success is required. This can

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(1) Fundamental Education, p.48.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 48-9.

(3) *ibid.*

be briefly given in the form of three questions: (a) Does France seriously consider assimilating the 2,000,000 inhabitants of French Equatorial Africa (to remain within the confines of our study) plus the many millions of the other French territories? (b) Would recent trends and events in Africa, in French Provinces and in Algeria especially, indicate that the African, with his growing sense of independence and of nationalism, is looking forward to the attainment of this aim of education "to be French"? (c) If this expressed aim were attained, would any real progress in the field of education be made? (It will not be necessary to reiterate the reminder that we are pursuing our study in the field of education, and that this expressed French policy is not a policy of colonization or of political economy, but an educational policy.)

To continue a study of the French educational policy is to continue the argument that the aim of education is (a) civilization, but essentially (b) French civilization. "The French school, especially in tropical Africa and Asia, symbolises emancipation and liberation. It means access to the sources of cultural and modern civilization. It absolves the African, for instance, from remaining shut up in his own surroundings, the prisoner of tyrannical traditions; it signifies liberation and promotion."<sup>(1)</sup>

Here, again, criticism may take the form of question: (a) If "liberation and promotion" are sought, does it follow logically and exclusively that their attainment lies in "assimilation" and "incorporation"? Is this not a "contradictio in termino"? Does the conclusion follow logically on the premises in this syllogistic argument? (b) Does a policy of separate development not attain the same educational ideal of absolution "from remaining shut up in his own surroundings, the prisoner of tyrannical traditions," signifying "liberation and promotion", without inclusion of the contradictory "assimilation"?

A definition of education includes the phrase "teaching of the people for the people, for the people's

needs and aspirations." (1) Can those who draft a policy of Fundamental Education such as France has accepted for her colonies, really be serious when they find the "people's needs and aspirations" met by "assimilation and incorporation"? Could France "assimilate and incorporate" all the "élite" from her colonies? Would they prefer "assimilation and incorporation" to independent development?

(iii) The Belgian Policy:

The Belgian colonial policy - as does every other colonial policy - has a keen influence on its approach to education, and therefore on its educational policy and organisation.

But "the Belgians have no colonial policy if by that is meant a definite programme of objectives" (2) says Wallbank.

In the Belgian Congo I got no impression of a national scheme for education. On the contrary, the impression gained was that this colony was being treated to the same educational programme as was current in the homeland. "Belgians do not burden themselves with prejudices and preconceived notions. Deprived of colonial traditions, and thus deprived of all experience in this field, Belgium knows no reason, sentimental, historical or political, why she should choose one colonial system rather than another." (3)

The Belgian Congo presented an unusual concept in that its boundaries disregarded ethnical grouping. The inhabitants of the lower Congo, for instance, has greater tribal affinity with the inhabitant of French Congo and of Angola than with the stronger negroid ethnical element of the North or with the African of the South-Eastern Province of Katanga, the latter showing strong affinity to the African of Northern Rhodesia. Belgian Congo provincial boundaries, also, cut through ethnical groupings.

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(1) Fundamental Education, p. 128.

(2) Contemporary Africa, p. 91.

(3) Rival Colonial Policies in Africa, p. 13. Louis Kraft in The Listener, London, July 1, 1954. Cited in Contemporary Africa, p. 91.

The impression I formed in Belgian Congo was that the inhabitants had little or no opportunity to take any actual and active part in any form of democratic government. All policy was dictated from Brussels.

The troubles in the Congo were ascribed by several persons interviewed to the growing nationalism of the Africans. Then there were those who blamed Moscow for any insubordination.

To my mind three important factors contributing to the state of unrest and the expressed desire to overthrow Belgian rule, were

- (i) the staunch refusal of Belgium, as an imperial power, to waive any claim to the wealth of the Congo;
- (ii) the tremendous influence of the Roman Catholic Missions which received government support until 1946; and
- (iii) the fact that foreign criticism caused Belgium to doubt the expedience of her colonial policy, and to waver in its application under fire of opposition.

With these factors in mind, one is tempted to page back through the history of the Belgian Congo and search for the origin of the Belgian colonial policy which was also to so great an extent the Belgian educational policy for its colonies. This may be summarized as follows:

- (i) The Belgian (and here one feels constrained to say the Roman Catholic) conception of society as a hierarchy of the ruling group responsible for the administration of the population;
- (ii) The conception of the concession companies in the Congo that the welfare of the worker is important mainly for the maintenance of, and increase in, production; and
- (iii) The conception of the colonial government that it is primarily necessary to create prosperity amongst the masses rather than to train them to any stage of ability to participate in the government of their country.

The Belgian policy is one of fatherly superiority, of dominating trusteeship, of overruling paternalism.

Wallbank says "Belgian colonial rule stands in a



class by itself, different from the British on the one hand and from the French and Portuguese on the other. Like the British, the Belgians show no determination to make the African native into a European counterpart of his ruler; on the other hand, unlike the British, they show little desire to give the Africans training in the institutions of democracy. Unrivalled in any other colonial area in Africa is the degree to which the native Congolese have been trained as skilled artisans and technicians in the factories and the mines." (1)

The same writer<sup>(2)</sup> states that the educators, administrators and missionaries have always contended that "the possibilities of the Congolese were those of any man anywhere else," consequently the idea of discrimination and racial superiority was absent from their policy, yet a "de facto distinction was made between those Congolese who already have achieved a degree of civilization, mental as well as technical, and those who have not yet done so."

The results of years of Belgian policy in the Congo are sarcastically summarized by Wallbank as follows: "Look at the Belgian Congo today, look at what we have done in scarcely half a century, look at the roads, the cities, the industries, the churches and the schools, above all, look at the millions of primitive, miserable beings we are making into citizens of the world." (3)

Discussions, not only with professional educationalists, but also with the layman, convinced me that the desire for training in some sphere or other, and for instruction in some subject or other, was widespread amongst the average Africans, and certainly those of Belgian Congo. This desire cannot always be termed "a thirst for knowledge", but rather "a thirst for such benefits as knowledge will bring." Students - some merely deipnosophists - waxed eloquent about the need for facilities for higher education, but "it was the lack of a system of secondary schools of a

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(1) Belgian Congo- American Survey; New York, 1954, p. 38. Courtesy of the Belgian Embassy. Cited by Wallbank, Contemporary Africa, p. 177.

(2) Contemporary Africa, p. 178.

(3) *ibid.*, p. 179.

sufficiently high standard to produce students that prevented Lovanium from opening a University before 1954",<sup>(1)</sup> said Monsignor Gillon in his opening speech. He continued to say: "Primary education has been well developed in this country; its network of schools is one of the largest in Africa. Nevertheless, the opportunities for the best pupils of primary schools to move on to secondary education as still far too limited."<sup>(2)</sup>

Wallbank admits "while concentrating on Native welfare, little thought or effort is given to political training of the natives in the art of self-government."<sup>(3)</sup> He continues: "An African can go as far as his talents allow in the economic field, but he can hardly take one step in the political arena - in this efficiently paternal regime, all directives and ultimate policy come from Belgium .. some form of self-government might evolve in a hundred years."<sup>(4)</sup>

This admission that "little thought or effort is given to political training of the natives in the art of self-government" shows a failure of the educational system. While the Belgium regime in the Congo is termed "an efficient paternal regime", one is constrained to wonder whether the "parent" has not failed in his duty to train his "child" to take certain responsibilities.

We are not seeking to criticise the Belgian colonial policy, but knowing that colonization is a mighty factor affecting the education system, we cannot fail to see how inadequate provision in the case of the first has meant inadequate provision in the case of the second, and vice versa. The argument that "some form of self-government might evolve in a hundred years" lost sight of a factor which brought about a devastating change in the Congo long before the prophesied "hundred years" had elapsed - in fact, almost before they had begun - and that factor was communism, or, if we are not willing to admit that fact, then African nationalism.

Belgium was described in a paper read before the Afrika-Seminaar at the Potchefstroom University for

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(1) Lovanium University. Opening Speech. 1960.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) Contemporary Africa. p. 91.

(4) *ibid.*

Christian Higher Education<sup>(1)</sup> as desirous of keeping her African colonies as "friendly and profitable confederates."

This was true to an alarming extent until 1948 when a 10-year plan was instituted, providing for much more humanitarianism in education. Here the French and the Belgian policies, which are usually seen as similar, and in contrast with the British policy, vary from each other. The Belgian policy differs from the French mainly in that while the latter still retains as its purpose the propagation of European civilization and a certain amount of fraternity for the elite included in the scheme, the former seeks fuller development for the African within the confines of his own national economic and social sphere and interests.

It might be considered transgression into the realm of politics if I were to give my personal views on the cause of the recent Congo disturbances which had already started when I studied conditions in that State, but I may be permitted to express the opinion that the main cause for these disturbances may be sought in the fact that too little time elapsed between the application of this broader policy and the rise of African nationalism, with the accompanying incitement of communistic propaganda. A decade could hardly prepare the African for independence. For this very reason the policy of the Republic of South Africa merits careful consideration. An educationally, as well as culturally, economically and politically trained, assured, and established Bantu will be in a much better position to appreciate and utilize the fruits which the tree of African nationalism, saved by the grace of God and the wisdom of His stewards from the blight of communism as a rootborer, will bear.

(iv) South African Policy:

In the Republic of South Africa there is a marked difference in policy. Whereas the French, British and Belgian policy is to give to the African in such a way and in such quantities as will ever ensure the European hallmark, the policy of the Republic is clearly to instruct and enable the African to be himself and to

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(1) Onderwys in Afrika.

produce for himself.

Hailey says state regulation may for a time retard the access of the African to certain types of knowledge, but it will not in the end restrain him from efforts to acquire the full range of knowledge which will, in his conception, place him on a level with the European.<sup>(1)</sup> Hailey further states that this attempt to divide the content of education into separate cultural fields, European and African, is confined to the Union of South Africa.<sup>(2)</sup>

This last statement would be true if, in the division of the content of education into two separate cultural fields, the African were deprived of the full range of knowledge. The mere division of the content of education into the cultural fields does not, however, necessarily debar the African from access to certain types of knowledge. On the contrary, what it actually does is to enhance the opportunities for the access to and the assimilation of all such types of knowledge to which the African is equal by virtue of his development.

The task of education would then be a singular one, and not a dual. The African would be schooled and trained into an educated African, the transformation taking place between his uneducated and his educated condition, without his having to suffer the indignity of an attempted metamorphosis of African into European as a sine qua non for the transformation of an uneducated man into an educated man.

Dr. Geyer, speaking on policies, said:<sup>(3)</sup> "May I point out that African colonies are of comparatively recent date. Before that time Black Africa did have independence for a thousand years and more - and what did she make of it? One problem, I admit, sy did solve most efficiently. There was no over-population. Interminable savage inter-tribal wars, witchcraft, disease, famine, and even cannibalism saw to that."

That educational policy which aims at the develop-

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(1) Hailey; An African Survey, p. 158.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) Dr. A.L. Geyer, High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, 1953. Press release, Union of South Africa Government Information Office, New York, 1953.

ment of a sense of responsibility on the part of the lesser developed, is essentially a policy which will stand the test not only by those who apply it, but also by those in whose favour it is applied.

The present South African policy is seen as of recent origin. Hailey, however, points out that it was the Labour Party in the Union, at that time an essentially English-speaking group, which in 1912 first gave formal expression to the doctrine of segregation.<sup>(1)</sup>

When General Hertzog formed his first Nationalist Government in 1924, he announced a policy of segregation for Africans but of integration for the coloured people industrially, economically and politically.<sup>(2)</sup>

Cramer and Browne, having correctly argued that "countries in which national unity is well developed recognise fewer problems in the organization of their educational systems than do those which contain strongly or bitterly opposed national groups",<sup>(3)</sup> show lack of fact and judgment in the following criticism of South Africa: "In South Africa we find a situation where a white minority fears and oppresses the native majority and refuses them access to citizenship and education. This has resulted in dangerous hostility and hatred. The situation is further confused by the fact that the white minority is itself composed of two national groups, with a bilingual system of education and even of broadcasting. This is not the soil in which a progressive system of education can flourish."<sup>(4)</sup>

That South Africa has her problems is obvious. That she has faced these problems frankly must be as obvious to all who care to study her policy. The fact that Bantu Education became a separate Government Department in 1958; the Native Trust and Land Act,<sup>(5)</sup> the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act,<sup>(6)</sup> The Bantu Investment Cor-

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(1) Hailey; African Survey, p. 158.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 161.

(3) Contemporary Education, p.5.

(4) *ibid.*, p.7.

(5) No. 41 of 1958.

(6) No. 46 of 1959.

poration Act,<sup>(1)</sup> the Native Affairs Act,<sup>(2)</sup> and the Natives' Taxation and Development Amendment Act,<sup>(3)</sup> the increase of pupils in schools during the years 1950-1960<sup>(4)</sup> and the enrolment and expenditure envisaged,<sup>(5)</sup> can hardly be interpreted as signs of "oppression" and "refusing the native majority access to education." Would the increase of from 750,000 Bantu pupils in 1950 to 1,500,000 in 1960<sup>(6)</sup> - an increase of 100 per cent in ten years - be interpreted as "a refusal of access to education" in America?<sup>(7)</sup> Would the increase of from £2,250,000 in 1945 to £9,750,000 in 1960 on Bantu Education,<sup>(8)</sup> an increase of over 300 per cent in 15 years - be interpreted as "oppression of the Native majority" in Australia?<sup>(9)</sup>

These misstatements, which should be refuted from other sources, are challenged here only in so far as they have been perpetrated in a criticism on education. It has been stated that the "white minority" refuses the "black majority" citizenship. This statement, incomplete and incorrect through error of ignorant or deliberate cause, should be completed and corrected to give the fact that the "white minority" believes that the "black majority" will derive far more educational advantage from the full and independent separate development of the Bantu, and in the educational field not only has the Bantu been offered more facilities than have been utilized,<sup>(10)</sup> but the energies of over 40,000 Bantu men and women have been enlisted in the over 400 Bantu School Boards and approximately 5,000 Bantu School Committees.<sup>(11)</sup>

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- (1) No. 34 of 1959.
  - (2) No. 55 of 1959.
  - (3) No. 38 of 1958.
  - (4) Lower Primary, Table XVI; Higher Primary, Table XVII; Post-Primary, Table XVIII.
  - (5) Vide Table XIX.
  - (6) Vide Table XXI.
  - (7) John Francis Cramer is President of Portland State College, Oregon, United States of America.
  - (8) Vide Table XX.
  - (9) George Stephenson Browne is Dean of the School of Education of the University of Melbourne, Australia.
  - (10) Vide Table XXIV. Provision by estimate for 1,030,000 Lower Primary pupils; Demand for only 908,168.
  - (11) Chapter 11; 3.

The expression "a bilingual system of education and even of broadcasting"<sup>(1)</sup> has a derogatory note, preceding as it does, the sentence "this is not the soil in which a progressive system of education can flourish." Does the introduction of more and more Bantu broadcasting programmes, for the Bantu by the Bantu in the various Bantu languages, and the employing of more and more Bantu announcers and studio staff, so indicate the poverty of the soil that doubts are thereby raised as to the success of a progressive system of education? Or is the inference not that the situation would be less confused were there a unilingual system of broadcasting rather than a multilingual one?

# 1) Summary and Criticism of Policies:

A working definition of education would be: "The training of the people for the people, for the people's needs and aspirations."<sup>(2)</sup>

## (i) The British Policy:

A policy of "self-government for the African within the British Empire;" education to enable him to "enjoy a loose relationship with the mother country."

### Criticism:

Education has succeeded in bringing academic progress and advancement of literacy; what the policy did not foresee, or allow for, is the fact that African nationalism aspired to more than "self-government within the British Empire", and that the African failed to sense any "need for" or "enjoyment of" even "a loose relationship" with "the mother country."<sup>(3)</sup>

## (ii) The French Policy:

A policy of "Humanitarianism" to meet the physical and cultural needs of the African, envisaging "emancipation" and eventual "assimilation", education to prepare the way for "physical and cultural development."

### Criticism:

Education has brought "physical and cultural development", and to a certain extent "emancipation", but the colonial distance of some 4,000 miles

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(1) Cramer and Browne, cited above.  
 (2) Fundamental Education, p. 128.  
 (3) "British Policy", supra.

lends enchantment to the view, and dims the reality of the possible (or impossible?) "assimilation" of 5,000,000 Congolese even before their aspirations to "incorporation into the French Republic" have been tested.<sup>(1)</sup>

(iii) The Belgian Policy:

A policy of "pragmatism" - a well-meant "paternal regime" - showing lack of experience; education to assure the "material advancement of the African."

Criticism:

Education has brought "material advancement", and has opened up supply channels to fulfil in the temporal requirements of the Africa, but has failed to equip him for full appreciation of the ensuing advantages at which he has grasped, spurning the paternity which supplied them, and promptly committing patricide.<sup>(2)</sup>

(iv) The South African Policy:

A long-term policy of "full parallel" (therefore "separate") "development", promoting "Bantu self-government"; education to equip the Bantu for "national and tribal administration" based on "traditional leadership", by academic, industrial, agricultural, commercial and administrative training.<sup>(3)</sup>

Criticism:

Education, which has been slow in coming in its present form, has already combated illiteracy and ensured that training which has led to the responsibility and independent development of the Bantu. The Bantu (and the world) will however require continued proof that he is receiving only the best in education, and continued reassurance that as his independent national progress is developed, he will always have that same opportunity of contact in the educational, scientific and commercial field which is assured to all other national units, irrespective of colour, affording

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(1) Quotations from (k)(ii) "French Policy"; supra.

(2) Quotations from (k)(iii) "Belgian Policy"; supra.

(3) Quotations from (k)(iv) "South African Policy"; supra.



him an outlet for his new-found abilities.

(v) General:

Whereas the British, French and Belgian policies have had their day, partly because the one-time basic factor of colonization is something of the past, and partly because they have sped up the educational programme for the African towards material and temporal advancement, conditioned by an unnatural administrative dependence upon the home land, without weaning the African to independent national security, the South African policy has the redeeming feature of acknowledging the full personal and national ability of the Bantu to develop along the same old, long, and often tedious road towards responsible independence, "the training of the people for the people, for the people's needs and aspirations."

Upon my return to South Africa, invitations were not slow in forthcoming, and I had the opportunity of addressing many varied gatherings (including rallies and a conference of the Christian Students' Association, gatherings of the "Kerk Jeugvereniging," Missionary bodies, schools, teachers' associations, a "Rapportryersklub", the "Christliche Akademie in Suedafrika Studententagung" - where the theme "die Gefahr der modernen Gesellschaft: Staaten ohne Buerger" proved one of the most profitable opportunities offered) on the subject of African education.

What impressed me above all was the keen desire on the part of practically every member of practically every audience - and that is saying a lot!- to learn something, not only about the countries visited, but especially about the people and their way of life. I was surprised at the absence of prejudice, but I was horrified at the presence of ignorance. I was even more horrified when I was introduced to one gathering, fortunately a very small one, by a charming and well-meaning hostess who described me as "someone who can tell us everything about Africa!" I hurriedly corrected the aberration by describing myself as "one of those who is desirous of finding the Right Road for education in our multi-racial homeland, and is convinced that this Road will be found in education itself, therefore the true

teacher will always remain the humble student."

Bantu Education in South Africa has launched out into the ocean of opportunity. Buffeted by waves of criticism it has had to bale out much that is undesirable, but it is finding a steady keel. This does not detract from the fact that the ocean lies ahead, and in its navigation South Africa has learnt from the mistakes, and eventual wrecks, of others.

"Events are moving with breathtaking swiftness in Africa," said Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. Events have causes - and these, with relation to the education of the African, must be studied carefully. Events have effects - and these are already being felt with relation to the education of the African. It is said that a Destiny controls men's lives. But how often men heap together the mistakes of their lives and create a monster which they call Destiny. Destiny may not be confused with Purpose. Divine purpose is ever opposed to mere Fate.

The buying power of the Bantu has been estimated by the Deputy-Minister of Economic Affairs at £1,000-million a year. This fact alone raises education from the mere classroom instructor (however important his task as such) to the guide for right thinking, right living, right evaluation, yes - the right spending of the weekly pay packet.

Merely to list certain proposals for the advancement of education would be insufficient, but even the brief motivation of a few would indicate at least the direction in which educational growth should move.

(i) In the African States especially

(a) The elements of education, reading and writing, to combat the worst illiteracy, should be made available to all. In Nigeria, for instance, even letters of the alphabet had no meaning for millions who voted - the electorate did not vote by marking a ballot paper; each political party had its own symbol - such as a horse, a gramophone or a chair - and one of these symbols was pasted on each ballot box and the voters simply placed unmarked pieces of paper in the respective box;

(b) The primary course should include a wide range of academic, technical, manual, industrial and agricultural courses so as to enable the pupils not merely

to learn the subjects but to learn what there is awaiting them in the pursuance of these respective courses. An instructor complained that technical students were taking a certain course merely because they liked the name ("Metallurgy") or in another case because they liked the instructor, without any idea what the course offered or where it lead.

(c) There should be a closer link between home and school, with more responsibility on the part of the home towards the school.

(d) Teacher training should receive far more attention. When I asked a Government executive what he considered the first step in this direction, his reply was: "Raise the salaries of the teachers." I asked him: "But won't that merely attract to the old and honourable teaching profession those who are seeking a remunerative job rather than an opportunity to serve their people by educating its children?" He replied: "It will - and that applies to any profession."

(e) Character training is one of the most essential features of education. This should come from the home and permeate the school and in turn come from the school and permeate the home. In the case of illiterate homes we should be careful not to conclude that it will necessarily be a case of one way traffic. Learning and character are complementary but not synonymous. A brilliant student received a First Class certificate, but his illiterate father was not impressed. "His certificate is valueless because it has been issued by an incompetent teacher", he complained. "But the teacher is most competent," someone assured him. "He is incompetent because he failed to cane my boy when he told a lie," the father persisted.

(f) Religious instruction is sorely lacking in most African education. This does not apply merely to one religion, but to all. In a school where the Christian religion was being taught I heard the complaint from a teacher who was an ardent Christian: "The children are learning to know the Bible but they are not learning to know the Author of the Bible."

In a school where the Mohammedan religion was being taught I heard the complaint, similar to the above-

mentioned, that "the children are learning to read through the Koran, but they might as well be using any other Arabic textbook."

(ii) In the Republic of South Africa especially

(a) In view of the project to wipe out illiteracy within the next twenty years it should be borne in mind that the mere enrolment of pupils (especially in some farm schools) is no guarantee for their education.

(b) While the decentrilization of education in the many farm schools has this advantage that the children can attend without any great travel or boarding problems, it has this distinct disadvantage that too much reliance is placed on the ability (or disability) of the often illtrained teacher.

(c) An inspector of education pointed out to me the keen desire on the part of the Bantu teacher to promote as many pupils as possible, considering it a good deed towards his race. He would be disloyal, he considered, were he to fail the weaker members of the class in a public examination, as they were "his people."

(d) The above may or may not have to do with the fact that there is a disparity of judgment between the European and the Bantu teacher. "I have just remarked an English essay written by a Standard VI pupil for which the Bantu teacher awarded 16 out of 20, but for which I would not award 4 out of 20," said the inspector.

(e) The Bantu teacher does not yet see Bantu Education as part of an international scheme. His horizon is limited, his perspective often warped.

(f) Bantu Education has this advantage that it is not limited by Provincialism. It benefits above European Education in this respect with regard to policy and administration.

(g) An inspector expressed the opinion that the Standard VI level was the most important in the whole scale of Bantu Education, and required the most critical study on the part of the authorities. It was the "pons asinorum" not only for the pupil who was trying to make that grade, but also for the educator who should use that grade as a test of both the ability of the pupil and the value of the system.

u) Conclusion:

The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education summarizes the principles of education with regard to the Bantu as follows:

(i) "Education should aim at enabling the Native to interpret his environment";<sup>(1)</sup>

(ii) it "should enable the Native to control his environment more effectively";<sup>(2)</sup>

(iii) "not only should education enable the Native to interpret and to control his environment, but it should also enrich his environment".<sup>(3)</sup>

The Commission on Native Education says "the function of education is to transmit the culture of a society from its more mature to its immature members, and in so doing develop their powers. The essential problem of education arises because of the gradual decline followed by the death of the older members and the birth of new members who are ignorant of the community and its culture but who will become protagonists of that culture."<sup>(4)</sup>

After having shown that man as a social being lives in a society in which there are a number of social institutions or groupings, which have to fulfil specific functions, e.g. the family, and other political, economic and religious groups, and that these social institutions imbue individuals with attitudes, social values and knowledge, thereby imparting "social education", the Commission points out that "as human society has become more complex and the social heritage has become richer and more complicated, it has become necessary for certain societies to develop a special institution or set of institutions for the purpose of transmitting elements of the culture not easily or necessarily transmitted by other social institutions. In this way schools have been called into being."<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) Report Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education; 1935-1936; p. 107, par. 538.

(2) *ibid*; par. 539.

(3) *ibid.*, par. 542.

(4) Report, Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951; p. 129, par. 754.

(5) *ibid.*, p. 129, par. 756.

The Commission expresses the opinion that "Bantu development and Bantu education must be largely synonymous terms,"<sup>(1)</sup> and proposes the following definition of the aims of Bantu education:

"(a) From the viewpoint of the whole society the aim of Bantu education is the development of a modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa, and with the schools which must serve as effective agents in this process of development.

(b) From the viewpoint of the individual the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings."<sup>(2)</sup>

From the above it is obvious that the Education of the Bantu cannot be left entirely to the European, as the "development of culture" cannot be introduced by immigrants into the Bantu national life, but must be undertaken by themselves. The Bantu himself must "interpret and control his environment."

It is, however, equally obvious that the Bantu must be assisted in this task, especially as in our modern "human society" which "has become more complex", and as many of the Bantu "social institutions or groupings" have ceased to function satisfactorily, partly because of detribalization and partly because of the annihilation of so many geographic, economic and national barriers in our modern age.

Education, therefore, "should enable the Native to interpret and to control his environment" and to "enrich his environment." The ancient "social education" is insufficient to serve the Bantu community in this age, and must be supplemented, but not supplanted, by "a special institution or set of institutions for the purpose of transmitting elements of the culture not easily or necessarily transmitted by other social institutions." This is the task of the "school" which must function as an "effective agent" in training the Bantu in the rudi-

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(1) Report, Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951; p. 130, par. 764.

(2) *ibid.*, par. 765.

ments, the elements, the necessary media for the conveyance of knowledge, and in leading him to explore and discover academic worlds unknown, without necessarily estranging him from his own world.

As "the essential problem of education arises because of the gradual decline followed by the death of the older members and the birth of new members who are ignorant of the community and its culture", so the present essential of education has arisen because of the gradual decline of the older institutions (whose death is not necessarily desirable) and the birth of new institutions which are ignorant of the community and its culture and are unable to assure the Bantu his birthright.

Education must not superimpose a modern, a foreign, culture, but must assist the Bantu in his so often difficult process of selfdevelopment, calling in the aid of modern, if western, culture and education.

Although in the past it has been brought to the Bantu through a sometimes less fortunate impact of western civilization, education must remember the true meaning of catechism<sup>(1)</sup> as opposed to education,<sup>(2)</sup> and it must distinguish between the two.

It would be an insult to the ability and integrity of the Bantu, ignorant in many ways of European, western, culture and learning, yet versed in his own national culture and tribal wisdom, to offer him nothing more than a "catechism", an introduction from without, of western education. It would be a sincere gesture, while employing the advantages of western ways, to "educate" him, to nurture him, to nurture him to the full development of those inherent abilities which will give him the full stature of an educated man.

For this reason we see the education of two groups, with their different cultural and historical backgrounds, the Bantu and the European, developing separately in loyalty to, and with respect for, and in appreciation of, what each has received as his own peculiar and

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(1) From the Greek "katechiz-ein", "to din into the ears"; from "kata", "down", and "eche", "sound".)

(2) From the Latin "educare", "to lead"; from "e", "out", and "ducere", "to lead".)

precious gift.

To Bantu and European alike we would say:

"To thine own self be true;

And it must follow, as the night the day,

Thou canst not then be false to any man."<sup>(1)</sup>

Education is a spiritual renaissance, and South Africa has sought wisdom and guidance from Holy Scripture in her task of orientating herself to her educational task. If "orientate" means "to turn to the east", then we would remember that the Magi from the East turned West in search of Wisdom, and found it in the Person of Him Who is Truth.

Would that in all things the prayer of the Republican President, Paul Kruger, might become practice:

"Naar Uw geboden, Heer,  
Is onze levensleer."<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Shakespeare: Hamlet.

(2) "According to Thy commandments, Lord,  
Be our principles of life."