

## Appendix I.

### Freedom of Conscience is Indispensable.

Every human being must be free to believe what really seems to him true, or else to suspend belief. In fact, no human being *can* do anything else. If he consents to believe what he can't really believe, either he simply stops thinking, or else his mind becomes dangerously twisted and dishonest—in either case, he doesn't really believe what he has been told to believe.

This doesn't mean that people should not respect tradition. A man who finds himself differing from *all* the wise, the good and the clever, should think very hard to try continually to see their point of view before deciding that they are wrong. But if he pretends to believe what they believe without really doing so, he becomes either stupid or dishonest. A society full of such people becomes a dangerous society, full of unrest and neurosis, no better than a society without religion. It remains in fact a community without faith, for faith cannot be forced.

Without freedom of conscience, a man cannot be religious, because a belief which is not freely held is worthless. He cannot be a scientist, because a scientist must be ready to abandon any "truth" he has discovered, if further investigation proves him to be wrong. He cannot be an artist, because an artist must be free to find out for himself (in other fields) what is true, or his work will lack the freshness and conviction of discovery, without which it is not art. The teacher, particularly because he deals with young minds, must have freedom of conscience, otherwise his own dishonesty or confusion will affect the minds he deals with.

This is such a fundamental principle, deeply and instinctively felt, that for thousands of years thousands of the world's best people—religious men, scientists, artists, teachers, ordinary people—have suffered, in early days, martyrdom, in later days poverty and ostracism, rather than give it up. Calvin fought for it. All the modern machinery we have would never have existed but for those martyrs, and, what is more important, but for them we should still be unable to prevent epidemics or cure consumption. Since the Renaissance, the schools have fought a long, hard battle against ecclesiastical tyranny, but in South

Africa the fight was won without much trouble. It is the more absurd that we should be threatened now. We will fight, however, even at this unexpected hour. We will not give up this right.

To exclude Jews, agnostics and atheists from any part of the teaching profession, as the I.C.N.O. proposes to do, would be a criminal waste of the brilliance which many of them have lavished upon it, and besides an act of hypocritical ingratitude.

## Appendix II.

### The I.C.N.O. and the H.N.P. Congresses:

#### (1) *Cape H.N.P. Congress.*

At the H.N.P. Congress of the Cape Province held in October, 1948, it was proposed that "Christian-National" education should be introduced throughout the South African educational system. The Minister of Education "stated that methods of complying with the proposal would be investigated but hinted a certain reluctance to adopt the proposal whole-heartedly by adding . . . that he was not prepared to say that the educational system was not already Christian. He pledged himself, however, to see what could be done to ensure that education propagated the South African way of life" (Report on the Port Elizabeth Congress, *The Natal Witness*, October 28th, 1948).

17th November, 1948.

#### (2) *Transvaal H.N.P. Congress.*

*Resolution* (introduced by a Professor from the University of Pretoria).

"The Congress urges the Government to bring about systematic changes in our system of education (primary, middle and higher education) to conform with the Christian National Education policy which was approved by F.A.K., provided that it is approved by the Afrikaanse volk."

The professor introducing the motion, said he felt it was one of the most important before conference. "We have always suffered under the Smuts law of 1907, which aims at denationalising our volk. Now we are in the happy position where the F.A.K. has worked out a plan for

Christian National Education. Apartheid won't mean anything to us unless we have this education policy. We are very grateful to those who did their best in spite of the law of 1907. The English, the Native, the Coloured will all benefit by this system. I don't think it will be a disadvantage to anybody."

The professor held up a F.A.K. booklet outlining this policy and said he was sure everybody in the hall was acquainted with its contents.

*The Minister of Education, Dr. A. J. Stals:*

"I must unfortunately plead ignorance of the contents of the F.A.K. Booklet, so I am not in a position to talk about it. We are in duty bound to give our children a Christian education".

Dr. Stals then pointed out that only higher education fell under the Union Government. He said it would hurt the feelings of other authorities if he accepted the resolution as it stood. It would be a wrong thing "at this time of our history to antagonise certain provinces." "I cannot decide on anything that falls within the scope of the provincial authorities".

The resolution was then altered to read "urges the authorities concerned," not "the Government," and was adopted in this form.

In the recent discussion in Parliament and the Provincial Councils some people confessed that they had advocated the C.N.O.-policy without reading it. We repeat our question: Will those who repudiate the pamphlet while advocating the broad general principles of C.N.O. explain what they are repudiating, and what they are advocating?

## Glossary.

- F.A.K.:** *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kulturvereniginge:* A very powerful body, with an influence in every Afrikaans social and cultural society, throughout the country; strongly Nationalist in sentiment.
- Broederbond:* A partly secret organisation, exposed and condemned by General Hertzog, former Nationalist leader and Prime Minister. One of its aims has been to get its members into key positions throughout the country with a view to dominating the whole of South Africa.
- H.N.P.:** *Herenigde Nasionale Party:* Reunited Nationalist Party. The moderate Nationalists under General Hertzog at one time united with General Smuts to form a "National Government," leaving Dr. Malan as leader of the uncompromising Nationalists. On the war issue in 1939 General Hertzog and his followers disagreed with General Smuts, and reunited with Dr. Malan; the party became the Reunited Nationalist Party (H.N.P.). It has kept this name, although, a year later, General Hertzog, repudiating the extremism of Dr. Malan and insisting on the principle of equal rights for the English- and the Afrikaans-speaking, left the Party, taking with him Mr. Havenga (now Minister of Finance), and others. Shortly afterwards General Hertzog died. Mr. Havenga is leader of the once, and perhaps still, Hertzogite party, known as the Afrikaner Party.
- Fundamentalism:* "Strict adherence to what are regarded as fundamental principles, especially in religion; a firm belief in the biblical account of the Creation and total rejection of evolution, and of the Darwinian theory of the origin of species." (Universal English Dictionary.)
- Isolationist:* People who put the claims of their own national group before those of all others, and who believe that the interests of other groups should not affect them.
- Dr. Malan:* H.N.P. leader, and Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

*Mr. Strydom*: Minister of Lands in the new Cabinet.

*Apartheid*: literally "apartheid," the present Government's native policy, on the strength of which, probably, they won the election. The policy is variously interpreted. It aims at social, cultural, economic, and to some extent, territorial segregation; some adherents advocate that the whites should depend on white labour, others seem to envisage a constant supply of migrant native labour.

# ABRIDGED TRANSLATION OF I.C.N.O. PAMPHLET.

The pamphlet was issued in Afrikaans by the Institute for Christian Nationalist Education (I.C.N.O.), under the auspices of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies (F.A.K.). The name of the printer does not appear anywhere on the pamphlet. A list of the Directors of the Institute is given on the title page, as follows: Adv. G. F. de V. Hugo (Chairman), J. H. Greijbe (Vice-Chairman), Prof. J. G. Meiring, Dr. T. E. Dönges, M.P., Prof. J. Chris. Coetzee, Rev. D. P. Laurie, Prof. H. P. Wolmarans, Dr. E. G. Jansen, M.P., Dr. E. Greyling and Rev. G. D. Worst. The address and date are: P.O. Box 8711, Johannesburg, February, 1948.

Shorn of tautologies, the document reads as follows:

## Abridged Translation of the Preface

(extracts in quotation marks).

I congratulate the I.C.N.O. on formulating this policy as a guide in "our cultural struggle which is now also a school struggle." We shall triumph in the end.

After the Boer War the well-known C.N.O. schools were set up to counter-act the anglicising of our children in the British Government schools. Impoverished by war, people had to make them over to the state in 1907, but by then a second Front for the preservation of our national identity was in full swing. This was the Second Language movement. It gained several hard-won victories:

- (1) the admission of Afrikaans as a school subject in 1914 ;
- (2) as a medium in about 1920 ;
- (3) as the second official language in 1925.

After that we had a decade of peace and steady growth in the field of language. "It may be truly said that a couple of generations of children passed through our mother-tongue-medium schools without interference. They are a source of strength in our present language struggle. In 1937 and 1938 . . . the old outworn dual medium idea was seized upon once again in a renewed . . . attempt to anglicise our children . . ."

The F.A.K. was on guard. A C.N.O. congress was held by the F.A.K. at Bloemfontein in July 1939. One of its resolutions was to found an institute to propagate continually the historic ideal of C.N.O. This is now called the I.C.N.O. They decided to formulate a policy. "This task was then begun, and after nearly ten years of silent labour, the policy can go out into the world. Various drafts of the policy were considered by all the directing bodies of the F.A.K. and all the bodies and organisations on which the F.A.K. and the I.C.N.O. are represented, and that means by all Afrikaans bodies and organisations that have any interest in education. Therefore, the policy in its present form has been approved by the whole of Afrikanerdom in so far as it is represented by the F.A.K. Indeed, we have progressed.

"There is too much at stake for us to relax in the struggle. With the use of our language as medium we have not yet got everything. On the contrary, we have got very little. Afrikaans as medium of instruction in a school atmosphere that is culturally foreign to our nation is like sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. The true cultural stuff is not yet there. Our culture must be carried into the school and that cannot be done merely by having our language as medium. More is needed. Our Afrikaans schools must not merely be mothertongue schools; they must be places where our children will be saturated with the Christian and National spiritual cultural stuff of our nation. The dual medium struggle has opened our eyes, and there is going to be a struggle about the realisation of these ideals. We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races. We are winning the medium-struggle. The struggle for the Christian and National school still lies before us."

(Signed) J. C. van Rooy,  
Chairman of the F.A.K.,  
Johannesburg, February, 1948.

## PART I: Primary and Secondary Education.

### ARTICLE 1: *Basis.*

All white children should be educated according to the view of life of their parents. This means that Afrikaans-speaking children should have a Christian-Nationalist education, for the Christian and Nationalist spirit of the Afrikaner nation must be preserved and developed.

By Christian, in this context, we mean according to the creeds of the three Afrikaner churches; by Nationalist we mean imbued with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history and culture.

Nationalism must be rooted in Christianity.

*ARTICLE 2: Christian Education.*

The key subject in school should be religion (the study of the bible and the 3 Afrikaner creeds); and the religious spirit should permeate all subjects and the entire school.

*ARTICLE 3: Nationalist Education.*

Teaching should also be nationalist, the child to become an heir to and worthy carrier-on of the national culture.

*ARTICLE 4: The Child and Christian — Nationalist Education.*

Owing to the Fall, all children are born sinful, but the children of believers have inherited God's promise through Christ of redemption. Children of Christian parents may not therefore be brought up as heathens. Man is distinguished from all other creatures by having a soul capable of development: the necessity for education lies in the fact that the child's soul is undeveloped, its opportunity in his soul's capacity for development.

*ARTICLE 5: Formulation of the Aim of Education.*

It is God's will that man should master the earth, and rule over it and He has given to each nation its own particular national task in bringing about His will. Education should enable the young to take over from their cultural heritage everything that is good and beautiful and noble, and develop it in accordance with their own gifts. They will thus be fulfilling their individual and national part in bringing about the will of God. This only a Christian-Nationalist school can teach them to do.

*ARTICLE 6: Content of Education.*

(i) *Introduction:*

In order to achieve the above aim, all God's creation and Man's works must be studied. But the spirit of all teaching must be Christian-nationalist; in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made.



(ii) *Religious teaching.*

This includes bible study and the study of the Christian doctrine. Religious Teaching (key subject and permeating influence) must accord with the religious convictions of the parents as expressed in their church creeds. The recognised church song of the Afrikaans churches must be used in Schools.

(iii) *Mother-tongue.*

This should be the most important secular subject, and the only medium of instruction except in teaching other modern languages. Bilingualism cannot be the aim of education, and the 2nd official language should not be taught until the child has a thorough knowledge of his mother-tongue

(iv) *Civics.*

Civics should teach the child to preserve the Christian and nationalist character of home, church, society and state.

(v) *Geography.*

Every nation is rooted in a country (*Landsbodem*) allotted to it by God. Geography should aim at giving the pupil a thorough knowledge of his own country and the natural objects pertaining to it, in such a way that he will love his own country, also when compared and contrasted with others, and be ready to defend it, preserve it from poverty and improve it for posterity.

(vi) *History*

History should be seen as the fulfilment of God's plan for humanity. The turning-point of history is Jesus Christ—history teaching must therefore include such facts as the Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, Life and Death of Christ, the Second Coming and the End of the World; and history must be seen as the struggle between the Kingdom of God and the Empire of Darkness. Also, God has enjoined on each nation its individual task in the fulfilment of His purpose. Young people can only undertake the national task fruitfully if they acquire a true vision of the origin of the nation and of the direction of the national heritage. Next to the mother tongue the history of the Fatherland is the best channel for cultivating the love of one's own which is nationalism.

## ARTICLE 7: *Method and Discipline.*

### (i) *Method.*

This should be based on thorough knowledge of the child and a historically-tested practice. The means used should bring about the Christian-nationalist end.

### (ii) *Discipline.*

All authority in school is borrowed from God. The Christian-nationalist end should be kept in view.

## ARTICLE 8: *Control of Education.*

### (i) *No Mixed Schools.*

There should be at least two kinds of Primary and Secondary schools; one for the children of Afrikaans-speaking parents, with only Afrikaans as medium, and the other for children of English-speaking parents, with only English as medium. In each there should be the right relationship between home, school, church and state.

### (ii) *Home, School and Church.*

Each must supplement the other and get its proper share in the moulding of the child.

### (iii) *The Home.*

Education is the right and duty of the parents, who must decide, in collaboration with church and state, what spirit shall animate the school. The parents in community (not as individuals) must establish, maintain and control schools which will foster their own view of life, they must appoint the teachers and keep a watch on the teaching.

### (iv) *The Church.*

The Church must exercise the necessary discipline over the doctrine and lives of the teachers. The vigilance must be exercised through the parents. The church must also stimulate all parents and give financial aid to needy ones to perform their educational task.

In normal circumstances, the church should not erect schools, but may be compelled to do so (a) if the existing schools are unchristian and unnationalist and (b) in the heathen world.

### (v) *The State.*

The state must ensure a proper scientific and moral standard in education, and enforce law and right in school life. It may not, however, determine the directing spirit of education providing that as judged by

God's law, it is not harmful to the state. Where the child's natural guardians, the parents, neglect their educational duties, the state, as paramount guardian, should step in and establish schools until such time as the parents desire to exercise their own rights.

(vi) *The School.*

The school receives its right to educate from the parents, and must therefore educate children in accordance with the parent community's view of life, in its national context. But the school should be sovereign in its own sphere, namely, in method, syllabus, discipline, etc. Its aim should be Christian-nationalist.

(vii) *Organisation of Education.*

Neither home, church nor state should dominate but all three should co-operate in school education, the parents contributing towards the cost, the Church helping needy parents to contribute, and the state defraying the main costs. Control should be in the hands of the parents; through the parents the church, too, should exercise control; and the state should hold the balance between parents, teachers, church and state.

Therefore there should be School Committees (parent councils) for the particular schools; above these School Boards (consisting of representatives of school committees or parents, state and teachers) and above both the Provincial Education Councils, containing representatives of school boards, state and teachers as well as educationists and other subject experts.

Our ideal is the Christian-nationalist school; but for the time being we must be content to leaven the existing public schools.

*ARTICLE 9: The Teacher.*

- (1) Being a substitute for the parent, the teacher does the parent's work as the parent himself would do it were he able. Unless, therefore, he is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us.
- (2) Our substitutes should be properly trained in Christianity, and in the secular subjects, especially pedagogy. Training College personnel should also be Christian and Nationalist.

## PART II: Other Education.

### ARTICLE 10: *Nursery Schools.*

The parents must not shuffle off on to others the duty of bringing up their own children; but we realise that the poor in cities are forced to send their children to nursery schools. These should have a religious centre, Christian-nationalist spirit and personnel, appointments made and vigilance kept by a controlling body chosen by the parents, and state support.

### ARTICLE 11: *Higher Education.*

- (i) The basis of this should be the same as for schools.
- (ii) The content should be scientific, but founded on the Christian Faith. The Christian doctrine and philosophy should be taught and practised. But we desire still more: the secular sciences should be taught according to the Christian and Nationalist view of life. University teaching should be thetic rather than anti-thetic, never purely eclectic and never reconciliatory. Science should be expounded in a positively Christian light, and contrasted with non-Christian science. Universities should never give unintegrated instruction, merely choosing here and choosing there; there should be no attempt to reconcile or abolish the fundamental oppositions; for Creator and created, man and beast, individual and community, authority and freedom remain in principle insoluble in each other. Especially in the universities do we need the right personnel; for professors and lecturers make the institution and determine its guiding spirit. It is all-important therefore that the teaching staff should be convinced Christian-Nationalist scientists.
- (iii) Higher education should be so controlled that the Christian-nationalist view of life may come into its own.

### ARTICLE 12: *Technical and Other Special Education.*

- (1) The Christian-nationalist view of life can be applied also to technical colleges, industrial schools, reformatories, technical high schools and domestic science colleges, schools for the deaf, the blind and the mentally or physically defective.
- (2) Christian-nationalist aim.

- (3) Separate mother-tongue medium institutions.
- (4) All should open and/or close with a religious exercise, and religion should permeate all activities.
- (5) The secular content of the teaching should be adapted to our needs and circumstances.
- (6) There should be integration with ordinary secondary schools and universities.
- (7) The teachers should be Protestant Christians and bilingual South Africans.
- (8) Trades unions should recognise for apprenticeship purposes the entire period of training at industrial schools, reformatories, etc.
- (9) Most of the pupils' parents living elsewhere, the controlling bodies should be elected from the local Afrikaans-speaking community for an Afrikaans-medium institution, and from the local English-speaking community for the English-medium one. For the rest see *Article 8* for the constitution and rights of controlling bodies.

*ARTICLE 13: Adult Education.*

See *Article 8*, and apply the principles to White Adult education.

*ARTICLE 14: Coloured Education.*

The education of coloureds should be seen as a subordinate part of the Afrikaners' task of Christianising the non-white races of our fatherland. It is the Afrikaners' sacred duty to see that the coloureds are brought up Christian-nationalist. Only when he is christianised can the coloured be truly happy; and he will then be proof against foreign ideologies which give him an illusion of happiness but leave him in the long run unsatisfied and unhappy.

He must also be nationalist. The welfare and happiness of the coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence apartheid is necessary in education), and in his being proud of it.

Coloured education must not be financed at the expense of white education.

*ARTICLE 15: Native Education.*

The white South African's duty to the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally.

Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee.

The mother tongue should be the basis of native education but the two official languages should be learned as keys to the cultures from which the native will have to borrow in order to progress. Owing to the cultural infancy of the native, the state, in co-operation with the protestant churches should at present provide Native education. But the native should be fitted to undertake his own education as soon as possible, under control and guidance of the state. Native education should lead to the development of an independent, self-supporting Christian-nationalist Native community.

Native education should not be financed at the expense of white.

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