BROWN V. BANTU EDUCATION: A TRANSNATIONAL EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM THROUGH THE PRESS IN THE 1950s

by

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'[Segregated] education is a poison... The black teacher has to administer the poison. Our children need to drink the poison. Us, as parents, are asked to pronounce our blessing on this poison. [Segregated] education is slave education. It means oppression forever.'

- Adapted from an ANC pamphlet protesting Bantu Education in South Africa, 23 October 1954.

Abstract

As the United States of America stood on the precipice of monumental civil rights advances in the mid-twentieth century, the National Party's racist apartheid ideology was creating a society that was diametrically opposed to values of integration and equality in South Africa. Despite the differences between these two nations' respective attitudes towards race, they continued to exist as Western allies with mutual political interests in the 1950s. This paradoxical diplomatic relationship will be analysed through the lens of education and the press, by specifically comparing two watershed historic moments: *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954) in the United States and the Bantu Education Act (1953) in South Africa.

In examining black and white newspapers from these two nations, this thesis adds depth to the transnational contextual understanding of segregated educational policy by reflecting on historical similitudes, while also contrasting their disparate paths. Highlights include an evaluation of the shared struggle over who controls education; an articulation of the magnitude of the loss of black perspectives in South Africa because of apartheid censorship; and illustrating how the persistent Cold War narrative of American 'exceptionalism' was a misnomer from a South African perspective at that time. This comparison between the constitutional and educational parallels ultimately enhances the awareness of the social memory and collective identity in both the United States and South Africa, which contributes to a more accurate and holistic understanding in the long trajectory of comparative history between these two nations.

Key words: Education; newspapers; apartheid; segregation; integration; Bantu Education; *Brown* v. *Board of Education*; Cold War

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While the idea for a PhD in History germinated in my adolescent mind many years ago, this thesis would never have grown to fruition had it not been for a fateful lunch in Chinatown, San Francisco, on an uncharacteristically sunny day in November 2022. Over the course of a delicious meal, Professor Karen Harris did what she does best: inspired me to action through her resolute belief in the potential of my intellectual capabilities - an aspect I was not entirely convinced still resided within me. With Professor Harris as my supervisor, the insurmountable suddenly seemed within grasp. Her realism, kind and constructive feedback, measured praise, and confidence in my abilities all contributed to the success of this thesis. Truly, without Professor Harris's encouragement to take the leap of faith, this thesis would not exist, and for this lifelong gift, I will remain immeasurably grateful.

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Nadine Moore
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To the countless women who paved my road,
to the three steadfast men who shared my load,
and to the Sun and the Rain: a grateful ode.

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Abbreviations

ACOA	American Committee on Africa
AMA	American Missionary Association
AME	African Methodist Episcopal Church
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CDC	Centers for Disease Control
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CORE	Congress for Racial Equality
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
ESEA	The Elementary and Secondary Education Act
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GBP	Great British Pounds
HNP	Herenigde National Party
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
LDEF	Legal Defense and Education Fund
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NNC	Negro National Congress
NP	National Party
NPT	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SA	South Africa
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SNCC	Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee
TATU	Transvaal African Teachers' Union
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Chapter I

Introduction: Evaluating educational reform through the press

'The paradox of education is precisely this - that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated.'

- James Baldwin

1. Aim of the study

The United States of America (US) and South Africa (SA) are nations that share seasoned histories of both diplomatic collaboration and conflict. While there is a well-established canon of comparative analysis of the history of these nations,[1] there is scant in-depth historical analysis of the attitudes to, and the parallel development of, these nations' disparate approaches to education in the 1950s. This is the subject matter of this thesis.

While both nations were navigating different political currents during this time, the aim of this thesis is to contribute to the close analysis of two watershed educational moments: codified racial segregation in schools in South Africa as a result of the Bantu Education Act of 1953; followed only one year later by the United States Supreme Court's unanimous ruling to integrate schools in their historic *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision of 1954. The print media of the 1950s in both the United States and South Africa was utilised as a tool to illuminate historical similarities and differences by shedding new light on public opinion, value sets and contextualisation. As G.M. Fredrickson, a prominent comparative historian of these two nations argues, parallel historical examinations are given traction when establishing thematic unity and similitude.[2] In this instance, education as it is represented in the print media at that time is the cohesive theme of this study, laying the foundation of a unifying common ground, while contrasts illuminate new hypotheses and relationships.[3]

As both the United States and South Africa are currently navigating stormy educational seas,[4] this thesis' parallel examination illuminates the past events and the factors that formed the foundation and shaped their contemporary educational malaise, through both internal and external analysis.[5] While analysing the deteriorating state of education is prescient and is addressed to some degree later in this chapter, the aim of this study is not to examine these glaring contemporary inadequacies at length. Rather, it

[1] A selection of these comparative histories is explored in greater depth in chapter two. These include the seminal comparative works of George M. Fredrickson (1982), Stanley B. Greenberg (1981), Andrew Offenburger (2007) and Howard Lamar (1981), *inter alia*.
[2] G.M. Frederickson quoted in J. Bergh, *White supremacy* twenty-one years on: opportunities for comparative historical research, *Historia* 48 (1), 2003, p. 367.
[3] G.M. Frederickson quoted in J. Bergh, *White supremacy* twenty-one years on: opportunities for comparative historical research, *Historia* 48 (1), 2003, p. 367.
[4] A more detailed analysis of some instances of unrest is to follow and include, but are not limited to the #FeesMustFall movement in South Africa in 2016 - 2017, as well as the fallout in American education as a result of so-called 'Culture Wars'.
[5] P. Levine, Is comparative history possible? *History and Theory* 53 (3), 2014, p. 335.

seeks to deepen the understanding of present educational issues through historical comparison, examination and reflection of education in the 1950s in the United States and South Africa.[6]

In both the United States and in South Africa, education has also been an immensely important catalyst for change, and opened the door for racial mobilisation. First, the historic ruling to integrate education with all deliberate speed in the United States following the Supreme Court's landmark judgement in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954 kickstarted in earnestness the American Civil Rights Movement, culminating in significant advances towards legal equality and universal suffrage for black citizens with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[7] Similarly, the Soweto Uprising in 1976 in the township on the outskirts of Johannesburg was rooted in black youth's immense discontent with forced Afrikaans instruction and below par education as a result of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. At the behest of the National Party's (NP) racist ideological policies, the police force's brutal response to this student protest led to numerous deaths nationwide, and widespread international outrage.[8] Swift international reaction followed suit, including economic sanctions against South Africa, as well as with the United Nations (UN) declaring apartheid a 'crime against humanity'.[9] This illustrates how education was a driving force for and integral to both nations' struggle for racial equality.[10]

This novel educational and print media lens of comparative history subsequently aims to add to both societies' broader contextual understanding of both continuity and change. In addition, this study provides new cross-cultural insights, as the comparison of these educational policies and their implementation exposes previously hidden connections. This includes, *inter alia*, establishing through comparison of newspapers the extent of the success of the apartheid government's censorship endeavours, with particular reference to silencing dissenting black voices; while also highlighting the lack of international consensus of the perception of the United States as 'leaders of the free world'. In doing so, a more nuanced global perspective is provided. In particular, this study makes historical

[6] J. Bergh, *White supremacy* twenty-one years on: opportunities for comparative historical research, *Historia* 48 (1), 2003, p. 358.
[7] Recent stylistic conventions in the United States capitalises 'Black', since it relates to both racial *and* ethnic identities within that country. However, this is not the norm when referring to the South African black population, where the word 'black' is used to denote only racial identity and not ethnic groupings. In addition, the fact that this study focuses predominantly on race-based discrimination, which encompasses varied transnational ethnic identities, the word 'black' is not capitalised in this thesis. For a more in-depth discussion, see M. Laws, Why we capitalize 'Black' (and not 'white'), *Columbia Journalism Review*, 16 June 2020.
[8] T. Simpson, *History of South Africa: From 1902 to the present,* 2021, p. 235.
[9] The Apartheid Convention was adopted by the United Nations' General Assembly at the end of 1973, but it only went into full force one month after the Soweto Uprising, on 18 July 1976. J. Dugard, Convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid, *United Nations*, 1973, p.1
[10] A.W. Marx, Race-making and the nation-state, *World Politics* 48 (2), 1996, p. 203.

narratives in the United States more inclusive, by amplifying previously limited narratives from Africa. As Annales historian Marc Bloch states, 'comparison undermines the purely local explanations.'[11] In extending the historical gaze across the Atlantic, this thesis moves away from Americentricism, and ultimately attempts to provide a more balanced, global historical view. This is achieved by presenting differing world views and sets of values that speak to the varied nature of the vibrant human experience, ultimately reducing some innate prejudices, particularly held regarding South Africa and the developing world in general.[12]

The United States recently stood on the precipice of renewed interest in engaging with the African diaspora, as is indicative of the US-Africa Leaders' Summit of 2022, where the administration of President Joseph R. Biden pledged to invest $55 billion in the continent over the course of three years.[13] This investment, earmarked for *inter alia* trade and investment, infrastructure, digital transformation and diaspora engagement, follows a relative disregard for the African continent by Biden's predecessor, and following the election results of 2024, also his successor. The highly publicised remarks by the 45th and 47th president of the United States, Donald J. Trump, regarding Africa might be indicative of prevailing racist attitudes towards the continent.[14] Moreover, the political diplomatic maelstrom between the United States and South Africa exists in the broader interests of global United States hegemony, as many African nations have, concerningly for the United States, become increasingly reliant on Chinese and Russian investments. This is as a result of the economic stranglehold which the United States has placed on South Africa following the dismantling of the apartheid government, ranging from selective investments to complete disengagement, depending on the United States administrators policies related to African investments and their associated diplomatic value.[15] Indeed, the current relationship between SA and Russia as BRICS-partners, has raised alarm with the United States.[16] As a result of the continuation of a strained diplomatic relationship between the United States and South Africa, this study contributes to a broader spectrum of analysis and deeper understanding of these two nations' history, by redressing the trope of American exceptionalism in the 1950s through a comparative analysis.[17]

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[11] W.H. Sewell, Marc Bloch and the logic of comparative history, *History and Theory* 2, 1967, p. 210.
[12] W.H. Sewell, Marc Bloch and the logic of comparative history, *History and Theory* 2, 1967, p. 218.
[13] The White House, Accelerating the US–Africa partnership after the 2022 US-Africa Leaders Summit, 13 December 2023.
[14] N. Belay, Trump: Outrage from an African 'shithole nation', *Amnesty International,* 12 January 2008.
[15] C. Heyns, United States economic pressure against South Africa: Constitutional implications, *International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 22 (3), 1989, p. 272.
[16] In a diplomatically tense moment, the US ambassador in South Africa, Reuben Brigety, publicly claimed that arms were loaded onto a Russian ship, *Lady R*, as it was docked in South Africa, ultimately supporting Russia's efforts in their invasion of the sovereign nation of Ukraine. For more, see C.A. Ray and M. Walsh, Russia's alleged arms shipment in South Africa, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 31 May 2023.
[17] R. Gregg, *Inside out, outside in: Essays in comparative history*, 2000, pp. 154 - 155.

In order to ensure that there is meaningful thematic unity in this study, it is also essential to understand both the hidden and exposed contours of the historical era of the Cold War in which these watershed moments are situated. At a time in history when the United States often mistook third world nationalism for communist tendencies, every interaction between the United States as a dominant capitalistic power and formerly colonised countries was ripe with ideological subtexts.[18]

Similarly, leaders within South Africa's governing NP also warned of the dangers to its hegemony, as they were working actively towards a definitive break from British imperialist influence in the mid-twentieth century. The fear of trading one imperialist power for another did not appear to resonate too deeply, as Prime Minister Daniël François Malan actively set out to attract American investments at this time by offering financial incentives. These included revised policies on taxation, waiving tariffs and license fees and a repatriation of profits.[19] One of the most lasting legacies of these reforms were that multinational American corporations were rewarded for rooting their operations within the borders of South Africa, resulting in companies such as John Deere, Kellogg, General Motors, IBM, and Johnson & Johnson becoming major hubs of employment opportunities and economic growth for South Africa.[20]

Most importantly, however, in this Cold War climate, is the fact that South Africa contained the largest stockpiles of uranium outside of the Soviet Union. This resulted in a precarious foreign-relations strait to navigate, at a time when American president Dwight D. Eisenhower's military-industrial complex took centre stage in order to secure global security in the face of a nuclear-arms storm, and the fear of mutually assured destruction as a result of the stockpiling of nuclear weapons was ubiquitous.[21] This study further elaborates on the vast ironies of the relationship between the United States and South Africa within this context in chapter five. After the NP took control of South Africa's government in 1948, apartheid sought to not only unify white South Africans against a perceived 'black threat', but also strove to become a bastion against communism on the African continent. While this made South Africa a natural ally to the United States in terms of economic and political ideology, it coincided with the tremendously important historical moment, where the United States was tentatively dipping its feet into the water with regards to civil rights and legally mandated racial integration.

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[18] M.A. Stoler, America and the world: A diplomatic history. *The Great Courses*, 2008.
[19] A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg, and C. Saunders (eds), *A South African and American comparative reader: The best of Safundi and other selected articles,* 2003, p. 48.
[20] A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg, and C. Saunders (eds), *A South African and American comparative reader: The best of Safundi and other selected articles,* 2003, p. 48.
[21] A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg, and C. Saunders (eds), *A South African and American comparative reader: The best of Safundi and other selected articles,* 2003, p. 50.

Furthermore, the American liberalism which existed during the Cold War eclipsed the anti-colonialism and equal rights movements that swept the Third World, originating with India's independence in 1947, and Ghana becoming the first sub-Saharan nation to achieve independence a decade later.[22] This liberalism did not mean, however, that the educated black elite of the United States was not interested in important foreign affairs and historical developments beyond Africa and slavery. Black activists actively cultivated a 'global consciousness', which attempted to advance the cause of decolonisation, and which would subsequently impact the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s in the United States, as well as the anti-apartheid movement on American shores.[23] Black activism in the United States and South Africa focused predominantly on their own struggles and experiences, although a global awareness existed as a result of black churches often serving as the centre of their communities, being not just harbingers of absolution and spaces to practice their faith, but also sharing an awareness of global issues and a forum to participate in national dialogue. In contrast, powerful white elites in the United States sought to actively undermine the attainment of equal rights in Africa, and elsewhere.[24]

Thus, this thesis provides a perspective on this complex contextual milieu, by analysing in parallel the way in which educational integration and segregation were impacted by these global political currents. It pushes past overly simplistic explications of the power dynamics between the United States and South Africa, while it also addresses the existing presumptions of 'normative' American historiography and its South African counterpart.[25] This by no means provides a 'verdict of history', as John Tosh cautions against,[26] instead it endeavours to recognise and understand each nation's history on its own terms, and with its own set of values and preferences. This transnational comparative history subsequently addresses the two damaging presuppositions that G.M. Fredrickson highlights. These are first, the illusion on total regularity and second, that of absolute uniqueness. This study avoids these assumptions by exploring how two historical moments used education as a bifurcated bridge to arrive at different destinations.[27]

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[22] Z. Badawi, *An African history of Africa*, 2024, p. 321.
[23] T.W. Zeiler, The diplomatic history bandwagon: A state of the field, *The Journal of American History* 95 (4), 2009, p. 1071.
[24] T.W. Zeiler, The diplomatic history bandwagon: A state of the field, *The Journal of American History* 95 (4), 2009, p. 1069.
[25] A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg, and C. Saunders (eds), *A South African and American comparative reader: The best of Safundi and other selected articles*, 2003, p. 53.
[26] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010, p. 7.
[27] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 604.

One of the ways to analyse these different outcomes through navigating their respective educational journeys, is to take stock of the very different roles that the legal systems played in the respective societies. In both the United States and South Africa, government institutions were not representative of their nations' racial demographics, resulting in laws created by politically powerful racial minorities in the case of South Africa, and powerful and frequently racially prejudiced white lawmakers in the United States.[28] In particular, the examination of these laws in relation to this study has value, as it not only provides the legal framework for segregating or integrating education, but it also amplifies how these nations strove to be, in terms of their ideals, realities, rules, and indeed the exceptions to those rules.[29] Concurrently, it should be noted that different systems of governance were at play institutionally in these two nations. In the United States, federalism allows for the division of power between the federal and state governments.[30] This entrenched political system was an immensely powerful force in determining the outcome of the *Brown*-ruling, as it presented a challenge to the federal government to recommend legal changes at state level. Conversely, in South Africa, the central apartheid government had far more power to exert control over laws, including that of Bantu Education, nationally. It is, however, important to be aware of the fact that not all laws reflect the complete will of the federal government, as is illustrated by the United States Congress passing the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which ran against the grain of president Ronald Reagan's sluggish pace of sanctions against apartheid South Africa.[31] As Karl Friedrich von Savigny stated: 'Law grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength of the people, and finally dies away as the nation loses its nationality or as a people loses its individuality.'[32] Both the United States and South Africa have numerous historical examples of the intersection of race and the use of law, but it is important to recognise that they exist within varied definitions of 'nation'. This study provides a deeper understanding of the legal educational paradox between the United States and South Africa through the case study of its respective transatlantic connections and cross-national comparisons.[33]

It is consequently important to consider what the term 'nation' denotes in relation to the United States and South Africa in the mid-twentieth century. One needs to be cautious when ascribing the idea of

[28] A.J. Gross, Race, law, and comparative history, *Law and History Review* 29 (2), 2011, p. 561.
[29] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 90.
[30] 'Federalism', *National Constitution Center*, Accessed: 30 June 2025.
[31] C. Heyns, United States economic pressure against South Africa: constitutional implication, *International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 22 (3), 1989, p. 272.
[32] Karl Friedrich von Savigny, quoted in D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p.7.
[33] A.J. Gross, Race, law, and comparative history, *Law and History Review* 29 (2), 2011, p. 564.

'nation' to these two countries, as the manner in which they existed in the 1950s is no longer a reflection of how they exist at present. The ideas and perceptions of a 'nation' is a fluid one, and the existence of the South African *volk,*[34] as the apartheid government propagated for white people, was in stark contrast to that of how black South Africans viewed their national identity: existing as a disenfranchised people in a country that their ancestors called home for generations. Thus, how South Africa as an idea of 'nation' existed in that historical period no longer exists. Furthermore, even with the fall of apartheid and the adoption of democratic values in 1994, the society remains polluted with the legacy of these past events.[35] A similar argument can be made for the idea of a nation in the United States, with the stark racial power imbalance found in the nation's capital in the 1950s. Suffice it to say, this parallel history does not invoke a nation, but rather invokes the past as it continues to shape the present.

Social memory and the idea of nation are key aspects to consider when seeking a deeper understanding of the disparate outcomes of the United States and South Africa's educational journeys. The nations' collective individual memories almost served as a stockpile of precious treasures in the hold of a ship, providing them with a sense of direction, purpose, and perhaps most importantly, identity and worth, as they navigated harsh political storms, transnational currents, even the doldrums of policy stalemates. Thus, the question arises: what kind of nations were intentionally being constructed by the United States and South African governments at the time, and how did it in turn shape and reshape the racial, economic and social order of their 'idea' of nation? The academic Anthony Marx argues that for both the United States and South Africa, their actions reflected wide-ranging international concerns related to missteps, local and national divisions, as well as a series of unintended consequences.[36] As chapters six and seven will illustrate by analysing public sentiment to educational reform in the United States and South Africa, schooling was often regarded as a tool to mould a nation and reflected broader societal desires in both the United States and South Africa.

Meanwhile, while nations, and by proxy national identities, are transient, they have evolved into formidable forces that possess the power to shift the course of a country's political direction. Ian Tyrrell implies that this makes these national identities some of the most salient sources of modern authority and consciousness.[37] In his opinion, some of the most significant historical deductions follow as a result

[34] The Afrikaans word *volk* translates to 'nation', but actually alludes to 'people' who identify with a particular cultural and racially-cohesive identity. It was an integral part of the apartheid government's attempts at fostering Afrikaner-nationalism, by focusing on the Afrikaner *volk* as an intrinsic part of their ethnic, linguistic and historical identity.
[35] T. Simpson, *History of South Africa: From 1902 to the present*, 2021, pp. 375 - 391.
[36] A.W. Marx, Race-making and the nation-state, *World Politics* 48 (2), 1996, p. 207.
[37] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 590.

of illustrating how the nation interacts with, and alters itself as a result of, international contexts. This allows for a historical analysis which moves away from a monolithic idea of a perspective of exceptionalism, which is an idea of a nation that is easily distorted when viewed through only a single, national historiographical lens.[38]

The trope of American exceptionalism has been utilised by people in America since the Founding Fathers proclaimed that it was to be an independent nation in 1776, which intrinsically wove into their historical collective memory the fact that as a people, they were destined for exceptional destinies.[39] South Africa's white population used historical myth making as a 'chosen people' in the creation of a national identity during apartheid,[40] which mirrors American exceptionalism, however this notion enjoyed a far shorter life than its counterpart in the United States. Over the course of two hundred years, historiography had developed to conclude that the United States was exceptional in profoundly negative aspects too: that of its exacting, enduring and intense racism.[41] American exceptionalism eventually developed to the acknowledgement that while every society is indeed distinctive, none exist that are truly and objectively exceptional.[42]

As with this advancing approach of 'exceptionalism' by historians, the tide towards US-transnational history has also shifted. Historians have moved past purely nationalist, revisionist and realist interpretations of the state of a nation's history, to also include what the French Annales school called *l'histoire des mentalités* - the history of attitudes, ideas and ideologies. In including this approach to this study's parallel historical examination, it determines how educational policy was indicative of the way in which policymakers thought about race and education, and how these attitudes were reflected in their use of language and communication.[43] Thus, the value of this transatlantic micro-history on education

[38] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 591.
[39] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 591.
[40] See, for example, the work of South African historian, Gustav Preller, who was appointed state historian by the National Party government. In this role, he wrote extensively about Afrikaner history, including six volumes on the Afrikaner 'chosen people', the *Voortrekkers*. For more, see H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: 'n Biografie*, Cape Town, 2012.
[41] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 594.
[42] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 591.
[43] T.W. Zeiler, The diplomatic history bandwagon: A state of the field, *The Journal of American History* 95 (4), 2009, p. 1056.

examines the changing tides of the legal status of integrated, or segregated, education, bound in a historic moment through their shared intellectual and institutionalised framework of race.[44]

However, caution was exercised in assuming that race is a universal concept, as it is clear from the simplest historiographical study, that the notion of race in these two nations was approached from very different perspectives. In South Africa, for example, while race and ethnicity coexist symbiotically, in the United States the lines between race and ethnicity have blurred, as indicated by the present-day normalisation of capitalising 'Black' as an indicator of both racial grouping and ethnic identity.[45] While race was certainly regarded as a construct within the two different societies in this study, it served as an object of analysis, rather than a tool of analysis.[46] Racial discrimination appears less distinctively linked to a nation's individual history when examined in parallel. Also, analysing the cross-cultural aspects of these manifestations provides a deeper understanding of how race impacted policy and laws in the United States and South Africa in the 1950s.[47]

In relation to race, scholars across disciplines have attempted to bridge cultures through transnational analysis by examining race-based movements in securing freedoms and civil rights, which continues to contribute to the cultural identity of black Americans. These studies have illuminated how there is equal value in weighing government responses to these movements and moments, against the success of attaining justice for the minorities or oppressed.[48] Thus, the intent of this study is not to undermine in any way the construction of black identity in the United States or South Africa, but rather to anchor it in a racial identity which is continuous, dynamic and intrinsically linked to the ebb and flow of a real historical past.[49]

A new historical perspective is provided by using segregated education as the historical compass of this study, steering the historical corpus towards new perspectives. In comparative history, it is important to establish a common denominator to contextualise the varied experiences of transnational people.[50] Education thus seeks to fulfil this role, to assimilate the wide ranging and varied experiences of societies in the West, such as the United States, and global South, including South Africa. Since access to

[44] A.J. Gross, Race, law, and comparative history, *Law and History Review* 29 (2), 2011, p. 554.
[45] A.J. Gross, Race, law, and comparative history, *Law and History Review* 29 (2), 2011, p. 551.
[46] A.W. Marx, Race-making and the nation-state, *World Politics* 48 (2), 1996, p. 180.
[47] A.J. Gross, Race, law, and comparative history, *Law and History Review* 29 (2), 2011, p. 564.
[48] T.W. Zeiler, The diplomatic history bandwagon: A state of the field, *The Journal of American History* 95 (4), 2009, p. 1071.
[49] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010, p. 7.
[50] D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p.22.

education is regarded as a fundamental right for most modern societies, it is of immense importance to engage with this comparative lens sensitively and comprehensively.[51]

In spite of the universal acceptance of education as a powerful force of societal good, both the United States and South Africa are currently in the midst of bitter reckonings with the state of their respective education systems. Recent qualitative data by the federal government's Economic Policy Institute (EPI) indicates the 'profound crisis' in American education.[52] The dire state extends far beyond the growing dissatisfaction of teachers within their professions; burnout in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic and the associated learning loss for students;[53] and new state laws restricting discourse on racism and sexuality.[54] Across every single indicator which the EPI's study measured, the overall wellbeing of the teaching profession is at historically low levels, while the amount of college graduates going into teaching is at a 50 year slump. The job satisfaction level for teachers is also currently at its lowest in five decades.[55] Furthermore, this situation is compounded by a historic teacher shortage, which had been in steady decline even preceding the pandemic, as a result of a myriad of factors including poor compensation and long working hours. The study notes that the teacher shortage is most acutely felt in schools with high shares of students of colour, or from low-income families.[56] The situation in schools in the United States is so severe that the traditional five-day school week in some parts of the country is actually threatened.[57]

Similarly, in South Africa, the pandemic decimated the schooling system, while the ongoing issues of under-qualified teachers, low standards of academic rigour, lack of resources (including access to electricity and basic sanitation needs), an exodus of teachers from the educational system, failed literacy

[51] P.B. Walters, Educational access and the state: Historical continuities and discontinuities in racial inequality in American education, *Sociology of Education* 74, 2001, p. 37.
[52] M.A. Kraft and M.A. Lyon, The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century, *EdWorkingPaper* 22 (679), 2022, pp. 1 - 66.
[53] C. Spector, Digging deeper on the pandemic learning loss, *Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research*, 28 October 2022.
[54] A recent study estimates that almost half of American public school teachers reported that they experienced challenges in teaching about prescient issues such as race and sexuality, while a third reported attempts at book banning. J. Rogers, and J. Kahne, *Educating for a diverse democracy: The chilling role of political conflict in blue, purple, and red communities*, 2022.
[55] M.A. Kraft and M.A. Lyon, The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century, *EdWorkingPaper* 22 (679), 2022, p. 5.
[56] J. Schmitt and K. deCourcy, The pandemic has exacerbated a long-standing national shortage of teachers, *Economic Policy Institute,* 2022, pp. 1 - 28.
[57] L. Meckler, Schools try 4-day weeks to keep teachers, and students may pay the price, *Washington Post,* 10 March 2023.

initiatives[58] and ongoing student-led protest point towards decay within the institution that is South African education.[59] The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates that tertiary attainment in South Africa is the lowest across all OECD and partner countries.[60] Over half (59 percent) of adult South Africans achieved upper secondary education as their highest level of education, in spite of South Africa spending an above-average share of its wealth on the funding of public education.[61]

In light of this current malaise in schools, one can argue that educational institutions are often the 'canary in a coal mine' in terms of being indicative of the overall wellness of the state of the nation. As both the United States and South Africa suffered historically from delayed educational racial integration, it is not surprising that both nations' educational institutions grapple with, and mirror, the country's broader socio-economic struggles. Often the measures of a successful society, including but not limited to justice, equality, human rights and economic prosperity, can successfully be gauged by a close inspection of the state of schools.[62] As a result, studies such as this which provide a critical historical comparative overview are of immense societal value. In addition, in examining the laws that codified this process of integration and separation, a more meaningful appreciation for both nations history as they coexisted is advanced. This correlates with history's educational responsibility, which surpasses the exclusive discovery about the truth of the past, and is aimed to orient individuals in the contemporary world.[63]

2. Methodology and sources

2.1 General methodology

This study can be defined as a comparative educational history, containing diplomatic historical elements and press analysis. As a result, various methodologies have been utilised in relation to each of these two aspects. In this section, an overview of the general methodological framework of this thesis is provided; the methodologies related to comparative history are discussed; followed by an overview

[58] It is estimated that eight in ten South African children struggle to read by age of ten. I.V.S. Mullis, M. von Davier, *et al*, *International Results in Reading*, 2023.
[59] R. Sommer, South African children's grim prospects in a failing education system, *Mail & Guardian,* 10 April 2023.
[60] Education at a glance, *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development,* 2024, pp. 1 - 5.
[61] Education at a glance, *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development,* 2024, p. 2.
[62] C. Sheasley, *How the 1954 Brown decision still influences today's teaching ranks*, 2022.
[63] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 30.

of diplomatic historical methods; and finally it provides an overview of the types of sources, with specific reference to newspapers, consulted for this thesis.

This study's methodological approach essentially serves as its north star: a companion which successfully navigates it across two nations, unifying the complex and varied parallel examinations of the United States and South Africa's educational milestones. The German historian, Johann Gustav Droysen, argues that understanding history means interpreting particular phenomena as part of a whole - a whole that was constructed by the historian, in order to determine its historical significance. This study's close analysis of educational developments in the mid-twentieth century, within a transnational, diplomatic context, supports this stance. Droysen further states that the wider goal of historical inquiry is to make the subject of historical knowledge aware of the historical meaning of their thoughts and ideas, in order to develop a sense of their position and function within a historical continuum stretching into the future.[64] In the context of this thesis, this is achieved by incorporating the current state of educational malaise, and how it links to these historically pertinent moments in black education.

In an attempt to strive for nuanced and balanced historical deductions, this study uses qualitative research methods. The specific methodology is identified by Tosh as the 'problem-orientated approach'.[65] It constitutes the formulation of a specific historic question and concluding with an answer to the question after thorough consultation and analysis of a variety of sources - both primary and secondary. In this thesis, the historical 'problem' is the lack of comprehensive historiographical material relating to an educational comparison between the United States and South Africa in the 1950s. Its exploration of historical causation and outcomes strives to offer some resolution to this specified 'problem'.

Statistical evidence is also used to illustrate the nature of the social and economic landscape in these nations during the period studied. A large variety of statistical evidence regarding unskilled labour in South Africa, for example, is set out in Bill Nasson and John Samuel's *Education: From poverty to liberty* published in 1990.[66] Here the same quality of judgement is used as with other evidence, placing particular focus on the comparability of these statistics. A more in-depth discussion on comparative methodology follows below.

[64] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 28.
[65] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010, p. 91.
[66] B. Nasson and J. Samuels, (eds), *Education: From poverty to liberty*. Cape Town, 1990.

In the process of consultation with an array of sources, 'internal criticism' is exercised.[67] This includes the historian applying the so-called 'rule of context', which guides the interpretation of evidence in line with what precedes and follows it. This is particularly important for the scope of this study, as each section of history needs to be grasped to understand its consequences. In terms of internal criticism, it is also important to keep in mind that a large part of the primary sources consulted for this study are not very representative of the racial demographics of the United States or South Africa. They were commissioned by the respective governments for a specific purpose. This does not, however, detract from their historic significance, as several of the recommendations adopted by these various Commissions would forever change the political, economic and social landscape of both the United States and South Africa.

It should also be noted that the decisions made during the consultation of sources have a profound impact on the outcome of the study. This means that a sound methodology, in conjunction with a sophisticated sense of reasoning is essential to approach sources in the correct manner, without omitting or over-emphasising specific sources. Finally, meticulous research notes formed an important part of the study, as these contain a substantive framework of the research process. Historian G.M. Young once stated that it was his aim 'to read in a period until he could hear its people speak'.[68] Thus, ultimately the methodology of this study was to submerge itself in as vast a sea of sources as possible, in order to form a balanced account of the period in question. It is important that these bodies of evidence are read against the grain, allowing for various interpretations and considering alternative perspectives in an attempt to tease out previously unexplored, subtle and nuanced meanings and interpretations. Historical caution was, however, exercised to ensure that the interpretation did not overtly focus on alternative meanings to the extent that it became unanchored from objective evidence.[69]

As the French historian, François Guizot's astute observation states: 'Against our will, and without our knowledge, the ideas which occupy the present will follow us wherever we go in the study of the past.'[70] This refers to the essential historical practice of constantly being cognisant of biases and innate prejudices which the historian may harbour and striving for the utmost historical objectivity. While all

[67] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010, p. 126, as well as R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*, 1980, pp. 117 - 143.
[68] R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*, 1980, pp. 117 – 118.
[69] S.H. Haber, *et al*, Brothers under the skin: Diplomatic history and international relations, *International Security* 22 (1), 1997, p. 40.
[70] François Guizot, as quoted in D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p. 4.

historians are tethered to their present *zeitgeists*, an awareness and active attempt at separating oneself from these biases whilst analysing sources and interpreting data was constantly be applied throughout this study.

Lastly, elements of interpretivism and constructivism are present in many analyses. Interpretivism, grounded in theory, allowed for this research to analyse data and sources systematically. Constructivism, on the other hand, relates more to the postmodernist and impressionistic approaches to history, in creating a historical narrative which allows the reader to use their historical imagination with ease.[71]

2.2 Comparative methodology

Tosh defines comparative history as a 'systemic comparison of selected features in two ... societies that are normally considered apart.'[72] Due to the complex task at hand of combining two transcontinental societies, and to avoid the common pitfall where a historical study could lack depth and true mastery, the comparative aspect of this study is closely focused over a relatively short time span. In assessing the constitutional educational parallels of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954) and the *Bantu Education Act* (1953), a more accurate and holistic understanding in the long trajectory of comparative history between the United States and South Africa was gauged by linking the comparison to historical causation and educational outcomes. In addition to these parallels, this study also analysed previously unexplored cross-cultural insights, including most pertinently the public's reaction to the constitutional developments pertaining to education at that time. This supports the essential aim of comparativism: finding present wisdom in the infinite variety of historical experience.[73] Comparative history is a useful approach to isolate some of the critical aspects or independent variables which provide a depth of understanding in relation to the differences which exist between nations such as the United States and South Africa. These differences can be approached as an invitation to reinterpret national histories, in addition to serving exclusively as a tool for better theoretical understanding of distinct histories.[74]

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[71] A.S. de Vos, *et al*, *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions,* 2012, p. 311.
[72] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of histor*y, 2010, p. 165.
[73] D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p. 2.
[74] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 587.

It is important, however, to establish the comparability of the two cases. For example, Franklin Knight argues that G.M. Fredrickson fell short in establishing the comparability of United States and South African history in his seminal work, *White supremacy: A comparative study of American and South African history* (1981). Throughout this comparative work, Knight contends that Fredrickson highlighted the contrasts in the historical tides of the United States and South Africa, which far outweigh the similarities, which diminishes the value of the comparison.[75] Due to the fact that this study uses the contrast-oriented approach, but paired with a much narrower scope of thematic similitude, and shorter historical period than Fredrickson, it specifically steered clear of being swept into this pitfall of failing to establish comparability.

One of the strengths of the above-mentioned contrast-orientated historical comparison, is that it places historical limits on overly generalised theories. Concurrently, it does not intend to create novel interpretative generalisations through this comparative historical analysis.[76] In doing so, this study constructs nuanced and rich descriptions of the two outlined chronological historical accounts. While this approach at times may come at the expense of developing explanatory arguments in favour of descriptive holism, it examined both these elements to provide as balanced a comparative overview of these historical developments in education.[77]

Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers' illuminating paper on comparative history provides a further methodological framework and the so-called 'logic' for comparative history, by highlighting three approaches: parallel comparative history, contrast-orientated history and macro-analytical comparative history. As these three different theories often intersect in comparative history, frequently in pairs, they will be discussed below.[78] As important as sequential, chronological and the quantitative processes of analysis are, not all investigations of social change in history use explicit juxtapositions. This leads to the question of what motivates these comparisons. Skocpol and Somers propose an answer to this question through the application of a historical methodology defined as a 'parallel comparative history'. This branch of history uses juxtaposition to persuade the reader of the validity of an explicitly delineated

[75] J. Bergh, *White supremacy* twenty-one years on: opportunities for comparative historical research, *Historia* 48 (1), 2003, p. 360.
[76] T. Skocpol and M. Somers, The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (2), 1980, p. 181.
[77] T. Skocpol and M. Somers, The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (2), 1980, p. 193.
[78] T. Skocpol and M. Somers, The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (2), 1980, p. 187.

hypothesis, which can repeatedly demonstrate its fruitfulness.[79] Standing in contrast to this theory is the so-called 'contrast of contexts', which as the term suggests, focuses on the contrasts between individual cases. Furthermore, approached with a respect to the historical integrity of each aspect that is compared, this theory focuses predominantly on the contrasts between individual cases. By highlighting each historical instance's unique features, they argue that it can better illuminate the depth of our understanding of historical social processes and patterns.[80] Sociologist Reinhard Bendix, applies the theory of 'contrast of contexts' extensively in his work, and justifies this approach:

> Rather than aim at broader generalisations and lose that sense, I ask the same or at least similar questions of divergent materials and so leave room for divergent answers. I want to make more transparent the divergent among structures of authority and among the ways in which societies have responded to the challenges implicit in the civilisational accomplishments of other countries.[81]

Thus, when parallel comparative history is successfully applied, the reader gains a more holistic and comprehensive overview of how key historic moments and variables work 'on the ground', in order to provide a detailed and thorough description of important historical developments. The analysis does not validate a theory, but rather, it clarifies and refines it. The value of a parallel examination is that it contextualises two historical moments, which superficially share similarities and elucidates each moment's unique historical features. Through the narrower focus of education in the 1950s, one can comprehend the role of each society in a more inclusive way, while simultaneously placing both countries in a global context.[82]

In relation to the chronological approach to analysis briefly mentioned above, often called 'process analysis', this thesis used 1953 and 1954 respectively as a starting point, and then explored the effects and development of these educational legal developments. By linking the cause and effects through analysis, it serves as a valuable mechanism to transcend selectively and omitted variable bias.[83]

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[79] T. Skocpol and M. Somers, The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (2), 1980, pp. 174 - 176.
[80] T. Skocpol and M. Somers, The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (2), 1980, p. 178.
[81] R. Bendix, The mandate to rule: An introduction, *Social Forces*, in T. Skocpol and M. Somers, The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (2), 1980, p. 180.
[82] P. de Klerk, Vergelyking in die bestudering van geskiedenis, *Suid-Afrikaanse Historiese Joernaal* 6, 1974, pp. 292, 306.
[83] J. Mahoney, Comparative-historical methodology, *Annual Review of Sociology* 30, 2004, p. 88.

The historian Pieter de Klerk furthermore proposes three approaches to comparative history, one of which relates to the contrast-orientated approach highlighted above, by way of a comparison focused on examining differences. The other two comparative methodologies he outlines includes the analysis of general laws, and finally an examination of common influences and coherences. This study touches upon the latter two methodologies by way of focusing on the analysis of the Bantu Education Act as a primary source, as well as the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision as they existed within the legal systems of both the United States and South Africa respectively. The final methodological framework relating to common influences and coherences was implemented in both the primary source analysis with regards to public reaction in these two nations to the watershed educational moments, as well as the diplomatic framework related to the United States and South Africa's relationship in terms of foreign relations. Finally, de Klerk's cognisance of individualisation, cautions against generalisation and intentionality pertaining to synthesisation was also implemented in this thesis.[84]

Third, historians can use comparative history to make casual inferences about macro-level structures and processes. In this approach, they utilise statistical and quantitative analysis to corroborate their deductions of major historical events, such as the Bantu Education Act and *Brown* v. *Board of Education* of the early half of the 1950s. However, often there are too many variables, and not enough cases for a purely statistical analysis, which runs the risk of overly simplifying societal variables in an attempt to provide a controlled comparison. Similarities are approached by this group of historians through a so-called 'method of agreement', while contrasts are approached through the 'method of difference'.[85] While comparison was certainly used as an inception point for this study, it proceeded to extensive juxtapositioning, focused on including both of these methods for a more holistic historical view.

Another type of comparison employed by historians is that of 'interpretive social science'.[86] This comparative methodology is reinforced by postmodernist attitudes towards comparative history, which is sceptical of the ability to establish absolute truths. As establishing an absolute truth in relation to the comparative examination of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and Bantu Education is not at all the intention of this thesis, the 'interpretive social science' methodology certainly holds credence. As this methodology proposes, this thesis applied, to varied extent, interpretation of historical moments rather than exclusive explanations, and by proxy, applied hermeneutics rather than only being limited by

[84] P. de Klerk, Die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis in vergelykende perspektief - 'n Metodologiese ondersoek, *Historia* 44 (2), 1999, pp. 287 - 306.
[85] T. Skocpol and M. Somers, The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (2), 1980, p. 178.
[86] D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p.16.

analysis.[87] As this approach can sometimes manifest in a reductionist view on human behaviour, it was used only in some instances where this methodology aided in developing a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the two historical moments.

In order for history to exist intelligibly, explanatory relationships between events need to be established through the logic of hypothesis testing. Historical comparison is one approach to systematically gathering evidence in order to test the validity of explanations. This thesis also contributes to the exposition of the uniqueness of the United States and South Africa as differing societies, while it is mindful to avoid oversimplifications and generalisations.[88]

Meanwhile, in relation to segregated education, it is important to implement the methodological framework of concept analysis. This approach is motivated by a close examination of what segregated education truly entails, and how it exists as a powerful driving force within the overall wellbeing of the United States and South Africa's societies. By being aware of differing concepts and the manner in which they manifest historically deepens background understandings within the scope of this study.[89] Some superficial similarities in segregated education's history are highlighted, while the different contexts and divergent directions of educational approaches make them useful for both concept analysis, as well as parallel examination.[90] Another example of concepts pertains to race, as discussed earlier in this chapter, and the idea of 'nation'. For example, in implementing a deeper understanding of the social memory and collective identity surrounding 'nation' and American exceptionalism, concept analysis can be utilised to segue away from this view of the American past, and rather deepen the focus of both the strengths and weaknesses of the historical narrative in the United States.[91] According to James Mahoney, quantitative research is also able to provide the opportunity for valid casual deductions and assumptions. The concept analysis approach to this comparative history also provides better qualitative insights into understanding the underlying motivations behind segregated and integrated education in the United States and South Africa respectively.[92] Concept analysis is also strengthened through the use of case studies. The descriptive case study, also called the intrinsic case study, is the

[87] D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p.16.
[88] W.H. Sewell, Marc Bloch and the logic of comparative history, *History and Theory*, 1967, pp. 208 - 209.
[89] J. Mahoney, Comparative-historical methodology, *Annual Review of Sociology* 30, 2004, p. 93.
[90] A.W. Marx, Race-making and the nation-state, *World Politics* 48 (2), 1996, p. 181.
[91] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 588.
[92] J. Mahoney, Comparative-historical methodology, *Annual Review of Sociology* 30, 2004, p. 97.

methodological framework that was implemented in describing, analysing and interpreting the particular concepts within the scope of the study.[93]

There lies immense value in a detailed and thorough analysis of education, as it is an essential element and contributor to the success of societies globally. This commonality makes education a strong litmus test of the quality of global human experiences, elevating the constitutional right to a fair and equal education, and the immensely influential legacies of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and the Bantu Education Act to a more prominent position in historical analysis.[94] In doing so, not only is a more nuanced and deeper understanding of these historical moments created, but it also challenges dominant Western narratives that are often skewed in favour of its own perspectives.

History, as well as the study and analysis thereof, can be distilled to the notion of interaction: between individuals, nations, cultures, values and environments. Through comparison of these consistent patterns of conflict, resolution, collaboration and coalitions, we can also deepen our understanding of racial dynamics in the United States and South Africa.[95] This provides greater clarity in the contextual framing of these interactions and relationships by examining the vast space that lies between them.[96]

2.3 Diplomatic methodology

As diplomatic histories innately deal with the transnational relationships between two or more nations, a comparative aspect is an integral part of the methodological approach to assessing the depth and quality of these relationships. As a result, a considerable extent of the comparative methodological approaches discussed in the section above relates to diplomatic history. However, there are some key points specific to this branch of examination which need to be highlighted. In relation to the specific relationship between the United States and South Africa, Fredrickson cautions against giving too much prominence to the effect of formal political arrangements, while leaving scant room for cultural and intellectual agency. He argues that while we need a comparative method to understand deeply the structure and culture of societies, caution should be exercised in reducing that comparison to merely deterministic causes.[97]

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[93] A.S. de Vos, *et al*, *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions,* 2012, p. 321.
[94] D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p.16.
[95] A.W. Marx, Race-making and the nation-state, *World Politics* 48 (2), 1996, p. 207.
[96] P. Levine, Is comparative history possible? *History and Theory* 53 (3), 2014, p. 343.
[97] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 599.

Consequently, this study attempts to contribute to an inclusive diplomatic history. Tosh cautions that diplomatic histories often lack nuance as a result of being dismissive towards external factors such as public opinion, when it is indeed an often overlooked and powerful force in shaping international diplomacy.[98] This is in line with more recent historical trends in diplomatic history, which have expanded to incorporate interdisciplinary perspectives. Scholars have begun to explore previously overlooked sources to enrich their understanding of international relations,[99] shifting from an exclusively state-centric approach, to include non-state actors (such as newspapers) and grassroots movements (such as popular civil rights organisations and their associated periodicals) that influence diplomacy. This thesis's extensive examination of newspapers adds to this broader outlook, which reflects the increasing recognition of the truly multifaceted nature of international relations.[100]

Diplomatic history has a long and seasoned history, regarded as one of the staples of the pursuits of the historical profession since the introduction of source-based analysis by the nineteenth century German historian, Leopold von Ranke. Its appeal to historians is often rooted in public demand to understanding the origins of the latest political development.[101] While von Ranke's foundational historical theory has evolved over time and few modern historians prescribe purely to his historical traditions, one point holds particular credence with this thesis: that in a poetic sense, approaching, contrasting and combining the past could provide a deeper and unique historical unity.[102]

When embarking on a diplomatic history, one should be cognisant of the fact that the interactions between the United States and South Africa require an acute awareness and understanding of the linguistic and cultural barriers that existed between these nations. For example, as the apartheid government's identity was intrinsically linked to that of being an 'Afrikaner' and speaking Afrikaans in official settings as the *lingua franca*, a proficiency in bilingualism resulted in a study that was able to interpret primary sources as they originally appeared without running the risk of important information getting lost in translation - quite literally. This provides a more nuanced understanding of domestic South

[98] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of histor*y, 2010, p. 61.
[99] D. Drezner, Power and international relations: A temporal view, *European Journal of International Relations* 27 (1), 2021, p. 32.
[100] See for example, A.W. Marx, *Making race and nation. A comparison of the United States, South Africa and Brazil* (1998), which analyses notions of black identity and protest culture in its broader historical comparison.
[101] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010, p. 61.
[102] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 25.

African diplomatic exchanges, and a more accurate rendering of official documentation to preserve intricacies and intentions.[103]

More recent diplomatic histories have sought to approach American history in a more nuanced and refined way. These approaches acknowledge that while the United States has been an immensely powerful participant in world affairs, it is not impervious to the global currents of change and progress. With this more holistic strategy pertaining to the way in which United States history is examined, historians are able to recognise that national identities are created through the comparisons that citizens make, whether correct or not, in terms of their perceptions of the world outside the borders of the United States, and in the case of this thesis, in South Africa.[104] It is thus important to assess the context in which their relationships, perceptions and diplomatic interactions coexist with power structures.[105]

In conclusion, echoing the sentiments of scholar Akira Iriye, it is essential to depart from the exclusively Western-leaning approaches to diplomatic history, by integrating United States diplomacy with a transnational perspective. This not only lends to a more intrinsic understanding of American movements, but it illustrates how they may be linked to the wider world, and conversely, how the United States influenced other nations,[106] such as South Africa, which along with many other developing nations, often were historically ignored by the systemically dominant Americentric and Eurocentric historical paradigms.[107] Thus a diplomatic comparative history provides deeper insights into what it was that drove global interactions on both a micro- and macro-level, rather than merely examining the rules of diplomatic engagement.[108]

2.4 Newspaper analysis methodology

As the focus of this thesis is to analyse the parallel themes, patterns and trends of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and the Bantu Education Act, certain key dates were identified to enable a logical and cohesive comparison, as illustrated in the tables below:

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[103] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 34.
[104] E.B. Hoffman, Diplomatic history and the meaning of life: Toward a global American history, *Diplomatic History* 21 (4), 1997, p. 500.
[105] S.H. Haber, *et al*, Brothers under the skin: Diplomatic history and international relations, *International Security* 22 (1), 1997, p. 39.
[106] T.W. Zeiler, The diplomatic history bandwagon: A state of the field, *The Journal of American History* 95 (4), 2009, p. 1060.
[107] D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, pp.12, 18.
[108] W.H. Sewell, Marc Bloch and the logic of comparative history, *History and Theory*, 1967, p. 218.

Table I: Key dates identified for *Brown* v. *Board of Education (*1954)

Date	***Event***
28 February 1951	*Brown* v. *Board of Education* first filed with the Supreme Court by the NAACP
9 December 1952	First round of arguments heard by the Supreme Court
7 December 1953	Second round of arguments heard by the Supreme Court
17 May 1954	Supreme Court rules to integrate schools in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*'s unanimous decision
31 May 1955	The Supreme Court provides a follow-up ruling on school integration, coined *Brown II* by historians.

Table II: Key dates identified for the Bantu Education Act (1953)

Date	***Event***
13 August 1953	House of Assembly deliberations on the proposed Bantu Education Bill
17 September 1953	Second reading of the Bantu Education Bill in the House of Assembly
1 January 1954	The official implementation date of the Bantu Education Act

In order to create a nuanced and rigorous analysis, seven days subsequent to the key dates mentioned above were also analysed for daily newspapers, while two weeks following the event were studied for weekly publications. A similar approach was utilised for the monthly, *The Crisis*. This enabled a historical analysis of not only immediate reporting, but also tracked the evolving opinions of educational experts, opposition parties, official reactions, and public sentiment in this time period. The additional week of newspapers also allowed for greater global diplomatic contextualisation. In total, over 650 newspaper articles from a total of seven newspapers from the United States (*The Chicago Defender*, *The Crisis, The Atlanta Constitution*, and *New York Times*) and South Africa (*The Bantu World, Die Transvaler* and *Rand Daily Mail*) were analysed. In addition, in instances where international perspectives were limited, evolving opinions and stories beyond the scope of the dates outlined above were considered to assist with the depth of the analysis.

It should be noted that none of the newspapers analysed in this thesis are regarded as a monolithic, authoritative barometer summarising a singular perspective, as there is no one unilateral 'liberal',

'conservative' or 'black' voice. However, as each publication was influenced by similar factors, including the satisfaction of its audience, advertising revenue and journalistic standards, they coexist within a unique ecosystem which affected the stories published, and their subsequent unique perspectives that can broadly be categorised as done above. In addition, it should be noted that publications such as the *New York Times* had greater economic and human resources available, which resulted in them having a disproportionate amount of coverage in relation to smaller and less funded papers such as *The Bantu World*. However, it is also important to note that a higher volume of coverage does not equate to having a more significant voice. Therefore, care has been taken to ensure that the analysis is balanced. Finally, it should be noted that the Afrikaans-language translations from *Die Transvaler* are the author's own, and every attempt was made to ensure that the translations remained accurate both linguistically and in terms of substance to its original form.

In terms of the chronology of the discussion to follow, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is discussed first, as it garnered media attention from 1951 to 1955, whilst the Bantu Education Bill only entered the mainstream media upon its House of Assembly deliberations in 1952. Thus, the discussion will be broken down into a chronological analysis of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* first, followed by the analysis of the Bantu Education Act. Each will include first the local, followed by international perspectives.

Finally, given the historical context of this chapter's analysis, newspapers in both the United States and South Africa employed language that was reflective of its era, and which will be quoted at times to preserve the historical integrity of the sources. This includes slurs or terms no longer utilised at present due to their historical, racially-charged and discriminatory connotations, including 'Dixie' and 'Negro' in United States context, as well as 'Native', 'kaffir' and 'Non-European' in South Africa. Furthermore, the word 'pupil' was used to denote a school-aged learner, as it was common during the period studied for this thesis. It can be used interchangeably with the word 'learner'.

2.5 Sources

The latter part of this thesis relies predominantly on primary sources to support its aim, particularly in relation to public reactions to segregated education. This is perhaps where the greatest value of this thesis lies, in that the primary sources in the archives document both 'how past peoples thought they

should be *and* how they were, their ideals *and* their realities, theories *and* practice, rules *and* exceptions.'[109]

In assessing the diplomatic relationship between the United States and South Africa, the United States State Department's archives are an invaluable resource, as it holds correspondence between the ambassadors to South Africa and the United States in amongst others, their collection, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, Africa and South Asia, Volume XI, Part 1*.[110] These include meeting memorandums, telegrams sent to the State Department from the United States embassy in Cape Town, as well as official reports on raw materials and current affairs. This declassified information reveals the complexity of this foreign relationship, and United States perceptions as key events in South Africa unfolded.

In addition, the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* court case transcripts, arguments and unanimous decisions contain information for the United States-component of this educational history.[111] Hansards of parliamentary debates for the period 1953 to 1955 in South Africa provide information about Bantu Education in an 'official' capacity, as debated by the ruling white politicians of the time.[112] It should be noted, however, that these debates serve only as a discussion by the ruling white government pertaining to its stance on black education. The debates preceding the official decision-making regarding Bantu Education also include valuable insight, especially regarding the voices of those opposing its implementation.

Most notably, several key pieces of legislation and commissions prior to 1953 are significant primary source material. For the purpose of this study, the economic circumstances preceding 1953 and South Africa's need for a cheap and unskilled labour force were considered. This includes addressing the poor white question as investigated by the Carnegie Commission of 1932;[113] the increasing migration to cities by the black population and the subsequent reaction of whites, as illustrated by the Fagan and Sauer Commissions of 1946[114] and 1947[115] respectively; and lastly the Eiselen Commission and resultant

[109] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources. The interpretation of texts from nineteenth and twentieth century history,* 2008, p. 90.
[110] J.P. Glennon, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, Africa and South Asia, Volume XI, Part 1.* Washington D.C., 1983.
[111] *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
[112] South African Parliament House of Assembly Debates, Volumes 51-53 and 62-83 (1940, 1945 and 1948 - 1953).
[113] Carnegie Commission, *The poor white problem in South Africa I - V.* Stellenbosch, 1932.
[114] Fagan Commission, *The Native Laws, Johannesburg,* 1948.
[115] Sauer Commission, *Report of the Natives Question Commission of the Reunited National Party*, 1947.

report of 1951,[116] which would form the blueprint of apartheid Bantu Education. All of these Commissions' reports are primary sources and exist in the public domain.

A somewhat similar primary source exists within the United States archives. One of the most valuable primary sources in relation to United States education, is that of Gunnar Mydral's seminal work, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy* (1996).[117] Originally published in 1944, the author was approached by the Carnegie Corporation to study the state of race relations in the United States with specific focus on the plight of black people in America in 1938. In this vast and detailed work, Myrdal provides not only a statistically and quantitatively rich and nuanced historical overview of every avenue of life as a black American in the early twentieth century, but as a social scientist, he also makes the distinction between beliefs (the ideas Americans had about reality) and the valuations (the ideas by Americans of how reality ought to be).[118]

Perhaps the most important primary source for the South African component of this study is the Report of the Commission in Native Education of 1949–1951 (also more informally known as the Eiselen Commission).[119] The report is divided into three parts: 'The Bantu world and the present system of education'; 'Critical appraisal of the present system of Bantu Education'; and finally 'Proposals and recommendations'.[120] The first two parts of the Commission's report shed essential light on understanding their ultimate recommendations. These two parts include discussions on a variety of factors such as the missionary schools; the threat of the rising black population in both rural and urban areas in South Africa, which in 1946 was already outnumbering the so-called European population by almost 50 percent; as well as the employment possibilities presented to the black population of South Africa.[121] The Eiselen Commission also focused on contributions to the national income (both directly and indirectly) by black people in South Africa, as this also formed an integral part of the Bantu Education system being aligned to the economy and the workforce requirements. Studies that preceded the Eiselen Commission, such as the one done by the South African Native Affairs Commission,[122] also highlighted the recommendation at the start of the twentieth century that a higher standard of education

[116] Eiselen Commission, *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949 – 1951*, Pretoria, 1951.
[117] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volumes I and II*, New York: 1996.
[118] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volume I*, 1996, p. xxv.
[119] Eiselen Commission, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*.
[120] Eiselen Commission, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 19.
[121] Eiselen Commission, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 13.
[122] *South African Native Affairs Commission,* 1905.

among black people should be encouraged, as it would have increased efficiency and wants of the affected pupils. It was argued that this would aid the country's economic expansion.

One of the most valuable contributions of the Commission's report, however, lies in its third part – 'Proposals and recommendations'.[123] This is where the plan for Bantu Education is proposed in terms of its development, co-ordination, effective use of funds and perhaps most importantly, the extent of government control. Some notable recommendations that the Commission makes include that mother-tongue education should be vital to the whole system; that agricultural (referred to under the heading of 'gardening') and handwork be included in the syllabus; that the curriculum includes a Christian foundation; and that black people would have to find a direct way to pay a large part of their own education.[124] All these factors were subsequently adopted by the apartheid government and form the basis of the traditional historical view that Bantu Education shaped a labour force.

The third part of the Eiselen Commission's Report was read in conjunction with the Bantu Education Act of 1953, to ascertain which recommendations were adhered to and which were discarded. The first provision enacted by the Bantu Education Act was to shift the control and administration of black education from provincial administrators to the Union Government.[125] In essence the legislation gave complete power to the Minister of Native Affairs and the Department of Native Affairs.[126]

Numerous newspapers were used to gauge the public's reaction to *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and the Bantu Education Act. In terms of South Africa's newspapers, the following publications were predominantly utilised: the liberal-leaning English newspaper, *Rand Daily Mail,* as well as the Afrikaans conservative *Die Transvaler*. Due to the harsh restrictions of the apartheid government on censoring the press, few dissenting voices were published *en masse*. As a result, what is available in this regard was analysed, including *The Bantu World*, a publication aimed at black South African audiences from 1932 - 1955, which also trained black journalists in its role as a precursor of the famous *Drum* magazine.[127] It should be noted that other published dissenting black voices in South Africa did exist at that time, such as the Marxist-leaning *Liberation* magazine, which identified itself as a 'journal of democratic discussion' and included pieces by Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Walter Sisulu.[128] While this magazine provides a valuable insight into South Africa's intellectual elite's stance against apartheid

[123] Eiselen Commission, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 919.
[124] Eiselen Commission, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951,* p. 145.
[125] *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*. The Bantu Education Act Number 47 of 1953.
[126] *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*. The Bantu Education Act Number 47 of 1953.
[127] L. Switzer, *South Africa's alternative press: Voices of protest and resistance, 1880 - 1960*, 1997, pp. 44 - 45.
[128] See for example, *Liberation,* Issue 4, August 1953, Issue 5, September 1953 and Issue 7, February 1954.

policies and the wider Cold War milieu, it did not touch on Bantu Education in the time period outlined in Table II. As it was also not a part of the mainstream media in South Africa, magazines such as *Liberation* were not included in the newspaper selection of this thesis. In relation to the United States, as a larger geographic region, greater options existed. As a result, only three daily newspapers were selected for ease of comparison and to align with the South African selection: a liberal voice, a conservative publication, and one representing the black community in the United States. Archived editions of the liberal-leaning *New York Times*, the more conservative *The Atlanta Constitution* and *The Chicago Defender* aimed at black readers, were selected, as well as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)'s monthly magazine *The Crisis*. As the NAACP funded the *Brown*-case, their in-house magazine's insights are of pertinent historical value. These publications, representing different voices in the two respective societies add to a holistic historical overview of these watershed educational developments, as they document the way in which the reporters and editorial staff interacted with their own societies. The way in which the reports were organised and curated was also very telling of the wide range of dispositions. As historian Roger Chartier suggests, 'representations of the social world themselves are constituents of social reality,'[129] ultimately influencing society as much as it reflects it.

As historians strive to understand the ages which they study, the depth and limits of their understanding is intrinsically linked to the availability of both primary and secondary sources. What follows in this thesis is essentially bifurcated. Chapters three to five rely predominantly on secondary sources to provide a historical overview of the United States and South Africa's education systems in the mid-twentieth century respectively, as well as a diplomatic overview of foreign relations between the two nations. Chapters six to eight, meanwhile, reply largely on the analysis of primary sources in assessing the public's reaction to segregated and integrated education in the United States and South Africa, and comparing these reactions.

The prominent black American scholar and one of the founding fathers of the NAACP, W.E.B. Du Bois, was a vocal proponent of the use of advanced education as a tool to uplift and empower black leadership in the fight for civil rights. He implored historians to write about the 'common run of human beings' instead of their rulers.[130] While this thesis is concerned with diplomatic elements of governments,

[129] R. Chartier, 'Intellectual history or sociocultural history? The French trajectories', quoted in M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources. The interpretation of texts from nineteenth and twentieth century history,* 2008, p. 192.
[130] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 59.

transatlantic relationships, and the development of their educational policy, this study also paid significant attention to the reactions of the 'common run' of the people most implicated and affected by the government entities' differing courses of action. This thesis achieved this by incorporating sources which give voice to marginalised groups of people, including newspapers.

Newspapers have a threefold value. First, they serve as a record of the political and social views that made the greatest impact on individuals at a given historical moment; second, they provide a day-to-day (or weekly) record of life; finally, newspapers also at times, through editorials and letters to the editor, reveal a more thorough enquiry into issues beyond the scope of traditional, purely 'factual' reporting.[131] Chartier endorses this by referring to newspapers as the 'representations of the social world themselves (which make them) the constituents of social reality'.[132] This touches on how newspapers not only influence society and perceptions, but how they also reflect them. In addition, newspapers also serve as a historical kaleidoscope, adding colour, depth, nuance and perspective, often in unexpected patterns, by illuminating a historical event's perceived cultural and social meaning. As Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann state:

> Analysing newspapers has evolved as texts that betray complex ambivalences towards power, nation, empire, race, class and identity. Rather than being seen as pure ideological monoliths, newspapers are recognised as contested ground in wars of cultural meaning.[133]

In the context of this thesis, it is also important to remain cognisant of the fact that political thought is intrinsically bound to the public sphere, as reflected in newspapers and other published material which reflect the public perceptions of these key historical moments in segregated education. These newspapers provided an important insight into the ideas of culture and context of both the United States and South Africa, as well as perceptions of the state, economics and broader anthropological ideas of the society in which people existed in the 1950s.[134] This also complements Alfred Schutz's qualitative approach of 'phenomenology', which is aimed at explaining how the life world of historical subjects is developed and experienced by them.[135]

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[131] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010, p. 97.
[132] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 192.
[133] M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading primary sources: The interpretation of texts from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history*, 2008, p. 198.
[134] D.R. Kelley, Grounds for comparison, *Storia della storiografia* 39, 2001, p.17.
[135] A.S. de Vos, *et al*, *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions,* 2012, p. 316.

Beyond the use of newspapers, the analysis of primary sources is the bedrock of this study, as what it achieved was determined by the extent and character of surviving sources.[136] These include the available official government documents (such as relevant court cases and government legislation); personal letters (including those between South African and American officials); oral histories;[137] and diplomatic protocols. These primary sources provided valuable insights into the intentions, actions, and perspectives of key individuals and states involved in determining historical causes and consequences of the diplomatic relationships between the United States and South Africa. All these sources are in the public domain and the federal documents have been declassified, since more than fifty years have passed since their inception dates. A historical overview of these primary sources, where relevant, is provided throughout the thesis, to contextualise them and highlight their importance.

The information, or data, extracted from these primary sources was interpreted by using a combination of techniques. This included content analysis; textual analysis; semiology; as well as linguistic analysis. In keeping with positivist traditions of research, content analysis quantifies the frequency of elements within a primary source, and through analysis, transforms the information from qualitative data to quantitative, systematic data. Textual analysis was utilised in examining the frequency of concepts and tropes in sources. Semiology, meanwhile, provided a more complex insight into the connotations and denotations of symbols contained within these primary sources, whilst finally, linguistic analysis explored the use of language and words within the primary sources.[138]

As indicated, these primary sources are all in the public domain and did not require permissions for use. Cognisance was also taken of the postmodernists' concerns about the legitimacy of these sources as relics of the past and were addressed through the application of aforementioned internal criticism. In addition to this, some scholars argue that the study of formerly neglected persons or groups was the result of techniques of analysis that put a heavy premium on inference and speculation, as the voiceless have historically had little written about them on the record. However, this does not mean that this historical trend should be continued, and this study extensively and meticulously analysed the primary source material that does exist, within the context of its time.

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[136] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 2010, p. 88.
[137] Some oral histories were examined through the use of oral history projects, such as the *Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project* by the Columbia University Libraries Oral History Research Office.
[138] A.S. de Vos, *et al*, *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions,* 2012, pp. 380 - 381.

3. Chapter outline

This thesis' first chapter sets out to establish the aim of the study and provides a methodological overview of the interpretation of sources as they related to the thesis.

Chapter two provides a select literature review pertaining to sources consulted for this thesis. It highlights in particular secondary sources related to segregated education in both the United States and South Africa, diplomatic comparisons between these two nations, as well as histories relating to Cold War historical context.

Chapter three and four provide essential historical context for this study. First, American civil rights advances are reviewed in chapter three, paying attention to key historical moments in the journey to civil rights. This includes the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and Reconstruction; *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s watershed legal precedent in 1896 which normalised 'separate but equal'; and the immense importance of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1952 - 1954). Thereafter, the fallout of this ruling is examined in broad brushstrokes, focusing on the so-called 'massive resistance' to the integration of public schools in America, and the subsequent Civil Rights Movement.

Chapter four provides the South African historical context as the nation turned to apartheid and its racist policies in 1948 when the National Party gained control of the whites-only minority government. The subsequent Eiselen Commission (1951) and its recommendations which were codified in the Bantu Education Act (1953) and resulted in racially segregated education in South Africa are examined. In addition, South Africa's response to this racist regime and the consequences of racist policies are scrutinised, including the Congress of the People (1955); Sharpeville Massacre (1960); and the resulting establishment of the armed wing of the ANC, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) in 1963. In relation to diplomatic relations with the United States, brief attention is also paid to the breakdown of this relationship with South Africa's expulsion from the United Nations in 1974, and the anti-Bantu Education protests which culminated in the Soweto Uprisings of 1976.

Following these historical overviews, chapter five compares and contrasts the relationship between these nations. Diplomatically, South Africa was an ally of the United States until they were expelled from the United Nations in 1974. In particular, their diplomatic relationship was a complex and thorny one, as they were allies in the fight against communism during the Cold War, as well as with nuclear arms development in an era of a military-industrial complex in the United States. In addition, in keeping with

President Harry Truman's policy of containment, South Africa was viewed as a strategic partner in Africa relating to the fight against the spread of communism. Thus, South Africa and the United States were economic and political allies, but morally at odds, as the trajectory of their domestic policy was heading in diametrically opposed directions. This chapter illustrates this by purveying diplomacy in the 1950s.

In a continuation of this theme, chapters six and seven analyse the public response to the two seminal educational policies of the United States and South Africa respectively. Using the key dates as identified in the tables above, chapter six analyses public sentiment and perceptions on *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, as this seminal civil rights victory codified school integration in the United States. In addition to a close analysis of public perspectives from the *New York Times* (white; liberal); *The Atlanta Defender* (white; conservative) *Chicago Defender* (black; liberal); as well as the NAACP's *The Crisis* (black; liberal), an examination of South African newspapers will provide an international and parochial perspective to public perceptions of this seminal educational reform in the United States.

Chapter seven will follow a similar trajectory pertaining to South Africa's educational segregation as a result of the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. The country's reaction to this development in the press will be gauged through a close analysis of the *Rand Daily Mai* (white; English; liberal), *Die Transvaler* (white; Afrikaans; conservative), as well as *The Bantu World* (black; liberal). Furthermore, public sentiment in the United States to Bantu Education is examined thematically.

The final chapter of this study consolidates the previous chapters' analysis by comparing and contrasting constitutional and diplomatic approaches to education, and by reflecting on public responses in both countries to their respective educational stances. This eighth chapter also considers to what extent the United States did, or did not, want to be diplomatically involved with South Africa as a result of its divergent racist domestic policy.

4. Conclusion

This thesis, with its focus on seminal moments in educational history, aims to navigate the reader through the ebb and flow of political and diplomatic currents of the 1950s in both these nations, towards a deeper transatlantic understanding of the history that exists between the United States and South Africa. In using primary sources to navigate the existing body of comparative work, and anchored in the pursuit of a more nuanced global history containing a multitude of perspectives, this thesis guides us between the shores of the United States and South Africa.

Chapter II

Headlines and history: A literature review

'No country can really develop unless its citizens are educated.'

- Nelson Mandela

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature that was analysed to establish an understanding of the educational and diplomatic histories of both the United States and South Africa. This discussion is divided into the following three sections: comparative, diplomatic, and educational histories as part of a secondary source overview.

Broadly, numerous general American histories provide an overview of segregated education systems as they existed within the United States. Howard Zinn's *A people's history of the United States: 1492 - present*[1] approaches segregated education from the lens of the impact and effects on the education of Native Americans, paying scant attention to discriminatory educational practices which side-lined black Americans historically. In Jill Lepore's general history text, *These truths: A history of the Unites States,*[2] *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is discussed incisively as a historical litmus test for a person's political leanings at that time. Lepore's book provides a solid historical overview of segregated education in the United States, as does *The Oxford companion to the United States history*.[3] The latter source dedicates a section to emphasising the immense importance of the *Brown*-ruling, while also providing an incisive overview on the history of segregated education in the United States.

Similarly, a number of sources provide a broad historical overview to the introduction of so-called formal education in South Africa. These include general national histories that consider the history preceding the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Sources such as Robert Ross's *A concise history of South Africa*,[4] Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga's *New history of South Africa*,[5] as well as Frank Welsh's *A history of South Africa*[6] all provide succinct overviews of South African history and a sufficient account of information on the establishment and subsequent growth of missionary schools in South Africa, in what has been coined 'the scramble for African souls'. Nigel Worden's *The making of modern South Africa*[7] also presents a basic overview of Bantu Education and the apartheid government's development of this segregated educational system. These sources serve as valuable points of reference in establishing a broader understanding of the historical period, as well as general historical concepts.

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[1] H. Zinn, *A people's history of the United States: 1492 - present*, New York, 2003.
[2] J. Lepore, *These truths: A history of the Unites States,* New York, 2018.
[3] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history*, New York, 2001.
[4] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, Cambridge, 2008.
[5] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa,* Cape Town, 2007.
[6] F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, London, 2000.
[7] N. Worden, *The making of modern South Africa*, Oxford, 2012.

2. Seminal comparative texts

While there is a long trajectory of work in the comparative historical corpus of the United States and South Africa, the most influential historian in regards to South African and American historical parallels is G.M. Fredrickson, who wrote *White supremacy: A comparative study in American and South African history* (1981)[8] as well as *Black liberation: A comparative history of black ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (1995).[9] Both of these seminal works are significant in the nuanced, thorough and methodical analysis of shared thematic elements, historical parallels, as well as the examination of historical cause and consequence of the United States and South Africa. They are both extensively utilised by historians in comparative history and form the bedrock of the historical understanding of the parallels between the United States and South Africa for many works on this topic that followed their publication.

Fredrickson's *White supremacy* focuses predominantly on race as it pertains to labour as a powerful force within the development of the United States and South Africa's economic systems. He incisively explores how race in these two countries exists within the constructs of split-market economies and labour markets. As the title of this work suggests, the prevalence of the ideological concept of white supremacy in both the United States and South Africa is explored historically and is seen as the primary driver in the nations' race-based economic progression. This is helpful in contextualising the ubiquity of white supremacy during Reconstruction and industrialisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Due to the scope and focus of the book, the educational history in the mid-twentieth century, the focus of this thesis - education - is largely omitted. However, *White supremacy* provides invaluable insight into how race-based discrimination in both the United States and South Africa laid the foundation for the discriminatory institutional practices which pervaded society well into the twentieth century, which include, but are not limited to education. This historical context, in addition to the perceptive comparative element, made this book invaluable to this thesis.

Furthermore, Fredrickson added to the catalogue of comparative histories of the United States and South Africa in *Black liberation.* Serving almost as a continuation of *White supremacy,* this book pursues the exploration of the historical trajectory of racism in these two countries well into the twentieth century. As a result, the ideological developments explored in the book are of greater relevance to the study of

[8] G.M. Fredrickson, *White supremacy: A comparative study in American and South African history*, Oxford, 1981.
[9] G.M. Fredrickson, *Black liberation: A comparative history of black ideologies in the United States and South Africa,* Oxford, 1995.

education. Of particular value is the insightful perspectives on the role of the black educated elite in fighting to dismantle racially discriminatory practices, comparing figures such as W.E.B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter in the United States to South Africa's Tiyo Soga, John Tengu Jabavu and Walter Rabusana.[10] As with its precursor, *Black liberation* is scant in its comparison of the educational systems of both the United States and South Africa in the 1950s. However, the depth of its historical contextualisation relating to the nations' non-violent struggles is both informative and relevant. The predominant focus on black identity and protest movements and its associated culture also provides a different and useful angle to consider.

Ultimately, both *White supremacy* and *Black liberation*, contribute to a significant breadth of understanding of the United States and South African histories. However, as pointed out above, neither of these publications explore the educational parallels between the United States and South Africa in any great depth. This lack of a specific educational focus indicates a need for this thesis to further enhance the cross-cultural understanding in the historical parallels between the United States and South Africa.

Another influential publication relating to the history of white supremacy is J.W. Cell's *The highest stage of white supremacy* (1982).[11] Cell's acute analysis of segregation in both South Africa and the American South make a significant contribution to the broader understanding of segregation as it existed as the result of *inter alia:* ideologies, urbanisation and industrialisation, in addition to the interaction of race and class. The comparative nature of this work presents invaluable insights by providing historical context and causation as a way of supporting the strength of the educational comparison. The publication is particularly helpful in that it provides a historiographical overview of approaches to white supremacy. It makes only a cursory mention of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* or the Bantu Education Act as indicators of white supremacist ideology, due to the fact that its main focus lies in the roots of early segregation.

Meanwhile, A.W. Marx's *Making race and nation: A comparison of the United States, South Africa and Brazil* (1998),[12] employs a similar comparative approach to Fredrickson, but also incorporates Brazil in his purview. In this wide historical overview, which spans from colonial settlement to the present, Marx only makes a brief mention of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, describing it as a legal 'bombshell', and

[10] G.M. Fredrickson, *Black liberation: A comparative history of black ideologies in the United States and South Africa,* 1995, pp. 45, 108.
[11] J.W. Cell, *The highest stage of white supremacy,* Cambridge, 1982.
[12] A.W. Marx, *Making race and nation: A comparison of the United States, South Africa and Brazil*, Cambridge, 1998.

providing executive reactions relating to racial integration as it pertained to both Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy.[13] Similarly, the Bantu Education Act is merely mentioned briefly within the broader context of the string of racist legislation passed by the apartheid government in the 1950s. While it is certainly helpful to use these watershed educational moments in both nations as examples of catalysts for change and protest, there is understandably a lack of detail in this broad exploration. This again supports the importance of this thesis and the historical gaps it addresses.

Leonard Thompson and Howard Lamar's *The frontier in history: North America and southern Africa compared* (1981)[14] provides additional comparative insight into the past of the United States and South Africa, with a broader geographical scale than the limits of the current nations' modern borders. This publication's primary focus is on the dynamics of the regions' frontiers, contrasting the process of colonisation, interactions with native populations, and the resulting socio-economic consequences of these relationships. As with the comparative histories mentioned above, Thompson and Lamar's book provides a more nuanced understanding of the historical shaping of these societies. Given its periodisation it has, however, a limited but interesting focus on the genesis of the educational repercussions.

The final pioneering work published in the 1980s in relation to the United States and South Africa's comparative histories is Stanley B. Greenberg's *Race and state in capitalist development: Studies on South Africa, Alabama, Northern Ireland, and Israel.*[15] In this book, the intricate relationship between race, power and capitalist economic development is explored in detail. Of particular interest is the historical focus on Alabama, since it is of pivotal importance in the Civil Rights Movement as it pertains to educational integration. The predominant focus is on capitalist development and its significant role in the development in a racist state. While this book focuses on the historical trajectories of the four regions in its title, it also contributes to a broader insight into the factors that determined specific policies in these different areas. The scope of this publication spans four regions and examines the global connections of race in capitalist development. Greenberg's comparative approach is to discuss each of these regions separately, as opposed to in an integrated and continual comparison. Rather than focus on education, it explores capitalist development in areas such as agriculture, the private economic sector, and the

[13] A.W. Marx, *Making race and nation: A comparison of the United States, South Africa and Brazil,* 1998, pp. 147 - 149.
[14] L. Thompson and H. Lamar, *The frontier in history: North America and southern Africa compared*, Massachusetts, 1981.
[15] S.B. Greenberg, *Race and state in capitalist development: Studies on South Africa, Alabama, Northern Ireland, and Israel*, Connecticut, 1980.

proletariat's reactions as they developed in nations such as United States, South Africa, Northern Ireland and Israel.

Meanwhile, the more recent collection of journal articles published in the volume, *A South African and American comparative reader: The best of Safundi and other selected articles* (2003)[16] further enhanced transcontinental understanding between the United States and South Africa's histories. While lacking in a general focus on educational history, it provides an insightful overview of the parallels in these nations' pasts, in relation to a vast spectrum of topics, including politics, race and historical narratives, *inter alia*. The collection provides a significant contribution to a more nuanced understanding of the historical similarities and differences between the United States and South Africa. However, S.V. Walker and K.N. Archung's article 'The segregated schooling of blacks in the Southern United States and South Africa'[17] specifically compares the manner in which white educational leaders deliberately marginalised black schools in the United States and South Africa through a lack of equitable funding. This work underlines how economic factors are a powerful determinant for educational success in both nations.

Finally, another significant comparative history between the United States and southern Africa as a geographical region, is Andrew DeRoche's *Black, white and chrome: The United States and Zimbabwe, 1953 - 1998*.[18] In addition to seeking to understand the relationship between Zimbabwe and the United States in greater depth, this book also extends its scope to include the decoloniality movements of the mid-twentieth century; the different administrations' attitudes towards Rhodesia, and ultimately Zimbabwe, in relation to its mineral resource wealth; the indifference by the United States to fostering good relationships with Africa; and where this relationship between these geographical regions stood towards the conclusion of the twentieth century. While this book does not place a lot of focus on South Africa, its value lies in investigating the relationships the United States honed with other African nations having a close proximity to South Africa and illustrating where this relationship differed. One such an example is that of United States president Richard Nixon, who refused to impose sanctions against South Africa, but was wholly indifferent to Zimbabwe.[19]

[16] A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg, and C. Saunders, (eds), *A South African and American comparative reader: The best of Safundi and other selected articles*, Connecticut, 2003.
[17] S.V. Walker and K.N. Archung, The segregated schooling of blacks in the Southern United States and South Africa, *Comparative Education Review* 47 (1), 2003, pp. 21 - 40.
[18] A. DeRoche, *Black, white and chrome: The United States and Zimbabwe, 1953 - 1998*, Trenton, 2001.
[19] A. DeRoche, *Black, white and chrome: The United States and Zimbabwe, 1953 - 1998*, 2001, p. 23.

3. Educational histories

3.1. Education in the United States

While this thesis's main focus is on educational reform in the twentieth century, first providing historical background of indigenous knowledge systems was an essential component of contextualising the ultimate implementation of Western educational approaches. In particular, Y.L. Cervera's 2014 article, 'Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field'[20] outlines in detail the immense depth of traditional Native American knowledge systems. Walker Elliott expands on this history by exploring the extent of the Native American struggle for equal education under Jim Crow laws.[21] Elliott underscores the ability for groups of marginalised pupils to thrive as a result of their communal efforts and resilience, with particular reference to the Lumbee Native Americans. In addition, Richard Valencia's 2005 article on the Mexican American struggle for educational equality provides historical context to other marginalised groups within the United States.[22] In particular, Valencia's work focuses on how the court system was leveraged to implement meaningful educational reform to Mexican Americans, and subsequently paved the way for part of the NAACP's legal strategy with *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.

Furthermore, the history of education in the Antebellum, Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras is explored in various journal articles. Highlighting the beginnings of black educational institutions, Daniel Thorp explores the complexity of early educational institutions in Montgomery County in his 2013 article, highlighting the long road to equal educational privileges for black Americans.[23] The difficulties faced by early black schools in the United States were compounded by the fact that different states had varied approaches to education, and placed different value sets on educating its black population. This point is vividly illustrated by the vast geographical scope of papers pertaining to black education in the United States. This includes work by D.P. Alridge (2015),[24] L. Funke (1920),[25] A.O. White (1969),[26] A.

[20] Y.L. Cervera, Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field, *History of Education Quarterly*, 54 (3), 2014, pp. 362 - 382.
[21] W. Elliott, "I told him I'd never been to his back door for nothing": The Lumbee Indian struggle for higher education under Jim Crow, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 90 (1), 2013, pp. 49 - 87.
[22] R.R. Valencia, The Mexican American struggle for educational opportunity in *Mendez* v. *Westminster*: Helping to pave the way for *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *Teachers College Record* 107 (3), 2005, pp. 389 - 423.
[23] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, pp. 314 - 345.
[24] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, pp. 473 - 493.
[25] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, pp. 1 - 21.
[26] A.O. White, The black movement against Jim Crow education in Buffalo, New York, 1800 –1900, *Phylon (1960 -)* 30 (4), 1969, pp. 375 - 393.

Fairclough (2000)[27] and H.A. Williams (2002).[28] As all of these articles focus on a different aspect of black education prior to the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* ruling, collectively they highlight the varied nature of black educational institutions, perceptions and biases in the United States up to the twentieth century.

A vast body of work exists in relation to the passage of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. One of the first authoritative texts in relation to this historic court ruling is Richard Kluger's *Simple justice: The history of* Brown *v.* Board of Education *and black America's struggle for equality* (2004).[29] In his book, Kluger interweaves historical milestones, legal *jurisprudence*, social history and personal narratives to create a comprehensive overview of this watershed moment in the journey to integrated education in the United States. While the overall history is of tremendous value, its specific focus on resistance to integration by figures such as Alabama Governor George Wallace, and Birmingham police commissioner Eugene 'Bull' Connor, paint the picture of the moral schism present in the United States at the time.[30] This book also includes an in-depth discussion of education in the United States.

Brian K. Landsberg's *Revolution by law. The federal government and the desegregation of Alabama schools* (2022)[31] provides a comprehensive and rigorous overview of the history preceding and following the historic *Brown* v. *Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling. As with Kluger, Landberg analyses the difficult journey to the implementation of integrated education. It argues that if *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was a destination, the Supreme Court did not provide local school boards with a clear roadmap of how to achieve desegregated education. In particular, it examines the instrumental role that the federal government played in integrating schools in the deep South. This is significant, as the same federal government turned a blind eye to South Africa's segregated education. It highlights the complex, and often reluctant, role of the United States in maintaining a relationship with an ally that was politically maligned with the federal government's stance on racial segregation.

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[27] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, pp. 65 - 91.
[28] H.A. Williams, 'Clothing themselves in intelligence': The freedpeople, schooling, and northern teachers, 1861–1871, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, pp. 372 - 389.
[29] R. Kluger, *Simple justice: The history of* Brown *v.* Board of Education *and black America's struggle for equality,* New York, 2004.
[30] R. Kluger, *Simple justice: The history of* Brown *v.* Board of Education *and black America's struggle for equality,* 2004, p. 756.
[31] B.K. Landsberg, *Revolution by law. The federal government and the desegregation of Alabama schools*, Lawrence, 2022.

To further understand the resistance to the process of integrating education, and the lack of urgency by some states to implement mandated court decisions, Gary Orfield's *The reconstruction of southern education* (1969)[32] examines the administrative and political struggle of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and how federal intervention was often needed to establish a new local *status quo*. While the book does focus on the Civil Rights Act as opposed to *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, the implications for integrated education in the South are explored, thus making this book of value to this thesis. Some key examples include the city of Chicago and the state of Virginia in the United States, which also provides an excellent view on not only education during the Reconstruction years, but also on the consequences of school integration in the United States. This perspective and the ultimate consequence of educational reform is further illuminated by the work of D. Danns and M. Purdy, who provide historical perspectives on not only black education, but also its role in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements.[33]

Meanwhile, Harvard University's constitutional law professor, C.J. Ogletree Jr.'s *All deliberate speed. Reflections on the first half century of* Brown *v.* Board of Education (2004)[34] explores a unique perspective on this historic court ruling, as it not only analyses the litigious significance of *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* but also presents a primary account of being a black student in the United States in the ruling's aftermath. As a legal scholar, Ogletree also examines other significant legal challenges relating to race and education, as well as the legacies of black Supreme Court justices, including *Brown* v. *Board of Education*'s chief defence attorney and first elected black Supreme Court justice, Thurgood Marshall, and the current controversial justice Clarence Thomas. Furthermore, M.V. Tushnet, in a book entitled *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950* (1987), illustrates the detailed legal strategy utilised by the NAACP, highlighting the immense pressure the legal team was working under in order to ensure success.[35] These sources, in conjunction with other educational histories of the United States, provided a cornerstone for American educational analysis.

The civil rights historian, Mary Louis Dudziak adds significant depth to the discussion of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* as an extension of the United States government's Cold War ambitions.[36] In analysing the

[32] G. Orfield, *The reconstruction of southern education*, New York, 1969.
[33] D. Danns and M. Purdy, Introduction: Historical perspectives on African American education, civil rights and black power, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (4), 2015, pp. 573 - 585.
[34] C.J. Ogletree Junior, *All deliberate speed. Reflections on the first half century of* Brown *v.* Board of Education*,* New York, 2004.
[35] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, pp. 173 - 184.
[36] M.L. Dudziak, *Brown* as a Cold War case, *The Journal of American History* 91 (1), 2004, pp. 32 - 42, as well as M.L. Dudziak, 'Birmingham, Addis Ababa, and the image of America: International influence on US civil rights politics in the Kennedy administration,' in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003.

civil rights case in this manner, in an article entitled '*Brown* as a Cold War case' (2004) and chapter entitled 'Birmingham, Addis Ababa, and the image of America: International influence on United States civil rights politics in the Kennedy administration,' Dudziak underscores the immense importance of global perceptions and how ensuring racial equality was essential if the United States wished to maintain good standing with the Global South at a particularly precarious time in history. This global perspective is of relevance to the study at hand. Finally, A. Lester explores a similar theme in '*Brown* v. *Board of Education* overseas' (2004), highlighting how intrinsically Cold War diplomacy and educational reform was connected in the 1950s.[37]

Examining reform at the intersection of race and education, Derrick Bell illuminates the symbolic importance of the unanimous Supreme Court ruling in *Silent Covenants: Brown* v. *Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform* (2004).[38] Bell argues that the *Brown*-ruling was 'more symbolic than real', as it merely served to highlight inequalities in schools across the United States, rather than propose a lasting solution.[39] This book builds on the 'interest-convergence thesis', which Bell first applied to the educational sphere in 1980. [40] Relying on a positivist framework, Bell argues that racial equality for black people in the United States can only be achieved when it coincides with white interests.[41] Bell's incisive work in drawing parallels between the *Brown*-ruling and the lasting pursuit of racial equality is of immense importance when exploring segregated education in the United States.

Dionne Dans and Michelle Purdy illuminate American educational history in their article entitled 'Introduction: Historical perspectives on African American education, civil rights and black power'.[42] In this 2015 publication they discuss schools as not only centres for attaining education, but also the important role of black schools as cultural centres, as well as opportunities for enabling economic mobility. Correlating this theme, the consequences of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* are explored by Pamela Barnhouse Walters,[43] who stresses that true educational integration only followed federal

[37] A. Lester, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* overseas, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 148 (4), 2004, pp. 458 - 459.
[38] D. Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown* v. *Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*, Oxford, 2004.
[39] D. Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown* v. *Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*, Oxford, 2004, p. 19.
[40] D. Bell, Brown *v.* Board of Education and the interest-convergence dilemma*, Harvard Law Review,* 93 (3), 1980, pp. 518 - 533.
[41] D. Bell, Brown *v.* Board of Education and the interest-convergence dilemma*, Harvard Law Review,* 93 (3), 1980, p. 519.
[42] D. Dans and M. Purdy, Introduction: Historical perspectives on African American education, civil rights and black power, *The Journal of African American history* 100 (4), 2015, pp. 573 - 585.
[43] P.B. Walters, Educational access and the state: Historical continuities and discontinuities in racial inequality in American education, *Sociology of Education*, 74, 2001, pp. 35 - 49.

intervention, and that states played a major role in how historically black schools were funded. *The Journal of Negro Education*'s special volume sixty years after the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* ruling (2014) also explores tangible insights into the state of education today through various articles highlighting black caucuses; neighbourhoods which remain segregated *de facto*; quality of education for black students; amongst others.[44]

V.P. Franklin is a major contributor to the notion of so-called 'cultural capital' in black communities, with specific relation to the role of schools as essential hosts of this idea. In a 2002 article 'Introduction: Cultural capital and African American education,'[45] Franklin introduces this seminal concept as a framework to understand the reluctance that black teachers, pupils and families displayed in relation to educational reform. While integration and racial equality was something that black communities valued, they simultaneously were cognisant of the cultural and social losses that their communities would incur as a result of lack of representation. Franklin's cultural capital framework, which is also explored in an earlier article with L.D. Gordon and others,[46] was valuable in contextualising black resistance to educational reform. Furthermore, academics such as A.W. Randolf, C.M. Span and M.A. White explore this framework in their respective articles. Randolf's 2002 'Building upon cultural capital: Thomas Jefferson Ferguson and the Albany Enterprise Academy in Southeast, Ohio, 1863–1886'[47] presents an exploration of how specific educational institutions valued the cultural capital that they accumulated and served as an example of how to incorporate the theoretical framework of cultural capital analytically. Span's 2002 article 'I must learn now, or not at all': Social and cultural capital in the educational initiatives of formally slaved African Americans in Mississippi, 1862–1869'[48] provides a similar assessment, with particular reference to emancipated enslaved people, and the immense cultural value of educational institutions in their cultural development. In a 2002 article entitled 'Paradise lost? Teachers' perspectives on the use of cultural capital in the segregated schools of New Orleans, Louisiana,' White provides specific black teacher perspectives, with a focus on how these teachers nurtured both cultural and social

[44] 60 Years after *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, *Kansas*: Educational opportunities, disparities, policies, and legal actions, *The Journal of Negro Education* 83 (3), 2014, pp. 191 - 419.
[45] V.P. Franklin, Introduction: Cultural capital and African American education, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, pp. 175 - 181.
[46] V.P. Franklin, L.D. Gordon, M. Schwartz Seller *et al,* Understanding American education in the twentieth century, *History of Education Quarterly* 31 (1), 1991, pp. 47 - 65.
[47] A.W. Randolf, Building upon cultural capital: Thomas Jefferson Ferguson and the Albany Enterprise Academy in Southeast, Ohio, 1863–1886, *The Journal of African-American History* 87, 2002, pp. 182 - 195.
[48] C.M. Span, 'I must learn now, or not at all': Social and cultural capital in the educational initiatives of formally slaved African Americans in Mississippi, 1862–1869,*The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, pp. 196 - 205.

capital within their broader communities in New Orleans, Louisiana.[49] This highlights the immense importance of teachers in their roles to foster a sense of community and illustrates what is lost when black teachers are removed from their posts in the name of educational reform.

3.2. Education in South Africa

South African historian Cynthia Kros's influential work, *Seeds of separate development: the origins of Bantu Education*[50] as well as her 1996 thesis, 'Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education 1926 – 1951'[51] provide a comprehensive overview of the development of segregationist educational policy in South Africa. Kros argues that the recommendations for Bantu Education made in the Eiselen Commission Report of 1951 were intended to serve as the foundation for the whole apartheid structure, as the National Party was finding its feet after winning the 1948 election, and still formulating an answer to the so-called 'Native Question' - one of their election promises that had led them to victory. Kros takes note of the assumption that segregationist education started prior to 1953 but asserts instead that 1953 served as the watershed moment in South African education history. Kros's research focuses specifically on the intellectual development of Bantu Education under the leadership of W.W.M. Eiselen and stands as a seminal work on South African apartheid education.

Peter Kallaway's *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans,*[52] scrutinises in a variety of chapters specific aspects relating to the education of black South Africans under the National Party government. Published a decade before the demise of the apartheid regime, this book illuminates the dire legacy of Bantu Education, as it was becoming more apparent with the decline of the National Party's iron grasp on education in South Africa. One strength of Kallaway's edited book is the inclusion of many historical perspectives on Bantu Education, including, but not limited to Pam Christie and Colin Collins,[53] as well as Marvin Hartwig and Rachel Sharp.[54]

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[49] M.A. White, Paradise lost? Teachers' perspectives on the use of cultural capital in the segregated schools of New Orleans, Louisiana, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, pp. 375 - 393.
[50] C. Kros, *Seeds of separate development: the origins of Bantu Education*, Pretoria, 2010.
[51] C. Kros, 'Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education 1926 – 1951', Johannesburg, 1996.
[52] P. Kallaway, (ed.), *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans,* Johannesburg, 1984.
[53] P. Christie and C. Collins, "Bantu Education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans*, 1984, p. 163.
[54] M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans,* Johannesburg, 1984.

Meanwhile, Bill Nasson and John Samuel examine the extent of societal damage inflicted as a result of the implementation of Bantu Education in their work, *Education: From poverty to liberty*.[55] Published in 1990 as part of the Second Carnegie Report on Poverty (1984), it painted a bleak picture, pertaining specifically to the educational disadvantages that the black population of South Africa suffered, and the damaging and lasting institutional legacy of Bantu Education.

For a broader historical context, Jonathan Jansen analyses the history of black education in South Africa in a 1990 article entitled 'Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education', with an emphasis on the fact that the education of black communities existed long before the arrival of the colonial era and its associated mission-based education systems. His thematic overview of black education in South Africa includes Bantu Education, which makes his work a valuable contributor in the broader historical assessment of black education in South Africa.[56]

Another prolific South African educational historian, Linda Chisholm, has numerous publications referring to the damaging legacy of Bantu Education in assessing contemporary South African educational challenges.[57] Chisholm postulates that both racist and sexist institutionalised approaches to education in the mid- to late twentieth century led to an educational legacy in a post-apartheid South Africa that continues to be deeply rooted in inequality.[58] Furthermore, Chisholm analyses the role of German missionaries in the years prior to the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, providing much-needed insight into not only the perceptions of the role of missionaries in black education, but also highlighting the apartheid government's attitude towards German missionaries as opposed to English and American missionaries.[59] The historical development of missionary education in South Africa is also explored by Ellen Vea Rosnes in a 2020 article where she examines how Norwegian

[55] B. Nasson and J. Samuel (eds), *Education: From poverty to liberty*, Cape Town, 1990.
[56] J.D. Jansen, 'Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education', *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, pp. 195 - 206.
[57] See, for example, L. Chisholm, 'Apartheid education legacies and new directions in post-apartheid South Africa', *Storia delle donne* 8, 2012, pp. 81 - 103; L. Chisholm, *Between worlds: German missionaries and the transition from mission to Bantu Education in South Africa,* 2017, as well as M. Kross and L. Chisholm, 'The roots of segregated schooling in twentieth century South Africa', *Pedagogy of domination: Toward a democratic education in South Africa,* 1990, pp. 43 - 74.
[58] See also J. Hyslop, '"Segregation has fallen on evil days': Smuts''South Africa, global war and transnational politics, 1939-1946", *Journal of Global History* 7 (3), 2012, pp. 438 - 460.
[59] L. Chisholm, *Between worlds: German missionaries and the transition from mission to Bantu Education in South Africa,* 2017.

missionaries adapted their educational practices under the apartheid government and the early days of the Bantu Education Act.[60]

Clive Glaser provides illuminating evidence of academic successes in black schools in spite of the challenges posed by the apartheid government's strict implementation of Bantu Education. In his two academic articles, 'Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975' (2015)[61] and 'The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education' (2018),[62] Glaser highlights the influential role of strong leadership and a meticulously selected teacher body as a conduit for resistance to Bantu Education within black school communities. He also examines the threat these institutions posed to the apartheid government's implementation of the objectives of their segregated educational doctrine. Meanwhile, in 2016 Grietjie Verhoef explores the extent to which mother tongue education was implemented in black schools in the latter half of the twentieth century.[63] While her research provides valuable data points in assessing how widespread mother tongue education was in black elementary schools, it does not consider how this would ultimately set black students up for failure once they reached secondary educational institutions where instruction was primarily in English or Afrikaans.

In order to make historical comparisons with a focus on education more meaningful, the state of black education today has to be described. Numerous academic articles provide a holistic and balanced view on this topic. These include, but are not limited to: Jonathan Hyslop and A. Morris's 'Education in South Africa: The present crisis and the problems of reconstruction' (1991);[64] J. Madden's 'Teaching online: Issues of equity and access in writing-centric formats' (2020);[65] M.A. Kraft and M.A. Lyon's 'The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century' (2022);[66] and J. Schmitt and K. Decourcy's 'The pandemic has exacerbated a long-standing

[60] E. Vea Rosnes, A time for destiny for Norwegian mission schools in Zululand and Natal under the policy of Bantu Education (1948 - 1955), *History of Education* 49 (1), 2020, pp. 104 - 125.
[61] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, pp. 159 - 171.
[62] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, pp. 505 - 518.
[63] G. Verhoef, 'Sonder onderwys, geen bevryding'. Moedertaalonderrig en gemeenskap in die grondslag vir swart onderwys in Suid-Afrika, 1952 - 1990, *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 56 (3), 2016, pp. 747 - 762.
[64] Morris and J. Hyslop, Education in South Africa: The present crisis and the problems of reconstruction, *Social Justice* 18 (1/2), 1991, pp. 43 - 44.
[65] J. Madden, Teaching online: Issues of equity and access in writing-centric formats, *Feminist studies* 46 (2), 2020, pp. 502 - 509.
[66] M.A. Kraft and M.A. Lyon, The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century, *EdWorkingPaper,* 22 (679), 2022, pp. 1 - 66.

national shortage of teachers' (2022).[67] While these are a mere sample of the sources on this topic, they provide valuable quantitative measures of the state of education in both the United States and South Africa.

4. Diplomatic histories

In relation to diplomatic histories, Alex Thomson's 2008 monograph *U.S. foreign policy towards apartheid South Africa, 1948 - 1994*[68] provides an illuminating and meticulously researched insight into the mechanics of the United States government's approaches to South Africa. In particular, South Africa's status as a strategic ally is highlighted, most prominently in relation to its importance to the United States for its mineral resources, trade, commerce, and the containment of communism. Thomson provides an informative overview of each of the American presidents' public and private stances towards South Africa and its domestic policy. However, as is the case with Fredrickson's comparative history, the educational lens is largely left unexplored. Thomson's history also leans more towards an Americentric historical narrative. Thomson's views are however refined in his more recent journal publication, 'Contending with apartheid: United States foreign policy towards South Africa,'[69] where he explores the vast burden to foreign policy makers in treading around the morally abhorrent issue of apartheid, and how this dynamic progressed in the mid-to late twentieth century. The limited attention paid to discriminatory educational practices opens up the opportunity to provide greater insight into the South African government's response.

Following a similar thematic overview relating to economic diplomacy between the United States and South Africa, Richard Hull's *American enterprise in South Africa: Historical dimensions of engagement and disengagement* (1990)[70] adds to a broader historical understanding of the importance of the private sector in these two nations. Hull insightfully explores the moral schism between the two countries, as apartheid's human rights violations and the mounting international pressure to take a diplomatic stance against them, outweighed the strong desire in the United States to maintain economic and ideological ties with South Africa. In particular, South Africa was identified to be a strategic capitalistic ally and source of mineral resource wealth in the United States' Cold War diplomacy. The comprehensive

[67] J. Schmitt and K. Decourcy, The pandemic has exacerbated a long-standing national shortage of teachers, *Economic Policy Institute*, 2022, pp. 1 - 28.
[68] A. Thomson, *U.S. foreign policy towards apartheid South Africa, 1948 - 1994*, New York, 2008.
[69] A. Thomson, Contending with apartheid: United States foreign policy towards South Africa*, Studia Diplomatica*, 58(4), 2005, pp. 51 - 74.
[70] R. Hull, *American enterprise in South Africa: Historical dimensions of engagement and disengagement*, New York, 1990.

historical comparison, from the colonial era in both nations to the late twentieth century, contributed to a significant understanding of the geopolitics between the United States and South Africa. Hull briefly references missionary and philanthropic educational histories and provides a valuable overview of different approaches to education, including the Phelps-Stokes Foundation's philosophy on education, the Tuskegee models, as well as the Jeanes method of education introduced to Africa in the 1920s. However, as a result of the scope of Hull's study, the journey towards integrated education in the United States and segregated education in South Africa was not explored in great depth.

Another insightful contribution to the diplomatic relationship between the United States and South Africa is Robert Kinloch Massie's *Loosing the bonds: The United States and South Africa in the apartheid years* (1997).[71] This publication intersects diplomatic relations between these two nations with the thorny attempts at protecting and navigating human rights in international affairs. In addition, it also pays attention to the seminal contributions of grassroots organisations and individuals. This contributes to the focus of this proposed study, as it complements the primary source analysis forthcoming in chapter six, with specific reference to the NAACP's *The Crisis* as a voice of marginalised communities in the United States, and their perceptions of South Africa's domestic policy concerning segregated education. This allows for a deepening of cross-cultural insights, in spite of not making overt comparisons, or mentioning the parallel educational journeys of the United States and South Africa. Massie's navigation of both diplomacy and the more nuanced moral implications of each nation's domestic policies make it a valuable resource to assess the ethical dilemmas which were present at that time in transatlantic diplomacy. Furthermore, Lourens de Villiers provides a broad discussion about economic sanctions and their political implications between the US and South Africa because of the apartheid government's discriminatory domestic policies.[72]

Kevin Danaher, who served as a senior analyst on Africa in the United States for 'Food First' in the 1980s, contributed a trilogy of work relating to policy between the United States and South Africa: *In whose interest? A guide to US - South Africa relations* (1984);[73] *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa* (1985);[74] and *South Africa: A new US policy for the 1990s* (1988).[75] As a

[71] R.K. Massie, *Loosing the bonds: The United States and South Africa in the apartheid years,* New York, 1997.
[72] L. E. S. de Villiers, US sanctions against South Africa: a historical analysis of the sanctions campaign and its political implications, 1946-1993, PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1994, as well as L.E.S. de Villiers, *In sight of surrender: the US sanctions campaign against SA, 1946-1993*, Westport, 1995.
[73] K. Danaher, *In whose interest? A guide to US - South Africa relations,* Washington D.C., 1984.
[74] K. Danaher, *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa*, Boulder, 1985.
[75] K. Danaher, *South Africa: A new US policy for the 1990s,* San Francisco, 1988.

contemporary researcher towards the end of the twentieth century, when international policies between the nations were fraught with moral implications, Danaher's work provides a unique perspective. His work analyses the motivations behind the decisions by the United States during the tumultuous and transformative 1990s, and critically evaluates the roles of various stakeholders as moral drivers to policy shifts. This more immediate historical perspective is essential in contextualising the complex factors at work between these two nations as they navigated their relationship in a changing political landscape.

One of the pitfalls of diplomatic histories between the United States and South Africa, is that they often have a proclivity towards Americentrism. As a result, South Africa's perspective can at times be limited. To balance this disparity, James Barber's *South African foreign policy, 1945 - 1970* (1973)[76] is a welcome addition, as it focuses predominantly on South Africa's international relations. As this book was published as a collaboration between the British International Studies Association and Cambridge University Press, it provides a far broader overview of South Africa's foreign policy. It is not limited to only the United States, as other publications in this literature review are, but is also inclusive of nations such as the United Kingdom; the role of the British Commonwealth; as well as the role of the United Nations during this time. This provides a more refined analysis of South Africa's relationship with other major global powers, from a post-World War II era to the turbulent political landscape in South Africa in the 1970s, and how it coexisted within the broader context of international diplomacy driven by Cold War politics.

With specific reference to Cold War foreign policy, Thomas Ambrosio's *Ethnic identity groups and U.S. foreign policy* (2002)[77] is a collection of essays which incisively explores how ethnic groupings have historically influenced the creation and development of foreign policy in the United States. As this publication focuses predominantly on post-Cold War geopolitics, its value lies in the examination of the procedures historically implemented in the creation of foreign policy. It does, however, not explore the educational disparities between the United States and South Africa in the mid-twentieth century in-depth. In particular, it focuses on how 'whiteness' as a social and political construct influenced foreign policy, as well as its power in national myth-making, the innate associated manifest destiny, and ultimately, how the United States served as a figurative mirror for South Africa to glimpse into how their future might look if it chose to pursue a road of racial segregation in the mid-twentieth century.

[76] J. Barber, *South Africa's foreign policy, 1945 - 1970*, 1973, p. 58.
[77] T. Ambrosio, *Ethnic identity groups and U.S. foreign policy,* West Port, 2002.

George White Jnr's 2005 book *Holding the line: Race, racism, and American foreign policy toward Africa, 1953 - 1961*[78] spans the time period of the presidential terms of Dwight. D. Eisenhower in the United States and Daniel F. Malan in South Africa. Using South Africa, Ghana, Ethiopia, and the Congo as case studies, White analyses how race and racially discriminatory worldviews played an important role in the resulting reactions of the United States to human rights violations. This examination of the impact of racism in the development of United States foreign policy is an essential historical perspective to consider. In addition, it provides valuable historical insight into a period when many African countries stood at the cusp of self-determination and independence, and the United States was grappling with the implementation of its Cold War ideological containment. Only one chapter in this publication focuses on South Africa, and while it is a brief historical overview, it is useful in providing a good overview of primary source material relating to the period.

With a similar focus on the impact of the Cold War's ideological doctrines, Thomas Borstelmann explores foreign policy milestones during the advent of the Cold War in *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War* (1993).[79] This work provides answers to the pertinent question of why the United States government supported a white supremacist regime that was so diametrically opposed to the United States public moral stance and running against the grain of the global reputation that the United States was trying to foster. Borstelmann's detailed chronological discussion of this pivotal historical moment in the mid-twentieth century, with specific reference to the nuclear arms race, provides essential historical background. In its discussion of the United States executive administration's approaches, it views this history from a largely South African perspective, highlighting how that country's mineral wealth consistently motivated the United States to stay involved diplomatically. Some helpful newspaper reactions to key historical moments are also included in this significant publication tellingly titled *Apartheid's reluctant uncle.* The expansion of South Africa's nuclear ambitions are further explored in Elana Janson's thesis, entitled, 'The establishment of the uranium and nuclear industries in South Africa, 1945 - 1970. A historical study.'[80]

At the intersection of diplomatic history and race, Brenda Gayle Plummer is a prolific contributor to the cannon of black reactions to global affairs, and their approaches to the 'wind of change' sweeping through the Third World in the mid-twentieth century. Her three books, *Rising wind: Black Americans*

[78] G. White, *Holding the line: Race, racism, and American foreign policy toward Africa, 1953-1961,* Lanham, 2005.
[79] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War*, Oxford, 1993.
[80] E. Janson, The establishment of the uranium and nuclear industries in South Africa, 1945 - 1970. A historical study, PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1995.

and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960 (1996),[81] *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988* (2003),[82] and *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974* (2013)[83] all brought original perspectives to this topic. While these three books offered little by way of an educational comparison, they are informative and essential in understanding transnational black reactions to key historical events. All three of these books approach the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements in the United States from an Americentric perspective, exploring a historical epoch that coincided with the profusion of nations in the developing world gaining their independence from their former colonisers. In addition to exploring race and ethnicity in her work, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960* also explores the important role of World War II and the subsequent Cold War in determining black perceptions on the struggle for independence in the Third World. It focuses on United States administrations' reluctance to engage with African nations in particular beyond economic symbiosis, while black Americans became increasingly frustrated at the lack of action from their government in terms of implementing meaningful civil rights advances or foreign policy changes in broad historical brushstrokes. Of particular value is Plummer's approach to gauging public reaction to key events by analysing black newspapers, as this thesis has a similar component.

Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988 provides a salient perspective on the scope of foreign affairs, and how black people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean interacted and reacted to these policies. In particular, this book examines closely how historical policies were developed during a climate of communist fear in the mid-twentieth century. It also explores examples of *de jure* racism aimed at foreign diplomats and ambassadors during their visits to the United States, and how Washington attempted to address these attitudes and situations. Furthermore, Plummer discusses the Bandung Conference of 1955, and the subsequent decision by countries from both Asia and Africa to establish the Non-Aligned Movement.[84] It also explores how United States economic interests subsequently transcended these developments in the Third World.

Finally, on the topic of decoloniality, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974* further explores the limits of racial integration and political independence as the global hegemony changed irrevocably with independence movements around the globe. In particular, this

[81] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, Chapel Hill, 1996.
[82] B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, Chapel Hill, 2003.
[83] B.G. Plummer, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974*, New York, 2013.
[84] The Non-Aligned Movement of 1961 relates to a collection of developing nations who pledged not to align politically with either the US or the Soviet Union to maintain political autonomy, freeing them from the constraints of the broader Cold War ideological struggle between these two blocs.

publication examines the complex journey of decoloniality, and how it was simultaneously rooted in progress, tumult, and power struggles.[85]

Meanwhile, William Minter's *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa* (1986)[86] provides invaluable statistical, quantitative data in relation to the economic scope of investment in southern Africa in the twentieth century. While the book does focus predominantly on British interests in South Africa, it is of importance, since the apartheid government was working actively to be free from the yoke of British imperialism at that time. It also explores the idea of the priorities of the United States: human rights versus containing communism versus pocketing profits. While United States businesses may have claimed that they were not complicit in the racial discrimination of apartheid, Minter makes it apparent that it is indisputable that transnational corporations such as Anglo-American banked enormous profits as a result of their exploitation of black labour in South Africa.[87]

Another excellent source for quantitative data relating to the relationship between the United States and South Africa is Kevin Danaher's *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa* (1985).[88] In particular, this publication seeks to explore how the United States contributed to industrialisation in South Africa, and how United States corporations and the Afrikaner state capital coexisted. It also provides an overview on each administration's policy to South Africa, with particular attention being paid to the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Amry Vandenbosch's *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid* (1970)[89] explores how the apartheid government interacted with these foreign stakeholders and highlights the extent to which these interactions impacted their respective foreign policies.

On South African diplomacy, two books in particular focus on the motivations behind the National Party government's decisions: I. Wilkins and H. Strydom's *The super-Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner*

[85] B.G. Plummer, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974*, New York, 2013.
[86] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, New York, 1986.
[87] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, New York, 1986.
[88] K. Danaher, *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa*, Boulder, 1985.
[89] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, Lexington, 1970.

Broederbond (2012),[90] and Hermann Giliomee's *Die Afrikaners: 'n Biografie* (2012).[91] The latter provides an excellent historical overview of the global and local events which contributed to the shaping of the apartheid government, and their motivations in steering South Africa in a direction of overt racist policies. *The super-Afrikaners*, in particular, contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how the secret organisation of the Broederbond, and their social, political and economic beliefs echoed loudly in the formation of the official message of the apartheid government, including but not limited to their approaches to education. Meanwhile, *Die bom: Suid-Afrika se kernwapenprogram*[92] provides a glimpse into South Africa's role in the development of a global arsenal of nuclear weapons, and how this linked the nation diplomatically to countries such as the United States.[93]

Numerous other scholarly publications add to a broader understanding of the diplomatic relationship between the United States and South Africa. This includes work by P. Rich, with specific reference to President Harry Truman's policy of containment (1988);[94] R.J. McMahon's analysis of diplomacy with the so-called Third World in the Eisenhower-years (1986);[95] E.S. McDuffie's analysis of Cold War politics using the Horne thesis (2011);[96] E. Michel's overview of diplomatic relationships between the United States and South Africa over the presidential terms of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson (2021);[97] as well as J. Herbst analysis of the accuracy of American intelligence estimates in South Africa (2003).[98] These academic contributions considered together contribute to a holistic understanding of

[90] I. Wilkins and H. Strydom, *The super-Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond.* Johannesburg, 2012. For further reading on the Broederbond, see also E.L.P. Stals, *Die Broederbond. Die geskiedenis van die Afrikaner Broederbond, 1918 - 1994,* Randburg, 2021.
[91] H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: 'n Biografie*, Cape Town, 2012.
[92] N. von Wielligh and L. von Wielligh-Steyn, *Die bom: Suid-Afrika se kernwapenprogram*, Somerset-Wes, 2023.
[93] For other perceptions on the development of nuclear weapons technology in South Africa, and how it impacted diplomacy, the work of W. Botes, Politieke persepsie: skaduwees, eggo's of werklikheid - 'n ontleding van Suid-Afrika se persepsies van die kommunistiese bedreiging, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 16 (1), 2007, pp. 44 - 57; J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, pp. 395 - 416; and J.P. Brits, Tiptoeing along the apartheid tightrope: The United States, South Africa, and the United Nations in 1952, *The International History Review* 27 (4), 2005, pp. 754 - 779 were consulted.
[94] P. Rich, United States containment policy, South Africa and the apartheid dilemma, *Review of International Studies* 14 (3), 1988, pp. 179 - 194.
[95] R.J. McMahon, Eisenhower and Third World nationalism: A critique of the revisionists, *Political Science Quarterly*, 101 (3), 1986, pp. 435 - 473.
[96] E.S. McDuffie, Black and red: Black liberation, the Cold War, and the Horne thesis, *The Journal of African American History* 96 (2), 2011, pp. 236 - 247.
[97] E. Michel, 'Since we can't now bet on a winner, we should be hedging out bets and buying time': President John F. Kennedy, domestic racial equality and apartheid South Africa in the early 1960s, *Safundi* 22 (4), 2021, pp. 330 - 352, and E. Michel, 'You haven't been too horrible to us recently': Lyndon Johnson and apartheid South Africa, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 32 (4), 2021, pp. 743 - 765.
[98] J. Herbst, Analyzing apartheid: How accurate were US intelligence estimates of South Africa, 1948 - 94? *African Affairs* 102 (406), 2003, pp. 81 - 107.

the vastly complex diplomatic relationship between the United States and South Africa in the early days of the Cold War.[99]

This thesis builds upon the above-mentioned diplomatic histories by adding a novel dimension for consideration - that of exploring the advent of integrated education in the United States and segregated education in South Africa. It focuses on how these historical moments coexisted within a broader geopolitical framework of the 1950s and how a selection of newspapers reacted to these developments.

5. Newspapers

While newspaper publications are predominantly analysed as primary sources in this thesis, there are seminal texts that were referenced in order to ascertain circulation figures and the historical significance of the respective newspapers from the United States and South Africa. In relation to the United States, a broad overview of the history of mass media in the country was provided by William David Sloan,[100] as well as Melvin Ember and Edwin Emory.[101] In relation to specific newspapers within the United States, Harold Merrill and John Fisher provide a succinct overview of the white newspapers examined in this thesis, *The Atlanta Constitution* and the *New York Times*,[102] while M.E. Stovall,[103] K.A. Bitner,[104] and S. Webb[105] provide an extensive overview on the importance of *The Chicago Defender* as a seminal black newspaper in the United States in the 1950s. In relation to the NAACP's publication, *The Crisis*, scholarly contributions by E.M. Rudwick,[106] M. Berg,[107] as well as A. Meier and J.H. Bracey[108] explore

[99] These paradoxes are also explored in E. Kissi, Paradoxes of American development diplomacy in the early Cold War period, *Past & Present* 215, 2012, pp. 269 - 295.
[100] W.D. Sloan (ed.), *The media in America: A history,* Northport, 2014.
[101] M. Ember and E. Emery, *The press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*, Englewood Cliffs, 1992.
[102] H.A. Merrill and J.C. Fisher, *The world's great dailies: Profiles of fifty newspaper*s, New York, 1980.
[103] M.E. Stovall, 'The "Chicago Defender" in the Progressive Era, *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (3), 1990, pp. 159 - 172.
[104] K.A. Bitner, The role of *The Chicago Defender* in the Great Migration of 1916 - 1918, *Negro History Bulletin* 48 (2), 1985, pp. 20 - 26.
[105] S. Webb, Understanding the complexities of the black press in Chicago during the interwar years: The influence and history of *The Chicago Defender*, *Global Africana Review* 7, 2023, pp. 27 - 38.
[106] E.M. Rudwick, W.E.B. Du Bois in the role of *The Crisis* editor, *The Journal of Negro History* 43 (3), 1953, pp. 214 - 240.
[107] M. Berg, Black civil rights and liberal anti-communism: The NAACP in the early Cold War, *The Journal of American History*, 94 (1), 2007, pp. 75 - 96.
[108] A. Meier and J.H. Bracey, The NAACP as a reform movement, 1909 - 1965: 'To reach the conscience of America', *The Journal of Southern History* 59 (1), 1993, pp. 3. - 30.

the historical significance of the publication as a mouthpiece for the United States' most significant civil rights group in the mid-twentieth century.[109]

In relation to the South African print media, a broad assessment of the history of the press as it coexisted with the apartheid state is provided by C.C. Chimutengwende,[110] while E.C. Corrigan provides an examination of the newspaper industry as it existed when television was finally adopted in South Africa.[111] Meanwhile, Adrian Hadland examines the implications of the global paper shortage on the South African newspaper industry between 1938 and 1955.[112] In addition, Morris Broughton's *Press and politics in South Africa*[113] describes the state of the print media in South Africa by the end of the 1950s, while also providing key circulation figures for the two white newspapers analysed in this thesis, *Die Transvaler* and the *Rand Daily Mail.*

The history of South African black and white newspapers in South Africa is extensively analysed by Les Switzer, who also assesses the historical impact of the resistance within certain parts of the South African press.[114] In particular, Switzer's examination of *The Bantu World* provides important historical insight into South Africa's only national, black publication in the 1950s.[115] Furthermore, Switzer's exploration of the media in *South Africa's alternative press: Voices of protest and resistance, 1880 - 1960* (1997)[116] provides insight into the media as both a political and social archive of resistance to racial oppression in South Africa from 1880 to the 1960s. A broader examination of the black press in South Africa is explored by T.J. Couzens,[117] with a historical analysis that includes the role of black literature in South Africa in the same period. This essential historical secondary background enables a meaningful assessment of the range of primary source material, in the form of the media.

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[109] For more on the print media in the Cold War, L.G. Gifford, 'The education of a Cold War conservative: Anti-communist literature of the 1950s and 1960s' in G. Barnhisel and C. Barnhisel (eds), *Pressing the fight: Print, propaganda, and the Cold War,* 2010, was also consulted.
[110] C.C. Chimutengwende, The media and the state in South African politics, *Africa in Struggle* 10 (1), 1978, pp. 45 - 57.
[111] E.C. Corrigan, South Africa enters the electronic age: The decision to introduce television, *Africa Today* 21 (2), 1974, pp. 15 - 28.
[112] A. Hadland, The world paper famine and the South African press, 1938 - 1955, *South African Journal of Economic History* 20 (1), 2005, pp. 40 - 64.
[113] M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa,* London, 1961.
[114] L. Switzer and M. Adhikari (eds), *South Africa's resistance press: Alternative voices in the last generation under apartheid,* Athens, 2000.
[115] L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, pp. 351 - 370.
[116] L. Switzer, *South Africa's alternative press: Voices of protest and resistance, 1880 - 1960*, Cambridge, 1997.
[117] T.J. Couzens, The black press and black literature in South Africa, 1900 - 1950, *English Studies in Africa* 19 (2), 1976, pp. 93 - 99.

6. Conclusion

It is true that comparative historical research of relations between the United States and South Africa is a well-established field. However, in the analysis of key texts in the comparative diplomatic history of these two nations, it is apparent that none have embarked on a comprehensive comparative study through the lens of one of the most damaging historical legacies for black people in both countries: education. Consequently, a need exists to examine constitutional and educational parallels between the United States and South Africa, as well as the public's reaction to it, as gauged through a selection of newspapers. This will result in greater, previously unexplored cross-cultural insights, encouraging a more accurate and holistic understanding in the established tradition of comparative history between the United States and South Africa

Chapter III

From slavery to the Supreme Court: Segregated education in the United States of America

'If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.'

- Thomas Jefferson

1. Inequities in education: An introduction

The roots of American educational segregation run almost as deep as the idea of the nation itself. Influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, the colonial founding fathers in the United States often emphasised the importance of education, correlating an educated population with the increase of the new nation's chances of success. However, it soon became apparent that this sense of idealism would fail to translate into successful practical application. Ultimately, it took almost 180 years for the United States Supreme Court to set the precedent of integrated education as a constitutional right for all of its citizens. This chapter will explore the tumultuous historical journey towards integrated education for black Americans, while the next chapter will outline the South African educational trajectory.

As a central theme in the next two chapters, it is pertinent to establish a definition of what education is, and how in post-colonial societies, the notion of education is intrinsically linked to schooling. Thus, through formal instruction, the philosopher and educator John Dewey proposes that education is a facilitated process of cultural transmission of knowledge, through five sets of truths: factual, systemic, instrumental, moral, and subjective truths.[1] Furthermore, he argues that education is based on experience, freedom, democracy and scientific methods. Finally, human experience, both at school and beyond, is seen as a cornerstone for the attainment of knowledge.[2] With this definition in mind, various aspects of segregated education and how it transformed with time are examined. As the United States is a vast nation with great geographical and political diversity, examples from across the country will be explored. In doing so, it will be illustrated that there is not one normative, monolithic educational experience for black Americans.[3] In addition, many of the contributions of the black community in relation to education will be amplified, whereas previously they remained largely under-represented by historians, or in more extreme cases, altogether invisible.[4]

It goes without saying, that segregated education in the United States did not only impact black Americans negatively. Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, and many other minority groupings were discriminated against as a result of the racial biases entrenched throughout the

[1] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 19.
[2] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 20.
[3] V.P. Franklin, L.D. Gordon, M. Schwartz Seller et al, Understanding American education in the twentieth century, *History of Education Quarterly* 31 (1), 1991, p. 47.
[4] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 315.

United States.[5] In fact, the relationship between American education and minorities is so ingrained in the society that some scholars argue that one of the functions of public schools in America was to assimilate and 'Americanise' immigrants and minorities.[6] From a historiographical perspective, Western epistemologies generally permit a narrow view of education, often equating education in the United States with comparable European institutions. As a result, Native American education has for the most part been reduced to a footnote in the educational historical overview of northern America.[7]

The history of education in northern America goes back as far as 15 000 BCE.[8] Through the study of oral traditions, descriptions of Native Americans written by the first Europeans to visit North America, artifacts, and scientific techniques, a broad understanding of Native American education can be deduced. While pre-colonial Native American education did not conform to Western epistemological and institutionalised approaches to education, it would be disingenuous to infer that education and learning did not take place within the vast number of tribes across the Americas. Through what Milton Gaither qualifies as landscape learning (knowledge from natural resources); cultural learning (knowledge from technologies and beliefs); and learning from mistakes (knowledge from corrective consequences), Native Americans were able to thrive in regards to education in the centuries proceeding European colonisation.[9]

The arrival of European colonisers changed the trajectory of Native American education profoundly and irrevocably. In a post-colonial milieu, the implementation of Native American boarding schools across North America is perhaps best known. The function of these boarding schools has been equated to 'cultural genocide,' since the schools attempted to eradicate any trace of Native culture from their learners.[10] This included practices such as altering the appearance of Native American learners by changing their hairstyle, clothing, and names to conform to normative white American standards upon arrival at these schools. In addition, innate cultural signifiers such as language, ceremonies, songs, and

[5] Y.L. Cervera, Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field, *History of Education Quarterly*, 54 (3), 2014, pp. 362 - 382.
[6] Y.L. Cervera, Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field, *History of Education Quarterly*, 54 (3), 2014, pp. 367.
[7] Y.L. Cervera, Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field, *History of Education Quarterly*, 54 (3), 2014, pp. 370.
[8] M. Gaither, The history of North American education, 15,000 BCE to 1491, *History of Education Quarterly* 54 (3), 2014, p. 326.
[9] M. Gaither, The history of North American education, 15,000 BCE to 1491, *History of Education Quarterly* 54 (3), 2014, p. 326.
[10] Y.L. Cervera, Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field, *History of Education Quarterly*, 54 (3), 2014, p. 372.

religious rituals were all prohibited at the risk of harsh punishment.[11] From an educational standpoint, Native American learners were taught remedial and vocational curricula at these boarding schools, while learners were also often forced to participate in the manual duties associated with the running of these boarding schools.[12] By 1890, black learners were barred from attending Native American schools following the *McMillan* v. *School Committee*-ruling, which formed the judicial bedrock of separate, exclusive Native American education. In accordance with the ruling, children with African ancestry 'to the fourth generation' were barred from attending Native Americans schools. The implications for Native American identity and sovereignty as a result of the ruling would be felt for decades.[13]

However, many Native Americans were able to achieve success in higher education in spite of the discrimination they faced at their boarding schools and within a normative white society. One such an example was in North Carolina, where Native Americans from the Lumbee-tribe earned college degrees with surprising regularity. Ultimately, the hardening of the colour line under Jim Crow[14] jeopardised and limited the opportunities that were available to many Native American learners across the United States.[15] For example, in the 1920s the eugenics movement attempted to redefine Native Americans as 'Negro,' just as Native Americans were enjoying the fruits of the Indian Citizen Act (1924), which provided the First Nations people of the United States with citizenship.[16] Subsequently, in the handful of Native American schools that were run by Native Americans, administrators were often faced with a double edged sword: accept state funding to improve education for their learners, while simultaneously relinquishing their complete agency for a greater degree of government control.[17] Eventually, some states made advances in desegregating schools for Native American children before the historic *Brown* v. *Board of Education*-ruling. In North Carolina specifically, the journey to integrated schools started in 1951 with the admission of two junior transfers from the Lumbee Native American tribe into formally white schools.[18]

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[11] Y.L. Cervera, Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field, *History of Education Quarterly*, 54 (3), 2014, p. 372.
[12] Y.L. Cervera, Negotiating the history of education: How the histories of indigenous education expand the field, *History of Education Quarterly*, 54 (3), 2014, pp. 371 - 372.
[13] W. Elliott, "I told him I'd never been to his back door for nothing": The Lumbee Indian struggle for higher education under Jim Crow, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 90 (1), 2013, p. 70.
[14] Jim Crow laws enforced racial segregation from the 1870s to the 1950s in the US.
[15] W. Elliott, "I told him I'd never been to his back door for nothing": The Lumbee Indian struggle for higher education under Jim Crow, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 90 (1), 2013, p. 49.
[16] W. Elliott, "I told him I'd never been to his back door for nothing": The Lumbee Indian struggle for higher education under Jim Crow, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 90 (1), 2013, p. 53.
[17] W. Elliott, "I told him I'd never been to his back door for nothing": The Lumbee Indian struggle for higher education under Jim Crow, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 90 (1), 2013, p. 52.
[18] W. Elliott, "I told him I'd never been to his back door for nothing": The Lumbee Indian struggle for higher education under Jim Crow, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 90 (1), 2013, p. 82.

Integrated schools in the name of equality did not equate to equity for most Native American learners: which is also a prescient theme in the education of Mexican American learners. The forced separation of Mexican American children followed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which brought an end to the Mexican-American War in 1848. Following this, local officials, including city council and school board members, established separate schools for children of Mexican origin across the Southwest of the United States. In time, overcrowding of these educational establishments became problematic. This was a result of an influx of Mexican immigrants in the nineteenth century in states such as California, and the lack of construction of additional schools to accommodate the rising number of learners. Discontent as a result of this overcrowding was not limited to California, and became increasingly common in states such as Arizona and Texas. In all these states local courts saw an increase in parents filing cases against school boards relating to discrimination.[19] The strategy of using the federal court system as a means of achieving desegregated schools was first seen with *Mendez* v. *Westminster* in 1946. This case was a class-action lawsuit, filed on behalf of more than five thousand Mexican-American learners in Orange County, California. This is known as the first successful constitutional challenge to segregation in schools.[20] Other important court cases leading up to *Brown* v. *Board of Education* centred around Mexican American learner rights and include *Sipuel* v. *Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* in 1948 and *McLaurin* v. *Oklahoma State Regents* in 1950, a companion case to *Sweatt v. Painter.*[21] While these cases had varied success in ending *de jure* segregation in California, Mexican American learners ultimately remained highly segregated *de facto* thereafter. Some scholars argue they were even more segregated in the decades following the ruling, a similar phenomenon following the fallout of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.[22]

While this select and very brief historical overview of segregated education in relation to some of the minority groups in the United States barely scrapes the surface of the lived experience of learners, it brings an awareness to the scope of racially-based discrimination's history in the United States. The purpose of this chapter, however, is to examine the historical chronology of segregated education as it related to black Americans, and to provide historical context for later chapters. As a result, the following

[19] R.R. Valencia, The Mexican American struggle for educational opportunity in *Mendez* v. *Westminster*: Helping to pave the way for *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *Teachers College Record* 107 (3), 2005, p. 397.
[20] R.R. Valencia, The Mexican American struggle for educational opportunity in *Mendez* v. *Westminster*: Helping to pave the way for *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *Teachers College Record* 107 (3), 2005, pp. 389 - 423.
[21] L.L. Whitman and M. Hayes, Lou Pollack: The road to "*Brown* v. *Board of Education*" and beyond, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158 (1), 2014, p. 43.
[22] R.R. Valencia The Mexican American struggle for educational opportunity in *Mendez* v. *Westminster*: Helping to pave the way for *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *Teachers College Record* 107 (3), 2005, p. 411.

periods of segregated educational history will be explored briefly: Antebellum; Reconstruction; Jim Crow; and *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.

2. The Antebellum period: From independence to Civil War (1789 - 1861)

For the purposes of this section, the term 'Antebellum' will follow the Latin translation, meaning 'before the war,' to denote the period from the adoption of the United States constitution in 1789 to the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861.

During this period, as a largely agrarian settler society reliant on enslaved people's labour on plantations, black Americans were typically barred from free education through restrictive legislation. Some scholars argue that the reason why slaveholders did not want to educate their enslaved labourers was as a result of their interpretation of biblical scripture at that time.[23] In accordance with their faith, the unwritten law that 'no Christian might be held a slave,' was upheld.[24] As a result, schooling for black people often happened in secret in clandestine schools where reading and writing were taught in spite of slaveholders' brutal prohibitions.[25] During this period, black learners were barred by various state laws from acquiring any literacy. Indeed, in some states it was a criminal offense for a white person to teach an enslaved person the fundamentals of literacy.[26]

Some Christian teachers taught both a handful of enslaved and Native American learners as early as 1620. However, most historical records indicate that the first formal educational establishments for people of colour were private institutions.[27] In the minority, these were mission schools, including a school established in Charleston, South Carolina in 1744. This school employed two black teachers, tasked with educating a small number of black learners. Twenty years later, the editor of a newspaper in Williamsburg, Virginia also opened a school for black people, while in the middle western part of the United States, private schools were organised for manumitted individuals[28]

[23] P.M. Bergman and M.N. Bergman, *The chronological history of the Negro in America,* 1969, p. 73.
[24] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 2.
[25] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 478.
[26] R. Wright, 'My Jim Crow education: 'Please let this Nigger boy have a book', *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 30, 2000 - 2001, p. 97.
[27] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 2.
[28] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 3.

Meanwhile, the white Southerners who once valued educated enslaved people's efficiency and production, gradually grew opposed to literacy for their enslaved workers out of fear that it would deem them unfit for slavery and inspire them to revolt.[29] As a result, the education of black people was forbidden as early as 1740 in South Carolina, when that state codified the exclusion of black learners, as well as forbidding the employment of enslaved people as scribes.[30] Meanwhile, Massachusetts legally restricted black learners from benefitting from free schools in that state, and denied black families' requests for separate schools in 1787.[31] Ultimately, the extent to which black learners received education relied on their geographical placement in the United States. While their educational prospects were varied, they were all predominantly limited and prohibitive when compared to the educational opportunities of their white peers.

As the United States continued to industrialise and urbanise, a greater need for education existed. The political Whig Party, in particular, advocated for legislation that required towns to provide learners with free education funded through property taxes. However, due to the harsh inequities of per-learner expenditure for segregated schools, black Americans who lived in areas where education was legal were often left with no choice but to supplement their children's education from their own personal resources.[32] In contrast, white local primary schools were widely available, funded locally through tuition, property taxes, endowments and church support.[33]

In Ohio the first 'black laws' were passed in 1804, which limited black people's participation in social, economic, political and educational institutions. These laws were in reaction to discontent over anti-slavery laws; the state's entrance into the Union without slavery; and the differences in opinion of white people in Ohio over the rights of black Americans.[34] The first such legislation to impact education for black learners in Ohio was the so-called Black Law passed in 1829, which prohibited black learners from participating in the public school system of that state.[35]

[29] D. Danns and M. Purdy, Introduction: Historical perspectives on African American education, civil rights and black power, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (4), 2015, p. 573.
[30] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 4.
[31] G.A. Levesque, Before integration: The forgotten years of Jim Crow education in Boston, *The Journal of Negro Education* 48 (2), 1979, p. 114.
[32] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 211.
[33] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 211.
[34] A.W. Randolf, Building upon cultural capital: Thomas Jefferson Ferguson and the Albany Enterprise Academy in Southeast, Ohio, 1863–1886, *The Journal of African-American History* 87, 2002, p. 183.
[35] A.W. Randolf, Building upon cultural capital: Thomas Jefferson Ferguson and the Albany Enterprise Academy in Southeast, Ohio, 1863–1886, *The Journal of African-American History* 87, 2002, p. 183.

Following Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831, where the literate and educated Turner led enslaved individuals to revolt against their white slave owners, resulting in the deaths of fifty-five men, women and children, Virginians were hesitant to educate black enslaved people.[36] Their fear of an educated, black, oppressed enslaved society meant that Virginia's General Assembly passed or re-passed increasingly stringent and restrictive legislation, such as declaring that schools for black learners in Virginia were 'unlawful assemblies', whipping learners who attended such schools, and even fining or jailing white teachers who were caught teaching an enslaved learner to read or write.[37]

It would only be following the American Civil War from 1861 - 1865 that meaningful change would be brought to the educational domain for black Americans. The Confederacy and the Union engaged in a war rooted in, *inter alia*, ideological differences pertaining to slavery. Concomitant to the Union's victory and the subsequent abolition of slavery, a national rebuilding of the American nation was launched which focused its attention on constitutional amendments and redressing the evils of slavery.[38] This period is known as the Reconstruction.

3. Rebuilding a divided nation: Reconstruction (1861 - 1900)

The era of Reconstruction is largely regarded as the period spanning the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861, to the turn of the century. In these four decades, the United States grappled with the challenge of integrating the millions of black Americans who had been freed from slavery and endeavoured to create opportunities for them to assimilate socially, economically and politically into a society that was being 'reconstructed' following the destruction of the War (1861 - 1865). Perhaps the most meaningful legal change came with three constitutional amendments, known as the Reconstruction or Civil War Amendments. These are the Thirteenth Amendment (which abolished slavery); Fourteenth Amendment (which gave citizenship to all individuals born in the United States, as well as equal protection of the laws); and the Fifteenth Amendment (which gave black Americans the right to vote).[39] In time, it became apparent that while black Americans legally secured rights, it did not translate into concrete change.[40]

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[36] P. Breen, Nat Turner's Revolt (1831), *Encyclopedia Virginia.* Virginia Humanities, Accessed: 10 September 2024.
[37] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 317.
[38] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 317.
[39] US Constitutional Amendments XIII, XIV and XV, 1865.
[40] F. Brown, The first serious implementation of *Brown:* The 1964 Civil Rights Act and beyond, *The Journal of Negro Education* 73 (3), 2004, p. 187.

Following the Civil War, a distinction in education for black people became more apparent between the Northern parts of the United States, and the American South. Black people were more freely absorbed into public schools in the Northern parts of the country, while education for black people in the South fell to private schools, which continued to be led by religious institutions.[41] Meanwhile, while educating black people was legal in the North, it was certainly initially discouraged and applied *de facto*.

Missionaries established a large number of higher learning institutions following the Civil War. This included contributions by the American Missionary Association (AMA), which founded amongst others Atlanta University in 1865, the Hampton Institute in 1868, and Dillard University in 1869. The AMA believed that it was essential for the success of future generations to develop a highly educated black society, by creating schools that focused on medicine, engineering, science, as well as other professions.[42] However, many of the missionary schools in the North also did not provide equitable educational opportunities for black learners following Reconstruction. Bertram Wyatt-Brown argues that 'American pedagogy at mid-century was totally unsuited to the rural and penurious character of black life', resulting in learners who were maladjusted as a result of harsh punishment, rote learning, and the so-called lifeless curriculum at the hands of the Northern teachers.[43]

In spite of this, Reconstruction seemed like an optimistic time for black education. In Vermont, representative and senator Justin Smith Morrill handled the enactment of the Morrill Act of 1862. This bill mandated federal funding through land grants, with a specific intention of creating public colleges and universities. Many of the land grant institutions focused on agriculture, mechanical and industrial studies and 17 historically black colleges were ultimately created as a result of this.[44] The funding of education, and the usage of federal funds to support schools, remained a contentious issue, as the South believed this to be a harbinger of social, and in their opinions, unwanted change. This is as a result of the fact that active consideration of federal funding for schooling generally correlated with periods of growth of the nation's power.[45]

[41] H.K. Beale, The needs of Negro education in the United States, *The Journal of Negro Education* 3 (1), 1934, p. 8.
[42] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 80.
[43] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 70.
[44] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 81.
[45] G. Orfield, *The reconstruction of southern education*, 1969, p. 9.

In analysing the state of education in the South, it is worth noting that there are many disparities in the quality of education and quantity of schools provided to black learners, linked to the South's economic prosperity, or regions that might lack economic stability. There was a significant difference between the upper and lower South, for example, as well as the 'urban and the rural south, the delta plantation areas and the highlands, the market towns in the industrial centres, the active plantation areas, and the impoverished areas in which the plantation long ago collapsed.'[46] At the same time, it is important to realise that even in the North, with its more liberal approach to education, schools that were closer to the Southern border (such as in New Jersey and Ohio) required black learners to be segregated.[47] Indeed, many historians postulate that the North was not the haven of freedom and equality that it claimed to be, with many newly manumitted people (the so-called 'freedmen') forced to attend separate churches and schools, and in some instances, even segregated rail road carts.[48] In Buffalo, New York, many black communities had to fight for decades for integrated education as a result of exclusionist tuition practices and a proximity to 'good' schools keeping them from entering the doors of these educational institutions.[49]

The education of newly freed black people in Southern states following the Civil War was initially a broader and more successful undertaking than some observers initially thought. This was due, in large part, not only to Northern teachers traveling South to teach black Americans (often called 'Yankee school-marms'), but also to the critical roles played by black teachers from the North, as well as the black communities in the South who funded and supported the establishment of schools within their own communities.[50] Even before the Civil War ended, many black people expressed a strong preference for teachers of their own race, and often resisted the offer of Northern white teachers, stating 'they want a coloured teacher'.[51] Black teachers realised the mammoth responsibility in educating black learners, an

[46] C.R. Johnson, The present status of race relations, with particular reference to the Negro, *The Journal of Negro Education* 8 (3), 1939, p. 325.
[47] C.R. Johnson, The present status of race relations, with particular reference to the Negro, *The Journal of Negro Education* 8 (3), 1939, p. 331.
[48] A.O. White, The black movement against Jim Crow education in Buffalo, New York, 1800 –1900, *Phylon (1960 -)* 30 (4), 1969, p. 375.
[49] A.O. White, The black movement against Jim Crow education in Buffalo, New York, 1800 –1900, *Phylon (1960 -)* 30 (4), 1969, p. 382.
[50] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 316.
[51] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 71.

idea affirmed in 1888 by Reverend G.M. Elliott, who said, 'You are the few that are molding the masses'.[52]

Prior to Reconstruction there was little improvement in the social and economic state of black people in the South, and it would only be after Reconstruction that the field of education and its changing attitudes regarding the education of black people would allow for black teachers to uplift themselves through this vocation in a meaningful way.[53] It is estimated that in the 'slave states' in 1860, there were four thousand free black children in school, a relatively small amount in comparison to the number, and economic standards, of the population of free black people in the South. Indeed, it is estimated that in 1863, only five percent of the population was literate in the South.[54] After emancipation, black Americans maintained their faith and belief in education as a tool for upliftment, and by 1870, it is estimated that a quarter of black children attended schools in the South.[55]

Unsurprisingly, when the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (commonly known as the Freedman's Bureau, which was established by Congress in 1865) conducted a census in Virginia in 1865, they found that very few black residents of Montgomery Country were able to read or write. As a result, there as in other parts of the United States, literacy was seen as a way of achieving a tangible freedom on economic, social, political and even spiritual realms.[56] The first black school in that county was subsequently established as a direct result of a black initiative supported by white allies in 1866.[57] The Freedman's Bureau was unable to provide teachers, but it was able to provide support to schools as a result of their collaborative relationship with religious and philanthropic societies.[58] It reported a growing trend in black teachers following Reconstruction, totalling 1 056 black teachers in 1867; 1 342 by 1870; and ultimately 9 307 black teachers teaching upwards of 247 000 learners within five years of

[52] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 65.
[53] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 502.
[54] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 5.
[55] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 478.
[56] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 318.
[57] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 323.
[58] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 324.

its work.[59] By 1870, it is estimated that over a quarter of a million black learners were in school, largely as a result of the federal initiative.[60]

This progress was however tainted with racial biases. Segregated schools became the norm soon after the beginning of Reconstruction. The freedmen were sometimes guided by philanthropic foundations to surrender their right to attend any public school. They soon realised that in giving up this right, they had lost a strategic advantage in bargaining for equal educational opportunities.[61] A large funding disparity also existed between Southern and Northern schools following the Civil War. For example, in 1908, Booker T. Washington stated that each child in the Northern states had five dollars spent on them per year, whereas in the South black children only received fifty cents in comparison.[62] As a result of these financial challenges, school buildings were often dilapidated and poorly constructed and long distances away from their learners. Consequently, some communities in the South became apprehensive to have their children attend black schools.[63]

Meanwhile, Reconstruction also placed a gargantuan task at the feet of black teachers who had newly entered the educational community. They were responsible not only for the literacy of their black learners, but also for dispelling the ignorance, immorality and superstition that many believed slavery had bequeathed to the race. As a result of the mass illiteracy of the former enslaved population, teachers became the natural leaders in the Reconstruction efforts of the South, helping black learners define themselves not just intellectually, but also within their own marginalised communities.[64] The subsequent respect which was afforded to teachers reflected the incredibly high value that black people placed on education at this time.[65] So keen were newly freed black Americans to receive the empowering benefits of education that even before missionary teachers from the North reached Southern towns, many black Americans had already established their own schools. In rural areas, black people had organised so-called ‘freedmen's schools’, as well as ‘Sunday schools,’ both of which operated independently of Northern white teachers, with one account estimating that black teachers outnumbered white teachers

[59] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 5.
[60] G. Orfield, *The reconstruction of southern education*, 1969, p. 10.
[61] E.F. Frazier, The status of the Negro in the American social order, *The Journal of Negro Education* 4 (3), 1935, p. 299.
[62] B.T. Washington, Negro education and the nation, *The Journal of Education* 68 (4), 1908, p. 111.
[63] D. Danns and M. Purdy, Introduction: Historical perspectives on African American education, civil rights and black power, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (4), 2015, p. 575.
[64] A. Fairclough, ‘Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic’: Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 65.
[65] A. Fairclough, ‘Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic’: Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 66.

in the area immediately following the Civil War in Virginia.[66] When the missionaries from the North did arrive, black Americans often built schools themselves, as well as coordinating the fundraising efforts to support their teachers. This can be seen as a reaction to the generations of prohibitions in accessing education during the Antebellum period, which lead to education being regarded, along with freedom, as one of life's necessities for social, economic and political mobility.[67] Indeed, it was newly freed black Americans' call for education, instead of the utopian, missionary views of the white Northerners, that ultimately brought forth a new educational movement. It saw hundreds of Northerners traveling South to answer the call of black Americans to teach. It is important to note that once these missionary educators arrived in the South, despite their desire to support the former enslaved individuals in their pursuit of literacy and education, they were still driven by both their implicit and explicit biases. Some teachers are recorded to have commented, for example, on their surprise at the level of freed people's intelligence.[68] This prejudice links to some of the prevailing social norms following the Civil War, which included that black Americans lagged centuries behind white Americans culturally. Even in the North, reformers such as Hampton University's Samuel Armstrong sought to teach black Americans that their position in America's society was not correlated directly to their historic oppression, but rather that it was linked to the natural process of cultural evolution. Armstrong also emphasised manual labour over academic preparation, and deliberately employed teachers who were proponents of this stance.[69]

Thus, although many white Northern missionaries and teachers were committed to the freedom of black Americans, they also implicitly held the belief that black Americans were intellectually inferior to white Americans. This is one of the numerous reasons why black Americans had a strong preference for black teachers.[70] As the historian Henry Allen Bullock argues, education was truly the main lever that pushed 'the movement towards the complete emancipation of the Negro'.[71] However, it is important to also consider that education did not wholly empower black Southerners, as it was not a linear, streamlined process. For example, educational disparities widened after black people lost the right to vote in the South in the early twentieth century under the so-called 'grandfather clause.' This clause, in addition to

[66] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 66.
[67] H.A. Williams, 'Clothing themselves in intelligence': The freedpeople, schooling, and northern teachers, 1861–1871, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 372.
[68] H.A. Williams, 'Clothing themselves in intelligence': The freedpeople, schooling, and northern teachers, 1861–1871, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 373.
[69] S.V. Walker and K.N. Archung, The segregated schooling of blacks in the Southern United States and South Africa, *Comparative Education Review* 47 (1), 2003, p. 24.
[70] H.A. Williams, 'Clothing themselves in intelligence': The freedpeople, schooling, and northern teachers, 1861–1871, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 378.
[71] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 67.

literacy and educational tests, as well as poll taxes, were all the legal trappings of the ill-concealed, racially motivated force that was always at hand in the South.[72] It also underlined the point that black political power waned as black literacy increased.[73]

During Reconstruction, approaches to black education were also divided. While the Freeman's Bureau supported former enslaved people in their educational journey by advocating for the inclusion of educational clauses in their labour contracts, other Southerners believed that manumitted people should not be educated at all. This stance was rooted in their fearfulness about the determination, excellence and academic performance of the formerly enslaved. These men and women, hungry for an education, were perceived as a threat, as they could make it difficult for poor white workers to compete with them in the labour market. Some Southern plantation owners did, however, support schooling for their former enslaved labourers, because they realised that this process would stabilise their labour force, and ultimately lead to economic prosperity for the plantation.[74]

The Freedman's Bureau sanctioned education for black Americans in Smith County, Texas, in 1866, and strides appeared throughout the South.[75] By 1869, black schooling entered a new, more expansive phase in Montgomery County, Virginia, as a result of the efforts of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[76] However, many challenges remained, largely tied to the financial challenges of buying, renting, and building facilities, supporting teachers, purchasing supplies and textbooks, and maintaining school comfort during winter by providing firewood.[77]

Concurrently, industrial education became one of the most prominent schooling enterprises in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century period in response to increasingly discriminatory educational practices. Industrial schools, which focused on vocational skills and practical application, grew in popularity in the early decades of the twentieth century. For example, in 1919 the Board of Education in Tennessee initiated a movement towards the introduction of industrial education through a grant from

[72] E.F. Frazier, The status of the Negro in the American social order, *The Journal of Negro Education* 4 (3), 1935, p. 300.
[73] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 68.
[74] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 27.
[75] P.B. Gill, Community, commitment, and African American education: The Jackson School of Smith County, Texas, 1925 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 258.
[76] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 332.
[77] D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 333.

the John Slater foundation.[78] In relation to black schooling, industrial education is often seen as a crusade to empower black communities after Reconstruction and in the face of Jim Crow's racial segregation.[79] This point of view was supported by black author and educator, Booker T. Washington, whose exposure to industrial education came from his time as a learner at the Hampton Institute, which was funded by philanthropic Northerners. Washington believed that in implementing industrial education, an economically successful group of black people would be trained to ultimately emerge to be significant contributors to society and inspire the black masses to seek to better their own conditions through education. The purpose of education at the Hampton Institute was to provide black learners with combined mental, moral and industrial training.[80] This emphasis on the values of a practical, utilitarian education deeply impacted Washington. So profound was this influence that when he became principal of Tuskegee Institute, he followed the foundational roadmap laid down by the Hampton Institute. Washington was also influenced to advocate for the implementation of industrial education by the black intellectual, Frederick Douglass, who had for many years advocated for an industrial type of education for newly emancipated black people.[81] Washington believed that through self-help, one could rise from poverty to riches, and that industrial education would lead to an increase in economic wealth for black communities.[82] The growth of industrial education and black schools ultimately reached its peak between 1880 and 1915.[83]

Washington's Tuskegee Institution in particular had a profound influence on black communities, not only in the United States, but also around the world. This was especially evident during the first two decades of the twentieth century with regards to the British government's policy of native education in Africa. Implementation of industrial education on the Gold Coast and in Liberia are perhaps some of the most striking examples of how Washington's ideas gained international traction.[84] Washington believed that one of education's primary aims should be to improve the conditions of all elements of society.[85]

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[78] C.J. Savage, Cultural capital and African American agency: The economic struggle for effective education for African Americans in Franklin, Tennessee, 1890–1967, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 208.
[79] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 66.
[80] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 6.
[81] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 505.
[82] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 17.
[83] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 506.
[84] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 513.
[85] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 509.

However, some criticised industrial education, arguing that it was stifling growth by keeping black people in menial vocational positions, and that it perpetuated racial discrimination.[86] These critics also argued that Washington's seeming disparagement of academic training limited opportunities for higher education of intellectually-inclined black people; curbed financial support from philanthropists; and ultimately stifled black leadership.[87] W.E.B Du Bois was perhaps Washington's best-known critic, and he publicly opposed industrial education, saying that it downplayed the political aspirations of the black community, and by proxy stifled their progress towards equity.[88] Du Bois' criticism was echoed by anthropologist, Gunnar Myrdal, who added that education for black Americans often meant assimilation of white American culture at the expense of their own.[89]

The Compromise of 1877, which formally ended Reconstruction, and the removal of federal troops from the South, were all damaging factors in the fight for equal education. However, neither would have ramifications as profound as the Supreme Court's 1896 landmark decision: *Plessy* v. *Ferguson.*[90] This ruling in 1896, addressing a dispute in Louisiana regarding a segregated railroad cart, essentially codified segregation, on the condition that separate facilities were equal. Writing for the Supreme Court, Associate Justice Henry Billings Brown argued that laws which required separation of races in states like Louisiana did not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race. Therefore, the court's reasoning implied that the segregation of races could satisfy the guarantee of equality as outlined in the Fourteenth Amendment, on the condition that both racial groups were treated equally.[91] While this ruling is often seen as the origin of legally segregated facilities throughout the United States, it did not explicitly stipulate that school segregation should be implemented.[92] However, as a result of many factors, not least the lack of equitable federal and state funding, 'separate' became decidedly 'unequal' for black schools.[93] *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*'s impact was far-reaching and profound, ushering in a new era of legal racial discrimination in the United States.

[86] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 85.
[87] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 51.
[88] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 85.
[89] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volume II*, 1996, p. 879.
[90] P.G. Kauper, Segregation in public education: the decline of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, *Michigan Law Review* 52 (8), 1954, p. 1153.
[91] L.L. Whitman and M. Hayes, Lou Pollack: The road to "*Brown* v. *Board of Education*" and beyond, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158 (1), 2014, p. 36.
[92] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 22.
[93] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 478.

4. Jim Crow: Legalising local segregation in Southern schools (1877 - 1960s)

With the legal support of the highest court of the land, states in both the South and on the border were able to implement and enforce racially motivated segregation, extending racial discrimination's noxious influence into every echelon of society, including in schools, through what became known as Jim Crow laws. This period following Reconstruction lasted until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Jim Crow education was characterised in cities like Boston, Massachusetts, by laying the blame for segregated facilities at the feet of black communities. One Boston School Committee argued that racially separate schools were 'desired by, worked for, and in part, paid by Negro people themselves.'[94] Meanwhile, Virginia passed its first state-wide segregation law in 1900, continuing to add discriminatory laws up to 1944, which allowed for a new era of racial discrimination in the twentieth century.[95]

While much has been written about the damaging impact of segregated schools, one aspect of this historical phenomena that has only recently gained more traction, is the incredible resilience of black communities in combatting the racial segregation and its associated lack of funding. As indicated, education was seen as a core value in black communities and was often associated with ideas of freedom and economic emancipation. As a result, black Americans were happy to contribute their time and energy, as well as their financial and social resources to support the education of their communities.[96] As the educational historian Vanessa Siddle Walker indicates, while traditional historical research tends to focus on the barriers to learning in segregated schools in the South, some academic settings that were underfunded and poorly equipped still managed to provide an environment to its black learners that had great inherent educational value, and prepared black children successfully for freedom, respectability, independence and self-reliance.[97]

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[94] G.A. Levesque, Before integration: The forgotten years of Jim Crow education in Boston, *The Journal of Negro Education* 48 (2), 1979, p. 114.
[95] C.E. Wynes, The evolution of Jim Crow laws in twentieth century Virginia, *Phylon (1960 -)* 28 (4), 1967, p. 416.
[96] V.P. Franklin, Introduction: Cultural capital and African American education, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 176.
[97] M.A. White, Paradise lost? Teachers' perspectives on the use of cultural capital in the segregated schools of New Orleans, Louisiana, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 270.

Some examples of schools achieving success in spite of tremendous institutional challenges include the Jackson School in Texas,[98] Thomas Jefferson Ferguson School,[99] as well as the Albany Enterprise Academy in south-eastern Ohio. All of these schools, and countless others, relied to a great extent on so-called 'cultural capital' to support its black schools.[100] The historian V.P. Franklin defines cultural capital as the 'sense of group consciousness' that is utilised as a resource in the development of collective economic upliftment. Essentially it is a network of social organisations, cultural institutions, voluntary civic associations, family, and kinship groups in a community that assists in the development of an economic enterprise.[101] Thus wealth, or capital, is created when black communities join together and create resources to meet the needs of their community that are unmet by government institutions. Black Americans in the South, particularly after the Civil War, were often largely dependent on cultural capital, as their schools were either not funded or underfunded, leading to black community members regularly joining together to support their school communities.[102] In essence, cultural capital represents the efforts by black Americans to educate themselves, in spite of the enormous hurdles placed in their educational journey by the Jim Crow laws.

Black Americans in most southern states were paying more in public taxation than they were receiving in state and local funding for their separate black public schools. As a result, between 1890 and 1910, Southern black taxpayers were in effect providing the funds for the public schooling of white children, while they themselves were inhibited from attending these school.[103] As the historian, James D. Anderson argued in 1988, black Southerners were forced to participate in so-called 'double taxation', having no choice but to pay both direct and indirect taxes for public education.[104]

Black agency, and the benefits associated with cultural capital, also assisted black public schools in Franklin, Tennessee between 1890 and 1967. Through community leadership, resource development

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[98] P.B. Gill, Community, commitment, and African American education: The Jackson School of Smith County, Texas, 1925 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 256.
[99] A.W. Randolf, Building upon cultural capital: Thomas Jefferson Ferguson and the Albany Enterprise Academy in Southeast, Ohio, 1863–1886, *The Journal of African-American History* 87, 2002, p. 190.
[100] A.W. Randolf, Building upon cultural capital: Thomas Jefferson Ferguson and the Albany Enterprise Academy in Southeast, Ohio, 1863–1886, *The Journal of African-American History* 87, 2002, p. 190.
[101] C.M. Span, 'I must learn now, or not at all': Social and cultural capital in the educational initiatives of formally slaved African Americans in Mississippi, 1862–1869, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 198.
[102] C.J. Savage, Cultural capital and African American agency: The economic struggle for effective education for African Americans in Franklin, Tennessee, 1890–1967, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 208.
[103] V.P. Franklin, Introduction: Cultural capital and African American education, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 175.
[104] V.P. Franklin, Introduction: Cultural capital and African American education, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 176.

and Parent-Teacher Associations, these schools were able to find success in challenging times.[105] Similar highly-motivated grassroots movements in Mississippi constructed schools, improved facilities and fundraised to great success for the betterment of black schools.[106] One account of the implementation of cultural capital, and its eventual demise at the hands of discrimination in black schools in Mississippi was shared by George Washington Albright in 1937. He wrote:

> Before the Civil War, there wasn't a free school in the state, but under the Reconstruction government, we built them in every county … We paid to have every child, Negro and white, schooled equally. Today, they've cut down on the educational program, and discriminated against the Negro children, so that out of every educational dollar, the Negro child gets only 30 cents.[107]

Educational reform did exist and develop in waves during the period associated with Jim Crow. Immigration, urbanisation, labour strife and economic factors all generally correlated with these educational reforms. By 1940, most children between the ages of five and sixteen were enrolled in school for at least part of the year. By this stage in United States history, most states had created public school systems that were similar in their approaches regarding educational norms. By and large, this meant that local school districts were governed by the states, which decided on matters such as teacher certification, curriculum, and the length of the school year.[108] Meanwhile, some black schools were also able to uplift themselves through ecclesiastic influence. The Presbyterian Church, for example, established and nurtured schools in the segregated South at a time when black education was actively being marginalised. Many of these schools continued to operate in the face of extreme violence and challenges, such as Harbison College in South Carolina. During the period of 1910 to 1953, the school was subject to six fires, a bomb attack which claimed the lives of three learners, a change of location and multiple curriculum alterations that mirrored contemporary educational developments, such as the increase in, and eventual move away from, industrial and agricultural education.[109] Furthermore, numerous black churches in the South, such as the Episcopal Baptist and Methodist supported and

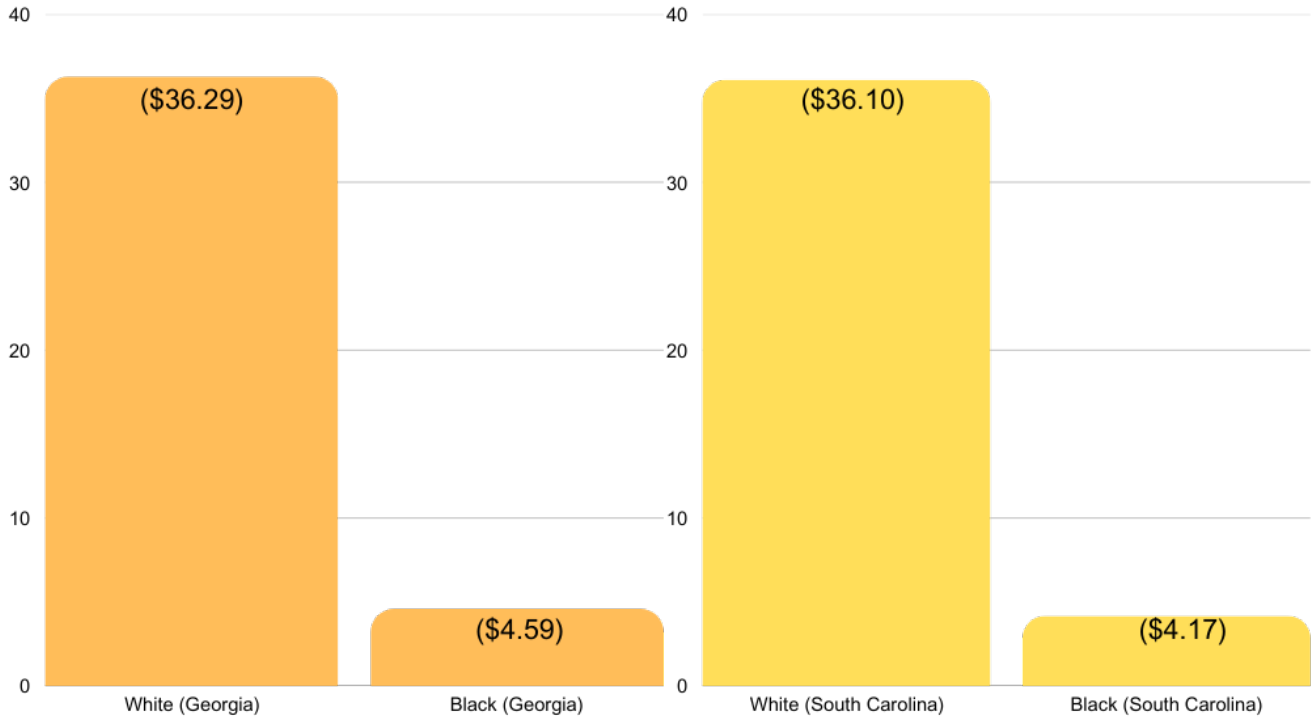
[105] C.J. Savage, Cultural capital and African American agency: The economic struggle for effective education for African Americans in Franklin, Tennessee, 1890–1967, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 222.
[106] C.M. Span, 'I must learn now, or not at all': Social and cultural capital in the educational initiatives of formally slaved African Americans in Mississippi, 1862–1869, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 198.
[107] C.M. Span, 'I must learn now, or not at all': Social and cultural capital in the educational initiatives of formally slaved African Americans in Mississippi, 1862–1869, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 196.
[108] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 212.
[109] Unknown author, Harbison College: African American education in the segregated south, *The Journal of Presbyterian History (1997 -)* 94 (1), 2016, p. 30.

funded education, including institutions such as Wilberforce University in Ohio, Morris-Brown College in Georgia, and the Alabama Baptist University in Selma.[110]

In spite of racial discrimination, the twentieth century saw an enormous increase in literacy amongst black learners. For example, in 1890 less than half of black Southerners aged 10 or older were literate. However, by 1930, over eighty percent of the Southern black population was regarded as literate.[111] This increase in literacy stands in contrast to the lack of funding for black schools. In 1915, the average state funding for black learners in the South was $4.01 per year, compared to $10.82 for a white learner. By 1930, the amount of money allocated for black learners was merely $15.86, a stark contrast to the $42.39 for a white learners.[112] A decade later, these discrepancies became even more acute.[113] Gunnar Myrdal found that in 1935 - 1936, $17.04 was allocated to black learners across ten southern states, which was three times less than the $49.30 for white children.[114] The discrepancies of this cost relate to the differences in teacher salaries, learner-to-teacher ratio, and the lack of transportation provided to black learners. The irony for Southern states is that ultimately segregated education cost the states more than integrated education would have, as an average standard could be achieved at a lower cost if overhead costs could be minimised.[115] Figure I illustrates this financial discrepancy, while a lack of high schools for black Americans also caused consternation at the turn of the twentieth century.

[110] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 507.
[111] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 478.
[112] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 478.
[113] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volume I*, 1996, p. 339.
[114] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volume I*, 1996, p. 339.
[115] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volume I*, 1996, p. 341.

Figure I: Per capita annual educational expenditure in schools in Georgia and South Carolina, US, by race (1926 - 1928)[116]



Once such examples of a lack of access for learners to high school was evident in Georgia, the General Assembly of that state passed a bill to establish high schools in all of its congressional districts. The construction of the schools was funded by a so-called 'fertilizer tax'. Most of this tax was paid for by black people who numbered almost half of the population of the state, living in eighty percent of rural districts. However, none of the eleven schools that were paid for by the black taxpayer were open for members of the black community to attend.[117]

By the 1920s, even in the state-funded colleges of the South, black administrators were able to retain a large degree of control over their curriculum.[118] Many black and white intellectual thinkers alike grappled with the best way forward for black education in the twentieth century. Perhaps the best-known black

[116] Compiled using data from M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950*, 1987, pp. 5 - 6.

[117] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 12.
[118] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 82.

intellectual in the sphere of educational theory was the earlier mentioned W.E.B. Du Bois, whose views on black education were pragmatic, resilient, and subject to change. His thinking often embraced paradox, as is illustrated in his famous essay, 'Does the Negro need separate schools?'[119] In this essay, Du Bois argues simultaneously for full integration into American life, while at the same time having segregated schools - voluntarily.[120] His argument is that black people could only achieve their highest potential in an environment where they were wholly accepted, able to be proud of their racial identity and culturally at peace, maintaining their own schools, colleges and university, and by proxy realising the goal of black self-determination.[121] He supported this viewpoint in 1910 in Massachusetts, when he said, 'what the Negro needs, therefore, of the world and civilization, he must largely teach himself; what he learns of social organization and efficiency, he must learn from his people.'[122] Another area of concern for Du Bois was that as with the integration of schools, so too the burden of integration could fall on black learners. In addition, integration would mean that black learners were removed from their so-called 'native' environments, being transplanted to environments that were unresponsive to their cultural needs.[123]

Meanwhile, in the Northern parts of the United States, the rapid urbanisation of black people following the Civil War led to white flight from the so-called 'black belts' in cities where black communities settled. By the turn of the century, black learners continued to be excluded from white private schools in the North as a result of *de facto* segregation resulting from this movement of racial groupings.[124] Most notably, the exodus of black families from the South occurred between 1915 and 1940, as they sought better economic, political, and cultural opportunities. One estimate indicates that the number of black people in the North increased by 63.6 percent between the 1920s and 1930s.[125]

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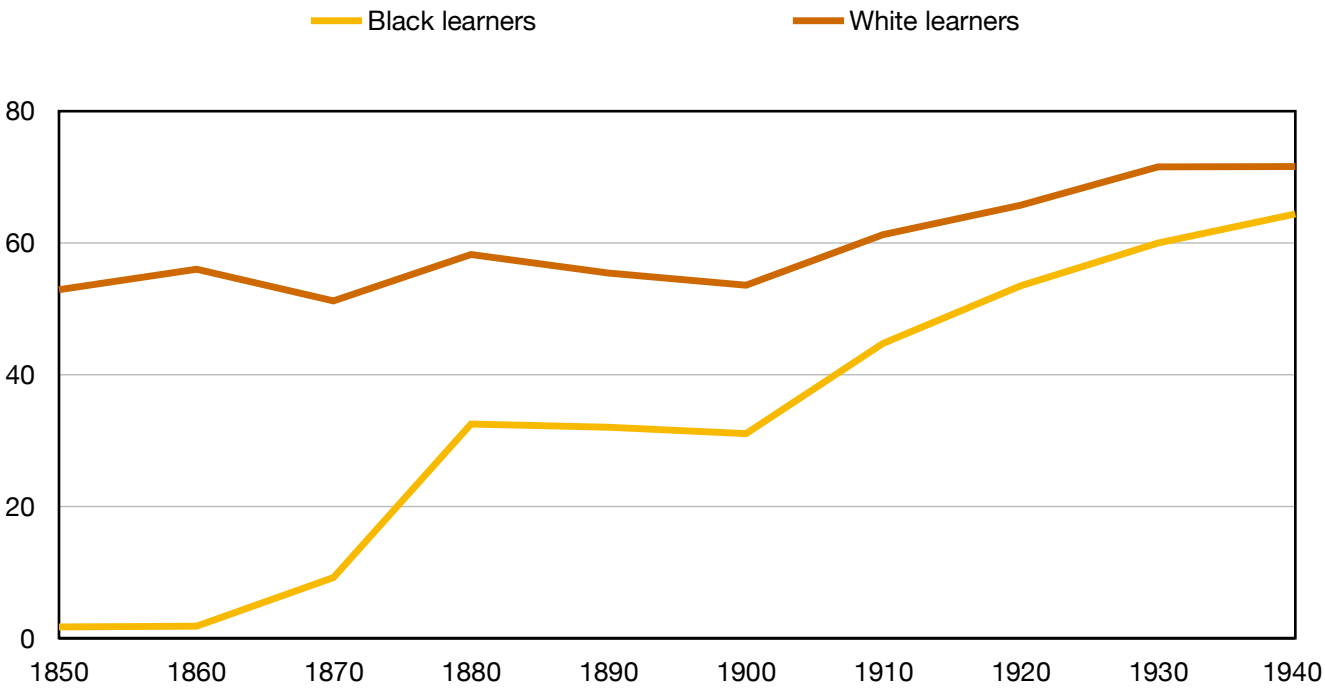
[119] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 473.
[120] W.E.B. Du Bois, Does the Negro need to separate schools? *The Journal of Negro Education* 4 (3), 1935, p. 332.
[121] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, pp. 474, 480.
[122] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 477.
[123] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 484.
[124] H.K. Beale, The needs of Negro education in the United States, The Journal of Negro Education 3 (1), 1934, p. 10.
[125] E.L. Tatum, The changed political thoughts of Negroes of the United States 1915–1940, *The Journal of Negro Education* 16 (4), 1947, p. 523.

Concurrently, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's vision for a more egalitarian United States in the wake of a severe economic depression led to the New Deal (1933 - 1938) which also increased educational benefits for black learners.[126] This is due to the fact that the Public Works Administration paid for over fifty percent of the cost of constructing new schools. Meanwhile, the Works Progress Administration supported adult education programs, educating 400 000 black adults in literacy.[127] In spite of this progress originating in Washington D.C., segregation in schools continued through the 1930s. In the District of Columbia for example, the nation's capital, school authorities legally required separate schools for white and black learners.[128] In Boston, Massachusetts, at the same time, black learners found themselves in separate schools that were not equal.[129] In short, school attendance rates for black learners did increase, as is illustrated by Figure II below, but this progress only occurred parallel to white educational advances after 1880.

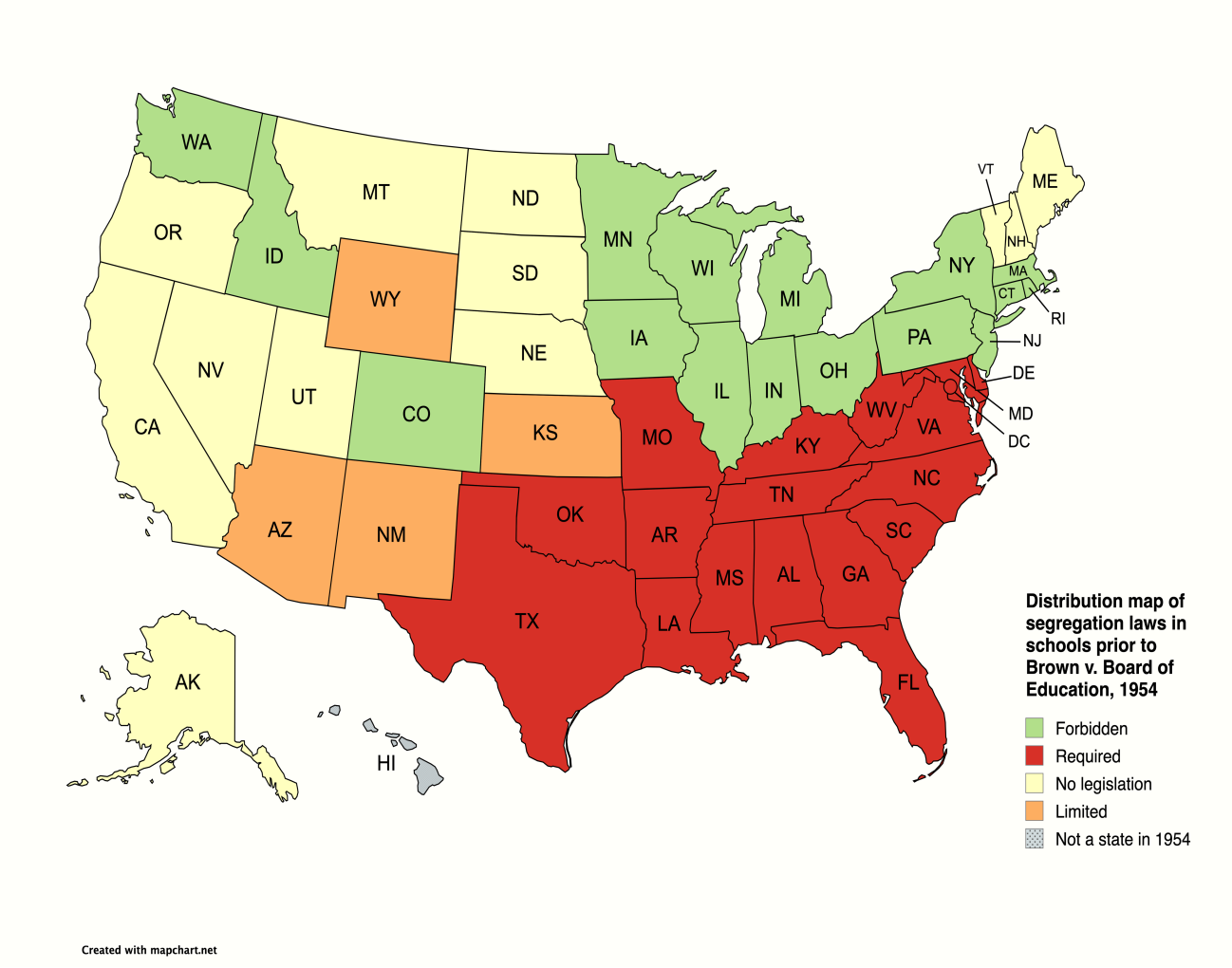
Figure II: School attendance in the US, ages 5 - 20, by race (1850 - 1940)[130]



[126] While the New Deal was instrumental in addressing the economic hardships that existed as a result of the Great Depression, many black Americans did not benefit from all of these federal programs, as a result of discrimination by their local administrations.
[127] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volume I*, 1996, p. 343.
[128] H.M. Bond, The extent and character of separate schools in the United States, *The Journal of Negro Education* 4 (3), 1935, p. 322.
[129] H.M. Bond, The extent and character of separate schools in the United States, *The Journal of Negro Education* 4 (3), 1935, p. 322.
[130] Compiled using data from G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volume II*, 1996, p. 942.

As illustrated in the figure above, the number of black learners who attended schools increased significantly following the conclusion of the Civil War. However, as the map below demonstrates, racial discrimination impacted educational equity. Ultimately, the profound and long-lasting impact of the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* ruling meant that while more black learners attended school, they were institutionally disadvantaged in numerous tangible ways. Perhaps most damaging, however, were the intangible ways in which black learners were impacted socially, economically, psychologically and politically as a result of segregated education - intangible factors that were not adequately measured until *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954.[131]

Figure III: Distribution of segregation laws in schools prior to *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954)[132]



[131] H.H. Long, Some psychogenic hazards of segregated education of Negroes, *The Journal of Negro Education* 4 (3), 1935, p. 336.
[132] Map compiled using data from J. van Delinder, '*Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*: A landmark case unresolved fifty years later', *National Archives* 36 (1), 2004.

5. Separate is never equal: *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1952 - 1954)

By the mid-twentieth century, the reach of the damages associated with segregated education ran deep. United States census data indicated that in 1950, 42.3 percent of people under the age of twenty-five were non-white, whilst in the South that figure was estimated to be 48.7 percent. Thus, statistically speaking and illustrated by Figure III, nearly half of American children were placed at an educational disadvantage through segregated education.[133] In essence, white people constructed educational systems which were designed to maintain the privileges of their white learners, and some scholars argue, simultaneously prepared black learners for the subservient roles they were meant to play within society.[134]

The NAACP changed the course of history for these disadvantaged learners. This civil rights organisation already started their litigation strategy against segregated education in 1935.[135] While they were cognisant of the fact that as a matter of law it was relatively easy to demonstrate that disproportionate expenditures on black schools violated laws, they realised that developing a remedy for the situation would be extremely difficult.[136] The NAACP's legal team built on their experience that they had accrued between 1933 and 1950 when they had handled three types of school desegregation suits: 'suits seeking the desegregation of public graduate and professional schools; suits seeking to equalize the salaries of black and white teachers; and suits occasioned by inequalities in the physical facilities at black and white and elementary and secondary schools.'[137] Two years prior to the *Brown*-ruling by the Supreme Court, Chancellor Collins Seitz issued a ruling in Delaware for *Belton* v. *Gebhart* and *Bulah* v. *Gebhart*, which proclaimed that the black schools in question had inferior facilities and educational opportunities, which led to a negative emotional impact on black learners. This was essentially a pre-emptive ruling to what would follow with the Supreme Court's *Brown*-ruling, indicating that the tides were shifting in favour of integrated education.[138]

By all accounts, the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDEF)'s greatest legal victory lay with *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas.* This lawsuit had its origins with Linda Brown, a

[133] R.W. Burgess, Census date: summary of types available, limitations, and possibility of extension, *The Journal of Negro Educatio*n 22 (3), 1953, pp. 235.
[134] S.V. Walker and K.N. Archung, The segregated schooling of blacks in the Southern United States and South Africa, *Comparative Education Review* 47 (1), 2003, p. 21.
[135] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 11.
[136] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 26.
[137] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 34.
[138] B. Gadsden, 'He said he wouldn't help me get a Jim Crow bus': The shifting terms of the challenge to segregated public education 1950 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 20.

black girl who was unable to attend a white school.[139] The LDEF filed the suit on the behalf of her family, and other plaintiffs from the district in 1951, testing the legal doctrine that racially segregated schooling did not violate the equal protections clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[140] The Supreme Court ultimately bundled four of the LDEF cases, as well as a single Washington D.C. case, under what is now known as *Brown* v. *Board of Education.*[141] This case is important not only for the legal precedent it set, but due to the intertwined cultural moment, which could not exist without other civil rights advances. The NAACP's legal team argued that fundamentally the case merely insisted 'that the United States respect its own constitution and its laws.'[142] One of the prominent young lawyers on the case, Thurgood Marshall, rejected the idea of separate but equal, as accepting the notion of 'equal' would also implicitly accept that segregated schools were legally tolerable.[143] The NAACP's organisational strategy, led by Charles Hamilton Houston, believed that litigation, as opposed to direct action, was the most viable way to bring about meaningful change.[144] Their legal strategy relied on the testimonies of expert witnesses in education and social science, highlighting the psychological damage that black children suffered as a result of segregated educational facilities.[145] This included building a case around the findings of social scientists, Kenneth and Mamie Clark in 1940. Their so-called 'doll experiments' aimed to analyse the emotional impact of segregation on black and white children, including the presence of feelings of inferiority, frustration and rejection.[146] In their experiments children were given dolls representing both black and white races. After being asked a series of questions (such as choosing the doll that looked the best, looked bad, was a nice colour, etc.),[147] the subjects had to make choices between the white and black dolls, and give reasons for their preferences. These experiments seemingly provided compelling evidence related to the psychological harm of racial segregation. In light of this study, it has been argued that segregated education harmed not only the black learner with its limited opportunities,

[139] H.R. Milner and T.C. Howard, Black teachers, black learners, black communities, and *Brown*: Perspectives and insights from experts, *The Journal of Negro Education* 73 (3), 2004, p. 285.
[140] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 88.
[141] The four other cases were *Briggs* v. *Elliott*; *Bolling* v. *Sharpe*; *Davis* v. *County School Board*; and *Belton (Bulah)* v. *Gebhart,* as explained in L.L. Whitman and M. Hayes, Lou Pollack: The road to "*Brown* v. *Board of Education*" and beyond, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158 (1), 2014, p. 48 and C.J. Ogletree, *All deliberate speed*, 2004, p.4.
[142] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 44.
[143] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 109.
[144] B. Gadsden, 'He said he wouldn't help me get a Jim Crow bus': The shifting terms of the challenge to segregated public education 1950 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 12.
[145] B. Gadsden, 'He said he wouldn't help me get a Jim Crow bus': The shifting terms of the challenge to segregated public education 1950 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 13.
[146] B. Gadsden, 'He said he wouldn't help me get a Jim Crow bus': The shifting terms of the challenge to segregated public education 1950 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 16.
[147] L.L. Whitman and M. Hayes, Lou Pollack: The road to "*Brown* v. *Board of Education*" and beyond, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158 (1), 2014, p. 42.

but also failed to prepare the white learner for a life in a multiracial society.[148] While this experiment has experienced recent criticism, the legal foundation of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was not dependent on the validity of the experiments.[149] The LDEF also leaned heavily on data from social scientists to argue their point that while 'tangible' measures of segregated education might be equal, 'intangibly' they are not,[150] and in some instances they were non-existent altogether.[151]

After having the case reargued in 1953, the court was finally ready to share its judgement.[152] On 17 May 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote, in a unanimous ruling, 'Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?'[153] In short, Warren and the other Supreme Court justices ruled that separate schools could never be equal, a profound civil rights victory for the United States. Thus, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is of immense importance, as it not only secured the right to equal educational opportunities for all people living in the United States, but it also formed the cornerstone for subsequent civil rights developments across the nation.[154] *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was also a seminal moment for black children, as it looked to not only integrate education, but also finally include black juveniles into the category of 'children' and through its implicit argument, acknowledge the humanity of black children.[155]

In addition to the profound legal victory of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, the litigation also illustrated some of the risks associated with taking white officials to court. Irate school boards fired many of the plaintiffs and dismissed several teachers and leaders in states such as Virginia and Florida.[156] Thousands of black teachers were also at risk of losing their jobs when integration occurred. As the NAACP lawyer, William Ming stated, 'There are fatalities in all social change'.[157] As a result, following

[148] L.T. Outlaw, A commentary: '*Brown* v. *Board of Education* I: A reconsideration', *Peabody Journal of Education* 72 (2), 2004, pp. 42, 45.
[149] K.K. Wong and A.C. Nicotera, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and the Coleman Report: Social science research and the debate of educational equality, *Peabody Journal of Education* 79 (2), 2004, p. 125.
[150] L.T. Outlaw, A commentary: '*Brown* v. *Board of Education* I: A reconsideration', *Peabody Journal of Education* 72 (2), 2004, p. 43.
[151] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 36.
[152] C.J. Ogletree, *All deliberate speed*, 2004, p.8.
[153] B. Gadsden, 'He said he wouldn't help me get a Jim Crow bus': The shifting terms of the challenge to segregated public education 1950 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 22.
[154] F. Brown, The first serious implementation of *Brown*: The 1964 Civil Rights Act and beyond, *The Journal of Negro Education* 73 (3), 2004, p. 182.
[155] B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 83.
[156] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 85.
[157] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 87.

the ruling, teachers and parents from segregated schools across America fought to maintain black schools, as these were regarded as immensely important cultural institutions within their community.[158]

One of the greatest critiques of the ground-breaking ruling of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is that the decision of the court and the ultimate intention of the court, did not align. As a result of the decision's unarticulated language, the implementation of desegregating schools was slow at best and non-existent at worst.[159] Subsequently, a second follow-up ruling, *Brown* v. *Board of Education II* had to be made the following year to clarify that desegregation should take place at 'all deliberate speed'.[160] Moreover, Congress and the Supreme Court did not send a positive signal to the district courts about the implementation of desegregated education until the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[161]

Following *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, a so-called 'massive resistance' political campaign was launched in the South.[162] Famously, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus defied the Supreme Court by using his state's National Guard to bar nine black learners from entering the premises of Little Rock High School.[163] While this massive resistance in Arkansas is certainly the best known, there was violence against black learners across the South.[164] One former high school teacher, Rosemary Lewis, was struck by the hatred behind the protest in Tennessee. She recalled that they 'just screamed all kinds of things. Some people would ask, "Why do you want your child to go to school with mine? Niggers, go home. We'll get you later." I was in awe of the hatred.'[165] Also in Tennessee, a bomb went off in Hattie Cotton Elementary School in 1957, following the first day of school, resulting in $71,000 in damages and the closure of the school for a week.[166] In Cairo, Illinois, incidents of organised violent

[158] S. Ramsey, 'We will be ready whenever they are': African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 33.
[159] D. Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown* v. *Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*, 2004, p. 19.
[160] L.T. Outlaw, A commentary: '*Brown* v. *Board of Education* I: A reconsideration', *Peabody Journal of Education* 72 (2), 2004, p. 41.
[161] F. Brown, The first serious implementation of *Brown*: The 1964 Civil Rights Act and beyond, *The Journal of Negro Education* 73 (3), 2004, p. 182.
[162] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 484.
[163] L.L. Whitman and M. Hayes, Lou Pollack: The road to "*Brown* v. *Board of Education*" and beyond, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158 (1), 2014, p. 57.
[164] B.K. Landsberg, *Revolution by law*, 2022, p. 23.
[165] S. Ramsey, 'We will be ready whenever they are': African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 36.
[166] S. Ramsey, 'We will be ready whenever they are': African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 36.

opposition to desegregation occurred in 25 public school communities, however, one study found that often the violence had been present even before the Supreme Court ruling.[167] Immediately following the *Brown*-ruling, so-called 'citizens councils' originated in Mississippi, focused on maintaining white supremacy. These councils soon spread around the area, ultimately leading to an official endorsement of segregation.[168] By March 1956, nineteen senators and eighty-one representatives from Southern states had signed the so-called 'Southern Manifesto', where they outlined their disillusionment and discontent with *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, and expressed their belief that the Supreme Court was overstretching its authority and influence into individual state agency.[169] The 'massive resistance' to integration was so extreme that both presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy had to rely on the aid of the National Guard to allow black learners safe access to newly integrated schools.[170]

6. Beyond *Brown*: Black reactions and resistance

Following the *Brown* decision, many black communities were concerned that they would no longer be able to use their collective resources by way of cultural capital to support their own communities.[171] Initially, black teachers across America also expressed their discontent with *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. Many of them were concerned that their jobs were endangered by this new legal precedent, as the need for black schools became constitutionally obsolete. In addition, they were concerned at how their white peers would be favoured for positions in schools that were formerly for white learners only.[172] Posterity shows their fears to be valid. Nationally, at the time of the *Brown*-ruling, there were 82 000 black teachers who were employed in segregated schools. In the decades following 1954, black teachers, administrators and staff suffered job losses, demotions, as well as harassment or displacements in the process of desegregating schools in the United States.[173] The loss of black

[167] J. Shagaloff, A study of community acceptance of desegregation in two selected areas, *The Journal of Negro Education* 23 (3), 1954, pp. 332, 338.
[168] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 89.
[169] 'The Southern Manifesto', 102 Congressional Record, 4515 - 16 (1956).
[170] I.A. Toldson, 60 Years after *Brown* v. *Board of Education*: The impact of the congressional black caucus on the education of black people in the United States of America (editor's commentary), *The Journal of Negro Education* 83 (3), 2014, p. 194.
[171] V.P. Franklin, Introduction: Cultural capital and African American education, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 180.
[172] See, for example, the experiences of the black teacher, Ms. Eileen Miller as explored in M. Lash and M. Ratcliffe, The journey of an African American teacher before and after *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *The Journal of Negro Education* 83 (3), 2014, pp. 330 - 335 or the experiences of Ms. Lillian Dunn Thomas in S. Ramsey, 'We will be ready whenever they are': African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 29.
[173] S. Ramsey, "We will be ready whenever they are": African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 39.

teachers was profound, as they brought not only their expertise to the classroom, but also their experiences, cultural norms, and a deeper understanding of the black experience in America.[174] Black teacher demotions and black teacher's perceived voicelessness as a result of the proverbial 'fallout' of the decision were some of the long lasting consequences of the Supreme Court decision.[175] The Nashville branch of the NAACP launched an attempt to protect teachers' jobs when it submitted a document from the Atlanta branch to the Nashville City Board of Education. Meanwhile, the prominent congressman from Harlem, New York, Adam Clayton Powell, also encouraged teachers to fight to protect their jobs. Visiting the Middle Tennessee Negro Teachers' Association in Nashville as a guest speaker, he said that 'Coloured teachers of the South now know that even qualified teachers, even those who have met tests for teaching equally as hard as any white teachers, nevertheless are not assured of holding their position on equality with white teachers.'[176]

Some black teachers argued that after integration, black learners were no longer being challenged academically, and the black teachers were not challenged professionally as a result of a removal of their cultural capital from segregated schools. Subsequently, teachers used their influence within the black community to encourage their learners to participate in civil rights protests.[177]

Frustrations with school integration were not limited only to black teachers. Following *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, learners became increasingly frustrated with the lack of haste with which educational reform was being implemented. A decade after *Brown*, almost all public schools in the deep South remained segregated.[178] The Coleman Report of 1966 quantified the damaging impacts of segregation. Surveying over half of a million learners, it was shown that black learners, while being very highly motivated, fell behind white learners the longer they stayed in segregated schools.[179]

While historically black institutions of higher education were at the coalface of the protest movement against segregated education, black high school learners also had a voice. While these protests

[174] M. Lash and M. Ratcliffe, The journey of an African American teacher before and after *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *The Journal of Negro Education* 83 (3), 2014, pp. 327 - 337.
[175] H.R. Milner and T.C. Howard, Black teachers, black learners, black communities, and *Brown*: Perspectives and insights from experts, *The Journal of Negro Education* 73 (3), 2004, p. 285.
[176] S. Ramsey, 'We will be ready whenever they are': African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 39.
[177] J. Collins, Taking the lead: Dorothy Williams, NAACP Youth Councils, and the civil rights protests in Pittsburgh, 1961 - 1963, *The Journal of African American History* 88 (2), 2003, pp. 126 - 137.
[178] B.K. Landsberg, *Revolution by law*, 2022, p. 37.
[179] G. Orfield, *The reconstruction of southern education*, 1969, p. 352.

occurred on a smaller scale, and in smaller communities, their impact still resonated throughout the United States. Black high school learners across America expressed their discontent from the 1960s to 1970s by participating in walkouts, boycott and sit-ins. There were some school activities that began in the early 1960s with learner demands for black history courses, black teachers and administrators, improvements in school facilities, as well as increased community involvement.[180] In Pennsylvania, 250 black learners at William Penn Senior High School refused to attend class the day after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., on Friday, 5 April 1968. The learners celebrated a so-called 'Black Pride Day', and, in keeping with Dr. King's teachings of passive resistance, reflected on their experiences as black learners, and subsequently brought widespread media attention to the inequalities of not only black learners in America, but the inequity of the black American experience.[181] However, many other learner protests were not peaceful. Some young black people, inspired by the ideologies of Malcolm X, and other black nationalists, turned to violence to make their point. This move away from nonviolence reared its head across the United States, including with a violent altercation in 1964 between police and learners from Pearl High School, as well as a riot at the Vanderbilt University campus in 1967, following a speech by Black Panther member, Stokely Carmichael.[182]

In conclusion, the legacy of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* remains disputed amongst scholars. Former NAACP president, Ben Jealous, claimed that the court case that his organisation fought so hard for worked everywhere except for schools, the very place where it was meant to have the largest impact.[183] In spite of its failings, *Brown* not only served to integrate schools, but on a broader front, it also set the tone for foreign relations that the United States was a showcase of progressive democracy.[184] As the Education Secretary, Terrell Bell stated in 1983, 'if an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war … The educational foundations of our society are being eroded by rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our future as a nation and a people.'[185] Summarised best in reflection by the *Brown*-case's most prominent lawyer, and ultimately the first black Supreme Court justice, Thurgood Marshall stated:

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[180] D. Danns, Chicago high school learners' movement for quality education, 1966 - 1971, *The Journal of African American History* 88 (2), 2003, p.138.
[181] D.C. Wright, Black Pride Day, 1968: High school learner activism in York, Pennsylvania, *The Journal of African American History,* 88 (2), 2005, p. 151.
[182] S. Ramsey, 'We will be ready whenever they are': African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 46.
[183] M. Lash and M. Ratcliffe, The journey of an African American teacher before and after *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *The Journal of Negro Education* 83 (3), 2014, p. 328.
[184] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 89.
[185] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 11.

'I had thought, we'd all thought, that once we got the *Brown* case, the thing was going to be over. You see, we were always looking for that one case to end it all. And that case hasn't come yet.'[186]

The historical echoes of the tumultuous journey towards integrated education in the United States continues to resonate within the nation today.[187] In spite of the strides towards equality as a result of the court rulings in the mid-twentieth century discussed above, providing equitable educational opportunities continues to pose challenges to the United States. Furthermore, as with the United States, South Africa also experienced a harrowing historical journey towards equal educational opportunities, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

[186] J. Lepore, *These truths: A history of the Unites States,* 2018, p. 588.
[187] C. Spector, 'Digging deeper on the pandemic learning loss', *Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research*, 28 October 2022.

Chapter IV

From slave schools to Soweto: Segregated education in South Africa

'Until now [the black pupil] has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.'

- H.F. Verwoerd, 1954

1. The foundations of division: An introduction

Segregated education in South Africa has an equally long and complex history. This chapter consists of two parts. First, it provides a historical background to the educational and labour context preceding the introduction of the 1953 Bantu Education Act. This historical overview focuses on missionary education, as well as economic, political and social circumstances, with specific reference to the period from 1886, with the discovery of gold, to 1953 with the introduction of the said Act. Secondly, it briefly examines how the educational and labour landscape changed from 1953 onwards. A short history is also given of the development of the Bantu Education system in its implementation, culminating in the 1976 Soweto Riots and ultimately the Second Carnegie Commission (1984), which details the long-term impact of Bantu Education in South Africa. It should be noted that black traditional education had for centuries existed as the primary dissemination of knowledge and culture through oral traditions and experiential learning preceding European colonisation in Africa.[1] However, this chapter follows the development of Western educational institutions in South Africa, as a means of contextualising one of the ultimate focuses of the thesis, Bantu Education.

2. Colonial control in South Africa (1652 - 1886)

South Africa, as with the majority of colonial African countries, saw the early development of Western-imposed black educational systems in the hands of the missionaries. The Dutch East India Company (DEIC) settled in the Cape with the initial intention of establishing a refreshment station in 1652. As their prerogative was to maximise profits while their maritime and trading industries expanded to the East, educating the local population of the country was not on their agenda.[2] The very first school in South Africa was opened on the 17th of April 1658 in the Cape, a mere six years after the arrival of the Commander of the DEIC, Jan van Riebeeck.[3] This resulted from the arrival of the first enslaved people in the Cape from Angola in 1658, which brought with them consternation, as van Riebeeck was concerned with the DEIC's enslaved peoples' moral and intellectual welfare. In addition, given the eventual diversity of the enslaved people's origins (from various regions of Africa and the East)[4] and the wide array of languages spoken by them, Van Riebeeck saw the need to establish an educational

[1] J.D. Jansen, Curriculum change and contextual realities: an analysis of recent trends in black South African education, *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale de l'Education* 34 (3), 1988, pp. 378 - 387.
[2] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008, p. 48.
[3] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 95.
[4] R. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 - 1838,* 1994.

institution to address the situation. This school would teach the enslaved sufficient linguistic skills, in order to promote a greater understanding of their masters' orders – thus improving the quality of the labour that these enslaved people would provide to the Cape. In addition, they would also be introduced to their enslavers' religion, and by proxy would teach them the values of servitude, discipline and obedience.[5] Apparently the initial reluctance to attend school was met with attempts at bribery. Van Riebeeck's diary details how 'a tot of rum and two inches of tobacco each' could encourage the enslaved to attend their educational institution with greater diligence.[6]

However, the origin of the first segregated school can already be found in 1676, where a recommendation was made to separate European children from enslaved and Khoikhoi pupils. This suggestion was made by the church, although the first official building for separate pupils was only opened almost a decade later, in 1685.[7] The schooling system for pupils of colour would face tremendous obstacles in its early years, as slave masters were not partial to the notion of diminishing enslaved children's productivity by sending them to school. Subsequently, the development of schools in the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made relatively little headway, with the exception of some schools associated with the DEIC and a select few schools reserved for colonialists' children.

Robert Ross states that concomitant with the religious expansion and cultural change among the colonial population in South Africa, over time schooling was made more available to the local Cape population.[8] These schools carried particular appeal to manumitted and emancipated enslaved people's children, as they saw them as an opportunity to effectuate their freedom.[9] This point is enforced when studying statistics of the demand for education in Cape Town. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were 'six Dutch schools with a total of 515 pupils against two slave schools with a total of 1 162 pupils.'[10] These statistics demonstrate the inequitable pupil-to-school ratio, a trend that would be perpetuated in the subsequent centuries.

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[5] J.D. Jansen, Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education, *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, p. 195.
[6] This eventually developed into the controversial 'tot system' in South Africa, where farm labourers would in part be compensated with a ration of alcohol, resulting in a generational devastation in farming communities due to alcoholism. This system has subsequently been outlawed. F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 46.
[7] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 46.
[8] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008, p. 48.
[9] L. Chisholm, *Between worlds: German missionaries and the transition from mission to Bantu Education in South Africa,* 2017, p. xxv.
[10] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 95.

This precedent of deprioritising education continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It would only be in the nineteenth century that a shift would be seen with the introduction of missionary education. Most of the initial missionaries who settled in South Africa were Protestants and notably English-speaking missionaries from Scotland and America.[11] Frank Welsh argues that some missionaries did work in conjunction with authorities, specifically to control black people living in South Africa, as the church and the government shared the same stance regarding 'the link between salvation, virtue, monogamy and trousers'.[12] More insight into the American missionaries' approach is provided in D.J. Kotze's *Letters of the American missionaries, 1835 – 1838*.[13] One such example is illustrated by the missionaries, B.B. Wisner, R. Anderson and D. Greene, who were secretaries to the American Board Mission Collection. In a letter, which was signed by all three parties, it was related how it was their responsibility to educate the 'heathen', so that they 'may be very useful in the church.'[14]

Perhaps one of the most famous mission stations in the Cape in the early years was that of Baviaanskloof, which would later become Genadendal, under the control of the Moravian Missionary Society. Here 'the Hottentots were persuaded to forego their nomadic way of life and made to realise the need for discipline and regular habits.'[15] A paternalistic attitude was thus already present in the missionary education that black South Africans would receive. King William's Town saw the first school specifically for Africans open in 1799, as indigenous people were becoming increasingly dispossessed in the wake of several wars between the colonisers and the Nguni-speaking peoples on the eastern frontiers. As time progressed, Frank Molteno argues, schooling became part of the conquest itself – albeit a relatively minor one – as it contributed to the social consolidation of the colonisers' conquests.[16]

As the Dutch and English settlers moved further into the interior of South Africa, schools followed suit. One such example is the regimental school which was founded in 1814 in Grahamstown. Sir John Cradock intended to educate the native Khoisan[17] population in the area, in an attempt to strengthen

[11] J.D. Jansen, Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education, *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, p. 195.
[12] F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 108.
[13] D.J. Kotze, *Letters of the American missionaries, 1835 – 1838*, 1950.
[14] B.B. Wisner, R. Anderson and D. Greene in D.J. Kotze, *Letters of the American missionaries, 1835 – 1838*, 1950, p. 45.
[15] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 48.
[16] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 49.
[17] The term 'Khoisan' is used to denote two groupings of indigenous people in South Africa. The San people are traditionally hunter-gatherers, whereas historically the Khoikhoi were nomadic pastoralists. European colonists called the San 'Bushmen', whereas the Khoikhoi were labeled as 'Hottentots'. Both these terms are now regarded as offensive and archaic.

their military forces. Governor Lord Charles Somerset was in support of this endeavour, claiming that it was one of the 'advances … from forming [the 'Hottentot Community'] into a Military Corps'.[18] Schools such as this, in conjunction with missionary schools, focused on the importance of being 'civilised' in order to be a functionary in a colonial order.

By the 1830s, the breakaway *trekboer* communities (farmers who moved into the interior of South Africa from the late seventeenth century) made their first move against missionary schools, by placing a total ban on missionary activities in the Eastern Cape.[19] Welsh argues that this step, which resonated with later attitudes towards black education, would guarantee not to 'disseminate unsettling ideas of human equality' as taught in missionary schools.[20] However, the desire for educational advantages soon spread from former enslaved people to a larger demographic of black South Africans during the course of the nineteenth century. It has been argued that this was largely due to the fact that African parents realised, from their own personal experience, that missionary-based education could aid their children in developing in a way that was perceived to be more 'positive' within their society in terms of vocational growth and employment opportunities, as opposed to developing without the educational advantages that the missionaries provided.[21]

An important turning point in black education occurred in 1854, when the British colonial government started developing an interest in this branch of education in the Cape. Sir George Grey used his appointment as Governor of the Cape Colony to further his belief that education could be used as a proverbial 'prime weapon' in the subjugation of the indigenous population. This tied in with the Cape Colony's policy of border pacification at that time, which could aid the political security and social progress of the Colony.[22] To Grey, education was imperative in ensuring that the Colony's economy grew by utilising the indigenous population as 'useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short, a source of strength and wealth to the colony'.[23] Again, the missionary schools in the Cape Colony, which were aided by the government, were encouraged to teach black pupils the mere

[18] R. Elphick and H. Giliomee, *The shaping of South African society, 1652 – 1840*, 1979, p. 38.
[19] E.H. Berman, African responses to Christian mission education, *African Studies Review* 17 (3), 1974, pp. 527 - 540.
[20] F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 109.
[21] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 101.
[22] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, pp. 50 – 51.
[23] Sir George Grey, as quoted in N. Majeka, *The role of missionaries in conquest,* 1952, p. 66.

basics of their masters' language. This was intended to enforce the idea of limiting these individuals to their predetermined role in the colonial order.[24]

One of the most notable missionary educational establishments was Lovedale, which was founded in the Eastern Cape in 1841.[25] This missionary school provided education to mixed races until 1878, whereafter it focused on educating black South Africans. It would certainly appear that this school enjoyed relative success, as by 1887 more than two thousand black students had passed through its doors.[26] Lovedale and other missionary schools shared principles of discussion, accommodation and compromise, which would influence the manner in which black intellectuals would argue for economic and political emancipation during the course of South Africa's history.[27] The missionaries adopted English as their *lingua franca*, which would ultimately lead to an educated black population speaking English and utilising this language for their political discourse. It is hardly surprising that eventually several prominent black political leaders in South Africa's history were English-speaking, missionary-educated individuals. For example, Tiyo Soga had close ties to missionaries and was responsible for translating the bible into isiXhosa in the late nineteenth century.[28] Meanwhile, Sol Plaatje and Z.K. Matthews were both esteemed intellectuals in their respective communities. Plaatje served as the first general secretary of the South African Native National Congress (which would later become the ANC), while Matthews lectured at what is now the University of Fort Hare.[29] Matthews eventually resigned from the institution in the mid-twentieth century as a statement against contemporary discriminating apartheid legislation.[30] Similarly, Nelson Mandela devoted his life to the resistance against the apartheid regime, famously serving as one of the leading figures in the struggle against apartheid before becoming South Africa's first democratically elected president.[31]

As time progressed, the missionaries became more rigid in the implementation of their paternalism in schools, as the number of pupils attending these schools increased. One such example is where the Cape government started extending their control in these academic institutions by limiting funds for mission schools to those which met set criteria, including the condition that students perform manual

[24] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 51.
[25] F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 217.
[26] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 191.
[27] E. Vea Rosnes, A time for destiny for Norwegian mission schools in Zululand and Natal under the policy of Bantu Education (1948 - 1955), *History of Education* 49 (1), 2020, p. 104.
[28] Examples as mentioned in F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 108.
[29] M. de Beer, *Who did what in South Africa*, 1988, p. 144.
[30] M. de Beer, *Who did what in South Africa*, 1988, p. 121.
[31] T. Simpson, *Umkhonto we sizwe: The ANC's armed struggle*, 2016, p. 436.

labour.[32] By 1879, the first syllabi for elementary black schools would ensure that a fifth of school time was spent doing manual work, such as carpentry for the male pupils, and dress-making and cooking for female students. The Superintendent of Education at that time, Langham Dale, did not have much sympathy for black education, stating that it was his main priority to 'see that the sons and daughters of the [European] colonists ... have at least such an education ... as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority on this land.'[33] This attitude would ultimately spread into the educational sphere that missionaries found themselves in, due to the fact that they were reliant to a certain degree on government funding.[34]

Overall, missionary education was of a paternalistic nature, irrespective of which official body funded the education of black students or who was responsible for teaching it. The *Christian Express*, a newspaper that served as a mouthpiece for Christian missionaries in Lovedale, provides profound proof of this paternalistic attitude. The extract is rich in revelations:

> The subject of work is burning in this country. No complaint is more common … We want to see the natives become workers … how this … comes is twofold. Christianity creates needs. Generally speaking, every man will work just as much as he requires to do and not more. There will be a constant relation between the time a man works and his necessities ....
>
> If you want men to work, then, you must get them to need. Create need and you supply stimulus for work; you enlist the worker's own will on the side of labour. Few men, anywhere, and certainly no heathen men, ever work for the mere pleasure of working.
>
> Now the speediest way of creating needs among these people is to Christianize them. As they become Christianized, they will want more clothing, better houses, furniture, books, education for the children and a hundred other things they can get by working, and only by working.
>
> But Christianity also teaches the duty of working and denounces idleness as a sin.
>
> So to Christianize a Kaffir[35] is the shortest way, and the surest, to make him put his hand steadily and willingly to work that is waiting to be done. This will make it both his

[32] F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 293.
[33] J.D. Jansen, Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education, *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, p. 195.
[34] F. Molteno, “The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 53.
[35] This term is a highly offensive, derogatory term, commonly used by white South Africans in reference to the black population in the twentieth century. Etymologically from the Arab word 'kāfir', meaning non-believer, white South Africans used it widely during apartheid. As a result of its historical roots in discrimination, it is now regarded as hate speech in South Africa.

> interest and his duty to work, will enlist, besides his bodily appetites, his home affections, his mental powers, and his conscience, on the side of industrious habits.[36]

The purpose of education was thus solely, in the eyes of many missionaries, to transform black pupils from 'heathens' to what was perceived as useful citizens. Subsequently, black pupils and their communities were at this stage not entirely satisfied with the quality of education that they were receiving, in addition to not perceiving the point of attending such a schooling environment. For example, the Natal Native Commission stated in 1882 that they did not foresee that ordinary 'Natives' would have the desire for schooling, while *The Kaffir Express* noted in 1872 that students at Lovedale actively rejected the principle of engaging in two hours compulsory work in the afternoons, labelling it 'the bane of their lives' and 'an utter abhorrence'.[37] A black pupil who was subjected to this manual labour, D.D.T. Jabavu, conceded that these jobs consisted of sweeping yards, repairing roads and cracking stones – work which would be of very little educational value to the pupils.[38] However, a missionary-educated minority was responsible for spreading ideas associated with the missionaries' attitudes regarding the 'Christianising' of black pupils, as they encouraged the ideas of wanting goods that were only attainable through purchase.[39] Religious instruction also focused on teaching pupils values of passivity, fear, contentment in adversity, obedience and patience.[40]

A missionary educator, Rev. J. Mountain, wrote in 1884 that the education that they were providing to black students would prepare them for a life, where at best they would be assimilated into society as 'telegraph messengers ... railway porters, interpreters, school teachers and ministers of the gospel'.[41] It added, however, that opportunities, even in these fields, would also be very limited for black individuals, perpetuating the argument of the missionaries' paternalistic attitudes.[42] By the 1890s, some breakaway churches sought to establish autonomy from the white government's control of black education, as an

[36] *Christian Express* VIII (95), 01 August 1878, pp. 1 - 2.
[37] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 53.
[38] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 67.
[39] E. Vea Rosnes, A time for destiny for Norwegian mission schools in Zululand and Natal under the policy of Bantu Education (1948 - 1955), *History of Education* 49 (1), 2020, p. 108.
[40] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 67.
[41] Rev. J Mountain quoted in the *Christian Express XIV*, 1 April 1884, in F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 45.
[42] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 45.

increased amount of educated elites within black communities strove to advance their economic and social stability through education and self-improvement.[43]

Missionary education was as widespread and varied as there were Christian denominations present in South Africa, each reflecting the specific values of their congregation's missions and ideological continuity, including but not limited to the Glasgow Mission Society,[44] German missionaries[45] and Norwegian missionaries.[46]

3. Mining manipulation and the rise of urbanisation (1886 - 1948)

South Africa's labour platform was set to change irrevocably from the 1870s with the discovery of diamonds and gold. The mineral revolution required a large number of labourers to initially work on claims on the diamond fields of Kimberley as unskilled labourers, and later as unskilled miners of gold on the Witwatersrand. The wealthy so-called 'Randlords', who were in charge of the vast majority of mines preferred employing black labourers for reasons relating to profit, since black labourers received significantly lower wages than their white counterparts.[47] The mining magnate, Sir Lionel Phillips, during a presidential address to the Chamber of Mines' annual general meeting in 1893 said: 'The less [a black employee] is paid, the longer he remains, and the more efficient he becomes.'[48] In addition, the large population of black migrant workers would serve as a proverbial gold mine for mine owners, as their numbers met the need for a large, cheap and sustainable labour force. Deep-level gold mining in South Africa was reliant on unskilled labour, as a vast quantity of gold ore needed to be extracted from the ground in order to be profitable.[49] The notorious compound systems were subsequently implemented to control mine workers and to provide mine owners with a sustainable and reliable work force.[50] In addition, the subsequently devastating impact on tribal communities due to this migration of large groups of young men, further increased the massive scale of urbanisation, as the need for black labour in the mines grew. This process is detailed in Luli Callinicos' 'Circle of poverty in the reserves',[51] which

[43] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 33.
[44] J.D. Jansen, Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education, *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, p. 201.
[45] L. Chisholm, *Between worlds: German missionaries and the transition from mission to Bantu Education in South Africa,* 2017.
[46] E. Vea Rosnes, A time for destiny for Norwegian mission schools in Zululand and Natal under the policy of Bantu Education (1948 - 1955), *History of Education* 49 (1), 2020, pp. 104 - 125.
[47] L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980, p. 16.
[48] L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980, p. 57.
[49] L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980, p. 14.
[50] R. Turrell, Rhodes, De Beers and monopoly, *The Journal of Commonwealth History* 10 (3), 1982, pp. 311 – 343.
[51] L. Callinicos, *Working life, 1886 – 1940*, 1987, p. 194.

indicates how the large-scale migration of males perpetuated poverty, as women were left behind to cultivate land, which created, with its failure, a reliance on commerce that was previously not necessary. The dependence on money and on the convenience of shops would again force men to continue returning to work on the mines and ultimately to urbanise.[52] By the 1920s, families started following men to cities due to the aforementioned circle of poverty, droughts, cattle diseases and the consequences of the 1913 Native's Land Act and its related taxes.[53] This would add a new dimension to the development of South Africa's history at an economic, politic and social level.[54]

These developments would in turn and inevitably also affect education. By 1905, the South African Native Affairs Commission found that black pupils and their communities were becoming increasingly disgruntled at the quality of education that they were receiving.[55] The twentieth century would see a tremendously important shift in this regard, but not for the better.

By 1911, a year after the creation of the Union of South Africa, it was estimated that 'almost a third of million [sic] Africans, Indians and Coloureds were communicants (not just adherents) of Christian churches, while 176 000 pupils of colour were studying in mission schools.'[56] Missionary education would permeate black society to such a degree that by 1914, every single African school in the Natal province, barring one, was associated to some degree with missionaries.[57] Natal, as a former British colony, was home to several missionaries who originated from English-speaking countries and their presence was certainly reflected in the majority of Africans educated by their hand. In Natal in particular, for example, the most influential missionary group was the American Zulu Mission.[58] This mission's work, amongst several others, are detailed in Charles Loram's 1917 book, where he not only explored contemporary schools' history, but also proposed new methods with which to improve the missionary education system.[59] As will be discussed later, Loram's approach to education would serve as a baseline for educational reformists who followed after him.

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[52] L. Callinicos, *Gold and workers, 1886 – 1924*, 1980, p. 30.
[53] The Native's Land Act was implemented in 1913, and saw only a small percentage of South Africa's land reserved for black ownership.
[54] L. Callinicos, *Working life, 1886 – 1940*, 1987, p. 194.
[55] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: the case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 446.
[56] H, Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 101.
[57] Province of Natal, Department of Education, *Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1914*.
[58] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.110.
[59] C. Loram, *The education of the South African native*, 1917, pp. 53 – 73, 163 – 233.

The steady increase in the number of schools for black pupils in the mid-twentieth century can be directly correlated to the development of a capitalist mode of production.[60] From the early days of South Africa's industrialist capitalism, black South Africans were constantly reprimanded and encouraged to accept their place of inferiority, oppression and exploitation. This is made blatantly apparent in the report of an Interdepartmental Committee which acknowledged that capitalists were in agreement that they 'must give the Native an education which will keep him in his place.'[61]

4. Apartheid and the early days of Bantu Education (1948 - 1976)

After a National Party victory in 1948, the white apartheid government set forth to implement their vision of a segregated South Africa. One of the pivotally important aspects of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, is the fact that the education of black pupils was placed solely in the hands of the state, taking the educational power out of the hands of the missionaries. However, in order to understand this implementation, one needs to be aware of what the funding and administration of black education comprised of prior to the 1953 legislation. The first important legislative change that saw the formalisation of a nation-wide finance policy regarding education accompanied the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Act of Union stipulated that education was to remain a provincial matter for the period of five years.[62] Concurrently, however, 'native affairs' were classified as national concerns, which meant that the administration of black education was the responsibility of the Union. The Union Government established a Union Native Affairs Commission in 1920, which would seek to advise on matters pertaining to black education.[63] Subsequently, there was an incremental shift from each of the four provinces, which used to fund black education from their own tax revenues, to vesting the responsibility solely in the Union Government twelve years later.[64] Jonathan Jansen characterises black education in the 1920s in South Africa, also referred to as 'Native Education,' as rapidly deteriorating on a structural level as a result of the first introductions to state-mandated segregated curricula. Black schooling was differentiated from white schools by making the teaching of vernacular mandatory at primary school level, as well as by placing an increased emphasis on the acquisition of practical skills for black children related to handwork, gardening, agriculture and needlework.[65] These changes to curricula were by no

[60] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 160.
[61] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 62.
[62] Statutes of Great Britain, *The South African Act,* 1909.
[63] *Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1927 - 1947*.
[64] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.129.
[65] J.D. Jansen, Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education, *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, p. 199.

means as egregious in its institutionalised discriminatory practices as its successor under the Afrikaans apartheid government would be. However, these educational reforms in the 1920s do point towards a certain complicity of the Union government and its supporters in oppressing and controlling black South Africans through education, and ultimately laying the foundation for total, state-mandated control from the 1950s onwards.[66]

Prior to Bantu Education, no consistency existed on an administrative level with regards to black education. Each of the four provinces in South Africa had their own approach to education in their respective areas, whilst the only real conformity existed in the sense that all four provinces practised segregationist education during this period. To serve as an example, in 1937 in Natal, there were 627 government-aided schools, which were almost exclusively run by missionaries. These educational institutions educated a total of 67 897 students.[67] The Cape Province, with its colonial and missionary legacy, accounted for 76.5 percent of the financial contributions for African education, while the Transvaal only expended 11.6 percent of government aid on its black schools.[68] Black schools in the Cape were even scrutinised under the same auspices by inspectors of 'European' and coloured schools, whilst schools for black pupils in the Transvaal were exempt from inspections by the educational department.[69] Subsequently, there were widespread inconsistencies between different schools in their different provinces.

As urbanisation rapidly took place by black migrant populations of the country, the Fagan and Sauer Commissions aimed at addressing what was perceived as being a 'worrying' number of black labourers moving into close proximity to whites in cities.[70] The Fagan Commission of 1946, also known as the Native Laws Commission, would provide interesting insight into the white psyche at the time. This pertained specifically to the large numbers of black people who were increasingly urbanising in search of jobs during World War II as South Africa's economy was booming. The report suggested three possibilities: the territorial separation between white and black individuals; a policy of non-discrimination; and finally a policy that would accept that white and black residents in South Africa had to co-exist.[71] The Commission concluded that black urbanisation was an inevitable aspect of a growing economy and

[66] C. Kros, "W.W.M. Eiselen: Architect of apartheid education" in P. Kallaway (ed.), *The history of education under apartheid*, *1948 - 1994*, 2002, p. 54.
[67] Province of Natal, *Report of the Education Commission*, 1937, p. 92.
[68] E. Vea Rosnes, A time for destiny for Norwegian mission schools in Zululand and Natal under the policy of Bantu Education (1948 - 1955), *History of Education* 49 (1), 2020, p. 110.
[69] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.132.
[70] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 309.
[71] *Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1927 - 1947*.

suggested that influx control, measures that controlled the number of black people allowed to reside in urban areas, be relaxed and that a more *laissez-faire* attitude be adopted. The Sauer Commission, appointed one year later, however, would be the one that would ultimately be accepted by the government. The Sauer Commission which was led by Paul Sauer, one of future Prime Minister D.F. Malan's closest associates, recommended turning apartheid into a comprehensive racial policy.[72] This Commission developed the origins of separate development as a way of ensuring the security and privilege of white South Africans.[73] The Sauer Commission also ultimately enunciated the NP's desire to afford black South Africans all opportunities within their own territories and most notably for the purposes of this study, that black students should receive state-controlled 'Christian National Education'.[74]

At the turn of the twentieth century, with significant political, economic and social changes occurring in black communities, English and Afrikaans[75] missionaries started differing about the methods they were adopting. English missionaries saw it as imperative that black South Africans be taught the habits of Western culture and develop a strong command of the English language as a method of ensuring that black South Africans could adapt successfully in the transforming economic and political landscape.[76] Conversely, Afrikaans missionaries continued to stress the importance of mother-tongue and cultural education for black people, which would ultimately be part and parcel of the recommendations that the Eiselen Commission of 1951 would make. Despite these differences, however, these two groups of missionaries would only officially part ways in the 1950s with the advent of Bantu Education.[77]

Educational statistics became bleaker as the century progressed.[78] In due course, black intellectuals started challenging what they perceived to be the under-funded missionary education system and the government's hand therein. Dr A. B. Xuma, who was elected president of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1940, lambasted the government's discrimination against black students in the educational

[72] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 309.
[73] *Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1927 - 1947*.
[74] E. Vea Rosnes, A time for destiny for Norwegian mission schools in Zululand and Natal under the policy of Bantu Education (1948 - 1955), *History of Education* 49 (1), 2020, p. 116.
[75] Afrikaans as a language has its origins with the Dutch colonisers of 1652. The language developed in time, rooted in its Dutch-origins while borrowing words from various languages prevalent in the Cape at that time. It was initially even called 'kitchen Dutch', as it was one of the languages spoken by the enslaved people of Dutch colonisers. Ultimately, the language become associated not only with the Afrikaans-speaking population, but also their sense of identity, to foster Afrikaner nationalism, and as the official *lingua franca* of the apartheid government. As a result, the language was often regarded as 'the language of the oppressor' in the fight against apartheid.
[76] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 256.
[77] G. Verhoef, 'Sonder onderwys, geen bevryding'. Moedertaalonderrig en gemeenskap in die grondslag vir swart onderwys in Suid-Afrika, 1952 - 1990, *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 56 (3), 2016, p. 750.
[78] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 129.

sphere. In his argument he stated that while the government had spent 'over £8 million on the education of the children of one and a half million whites, it committed only £500,000 for the education of children of five million blacks'.[79] By 1949, mission and black schools were in dire straits due to the lack of funding. The government's policy regarding black education was not 'a non-racial vision of education and [it] was not prepared to move spending on white and black education towards parity.'[80] Only approximately thirty percent of black children between the ages of seven and sixteen attended school and their attendance did not guarantee that they would eventually conclude their studies successfully.[81]

In addition, this period also witnessed how education in South Africa and other English-ruled areas on the African continent was influenced significantly by the model of education adopted in a segregated America. In an article, R. Hunt Davies Junior analyses the impact that key individuals would have in the formalisation of the American schooling model in South Africa. He focuses on Charles Templeman Loram, whose work for the Phelps-Stokes Commission[82] had a profound impact on the development of discriminatory educational practices in South Africa.[83] In addition to this role, he served on the Union Native Affairs Commission until 1930, and is known to have written speeches and proposals for J.B.M. Hertzog in the 1920s. Loram was often regarded as South Africa's leading 'expert' on African education, as he developed the theory of separate education in South Africa and the application thereof.[84] His influence in his official capacity is very telling of missionary education in South Africa preceding the Bantu Education Act of 1953. He believed that black South Africans would serve a role in society and that there 'should be a reasonable outlet for the educated Native to earn an honest living, to dwell under decent conditions and to have some voice in the management of his affairs.'[85] This statement is indicative of a paternalistic attitude towards the education of black pupils in South Africa, an attitude which would reverberate in Loram's approach and implementation of education. These observations are of importance, as Loram was not merely an individual that found himself within a certain *zeitgeist* of missionary education, but was actively involved in the development of curricula for black South Africans.

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[79] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 261.
[80] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 261.
[81] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008, p. 130.
[82] The Phelps-Stokes Fund was an American philanthropic organisation which sponsored two commissions to survey the state of education in schools in Africa in 1920 and 1924. The intention of these commissions was to advise the British colonial government on educational adjustments that may have been needed.
[83] J.W. Cell, *The highest stage of white supremacy*, 1982, p. 228.
[84] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.128.
[85] Charles T Loram quoted in R. Hunt Davis Junior, "Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p.111.

Loram's attitude can further be examined in his statement that black South Africans could at best aspire to be 'junior partners in the firm', a sentiment of white superiority which was supported by other South Africans at that time.[86] In his official capacity, Loram was in favour of black education being based on 'adaption', 'education for life' and the so-called relevance of black American education in African schooling.[87] He was of the opinion that missionaries were educating black pupils in a way which was too academic and 'bookish' and should instead be more practical and vocational in nature. This sentiment was echoed by other like-minded critics at that time. The American schooling model that influenced Loram and his subsequent curriculum development is indicative of the fact that Loram felt that the traditional, missionary-based system of education needed to be altered to be more practical – a sentiment shared and endorsed by the later apartheid government. Loram believed that it was natural for white individuals to be in the position to decide the type of life that black pupils should lead. The schooling curriculum, in accordance with his view, should also focus on teaching the black pupil 'practical' values, such as health and hygiene, agriculture, nature studies and woodworking, as well as allowing women to attend special schools which would train them as 'home demonstrators' by teaching them needlework and domestic science.[88] Loram, however, was not the only individual to share this view. An earlier report by the Interdepartmental Committee in 1936 echoed his sentiments, as it stated that the 'education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the black child for a subordinate society.'[89]

In accordance with this point of view, Loram also saw no point in teaching black pupils' subjects such as algebra, geometry and translation. Associated with this view was the importance of the community in the schooling environment. This shows the systematic move away from a purely missionary-based education, which focused on a model that resonates more with the one implemented by the Bantu Education Act. Hunt Davis Junior summarises Loram's approach to education and his subsequent educational legacy accurately, when stating that Loram 'found it much easier to work for the African than with him.'[90] In the mid-1930s, in the wake of Loram's legacy, as well as broader segregationist thinking

[86] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 113.
[87] A. Morris and J. Hyslop, Education in South Africa: the present crisis and the problems of reconstruction, *Social Justice* 18 (1/2), 1991, p. 43.
[88] J.D. Jansen, Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education, *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, p. 201.
[89] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 64.
[90] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Educators in South Africa" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.121.

at that time, the Union government was spending forty times more on education of a white student than his or her black counterpart.[91]

By 1945, an active attempt was made in black schools' syllabi to imbue black pupils with the notion that the 'correct attitude' would be imperative to their successful future. One such syllabus in the Orange Free State detailed that 'the ultimate aim of all education and the purpose for which our school exists, is to provide boys and girls with a training such as will enable them to take their proper place in life when they leave school.'[92] Similarly in the same year, J.N. Le Roux, who was at that stage not yet representing official state policy in his capacity as a member of parliament for the opposition, enunciated this point when he stated that schools:

> should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? … I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer of the country.[93]

Further policies, such as the apartheid government's Christian National Policy of 1948, would have a far-reaching effect on the quality of education that black students would receive in South Africa. This policy made several recommendations of a paternalistic nature, which included the importance of mother-tongue education (a sentiment echoed by the Eiselen Commission); that it should not be funded at the expense of white education; black pupils should not be prepared for a life of equal opportunities with whites; the preservation of cultural identity should be maintained; and this policy should be administered and organised by whites.[94] However, this view was not readily accepted by the black community.[95] This is evident in, for example, the black newspaper in parts of the Eastern Cape and

[91] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p. 69.
[92] Quoted in F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 62.
[93] J.N. Le Roux, as quoted in F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 66.
[94] P. Enslin, "The role of fundamental pedagogics in the formulation of educational policy in South Africa" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.140.
[95] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: the case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studie*s 14 (3), 1988, p. 447.

KwaZulu-Natal, *Inkundla ya Bantu,* which asserted in the 1940s that it is 'the eternal right of the African parent to say what form of education shall be given to his child'.[96]

Irrespective of black parents' views pertaining to the education that black pupils should receive, the apartheid government's Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who was Minister of Native Affairs at this time, would make his intentions regarding black education crystal clear – which was to preserve the general *status quo* and to prevent black agitation.[97] Verwoerd had mentioned in Parliament that they had studied and taken note of the social environment of black South Africans as being unskilled, rural and tribal, and stated 'and so it shall remain.'[98] In the apartheid government's mind, missionary schools were providing black pupils with a confidence that could be used to further their own political and labour demands – a situation which Verwoerd and his colleagues wanted to avoid at all costs.[99]

Perhaps most notoriously, Verwoerd stated during a speech in the Senate in 1954, with regards to Bantu Education that

> There is no place for him [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. …. for that reason it is of no avail for him to receive training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.[100]

By 1953 when the Bantu Education Act was signed into law, ninety percent of all black schools were state-aided missionary schools.[101] The English missionary schools were seen as responsible for producing 'worryingly' capable, well-spoken and intelligent black political leaders who had permeated South African society.[102] As the apartheid government was intent on protecting its constituency, this did not bode well with them, as it could pose a possible threat in terms of job security to white labourers who were not as educated as their black counterparts.[103] In accordance with the Bantu Education Act, the existing missionary schools had the option of handing over the control of their educational institutions

[96] *Ikundla ya Bantu* 6 (71), 31 January 1944, p. 3.
[97] R.K. Massie, *Loosing the bonds: The United States and South Africa in the apartheid years*, 1997, pp. 46 - 47.
[98] L. Maree, "The hearts and minds of the people" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 149.
[99] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, p. 505.
[100] L. Maree, "The hearts and minds of the people" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 149.
[101] F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 447.
[102] P. Enslin, "The role of fundamental pedagogics in the formulation of educational policy in South Africa" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 140.
[103] P. L. Bonner, P. Delius and D. Posel, *Apartheid's genesis*, 1993, p. 65, as well as F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 447.

to the government or to face the possibility of permanent closure as their government funding would imminently be cut off.[104]

Hunt Davis Junior argues that the debate surrounding the implementation of the Bantu Education Act was rooted in the differences of opinion regarding assimilation and segregation.[105] Despite these divergent views, the general sentiment that government and some missionaries appeared to have shared was similar: that their current state of education for black pupils could not be perpetuated much longer. The Eiselen Commission's findings made it clear that the black individuals who were interviewed, echoed this statement. This view was, surprisingly, also shared by a large percentage of white individuals.[106]

The watershed moment in 1953 which saw the formal implementation of Bantu Education promised a new and perceivably 'improved' approach to black education in South Africa.[107] In addition, formally segregated education's effects would be felt far beyond schooling, also encroaching on technical colleges (1955) and universities (1959).[108] Martin Legassick postulates that the new curriculum would serve two purposes: to provide the large majority of black South Africans with the bare minimum in terms of the education needed for labour; as well as to ensure that black South Africans would further their political and economic interests in the 'homelands', separated from the central, white-controlled state.[109] The nature of black schooling under Bantu Education obscured the power of the institution of schooling itself, instead it focused on social control and hegemony under capitalism.[110] Furthermore, the Eiselen Commission's findings and subsequent codification facilitated the apartheid government's large-scale social planning, efficiency and wielding expert control over political and administrative realms. In short, that educational experts' recommendations based on scientific method and social engineering would result in a stable social order.[111] In order to squash any protest action against Bantu Education,

[104] F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, 2000, p. 447.
[105] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.129.
[106] R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.111.
[107] Eiselen Commission, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 145.
[108] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 161.
[109] M. Legassick, "Gold, agriculture and secondary industry in South Africa 1885 – 1970" in R. Palmer and N. Parsons, *The roots of rural poverty in central and southern Africa*, 1977, p. 192.
[110] L. Maree, "The hearts and minds of the people" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p.159.
[111] B. Fleisch, "State formation and the origins of Bantu Education" in P. Kallaway, (ed.), *The history of education under apartheid*, *1948 - 1994*, 2002, p. 39.

legislation was also passed in 1953 which made it illegal for South Africans to strike. However, black resistance to Bantu Education would soon follow.[112]

5. Black resistance to Bantu Education (1976 - 1994)

Responses to Bantu Education were complex and varied in black communities, including total resistance to its implementation, 'strategic resistance', compliance or acceptance.[113] Indeed, numerous black teachers' viewpoints were nuanced and developed over time, and no one teacher would wholly prescribe to any one of the four types of responses mentioned above completely. Much deeper research is required to scrape the surface of these human experiences. Despite the Defiance Campaign of 1955's efforts two years after the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, primary school syllabuses already contained values that stressed ethnic and national diversity by 1956, identification with rural culture, obedience, communal loyalty, acceptance of common social roles, amongst others.[114] This is arguably a mere continuum of the missionary-based values in a more formalised, socially engineered environment. Schools were also largely 'tribalised', in an attempt to revitalise 'Bantu Culture.'[115]

As capital accumulation accelerated, a steady influx of black workers started permeating urban societies. Indeed, by 1954, the labour needs of the manufacturing industry nearly doubled the ratio of black to white labourers, growing to 2.5 black workers for every one white worker, a significant jump from the 1.3 to 1 ratio which existed in 1932.[116] This is indicative of the fluctuation of the so-called 'floating colour bar,' related to technical processes and labour needs and related educational subset of skills which the apartheid government earmarked for black workers.[117] Thus, in reaction to this changing labour landscape as the twentieth century progressed, the apartheid government would attempt to place more focus on building strong communities in the apartheid Bantustans by instilling values of ethnic pride in its pupils. The apartheid government encouraged the feminisation of the educational sector, freeing male labour for other purposes in the economy. In addition, with increased state control playing a large role, a significant number of pupils were registered to attend school. As a result, educators had

[112] N. Worden, *The making of modern South Africa,* 2012, p. 107.
[113] C. Soudien, "Teachers' responses to the introduction of apartheid" in P. Kallaway, (ed.), *The history of education under apartheid*, *1948 - 1994*, 2002, p. 215 and C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 162.
[114] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 163.
[115] F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 89.
[116] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 88.
[117] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: The case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 449.

to adopt a system of double sessions, in order to accommodate all the pupils. With pupils being encouraged to attend schooling in segregated areas, Bantustans would serve the purpose of putting young black pupils in their physical and political place. However, as more black families urbanised, schools in townships like Soweto became of increasing importance.[118]

Jonathan Hyslop argues that black South African's education was also linked to the apartheid government's wider desire to control an influx of families into urban areas, with the Department of Bantu Education reasoning that by decreasing the number of schools in cities, the amount of children of migrant workers would by proxy also decrease.[119] The apartheid state's attempts to link educational provisions through Bantu Education to the strengthening of Bantustans included the attempt to block secondary school expansion in urban areas; using education as a form of influx control; stifling technical training in urban areas; situating teacher training in homelands and excluding the use of outside funds by channelling private donations through the Department of Bantu Education.[120] Influenced heavily by labour reproduction theorists, it can be argued, as Jansen does, that Hyslop does at times assign too much significance to the relationship between the state, capitalism, and its far-reaching impact on education in an approach that can be reductionist and lose the broader nuance of education, curricula and the intention behind the apartheid government's policies.[121]

Concurrently, black South Africans, were still obliged to pay school fees, unlike white South Africans, which could easily add up to a month's income to send two children to school for a year. Nevertheless, black high school enrolment mushroomed from 123 000 in 1970 to over 300 000 in 1975. [122] It can be argued that the student protests in the years that followed crystallised the rising expectations, as well as the grievances, of the wider black community.[123] This discontent is reflected in the emphasis that the Minister of Bantu Education, W.A. Maree, placed on the matter in a 1964 parliamentary address,

[118] G. Verhoef, 'Sonder onderwys, geen bevryding'. Moedertaalonderrig en gemeenskap in die grondslag vir swart onderwys in Suid-Afrika, 1952 - 1990, *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 56 (3), 2016, p. 755.
[119] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: The case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studie*s 14 (3), 1988, p. 456.
[120] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: The case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studie*s 14 (3), 1988, pp. 455 - 457.
[121] J.D. Jansen, Reviewed work: The classroom struggle: policy and resistance in South Africa 1940 - 1990 by Jonathan Hyslop, *Journal of South African Studies* 30 (1), 2004, p.190.
[122] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: The case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studie*s 14 (3), 1988, p. 451.
[123] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 278.

indicating that 'four years at school' should be enough for black students to function in a semi-skilled labour market, with limited numeracy and literacy, but an established, foundational work ethic.[124]

Lynn Maree, a lecturer in education in London, followed the daily lives of pupils in a school in Soweto, preceding the Soweto Uprising of 1976. Her observations were recorded in the article *The hearts and minds of the people* and provides interesting accounts of what schooling consisted of. However, one should bear in mind that her study was done in isolation, as it was the observations of one woman, in one school. There is, however, some value to her insights on the eve of the Uprising. Maree details how black individuals are depicted as 'useful labourers, dishonest bargainers, foolish farmers and homeland citizens' in the textbooks that they were given by the state to study from.[125] The history taught to these young minds in the townships made no mention of black resistance, black political activity or leadership, but instead chose to focus much more on nation-building. Despite this, Maree noted how the need existed for both the teachers and the pupils to forge links to the real world in the history classes – as no such opportunity was provided within the syllabus.[126] She also draws attention to Ezekiel Mphahlele's view that the world is experienced through one's blackness – a sentiment that she picked up numerous times in her observations of the teaching at the school. Thus, she concluded, that Bantu Education had failed to turn the pupils and their educators' attention away from the so-called 'forbidden green pastures', as their general experiences with their immediate surroundings in Soweto at that time was significantly more formative and informative in their development than the textbooks preaching segregation in schools.[127] The widespread discrimination that was associated with apartheid permeated the pupils' lives on a daily basis and they were very much aware of their exploited position in society. These pupils did not experience emotions of gratitude and fairness for receiving state-funded education. [128] It is thus that these pupils would be the very ones to turn to the streets in 1976 to announce their discontent with the Bantu Education system to the world.

Furthermore, numerous black schools in urban areas thrived as intellectual centres of black aspirations in spite of the prohibitions and inhibitions associated with Bantu Education. The historian Clive Glaser explores in detail how Morris Isaacson High School and Orlando High School, both in the township of

[124] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: The case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 451.
[125] L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.152.
[126] C. Glaser, Soweto’s islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 168.
[127] L. Maree, “The hearts and minds of the people” in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education*, 1984, p.157.
[128] C. Glaser, Soweto’s islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 168.

Soweto outside of Johannesburg, experienced their most successful years of education in the 1960s and early 1970s.[129] Glaser attributes the success of these schools to the resilience of both the teachers and school leadership, who together fostered an environment of rigour, discipline and critical engagement.[130] Due to Bantu Education's relatively recent implementation in the 1960s, most of the effects of the draconian legislation had not yet trickled up the proverbial educational ladder, resulting in secondary schools that were not overcrowded at that time. In addition, strong leadership roles were assumed by courageous and politically astute principals such as Derek Kobe and Lekgau Macauley Mathabathe. These men improved their schools by hiring strong faculty members who were regarded as an intellectual elite group who were revered and perceived as role models within their communities; inviting American diplomats to send guest speakers to their school (being, for example, in frequent contact with the American Embassy);[131] introducing students to relevant current affairs such as African independence movements; as well as creating a culture of discipline and self-identity. For example, principal T.W. Kambule would, *inter alia*, mock students who preferred their Western names, and insist on calling them by their African names,[132] an impactful gesture to young and impressionable students.[133] Indeed, so successful was Orlando High School as an intellectual centre at the centre of segregated education, that its alumnus include political figures such as Kgalema Motlanthe, Jackie Selebi, Pansy Tlakula and Frank Chikane, poets such as Wally Serote and South Africa's first black nuclear physicist, Gordon Sibiya. While these well-known South Africans made a profound impact on society after their graduation from Orlando High School, so too did the countless other lesser-known pharmacists, doctors, social workers, nurses and academics alter the fabric of their society as a result of their education.[134]

It is thus no surprise that many young South Africans, inspired by their teachers and principals, sprang to action, including the South African Student Movement, an organisation which would play a pivotal role in the Soweto Riots. On the 16th of June of 1976, an estimated fifteen thousand pupils[135] revolted

[129] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, pp. 505 - 518, as well as C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, pp. 159 - 171.
[130] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, p. 508.
[131] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 165.
[132] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 167.
[133] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, pp. 511 - 513.
[134] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 170.
[135] Other sources, such as Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga's *New history of South Africa*, 2007, state that up to twenty thousand students participated.

in Soweto to make their dissatisfaction known with Bantu Education's language policy which enshrined Afrikaans as one of the compulsory languages of instruction in secondary schools.[136] The government's reaction to the riots, which soon spread nationally, was brutal. Thousands of protesting youths were assaulted with tear gas and arrested, while several others were killed.[137] This was most famously immortalised by the photograph of a mortally wounded, twelve-year-old Hector Pieterson, which would become an international symbol of the apartheid government's brutality.[138]

Despite the apartheid government eventually relaxing its decree pertaining to Afrikaans, revolts would persist in the months to come against the discriminating education that black pupils were receiving.[139] These revolts were no longer restricted to Soweto. The Transvaal, northern Free State and Natal all saw an increase in protests, with townships in Cape Town, like Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa became important centres of discontent.[140] The youth had come to the realisation that they had a voice, and they were becoming increasingly proficient at ensuring that it would be heard. Black educators in urban areas also resigned *en masse* in protest over Bantu Education, resulting in the devastating consequence of a loss or disruption of institutional memory in schools that were formerly hubs for intellectual and critical engagement.[141]

The 1980s saw a shift in Bantu Education, which focused more on the development of technical and vocational education. This was an attempt to deal with the 'skills shortages' discourse used by various initiatives aimed at reforming black education.[142] This initiative may have been spurred on by the recent onset of strikes on a large scale that South Africa was facing at that time. Public discontent among workers grew rapidly: in 1970, South Africa experienced 76 formal strikes which involved 4 146 workers, to 394 strikes in 1982 where 141 571 workers participated.[143] Despite these reforms, which included the Human Sciences Research Council's Commission of Inquiry (which aimed to recommend reforms to streamline and rationalise the education system in 1980), the majority of black pupils in South Africa still received inadequate education.[144] The postulation of 'skill shortages' by officials attempting to subdue

[136] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008, p. 153.
[137] *Rand Daily Mail* and *Die Transvaler,* 17 June 1976, p. 1.
[138] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 2008, p. 153.
[139] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 364.
[140] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 365.
[141] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, p. 515.
[142] L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 387.
[143] South African Institute of Race Relations, *Annual Survey: 1982,* pp. 73 – 74.
[144] L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 389.

the discontent associated with poor education did not, however, find its origins in the 1980s when South Africa's political and economic system found itself in a particularly tumultuous time. Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp have argued that this shortage started already in the 1960s, but that the shortages were exacerbated over time due to a shortage of white skilled labour and the Bantu Education system which stunted the development of skilled black labourers.[145]

In the light of this, the 1980s saw an influx of corporations becoming involved in subsidising education for black South Africans and the black education system became, in many instances, a major private sector undertaking. Historian Linda Chisholm refers specifically to the Anglo-American Chairman's Fund: as a fund that 'considers that shortcomings in black education strain South Africa's social fabric more than any other factor'.[146] Private sector involvement in education in South Africa in the 1980s saw three forms: the establishment of independent trusts to administer these projects; joint ventures with the Department of Educational Training; as well as in-service training.[147] Furthermore, in 1982, even newspapers were becoming involved in the funding of black education, as is evident in the *Star*'s endeavour entitled 'Adopt-A-School' which it defended as being a caring concern - 'it is not paternalism, but vital partnership' - as a *Star* editorial noted.[148] Chisholm argues that the skills shortage postulation played a very powerful part in negotiating the discourse of 'legitimation' and that it serves as a metaphor through which consent to reconstruction was won. In her view, this was crucially necessary in the 1980s, when it became increasingly apparent that the failure of Bantu Education could no longer be denied, to make way for the ideological incorporation of sectors of the black population of South Africa.[149] Perhaps one of the greatest casualties for black education in the 1980s was what Glaser identifies as black educators being seen as complicit and cooperative in the implementation of the oppressive apartheid regime's vision, resulting in a lack of prestige for teaching as a profession.[150] A lack of funding to black urban schools also had a lasting impact, with the discrepancies in funding being evident in data from 1983 to 1984 (see Figure IV).

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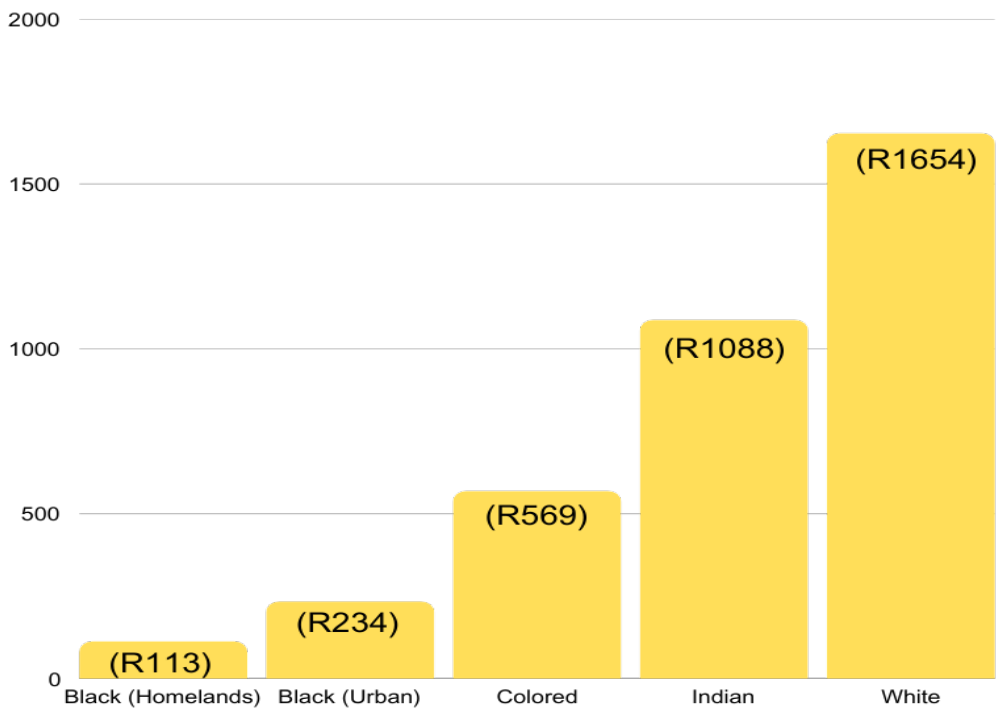
[145] M. Hartwig and R. Sharp, 'The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa' in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 310.
[146] B.S. Ndimande, From Bantu Education to fight for socially just education, *Equity and Excellence in Education* 46 (1), 2013, p. 22.
[147] L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, pp. 297 – 298.
[148] *The Star,* 02 September 1982, p. 8.
[149] L. Chisholm, "Redefining black skills: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, pp. 405 – 406.
[150] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: Why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, p. 516.

Figure IV: Per capita annual educational expenditure in South African schools, by race (1983 - 1984)[151]



In conclusion, Edgar Brooks summarised this chapter's historical sentiment succinctly, claiming that the perceptions of black education in South Africa by both missionary schools and the apartheid government up to the latter part of the twentieth century were 'too humane to prohibit it (for black students) … too human to encourage it.'[152]

[151] Compiled using data from R. Omond, *The apartheid handbook: a guide to South Africa's every day racial policies*, cited in J.D. Jansen, Curriculum change and contextual realities: an analysis of recent trends in black South African education, *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale de l'Education* 34 (3), 1988, p. 379.
[152] Edgar Brookes as quotes in F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 73.

Chapter V

From friends to foes: Diplomatic relationships between the United States and South Africa in the 1950s

'In sum, we need more from South Africa than she does from us. If discriminatory measures were instituted by both countries we would be the heavy losers.'

- United States State Department, 'Strategic Materials from the Union of South Africa', 17 April 1952

1. Introduction

Few decades in modern history had a more enduring legacy on global relationships than the 1950s. As the world was recovering and reconstructing itself in the wake of World War II (1939 - 1945), it also faced a reckoning: how to respond to the new schism of ideological differences between the East and the West; navigating the potential of mutually assured destruction as strides were made globally in nuclear arms development; responding to the rising tide of decoloniality in the Global South; as well as evaluating racism and domestic human rights violations on a global stage with the advent of the United Nations (UN).

This chapter seeks to deepen the clarity and nuance of the existing scholarship on foreign relations in the early 1950s, with specific reference to the United States and South Africa to provide the background context for the study at hand. As is illustrated, the 1950s was a period of transition for both nations as they were navigating uncharted waters and attempting to solidify their respective policies both domestically and internationally. As segregated education is the focus of this thesis, particular attention will be paid to this aspect's role on impacting diplomacy. As the United States and South Africa came together in partnership in the early 1950s, this chapter is not of a comparative nature, but rather a discussion of the domestic and shared global tides and so-called 'winds of change'[1] that steered the course of their relationship. Their paradoxical diplomatic relationship will be discussed in this chapter within the historical timeframe of 1950 - 1960, as this decade saw both profound progress and regressions in educational equality through the Bantu Education Act (1953) and *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954). The chapter concludes its main discussion with the Sharpeville Massacre (1960),[2] as this tragic event served as a catalyst for broader international awareness of racially discriminatory policies across the globe, including the Bantu Education Act.

Despite the enduring differences between these two nations' respective attitudes towards racial equality, they continued to exist as Western allies with mutual political interests in the 1950s. This chapter illustrates the extent to which their relationship was one of agreeing to meet on 'middle ground.'[3] To

[1] This is a reference to the speech made by British Prime Minister, Harold McMillan, in Cape Town, South Africa in 1960. The term alludes to the British Empire's acceptance of the inevitability of decolonisation and independence in their colonies.
[2] The Sharpeville Massacre started as a peaceful protest against discriminatory pass books. After police opened fire on crowds, 69 protesters were killed and 186 wounded. For more, see T. Simpson, *History of South Africa: From 1902 - present,* 2021, pp. 165 - 166.
[3] P. Rich, United States containment policy, South Africa and the apartheid dilemma, *Review of International Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 180.

achieve this chronologically, the chapter first provides a broad overview of the United States and South Africa's responses to the Cold War, before analysing their economic partnership, developing diplomatic relationship, and finally the role of discriminatory measures, such as education, and the associated international outcry in the UN in shaping the legacy of their collaboration in the decades that followed. It should also be noted that the events and diplomatic interactions described in this chapter are an essential component to contextualising much of the subsequent discussions present in the print media, which will be examined in the chapters to follow.

2. The Cold War's creation: A global counter-communist climate

The 1950s was a tumultuous time for a myriad of nations as they navigated their new Cold War reality. It was also an exciting time for many others who were sensing imminent seismic shifts in the Third World and the promise of independence from their colonial oppressors. For both the United States and South Africa, their era of isolationism had passed, and a more globalised diplomatic policy was adopted.

The United States traversed this decade under the presidencies of Harry S. Truman (1945 - 1953) and Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953 - 1961). Both presidents played significant roles in the international fight against the spread of communism.[4] Their contemporaries in South Africa were equally concerned with this ideological threat under the leadership of Daniel F. Malan (1948 - 1954), Johannes G. Strijdom (1954 - 1958), and Hendrik F. Verwoerd (1958 - 1966) as Prime Ministers of the National Party-led apartheid government.[5] At the birth of the new decade, the United States was still coming to terms with two major historical events that occurred in 1949 and jolted it from complacency in terms of the perceived global communist threat. First, the USSR successfully detonated its first atomic bomb in 1949, much earlier than American intelligence officials had anticipated would be possible.[6] Second, the Berlin Airlift (1948 - 1949),[7] served as an awakening to the Western world to the Soviet Union's recalcitrance and ruthless tactics. These two events also led to the increased animosity against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its ideology of communism.

[4] Truman's presidency was characterized by the Truman Doctrine (1947), which pledged support to democratic nations threatened by communist forces, the European Recovery Plan (colloquially known as the Marshall Plan of 1948), as well as the Berlin Airlift (1948 - 1949). Eisenhower's lasting legacy, on the other hand, relates to the stockpiling of weapons by the US and the development of its military-industrial complex, while also seeking nuclear security with Atoms for Peace (1953).
[5] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 314.
[6] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 562.
[7] The Berlin Airlift saw the US and its allies supply West Berlin with life-saving supplies by air after a Soviet-backed blockade cut Berlin off from access to items essential for survival.

Truman's foreign policy was perhaps best known for the Truman Doctrine (1947) and its attempt to contain communism internationally. The Truman Doctrine became a lifeline for democratic countries who sought American support against authoritarian forces. As it became widely accepted internationally, it also reshaped how the world thought of the United States as leaders of the so-called 'free world,' and fundamentally altered the rhetoric of anti-colonialism.[8] Simultaneously, influential American thinkers in the field of foreign affairs became more vocal about the importance of progressive domestic reform in the United States as a means of counteracting the ideological appeal of the Soviet Union within the colonial world.[9] This meant that the United States had to also attempt to navigate the so-called 'difficult middle course' between their allied Western imperial powers, and the people of colour whom they historically ruled over.[10]

The United States struggled to balance the role of being the so-called 'leader of the free world,' while white supremacy, perceived communist threats and racial segregation were still a reality within its own borders. The argument that white supremacy and anti-communism were major forces in shaping post-World War II life and politics within the United States is defined by Eric McDuffie as the 'Horne thesis'.[11] This thesis postulates that the freedom movements of the 1950s and 1960s across the African diaspora were rooted in both anti-communism and opposition to white supremacy, and that the Cold War subsequently represented a rapture in black American life and political advancement.[12]

Indeed, as early as 1944 the influential Swedish sociologist and economist Gunnar Myrdal cautioned the United States against the 'changing tides of the world'.[13] With particular reference to its racial discrimination, Myrdal warned that continued Jim Crow laws would equate to a loss of international prestige, power, and even become a hindrance to its future security.[14] World War II in essence marked the end of America's luxury of isolationism, and Mydral continues by stating: 'Many old sins and stupidities are today staring back upon the white man, and he continues to commit them, though he now knows better.'[15] Meanwhile, the author Pearl S. Buck wrote:

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[8] P.M. von Eschen, *Race against empire. Black Americans and anticolonialism, 1937 - 1957*, 1997, p. 97.
[9] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 108.
[10] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 177.
[11] E.S. McDuffie, Black and red: Black liberation, the Cold War, and the Horne thesis, *The Journal of African American History* 96 (2), 2011, p. 236.
[12] E.S. McDuffie, Black and red: Black liberation, the Cold War, and the Horne thesis, *The Journal of African American History* 96 (2), 2011, p. 236.
[13] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy, Volume II*, 1996, p. 1016.
[14] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy, Volume II*, 1996, p. 1016.
[15] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy, Volume II*, 1996, p. 1016.

> we cannot win [World War II] without convincing our colored allies - who are most of our allies - that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing superior over colored peoples. The deep patience of colored peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will.[16]

American segregation received more international criticism than any other area of the United States race relations in a post-World War II world. President Truman's committee on civil rights concluded that 'the treatment which our Negroes receive is taken as a reflection of our attitude toward all dark skinned peoples we cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics.'[17] The United States, cognisant of how its treatment of racial minorities impacted its global reputation argued that:

> the existence of discrimination against minority groups in the United States has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. Racial discrimination furnishes grist for the communist propaganda mills, and it raises doubts even among friendly nations as to the intensity of our devotion to the democratic faith.[18]

These concerns stretched into President Eisenhower's administration. While he was concerned about how racial tensions in America were perceived by the communist East, he was even more sensitive to their potential impacts on the attitudes of African leaders, such as Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah.[19] As Figure V, a Soviet propaganda poster, illustrates, these fears were not unfounded. The poster, entitled 'Svoboda po-amerikanski', translates as 'Freedom: The American way', and it depicts four separate scenes that are critical of the United States, including the Soviet perceptions of the United States' freedom of the press; freedom of the individual; freedom of associations and meetings; and freedom of opinion. [20]

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[16] P.S. Buck, *American unity and Asia*, 1942, p. 25.
[17] A.S. Layton, International pressure and the US government's response to Little Rock, T*he Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66 (2), 2007, p. 243.
[18] M.L. Dudziak, *Brown* as a Cold War case, *The Journal of American History* 91 (1), 2004, p. 34.
[19] E. Kissi, Paradoxes of American development diplomacy in the early Cold War period, *Past & Present* 215, 2012, p. 275.
[20] Keston Center, Keston Digital Archive, Baylor University. Digital ID: ml-keston-pos_053. https://digitalcollections-baylor.quartexcollections.com/Documents/Detail/svoboda-po-amerikanski/1064161 Accessed 14 April 2024.

Figure V: Russian propaganda poster (1950)[21]

White South Africans were frequently appalled by the chronic, explosive violence of American segregation, believing that the United States was filled with examples of situations to avoid, including its frequent lynchings and race riots.[22] As J.W. Cell aptly summarises, 'The American South, to borrow R.H. Tawney's famous metaphor of the magic mirror, was an enchanted glass in which white South Africans might glimpse fleeting images of their own future. Some of the distorted reflections were helpful and comforting; others were ugly and frightening. All of them were fascinating.'[23]

President Truman subsequently knew how essential it was for his administration to take meaningful action pertaining to civil rights to combat the harm this racial discrimination was inflicting upon the United

[21] Keston Center, Keston Digital Archive, Baylor University. Digital ID: ml-keston-pos_053. https://digitalcollections-baylor.quartexcollections.com/Documents/Detail/svoboda-po-amerikanski/1064161 Accessed 14 April 2024.
[22] J.W. Cell, *The highest stage of white supremacy*, 1982, p. 194.
[23] J.W. Cell, *The highest stage of white supremacy*, 1982, p. 194.

States' global reputation.[24] He recognised that the removal of racial barriers within the United States itself would significantly increase 'the faith of other countries in this country's capacity for leadership.'[25] At the same time, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) cautioned against the United States relationship with South Africa when it stated that it was 'something of a propaganda liability to the United States and the western bloc.'[26] Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, wrote in 1952 in the *amicus curiae* brief for the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case:

> the continuance of racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment to this government in the day-to-day, contact of its foreign relations; and it jeopardises the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world.[27]

Thus, the battle in the United States against white supremacy ultimately resulted in desegregation as a Cold War imperative.[28] While the Third World did become increasingly important to the Truman administration, their predominant focus lay with the task of strengthening and unifying the industrial heartland of Western Europe against the immediate communist threat.[29] Similarly, some argue that Truman's successor, President Eisenhower's administration's greatest flaw was the way in which it underestimated the significant historical developments in the mid-twentieth century.[30] In insisting on viewing Third World nationalism through a Cold War political lens, it ultimately undermined a basic American policy goal by contributing to instability in these regions rather than offering long-term stability in the Third World.[31] By continuing a 'Europe first' approach, Eisenhower alienated newly independent African nations, which undermined his country's Cold War efforts.[32] Jim Crow segregation in the United States also added to the suspicion with which African leaders regarded Washington, as this was

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[24] M.L. Dudziak, 'Birmingham, Addis Ababa, and the image of America: International influence on US civil rights politics in the Kennedy administration,' in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 183.
[25] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 142.
[26] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 104.
[27] A. Lester, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* overseas, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 148 (4), 2004, pp. 458 - 459.
[28] G. Horne, 'Race from power: US foreign policy and the general crisis of white supremacy,' in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 54.
[29] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 113.
[30] R.J. McMahon, Eisenhower and Third World nationalism: A critique of the revisionists, *Political Science Quarterly*, 101 (3), 1986, p. 454.
[31] R.J. McMahon, Eisenhower and Third World nationalism: A critique of the revisionists, *Political Science Quarterly*, 101 (3), 1986, p. 457.
[32] R.J. McMahon, Eisenhower and Third World nationalism: A critique of the revisionists, *Political Science Quarterly*, 101 (3), 1986, p. 470.

perceived of as the proverbial 'Achilles heel' to the United States' propaganda campaign to win the 'hearts and minds' of the people of the emerging Third World.[33] At times, it has been argued, the United States provided aid as a form of economic and cultural intervention designed to re-shape the recipient societies in the image of the United States.[34] However, as a rule, the United States had very little direct and assertive policy influence in Africa in the 1950s. This might be reflective of the State Department's short-sighted conclusion at that time that the impact of African politics globally would be marginal, and that the Pan Africanist Movement would be short-lived.[35]

Meanwhile, the first proxy war of the Cold War, the Korean Conflict (1950 - 1953) led to increased militarisation in the United States, and a greater fear of the imminence of a direct Soviet-American clash.[36] As a result, the United States looked to strengthen its diplomatic relationship with allies who could provide support in the fight against communism; resources needed to build up its armaments; protection of strategic locations; and military support in the case of the Cold War turning hot. The United States soon realised that it could rely consistently on the South African Union government for all of these aspects.[37] In addition to South Africa being an assertive anti-communist ally in Africa, their diplomatic relationship also led to the foundation of many of the enduring economic links between South Africa and the United States, including South Africa dispatching a fighter squadron nicknamed 'Flying Cheetahs' during the Korean Conflict.[38]

South African concerns with the spread of communism were discussed in Parliament in 1945 by the then-opposition leader of the National Party (NP), D.F. Malan. He argued that the terms of the Yalta Agreement[39] essentially handed over the continent to communist ideology by collaborating with the USSR's Joseph Stalin.[40] Malan articulated this fear of communism when he described it as a 'cancer

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[33] E.S. McDuffie, Black and red: Black liberation, the Cold War, and the Horne thesis, *The Journal of African American History* 96 (2), 2011, p. 236.
[34] E. Kissi, Paradoxes of American development diplomacy in the early Cold War period, *Past & Present,* 215, 2012, p. 271.
[35] P. Rich, United States containment policy, South Africa and the apartheid dilemma, *Review of International Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 181.
[36] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 138.
[37] C.J. Makgala, Review work: Selling apartheid: South Africa's global propaganda war by Ron Nixon, *African Historical Review* 48 (1), 2016, pp. 169 - 173.
[38] P. Rich, United States containment policy, South Africa and the apartheid dilemma, *Review of International Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 179.
[39] The Yalta Agreement, signed in February 1945, essentially outlined a roadmap for how to progress once World War II concluded. It related, for example, to the division of Germany into four occupation zones.
[40] W. Botes, Politieke persepsie: skaduwees, eggo's of werklikheid - 'n ontleding van Suid-Afrika se persepsies van die kommunistiese bedreiging, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 16 (1), 2007, p. 48.

that continues to spread and eat away' at Western Democratic ideas.[41] Meanwhile, the Minister of Justice at the time, C.R. Swart, likened communism to a poison to the Afrikaner *volk*, and warned that South Africa was 'a flammable powder keg' waiting to explode once communism takes hold.[42] Malan emphasised that the threat of communist aggression in Berlin was concerning. He built on his theme from 1945 onwards, and he stated that if Germany was lost to the West nothing would 'be able to check the communist tidal wave in Europe, and in the world.'[43]

Following the NP's surprise election victory in 1948, the new apartheid government officially moved away from South Africa's isolationist stance by declaring that it could not be neutral in the event of a war between the communist and non-communist blocs of the world - a debate which had been at the forefront of the National Party's public foreign policy stance from 1947.[44] Prime Minister Malan, also outlined his government's foreign policy approach in a nationwide broadcast. In this address, Malan assured South Africans that their country's interests would always be placed first. Furthermore, he announced that the Union of South Africa had accepted membership to the UN on the condition that they did not interfere with its domestic affairs. Furthermore, he reassured its citizens that all cooperation with foreign nations were rooted in the condition that they did not tamper with South Africa's autonomous rights.[45] This argument was used as motivation for South Africa to support the West not only with the Berlin Airlift (1948 - 1949), but also in the Korean Conflict (1950 - 1953).[46] Malan hoped that South Africa's participation in the Korean peninsula would increase favour towards South Africa internationally, and specifically with the UN.[47]

Malan intersected his fear of the spread of communism (the so-called *rooigevaar,* or 'red danger') with the reputed *swartgevaar,* or 'fear of black people' taking control of South Africa. In a 1948 pamphlet entitled 'The Communist Danger,' the National Party described how communists advocated for racial equality, miscegenation and atheism. In short, communism was a threat to the continued existence of

[41] W. Botes, Politieke persepsie: skaduwees, eggo's of werklikheid - 'n ontleding van Suid-Afrika se persepsies van die kommunistiese bedreiging, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 16 (1), 2007, p. 48.
[42] W. Botes, Politieke persepsie: skaduwees, eggo's of werklikheid - 'n ontleding van Suid-Afrika se persepsies van die kommunistiese bedreiging, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 16 (1), 2007, p. 49.
[43] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 131.
[44] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 128.
[45] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 130.
[46] E. Michel, 'Since we can't now bet on a winner, we should be hedging out bets and buying time': President John F. Kennedy, domestic racial equality and apartheid South Africa in the early 1960s, *Safundi* 22 (4), 2021, p. 340.
[47] L. Koorts, An aging anachronism: D.F. Malan as a Prime Minister, 1948 - 1954, *Kronos* 36, 2010, p. 116.

the white, Christian nation in South Africa.[48] Malan continued to verbalise his government's fears pertaining to communism in 1951:

> Communism is a double danger to South Africa. Communism can be more destructive in South Africa than elsewhere not merely because of its ideology, but because of the fact that it makes a special appeal to the country's non-European population, and if the communists achieve in South Africa what they want to achieve as far as the non-European population of the country is concerned, the death knell will have been sounded for white civilization and South Africa.[49]

The National Party government saw themselves as an indispensable bulwark against communism in Africa. They believed that the best weapon to combat the *ideology* of communism was another ideology which existed as the antithesis of communist ideals. Their solution was the apartheid ideology of separate development.[50] The American CIA, however, did not deem the communist threat in South Africa as particularly significant, noting the party's influence was 'negligible'.[51] This stance against communism remained constant throughout the apartheid government's reign.[52]

Meanwhile, both the United States and South Africa turned towards their legal systems domestically to deal with the communist threat on the home front. First, South Africa passed the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), which outlawed the communist party, or any broadly associated activities in South Africa.[53] The legislation had a widespread impact as it gave the Nationalist government the power to ban not only people, but also organisations, gatherings and publications it deemed a communist threat.[54] In time, the draconian legislation resulted in action against anyone who criticised apartheid, as they were believed to be a communist, a fellow traveller, or some other kind of subversive.[55] A mere three months later, the United States followed suit, when Congress passed the Internal Security Act

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[48] W. Botes, Politieke persepsie: skaduwees, eggo's of werklikheid - 'n ontleding van Suid-Afrika se persepsies van die kommunistiese bedreiging, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 16 (1), 2007, p. 48.
[49] J. Barber, *South Africa's foreign policy, 1945 - 1970*, 1973, p. 58.
[50] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 168.
[51] J. Herbst, Analyzing apartheid: How accurate were US intelligence estimates of South Africa, 1948 - 94? *African Affairs* 102 (406), 2003, p. 88.
[52] H.F. Verwoerd echoed this stance during his term when he stated that 'South Africa is unequivocally the symbol of anti-communism in Africa. Although often abused, we are also still a bastion in Africa for Christianity and the western world.' Verwoerd warned that the continued attitude of the West was not based on principle, farsightedness or self-reliance. 'If Southern Africa should be lost to the West' he said, 'then I am convinced that this will upset the balance of military and strategic power in the world.' As quoted in A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 135.
[53] Parliament of South Africa, The Suppression of Communism Act, 1950. Act No. 44 of 1950.
[54] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 231.
[55] Intelligence assessment, January 1978, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1977 - 1980*, Volume XVI. Southern Africa, p. 989.

(1950).[56] This dictum, also known as the McCarran Act, tightened existing espionage and sabotage laws, and required the registration of all members of groups that fell under a very broad definition of 'communist'.[57] This Act was passed concurrent to Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy's proverbial 'witch hunt' against subversive communist activity within the United States in the 1950s.[58] Ultimately, South Africa's vocal opposition to communism led to a schism in South African-Soviet relations, with the Soviet Union withdrawing its consular services in South Africa in 1956.[59]

As the world was navigating its new Cold War reality following the conclusion of World War II, so too the National Party in South Africa was assessing the road ahead for the implementation of its election promise of racial segregation, or apartheid. As argued by both Deborah Posel and Lindie Koorts, at its inception, apartheid was not yet an intentional, fully formed systemic policy.[60] Instead, in its infancy, apartheid was a haphazard implementation of policies as the government found its feet for its ultimate approach to racial separation.[61] As a result, both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations had to subsequently walk a delicate tightrope, balancing the advantages of anti-communist South Africa with its liability to America's global identity regarding institutionalised racism.[62] However, the United States was contending with its own historical imperialist hypocrisies. As the author and self-proclaimed anti-imperialist, Mark Twain, wrote in the *New York Herald* at the start of the twentieth century:

> I bring you the stately matron named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmirched, and dishonored from pirate rides in Kiao-Chou, Manchuria, South Africa, and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle, and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies.[63]

The territories impacted by American imperialism started resisting it in their own ways. For example, by the mid-twentieth century, Filipino leaders manipulated United States Cold War policy that was focused on containing communism to their advantage.[64] This was a natural consequence of the lasting national

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[56] 81st United States Congress, Internal Security Act of 1950, 64 Stat. 987.
[57] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 138.
[58] L. Koorts, An aging anachronism: D.F. Malan as a Prime Minister, 1948 - 1954, *Kronos* 36, 2010, p. 121.
[59] W. Botes, Politieke persepsie: skaduwees, eggo's of werklikheid - 'n ontleding van Suid-Afrika se persepsies van die kommunistiese bedreiging, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 16 (1), 2007, p. 50.
[60] P. L. Bonner, P. Delius and D. Posel, *Apartheid's genesis*, 1993, p. 65, and L. Koorts, An aging anachronism: D.F. Malan as a Prime Minister, 1948 - 1954, *Kronos* 36, 2010, p. 111.
[61] L. Koorts, An aging anachronism: D.F. Malan as a Prime Minister, 1948 - 1954, *Kronos* 36, 2010, p. 111.
[62] T. Ambrosio, *Ethnic identity groups and U.S. foreign policy*, 2002, p.49.
[63] H. Zinn, *A people's history of the United States: 1492 - present*, 2003, p. 321.
[64] Realising their strategic advantage to the US due to its position in the Pacific, and as a result of their shared history, the two nations signed a Mutual Defense Treaty in 1951. Cold War fears gave the island nations a proverbial bargaining chip in determining the future relationship between the US and the Philippines.

discontent with, and lingering historical legacy of, American imperialism, rooted in the Philippine-American War of 1899 - 1902, which resulted in American victory and encroaching United States interests in the Philippines.[65]

While South Africa was forging ahead with racially discriminatory laws, including the Bantu Education Act in 1953, the United States was reckoning with the reality that the implementation of integrated education would be an arduous task following the 1954 *Brown* v. *Board of Education*-ruling. These difficulties for their black citizens were placed in the spotlight when the relationship between race and colonialism took centre stage during the Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955.[66] This conference for the emerging Third World opened the door for renewed global diplomacy, as nations began a sustained campaign for independence from colonial oppressors and to rid itself of the yoke of white supremacy.[67] As Richard Wright summarised after attending the conference:

> At the very moment when the United States was trying to iron out the brutal kinks of its race problem, there came along a world event which reawakened in the hearts of its 23,000,000 coloured citizens the feeling of race, a feeling which the racial mores of American whites had induced deep in their hearts. If a man as sophisticated as [black New York] Congressman [Adam] Powell felt this, then one can safely assume that in less schooled and more naive hearts it went profoundly deep.[68]

The United States had failed in its attempts to abort the Conference, and as a result, Bandung was important to the nation for a number of reasons: it represented a new obstacle in United States pre-eminence in Asia; it provoked a fundamental reassessment of European colonial involvement in Africa; and it highlighted the intersection of race in American domestic policy and foreign policy.[69] Following the Conference, the United States stood at the intersection of emerging Third World regional solidarity, and the security architecture sustained by the United States for a containing communism.[70] Meanwhile, the Union of South Africa was seen as the most egregious example of institutionalised racial discrimination, and as a result, the delegates of the Conference expressed that Washington's

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[65] T.W. Zeiler, The diplomatic history bandwagon: A state of the field, *The Journal of American History* 95 (4), 2009, p. 1062.
[66] D. Halvorson, 'Decolonisation and Commonwealth responsibility' in *Australia in Asia, 1944 - 74,* 2019, p. 59.
[67] C. Fraser, "An American dilemma: Race and realpolitik in the American response to the Bandung Conference, 1955," in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 116.
[68] R. Wright, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference*, 2003, pp. 178 - 179.
[69] C. Fraser, "An American dilemma: Race and realpolitik in the American response to the Bandung Conference, 1955," in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 136.
[70] D. Halvorson, 'Decolonisation and Commonwealth responsibility' in *Australia in Asia, 1944 - 74,* 2019, p. 59.

relationship with South Africa undermined its credibility with other nations on the continent.[71] They believed that the United States' solidarity with black South Africans enjoyed little official support under both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, and ultimately they maintained a Cold War hard-line that placed South Africa in the colonialist camp. President Truman's assistant Secretary of State, George McGhee, recalled the government's silence in terms of the promotion of decolonisation prior to the Bandung Conference, but despite this criticism he did not meet with a single indigenous leader during a state-sanctioned visit to Africa in 1950.[72]

With the shifting focus of the Third World following the Bandung Conference, Africa entered its *uhuru* (translated from Swahili as 'freedom' or 'independence) era in the 1960s. Many African colonies became sovereign states, and with their new agency they became increasingly vocal members of the UN, and established the Organisation of African Union (OAU) in 1963.[73] Concurrently, white segregationists used newly-independent African nations as examples of black inferiority.[74] They perceived that the so-called 'disasters' in these countries highlighted the hypocrisy of the United States government and its lack of realism in relation to its foreign policy.[75] Segregationists used foreign policy as a way of advancing their ideas against integration, and once legal segregation ended with *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, so too did their incentive disappear to focus on foreign policies. At most, segregationists used decoloniality as a rallying cry for the need for white unity.[76] As Bandung and African unity became increasingly commonplace, some members of the United States Republican Party turned their gaze towards the Global South. Despite their more conservative political and economic outlook, they sought council from academics such as Harvard Professor Henry Kissinger, who ultimately became Secretary of State under President Richard Nixon, on matters in South Africa in particular. His recommendations on the report by the National Urban League[77] highlighted the following: the racial factor in United States international relations were telling, as he believed the use of terminology such as 'neo-fascists' in reference to the

[71] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, 1996, p. 268.
[72] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, 1996, p. 237.
[73] J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, p. 399.
[74] T. Noer, 'Segregationists and the world: The foreign policy of white resistance' in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 142.
[75] T. Noer, 'Segregationists and the world: The foreign policy of white resistance,' in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 158.
[76] T. Noer, 'Segregationists and the world: The foreign policy of white resistance,' in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 158.
[77] Established in 1911, the National Urban League evolved into a respected civil rights organization by the 1950s. It is regarded as one of the Civil Rights Movement's 'Big Five' groups, which also includes the NAACP, the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

South African government in the 1950s should be omitted from the report; that language critical of the United States State Department be revised; and that the United States should be cognisant of their own shortcomings in relation to racial integration.[78] In the interim, to liberal-leaning Americans, the United States' intimacy with South Africans seemed inappropriate for a country hoping to overcome its own legacy of racial strife, as South Africa remained emblematic of racial prejudice and hatred.[79]

Thus in 1950, black American journalist, Chatwood Hall, linked his argument against racism in South Africa with anti-communism. Hall argued that it was a 'glaring and nonsensical contradiction' by the apartheid government to intend to fight communism at the same time as its racial discrimination was bringing 'more to the communists by turning the racial oppression screw tighter on the native population'.[80] In short, fighting racism was secondary to fighting communism. This echoed W.E.B. Du Bois' sentiments expressed during an address at the UN in 1947, when he stated that 'We appealed to the world to witness that this attitude of America [segregation] is far more dangerous to mankind than the atom bomb.'[81] The historical context of the Cold War; the redefining of national boundaries in the Third World; as well as the global reckoning against white supremacy and dialogue about race were significant, as they intersected in the diplomatic relationship between the United States and South Africa in the 1950s.

3. The journey towards economic mutualism

Prior to analysing the delicate diplomatic dance between the United States and South Africa in the 1950s, the economic factors at play between the two countries should be considered. Before World War II ended, and coinciding with the development of its nuclear arms program, authorities in the United States realised that the Witwatersrand in South Africa had some of the largest deposits of uranium in the world. While it was of low-average grade, it was in staggering tonnages, and of critical importance to them for their future defence policy.[82] Subsequently, after an intensive collaboration between researchers in both nations, negotiations in 1950 agreed upon a major expansion of uranium production

[78] B.G. Plummer, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974,* 2013, p. 63.
[79] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, 1996, p. 238.
[80] P.M. von Eschen, *Race against empire. Black Americans and anticolonialism, 1937 - 1957*, 1997, p. 154.
[81] W.E.B. Du Bois, 'An appeal to the world: A statement of denial of human rights to minorities in the case of citizens of Negro descent in the United States of America and an appeal to the United Nations for redress', October 1947.
[82] E. Rosenthal, *Stars and stripes in Africa*, 1968, p. 214.

outputs.[83] Prime Minister Malan, opening the first uranium plant in Krugersdorp in October 1953 noted that 'it must give satisfaction to our partners in this enterprise, but this valuable source of power is in the safekeeping of South Africa'. [84] Furthermore, South Africa supported the military-industrial complex of the United States through its radio tracking stations, [85] while the nation also supported United States endeavours pertaining to the space race. [86]

In addition to uranium, the United States relied on South Africa for chrome, manganese and other precious minerals, which were all vital to their industrial economy.[87] The United States stressed to South Africa that the security of the free world depended on its ability to provide manganese to the United States, as it was essential for steel production and the building of their armaments.[88] South Africa was also identified as a key strategic ally in securing a safe passage around the continent in case of a crisis in the Middle East. By 1952, the South African State Department's National Intelligence estimate reassured Washington that the United States could rely on South Africa to make a strong effort to send forces to the Middle East as soon as possible in the event of a general war.[89] From a global security standpoint, the South African Defense Force was included within the Pentagon's international strategic calculations, after it was earmarked to have both defensive and participatory uses.[90] In keeping with militarisation in a Cold War climate, the South African government purchased arms from the United States and British government as a matter of course. An agreement in October 1952, for instance, encompassed $112 million of United States arms, which South Africa could use contractually for maintaining internal security.[91]

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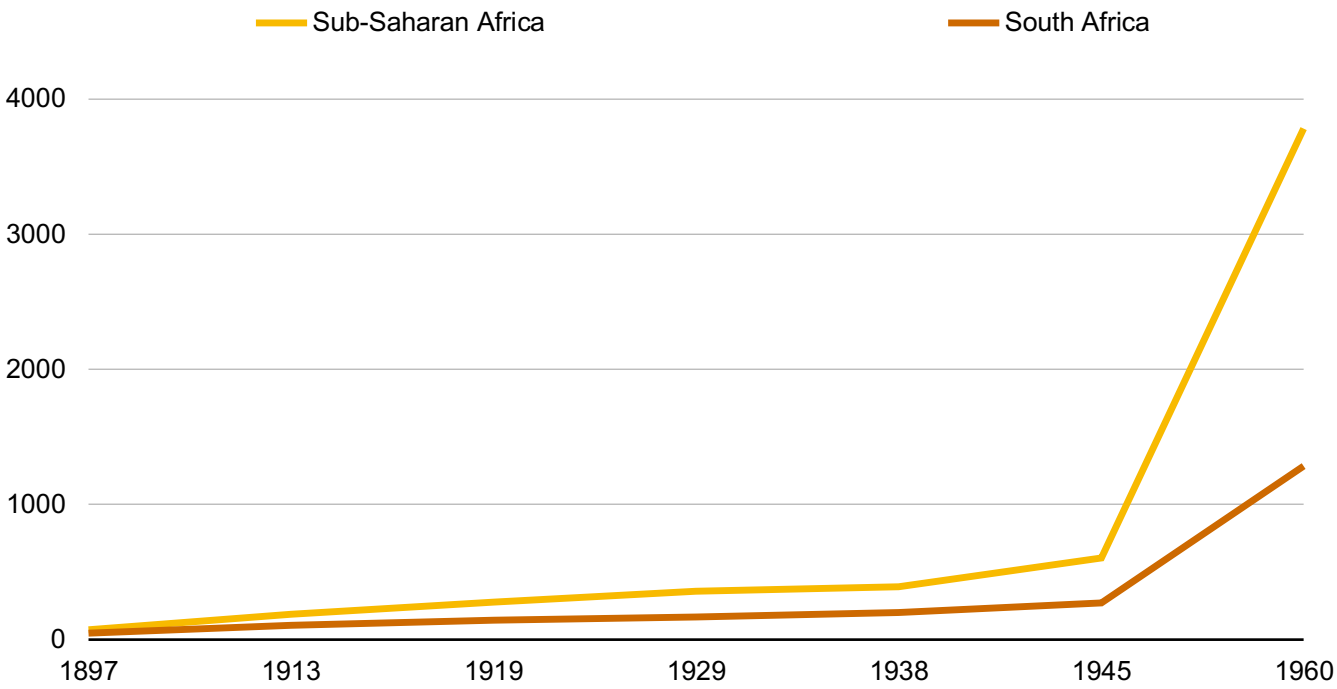
[83] Union of South Africa: Principal policies and problems in relations with the Union of South Africa, 4 January 1952, Atomic Energy files, lot 57D688 in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 902.
[84] J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, p. 399.
[85] Two notable facilities in the 1950s include the Minitrack radio tracking station in Esselen Park (1957) and the Baker-Nunn camera optical tracking system in Olifantsfontein (1958).
[86] K. Danaher, *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa*, 1985, p. 70.
[87] T. Ambrosio, *Ethnic identity groups and U.S. foreign policy*, 2002, p. 48.
[88] Memorandum by Armistead M. Lee and Musedorah Thoreson of the Office of the British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs, 16 September 1952, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 931.
[89] National intelligence estimate, 20 October 1952, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 953.
[90] A. Thomson, Contending with apartheid: United States foreign policy towards South Africa*, Studia Diplomatica* 58 (4), 2005, p. 53.
[91] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 135.

South Africa was also seen as a proverbial golden goose by private foreign investors. According to *Fortune* magazine South Africa had always been regarded as a:

> gold mine, one of those rare and refreshing places where profits are great and problems are small. Capital is not threatened by political instability or nationalisation. Labor is cheap, the market is booming, and the currency hard and convertible.[92]

Stimulated by high world-commodity prices after the NP's victory in 1948, and by the Korean Conflict's resultant surge in demand, Figure VI below indicates how sub-Saharan African trade expanded almost sixfold between 1945 and 1960.

Figure VI: Total foreign trade with Sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa (1897 - 1960)[93]



South Africa's trade increased from £270 million to more than £1200 million in this period.[94] Direct foreign investment from the United States, which had risen from $2.7 billion in 1914 to $7.3 billion in

[92] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 75.
[93] In millions of Great British Pounds (GBP). Compiled using data from K. Danaher, *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa*, 1985, p. 33.
[94] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 77.

1938, soared to $32.8 billion by 1960.[95] With specific relation to investments in South Africa, the 1950s saw tremendous growth in direct investment, which reached $140.1 million in 1950, with $33 million in new funds going to manufacturing, $23.8 million in petroleum-related investment, and $27.9 million in mining and smelting.[96] United States capital also contributed to the relative autonomy of the South African ruling class by providing them with an alternative to their historic dependence on British trade and investment. Through its work with the United States, the apartheid government was able to gradually reduce Britain's power over the South African economy.[97] Some, however, argued that the reliance on United States trade was too significant, if not problematic.[98] An example was a statement made by a managing director of Burroughs, South Africa, who stated, 'we are entirely dependent on the United States and the economy would grind to a halt without access to the computer technology of the West.'[99]

Beyond direct investments, the United States also became increasingly reliant on South Africa for chrome, high-grade asbestos and manganese, in addition to other precious minerals.[100] By the mid-1960s the apartheid government had produced over 70 percent of the free world's output of gold, and almost 60 percent of platinum group metals.[101] South Africa was also largely in control of the world supply of diamonds and this lucrative economy provided opportunities for trade and investment.[102]

Perhaps the most significant contributor to the United States and South Africa's economic relationship and perceived global security in the 1950s relates to the aforementioned uranium export commodity for South Africa.[103] President Eisenhower's presidency launched a massive research effort to determine the extent of the country's stockpiles of strategic mineral reserves. The results were published in the twelve volume series entitled *Stockpiling and accessibility of strategic and critical minerals to the United*

[95] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 81.
[96] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 82.
[97] K. Danaher, *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa*, 1985, p. 35.
[98] K. Danaher, *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa*, 1985, p. 46.
[99] K. Danaher, *The political economy of US policy toward South Africa*, 1985, p. 46.
[100] J.P. Brits, Tiptoeing along the apartheid tightrope: The United States, South Africa, and the United Nations in 1952, *The International History Review* 27 (4), 2005, p. 762.
[101] E. Michel, 'You haven't been too horrible to us recently': Lyndon Johnson and apartheid South Africa, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 32 (4), 2021, pp. 743 - 765.
[102] E. Michel, 'You haven't been too horrible to us recently': Lyndon Johnson and apartheid South Africa, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 32 (4), 2021, pp. 743 - 765.
[103] Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, South Africa: Motivations and capabilities for nuclear proliferation, September 1997. TCS-326/027/77, p. 26.

States in time of war.[104] South Africa was identified in these volumes as a 'great and booming frontier of the future as the demand for raw materials throughout the free world increases.'[105] Shortly thereafter, in 1954, Eisenhower proposed his 'Atoms for Peace' policy in an address to the UN General Assembly, which enabled the United States and South Africa to enter bilateral agreements pertaining to nuclear technology.[106] The Soviet Union, which was still recovering from the death of Stalin a few months prior to the 'Atoms for Peace' address, was unhappy with the United States collaborating with other nations in matters as consequential as nuclear research.[107]

Meanwhile, by 1956, South Africa was becoming increasingly worried that it lagged behind other nations in the world with regards to nuclear energy research programs. In a cabinet memorandum, the Union government elaborated on the importance of the uranium industry for the South African economy. It outlined historic payments up to that point, as well as the returns the country enjoyed from uranium. The memorandum expressed a hope that an agreement would be reached with the United States as a first step to further cooperation in nuclear energy. South Africa's delegate to the UN's conference of the Stature of the International Atomic Energy Agency in 1956, W.C. du Plessis, highlighted the Union's satisfaction with the growth of uranium exports as outlined in Table III below. Du Plessis estimated that uranium production in South Africa would surpass $100 million in 1956 and underlined the importance of using this to support peaceful purposes.[108] As this table illustrates, the increase in payment correlated with this estimate.

Table III: Historic payments and returns from uranium in the Union of South Africa (1952 - 1956)[109]

Financial year	Paid to mines	Paid to treasury	Total
1952/53	327 897	2 889	330 787
1953/54	4 858 473	34 571	4 893 044
1954/55	15 114 538	97 555	15 212 093
1955/56	31 051 685	184 784 400	31 236 469

[104] United States Congress Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Stockpile and accessibility of strategic and critical materials to the United States in time of war*, 1953.
[105] R. Hull, *American enterprise in South Africa: historical dimensions of engagement and disengagement*, 1990, p. 216.
[106] Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Atoms for Peace - Evolution, C.D. Jackson Papers, Box 30, NAID 12021574.
[107] N. von Wielligh and L. von Wielligh-Steyn, *Die Bom. Suid-Afrika se kernwapenprogram*, 2023, p. 78.
[108] Delegation of the Union of South Africa to the United Nations, 'Statement of Mr. W. C. du Plessis, Leader of the South African Delegation', 1 October 1956.
[109] In GBP. Compiled using data from Wilson Center Digital Archive, South African Foreign Affairs Archives, Atomic Research Union of South Africa. 137.11.23. Volume 1. Atomic Energy. 3.5.56-1.6.57.

Eventually, as an important supplier of uranium, South Africa was invited by the United States in 1957 to become a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).[110] The agency's mandate was, *inter alia,* to prevent nuclear proliferation; to oversee the peaceful use of nuclear energy; and to secure the safety of nuclear materials and facilities of the IAEA.[111] South Africa's inclusion in the agency signalled the first multilateral involvement in nuclear diplomacy.[112] The terms of 'Atoms for Peace' bound Washington and Pretoria to a ten year civil atomic energy cooperation agreement.[113] In response to this, South Africa saw a period of nuclear weaponisation and research installations (such as SAFARI I, commissioned in 1965) as the country remained firmly rooted in its anti-communist commitments.[114] South Africa's nuclear ambitions eventually became a cause for global concern when South Africa refused to join the other 134 countries that had signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1970.[115] By 1977 South Africa's pilot uranium enrichment plant, Valindaba, began operations.[116]

Historically, South Africa's civil nuclear program was concerned with only research and production related to uranium sales.[117] However, the United States soon became suspicious of South Africa's intent with nuclear research. The globally recognised United States federal nuclear research facility, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory raised concerns about South Africa's academic output relating to nuclear research. They noted a 117 percent increase in scientific articles published by South African scientists between 1968 and 1974.[118] In assessing whether a nation had nuclear weapons capabilities, the Livermore Laboratory also identified that a nation should have first, a high level of scientific and technical

[110] The nations who were present since the founding of the IAEA included the US, United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia, South Africa and Belgium (due to its association with the uranium-rich Belgium Congo). These nations were later joined by Portugal, as it was a significant uranium supplier to the West. For more, see J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, p. 397, as well as *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 345.
[111] J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, p. 395.
[112] J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, p. 397.
[113] E. Michel, 'You haven't been too horrible to us recently': Lyndon Johnson and apartheid South Africa, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 32 (4), 2021, p. 754.
[114] J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, p. 399.
[115] J. van Wyk, Atoms, apartheid, and the agency: South Africa's. Relations with the IAEA, 1957 - 1995, *Cold War History* 15 (3), 2014, p. 400.
[116] R. Möser, 'The major prize': Apartheid South Africa's accession to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 1988 - 91, *The Nonproliferation Review* 26 (5-6), 2019, p. 561.
[117] Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, South Africa: Motivations and capabilities for nuclear proliferation, September 1997. TCS-326/027/77, p. 23.
[118] Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, South Africa: Motivations and capabilities for nuclear proliferation, September 1997. TCS-326/027/77, p. 34.

development, and second, sound motivation for wanting to develop these weapons. South Africa had both.[119] The discovery of a potential nuclear testing site in the Kalahari in 1977 by the Soviet Union through satellite images enveloped South Africa into a political maelstrom. In an example of the eventual breakdown of relationship between the United States and South Africa, and in contrast to their amicable diplomacy in the 1950s, South Africa refused permission for the United States to inspect this flagged potential nuclear testing site.[120] The Soviet Union implored the United States to use their existing relationship with South Africa to make 'energetic efforts' to prevent the emergence of this site.[121] Furthermore, the United States promptly reached out to its European allies, including France, as a fellow nuclear supplier to South Africa, and encouraged them to also issue assertive denunciations of South Africa's purported nuclear activities.[122]

The Foreign Minister at the time, Pik Botha, had an initial reaction of outage over the 'arrogance of the message' from the United States asking them to prove that they were not using the Kalahari site as a nuclear testing location.[123] A few days later, Botha indicated that his government did not want to publicise the assurances that the Kalahari was not a nuclear testing site. He made this choice by saying that the South African public would view these references as concrete evidence of spying on South Africa and would open a political 'hornets nest'.[124] Irate, Botha also stated that the United States saw apartheid as a draw card, which was something that the Soviet Union could use to gain more influence and power in South Africa.[125]

Ultimately, it can be argued that the development of nuclear weapons in South Africa was rooted not in a fear that neighbouring African states had similar nuclear weapons, but rather that these nations were supported by a superpower (the Soviet Union) with the ability to simultaneously wage integrated revolutionary and conventional warfare.[126] Conflicts in Angola, increased hegemony in South West

[119] Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, South Africa: Motivations and capabilities for nuclear proliferation, September 1997. TCS-326/027/77, p. 1.
[120] Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, South Africa: Motivations and capabilities for nuclear proliferation, September 1997. TCS-326/027/77, p. v.
[121] US Department of State, Memorandum for Mr. Denis Clift, Office of the Vice President, 3 May 1977, p. 2.
[122] US Embassy to France, Telegram 7254 to US State Department, 'Possible South African nuclear test', 18 August 1977.
[123] US Embassy to South Africa, Telegram 4211 to US State Department, 'Possible South African nuclear weapons program', 18 August 1977.
[124] US Embassy to South Africa, Telegram 4239 to US State Department, 'Possible South African nuclear weapons program', 21 August 1977.
[125] US National Security Archive, 'Interview with Pik Botha', 10 May 1997.
[126] South African White Paper on Defense (1977), as quoted in Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, South Africa: Motivations and capabilities for nuclear proliferation, September 1997. TCS-326/027/77, p. 4.

Africa (currently Namibia) and a relationship with neighbouring Mozambique, *inter alia*, all characterised South Africa's regional foreign policy focuses in the preceding decades. Towards the end of the apartheid government's reign, it dismantled its nuclear weapons capabilities. South Africa remains the first and only country to ever have willingly done so.[127]

The United States and South Africa's economic relationship existed within the constraints of Cold War interests. While in the 1950s their diplomacy was characterised by cooperation, as will be further illustrated below, these relationships ultimately became strained as South Africa attempted to increase its own regional hegemony during the Cold War. With the economic mutualism of the 1950s as a foundation, official diplomatic efforts can be understood in greater depth.

4. Diplomatic approaches: 'A fool's paradise of his own creating'[128]

As indicated above, the 1950s were akin to a golden age of diplomacy between the United States and South Africa. Relations between the two countries were not yet strained as a result of the bifurcated paths taken in terms of racial integration and segregation. They enjoyed a fairly good relationship, benefitted mutually from trade agreements, and fostered close ties during its parallel post-War development. However, as the decade progressed, the United States became increasingly concerned with the apartheid government's human rights violations, and relationships became seriously strained after the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa on 21 March 1960.

A country's foreign relationships are often determined largely by its domestic politics and social structure. In the case of apartheid, the NP government's white supremacist and anti-communist ideals had a disproportionate impact on how it viewed the world, and the perceived and imminent threats across the continent of Africa. In short, their foreign relations were a political strategy for survival of the Afrikaner nation.[129] Some historians have argued that the United States was somewhat disinterested in developing hard-line policies towards South Africa. If that was the case, the South African Prime Minister Malan was equally disinterested and preoccupied instead by domestic issues. For example, while he held the portfolio of External Affairs, Malan gave the head of the department administrative freedom with regards to appointments, and often sent diplomatic representatives to foreign summits in his

[127] R. Möser, 'The major prize': Apartheid South Africa's accession to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 1988 - 91, *The Nonproliferation Review* 26 (5-6), 2019, p. 559.
[128] Quoted from W,J. Gallman in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, in relation to the Afrikaner on 6 August 1954, p. 1035.
[129] J. De St. Jorre, South Africa: Up against the world, *Foreign Policy* 28, 1977, p. 53.

stead.[130] Counting in South Africa's favour was the fact that international criticism and racial discrimination was a muted sub-theme in the United States prior to World War II.[131] While the Truman administration did incorporate many of the reformist language of the West following the War, no real policy action came from it in its dealings with South Africa in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[132]

Historically, some argue that beyond well-known figures such as the statesman, Jan Smuts, South Africa was infrequently considered by top policy makers in the United States, as the country was not yet firmly entrenched in its foreign policy considerations.[133] Within the Department of State, South Africa was also considered a colonial power and was administratively categorised as being a part of Europe. Unsurprisingly, prior to and during World War II, the European Bureau was far more concerned with the rise of fascism on the continent and the related atrocities of the Holocaust than South Africa's trajectory towards a white supremacist racist government.[134]

At the dawn of the new apartheid era in 1948, a powerful personality within Truman's government was Dean Acheson. He was instrumental in setting the course for United States foreign policy following the World War II in his capacity as Secretary of State. As Acheson's tenure coincided with the beginnings of the Cold War, it is unsurprising that a major concern of his was to halt Soviet expansion. To achieve this, he needed allies, and he would find one in South Africa. Acheson remained faithful to South Africa throughout his tenure. After his appointment as Secretary of State, the South African ambassador in Washington D.C., H.T. Andrews reported, 'I have found Mr. Acheson better informed on Commonwealth affairs than perhaps any other official in the State Department, whilst as regards South Africa his knowledge and friendship is perhaps second only to that of his feelings for Canada.'[135]

Working on information provided to him through United States intelligence reports, Acheson was aware that the white minority rule in South Africa was doomed to fail in the long run, but that it would be a long time before institutionalised white power was ousted.[136] As early as 1950, a United States embassy

[130] L. Koorts, An aging anachronism: D.F. Malan as a Prime Minister, 1948 - 1954, *Kronos* 36, 2010, p. 115.
[131] B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 25.
[132] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 84.
[133] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 343.
[134] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 343.
[135] J.P. Brits, Tiptoeing along the apartheid tightrope: The United States, South Africa, and the United Nations in 1952, *The International History Review* 27 (4), 2005, p. 778.
[136] J. Herbst, Analyzing apartheid: How accurate were US intelligence estimates of South Africa, 1948-94?, *African Affairs* 102 (406), 2003, p. 81.

political officer, Joseph Sweeney, expressed his frustration that 'no one in the Department of State paid any serious attention to South Africa, except as a source of strategic minerals'.[137] Consequently, in the period from 1948 to 1957, for example, the White House did not have a coordinated strategy for South Africa. At most, Acheson encouraged the American ambassador in Cape Town that influence for the greater good could not be exerted effectively through formal representations, but rather should be exerted 'subtly, by indirection, and over a period of time.'[138] An example of this lack of interest is illustrated in the South African Finance Minister Nicolaas 'Klasie' Havenga's failed bid to a $70 million loan that he sought on a visit to the United States. However, by the end of the year Havenga, the United States and Britain were able to agree on terms for the development of South African uranium, and additional finance was made available from the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank.[139]

Diplomatically, in 1952, the United States was cautioned by the Office of the British Commonwealth to not hinder friendly relationships or invite retaliation in South Africa, as both Britain and the United States were reliant on South Africa for cooperation and support. It was highlighted that South Africa was in a stronger bargaining position than the United States, and if South Africa chose to use retaliatory measures, the United States and Great Britain would 'be immeasurably the losers'.[140] As discussed above, in addition to chrome and manganese, South Africa was also the largest producer of high-grade asbestos and other minerals that the West urgently required for their defence economies. Furthermore, it was recommended that United States steel and equipment was used as leverage in negotiations with South Africa, as 'in sum, we need more from South Africa than she does from us. If discriminatory measures were instituted by both countries we would be the heavy losers.'[141] In the same year (1952), the United States also entered negotiations with South Africa to increase the delivery of manganese to 500 000 tons and chrome to 300 000 tons.[142] While the United States was aware that they were placing

[137] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 159.
[138] Telegram 745A.00/4-832, The Secretary of State to the Embassy in the Union of South Africa, at Cape Town, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 906.
[139] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 132.
[140] Memorandum by William L. Kilcoin of the Office of the British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs to the Director of the Office of International Materials Policy, 17 April 1952, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 909.
[141] Memorandum by William L. Kilcoin of the Office of the British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs to the Director of the Office of International Materials Policy, 17 April 1952, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 910.
[142] Telegram 411.45A9/5-1352, The Secretary of State to the embassy in the Union of South Africa at Capetown, 21 May 1952, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 917.

strain on South Africa's railroad system in requesting this increase, they were willing to consider reasonable requests by the Union to make the negotiations come to fruition.[143] Soon thereafter, Washington received a telegram pertaining to the constitutional crisis in South Africa as a result of apartheid's discriminatory policies. The correspondence highlighted a concern that racial strife and disturbances would have a direct impact on the United States' ability to get their precious metals and minerals. They cautioned that 'South Africa is heading for serious trouble'.[144]

Lacking a formal diplomatic strategy, the ambassador to the Union of South Africa in 1953, Waldemar John Gallman similarly grappled with the difficulty of portraying the United States as the authoritative leader of the free world while the United States still had racially discriminatory practices domestically. As Gallman noted, 'frequently, South Africans have turned to me and said: "You can understand our race problem. You have the same problem in the States."'[145] As a result, Gallman noted that there was an encouraging reservoir of goodwill in South Africa, at all levels, and to all sections of society for the United States. American diplomats to South Africa were ultimately urged by the State Department to 'avoid being drawn directly into discussions of South Africa's racial problems,' due to the fact that South Africans would not hesitate to point out their common ground with the United States in this matter.[146]

Whilst grappling with South Africa's human rights violations that were becoming increasingly obvious with the implementation of draconian apartheid legislation, including the Group Areas Act (1950),[147] Separate Representation of Voters Act (1951)[148] and the Bantu Education Act (1953),[149] the United States remained optimistic about the economic benefits of friendly diplomatic relations. At that time, official correspondence between American ambassadors in South Africa and Washington was focused predominantly on the situation in South West Africa, rather than education. If discussed at all, it was

[143] Telegram 411.45A9/5-1352, The Secretary of State to the embassy in the Union of South Africa at Capetown, 21 May 1952, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 917.
[144] Telegram:745A.00/6-1152, Memorandum by the assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs (Perkins) to the Secretary of State, 11 June 1952, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 918.
[145] The Ambassador in the Union of South Africa (Gallman) to the Department of State, 24 February 1953, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States*, *1952 - 1954,* Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 983.
[146] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 102.
[147] Parliament of South Africa, Group Areas Act of 1950, Act No. 41 of 1950.
[148] Parliament of South Africa, Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, Act No. 46 of 1951.
[149] Parliament of South Africa, Bantu Education Act of 1953, Act No. 47 of 1953.

approached under the general umbrella discussions on the so-called 'race situation.'[150] The United States believed that the relationship that they fostered with South Africa in 1953 could enable them to have the 'tremendous capacity for economic development and potential.'[151] This had to be weighed against the increased concern over the racial situation and its ability to affect economic stability for investors, including access to uranium deposits.[152] Some officials had even argued that the United States' muted response to South Africa's human rights violations stemmed from fear of being charged with hypocrisy.[153] However, the choice to turn a blind eye at the increasingly concerning domestic policies of South Africa, the United States was able to approach its association with South Africa from a profitable strategic perspective in the 1950s, with very few concrete implications related to this association as a result of a lack of domestic knowledge or interest in South Africa.[154]

However, the United States also had its finger on the pulse of the Defiance Campaign of 1952.[155] As ambassador Gallman's correspondence indicates that while he was impressed with the Defiance Campaign, he noted that the ultimate lack of success of this campaign was indicative of rapidly deteriorating race relations in South Africa.[156] By the end of 1953, a schism started to develop between South Africa and the United States. South Africa had questioned the integrity of the United States and the duality of their role in the world as leaders of the free world, while also collaborating with the apartheid state. With increasing concern, it was noted that South Africa's relationship with the United States, as well as the UN, was in decline.[157] The fracture was exasperated by the *Brown* v. *Board of Education*-ruling in 1954, since it rectified one of the most glaring domestic inequities in the United

[150] Telegram 845A.411/11-2453, The United States representative at the United Nations (Lodge) to the Department of State, 24 November 1953, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 983.
[151] Telegram 745A.00/4-2153, The Secretary of State to the embassy in the Union of South Africa, at Pretoria, 21 April 1953, from The Ambassador in the Union of South Africa (Gallman) to the Department of State, 24 February 1953, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 995.
[152] Telegram 745A.00/4-2153, The Secretary of State to the embassy in the Union of South Africa, at Pretoria, 21 April 1953, from The Ambassador in the Union of South Africa (Gallman) to the Department of State, 24 February 1953, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954*, Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 995.
[153] A.S. Layton, International pressure and the US government's response to Little Rock, T*he Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66 (2), 2007, p. 245.
[154] A. Thomson, Contending with apartheid: United States foreign policy towards South Africa*, Studia Diplomatica* 58 (4), 2005, p. 52.
[155] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 205.
[156] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 176.
[157] Memorandum by Armistead Lee of the Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs, 17 December 1953, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1952 - 1954,* Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 1029.

States. More importantly in the context of this study, it removed a point of global ire against racism that was formerly shared between South Africa and the United States.[158] Following *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, the Justice Department filed *amicus curiae* briefs which reflected a cognisance of the power of international opinion on United States laws:

> The holistic reaction among normally friendly peoples, many of whom are particularly sensitive in regard to the status of non-European races is growing in alarming proportions. In such countries the view is expressed more and more vocally that the United States is hypocritical in claiming to be the champion of democracy while permitting practices of racial discrimination here in this country.[159]

The 1950s was also a time when the South African government made itself known on the world stage by manifesting its own hegemonic intentions in Africa. For example, in 1955, Pretoria took control of the British base of Simonstown. One year later, during the Suez Crisis of 1956, South Africa defied the Commonwealth position to maintain an isolationist stance and position itself against Britain's position.[160] All these actions positioned the country to have increased regional power in southern Africa. The United States was also increasingly invested in its relationship with the continent. Both in the private and public sectors, the United States was concerned about the discrimination that prominent African officials would face while visiting Washington D.C., as it was important for them to foster good relationships and model anti-colonial sentiments.[161] The United States was also trying to embrace multiracial representation in official government capacities. This followed the Harlem, New York congressman, Adam Clayton Powell Jr.'s comment to President Eisenhower in 1955 that 'one dark face from the United States is of as much value as millions of dollars and economic aid.'[162] With the exception of South Africa, Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles subsequently pushed for black appointments in embassy service in those countries where there was a large non-white population.[163]

With regards to promoting positive diplomatic partnership with Africa, the United States had five key interests in its policy framework with the continent. These included protecting the United States military

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[158] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Afric*a, 1986, p. 340.
[159] Brief for the US as *amicus curiae* in *Brown*, 347 US 483 (1954) as quoted in in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 37.
[160] L.L. Schenoni, The South African unipolarity, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 36 (2), 2017, pp. 209.
[161] R. Hull, *American enterprise in South Africa: historical dimensions of engagement and disengagement*, 1990, p. 228.
[162] P.M. von Eschen, *Race against empire. Black Americans and anticolonialism, 1937 - 1957*, 1997, p. 148.
[163] K. O'Reilly, Racial integration: The battle General Eisenhower chose not to fight, *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 18, 1997, p. 111.

and strategic interests while minimising Soviet influence; ensuring adequate supplies of key minerals; advancing political freedom and civil liberties; maintaining satisfactory diplomatic and commercial relations with other African countries; and maintaining commercial relationships with South Africa.[164] One of its main concerns was keeping the Cape sea route unimpeded, in the event of a canal crisis in the Middle East.[165] To the United States, South Africa was seen as the only white and industrialised nation in Africa, and as such, it was seen as the continent's best arsenal and repair shop in a time of war. The small South Africa military force was regarded as Africa's most effective.[166] United States foreign officials were instructed, while having to defend its relationship with South Africa, to depend on a 'realistic appraisal of trends and probable consequences rather than simply to express emotional reactions.'[167]

It was only in 1956 that South Africa was administratively transferred from 'Europe' to the African subdivision of the Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs in United States policy making.[168] This African Department was more liberally-inclined than the former office that South Africa belonged to.[169] By 1956, the Union of South Africa's ambassador to the United States, John E. Holloway, expressed that while South Africa was 'small-fry' among the world powers, it was as firm as the United States in its determination to combat communism, even in the event of a third world war. Meanwhile, the relationship that the Communist Party in South Africa developed with other banned organisations in time created a policy quagmire for the United States. This is due to the fact that the United States was in favour of freedom, and against discrimination, but also aligned against the communist groupings that were supporting these ideas within South Africa's resistance to apartheid.[170] Ultimately, the turn to communism among some individuals in South Africa was seen as more of a response to racial injustices

[164] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 389.
[165] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 390.
[166] US Policy toward South Africa, Memorandum of a conversation, 9 April 1956, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 790.
[167] Dispatch from the embassy in South Africa to the Department of State, 11 April 1957, Memorandum of a conversation, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 810.
[168] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 346.
[169] P. Rich, United States containment policy, South Africa and the apartheid dilemma, *Review of International Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 180.
[170] J. Herbst, Analyzing apartheid: How accurate were US intelligence estimates of South Africa, 1948 - 94? *African Affairs* 102 (406), 2003, p. 94.

than an affinity to communist ideologies.[171] Holloway also expressed his belief that black South Africans were 'still on the fringe of barbarism, and that the South African Government would not be so stupid as to give these people the right to vote.'[172] The Union subsequently communicated that they would first attempt to raise the educational level of black South Africans, but that it was expected to be a long process. Simultaneously, the United States noted that the apartheid government was trying to combat communism in black schools through the distribution of thousands of pamphlets and books, such as 'What is communism?'[173] The CIA, however, did not regard the communist threat in South Africa as a major one, and its larger concern was that communists had an excellent opportunity to exploit the bitterness caused by the racial legislation.[174]

Furthermore, Holloway pointed out that South Africa got no aid from the United States while other nations did, but expressed the desire that South Africa did not want to burden the American taxpayer. Holloway blamed the American press for South Africa's negative international reputation, stating that more than half of what was said, was either untrue or distorted.[175] As a result of the American press, which was often eviscerated by the apartheid government and made the scapegoat for its declining global standing, the official attitude from South Africa towards the United States was starting to cool.[176]

By 1957, the United States was already trying to find avenues to encourage equitable treatment between races in South Africa. It was suggested that action should be taken towards developing a wider and more systemic development in curricula of the socio-cultural studies of non-European peoples in white schools. The hope was that this strategy could address the entrenched attitudes that white South Africans held towards black people. These sets of beliefs upheld the notion that white people were superior, resulting in policies and practices of 'baasskap' - translated to mastery.[177] Meanwhile, in

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[171] J. Herbst, Analyzing apartheid: How accurate were US intelligence estimates of South Africa, 1948 - 94? *African Affairs* 102 (406), 2003, p. 105.
[172] Memorandum of a conversation, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 785.
[173] Dispatch from the embassy in South Africa to the Department of State, 27 September 1957, Memorandum of a conversation, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 795.
[174] Central Intelligence Agency Digital Archive, Danger of racial explosion in South Africa, 17 June 1963, p. 24.
[175] P. Rich, United States containment policy, South Africa and the apartheid dilemma, *Review of International Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 180.
[176] Memorandum from the acting assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (Walmsley) to the under Secretary of State (Herter), 9 July 1958, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1958 - 1960*, Volume XIV. Africa, p. 728.
[177] Dispatch from the embassy in South Africa to the Department of State, 11 April 1957, Memorandum of a conversation, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 813.

relation to black education, a dispatch to Washington D.C. from the embassy in South Africa in 1957 shared a belief that educational attainments of a small number of black South Africans, coupled with a high degree of urbanisation, had produced a core of 'relatively-sophisticated, politically-conscious, and articulate 'elite' - numbering possibly 100 000' whose influence was capable of extending beyond the borders of South Africa, 'into and among the Native leadership of other African countries.'[178] Thus it emphasised that the United States government should be actively and earnestly concerned with the disturbing trends of race relations, not solely because of their effects within South Africa, but because of their implications for a large part of the continent. As a result of Bantu Education, the United States government was urged to re-examine the South African race situation in the light of broader American interests in Africa.[179]

By the end of the decade, South Africa remained anti-communist and firmly pro-West, although it approached its relationship with the United States with greater caution. The United States, in turn, was pleased that it was increasingly looked to as a model and source of assistance and capital over Great Britain. Over $300 million had been invested in South Africa in the 1950s, with 116 American companies represented there.[180]

During the same period, South Africa's relationship with both the United States, and the world, soured dramatically because of the aforementioned Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960. As a result of a miscommunication between the State Department and Washington, the following strong response was released by the United States in a briefing, without extending the diplomatic courtesy of first warning officials in Pretoria of the press release's content, which read:

> The United States deplores violence in all its forms and hopes that the African people of South Africa will be able to obtain redress for legitimate grievances by peaceful means. While the United States, as a matter of practice, does not ordinarily comment on the internal affairs of governments with which it enjoys normal relations, it cannot help but regret the tragic loss of life resulting from the measures taken against the demonstrators in South Africa.[181]

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[178] Dispatch from the embassy in South Africa to the Department of State, 11 April 1957, Memorandum of a conversation, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 808.
[179] Dispatch from the embassy in South Africa to the Department of State, 11 April 1957, Memorandum of a conversation, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 808.
[180] Memorandum of a conversation, Department of State, Washington, 5 July 1956, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1955 - 1957*, Volume XVIII. Africa, p. 788.
[181] US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1958 - 1960*, Volume XIV. Africa, p. 742.

Following this diplomatic *faux pas* and following a diplomatic damage assessment by the ambassador in South Africa, it was reported back to the United States that relations with the Union were likely not permanently damaged, but there was no disguising the fact that government 'will certainly be extremely cool for a long time to come. Our action at this time is bitterly resented by government and by great mass of Afrikaner people, who feel we have sold out Whites in order to curry favour with Blacks.'[182] After Sharpeville, South Africa was faced with a choice between international acceptance and repentance, or what it assumed was the destruction of the white nation in South Africa.[183] It would choose to lean into its fear of the elimination of their white nation, and while the United States chose to not take punitive bilateral action, their rhetoric did harden towards South Africa.[184]

In relation to education, the United States attempted to make a case against Bantu Education a decade after its first implementation when they met with South African ambassador, Willem Naude in 1963. In their discussions about Bantustans, the United States believed that this might be the opportunity to liberalise the Bantu Education Act and pass laws.[185] However, South Africa's stance was that such laws, and other forms of discrimination which Americans seemed to dislike, would eventually disappear. Furthermore, Naude expressed that these laws were needed 'to prevent the primitive Bantu from being deAfricanised.'[186] The apartheid government's hope was that discrimination would ultimately disappear with the creation of native states.[187]

In the same year, 1963, a domestic battle was brewing in the United States in relation to their perceptions of apartheid. On the one hand, Pretoria supported Southern organisations such as the Mississippi's Citizen's Council by regularly providing free trips to South Africa, who in turn could advocate for support for apartheid in Congress. Senator Allen Ellender of Louisiana urged the United States government to support 'the civilising whites' of South Africa, as independence in other African nations had, in his view, shown black inability to effectively self-rule. Following the Senator's 1963 visit

[182] Telegram: From the Embassy in South Africa to the Department of State, 25 March 1960, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1958 - 1960*, Volume XIV. Africa, p. 744.
[183] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world. The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 243.
[184] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Afric*a, 1986, p. 347.
[185] Telegram from the Department of State, 28 August 1963, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1961 - 1963*, Volume XXI. Africa, p. 648.
[186] Telegram from the Department of State, 28 August 1963, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1961 - 196*3, Volume XXI. Africa, p. 648.
[187] Telegram from the Department of State, 28 August 1963, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1961 - 1963*, Volume XXI. Africa, p. 648.

to South Africa, he wrote an eight hundred page document defending apartheid.[188] On the other hand, Charles Diggs, a black congressman and member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs visited South Africa to assess living conditions, and strongly recommended not just economic sanctions and the end to nuclear cooperation, but also an increased investment towards educational and cultural outreach to black South Africans. In addition, Diggs was critical of the anti-communist alliance between Pretoria and Washington, seeing it as an excuse for South Africa to receive military aid.[189]

A brief overview of the two following decades in foreign relations between the United States and South Africa shows a relationship fraught with distrust by the South Africans, and delicately approached by the United States, as its association with the white supremacist regime became more difficult to justify. If South Africa was ultimately a litmus test for a change in foreign policy revision as a direct result of human rights violations in the 1960s and 1970s, it was an example of continuity rather than change.[190] Various administrations expressed their belief that economic trade with South Africa did not by proxy endorse apartheid. However, by the time President Lyndon B. Johnson was in office, the National Security Council advised him that 'apartheid in particular is a major handicap to the Free World in its efforts to stabilise the political situation in Africa and to keep the Chicoms [Chinese communists] and Soviets out.'[191]

By the end of 1970s, the National Party Government regarded its Western allies as so-called 'fair weather friends,' and as the apartheid government was deflecting Western criticism of its racial discrimination, South Africa again became isolationist.[192] During a heated conversation in 1977, Vice President Walter F. Mondale and South African Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster sparred over their human rights records. Mondale said:

> For two hundred years our record on race was disgraceful. It separated people in politics, schools, buses, business, and systems of justice. Growing up a non-white was a curse. We had slavery. For one hundred years, we made a long and torturous march to justice. We are not perfect, but we are proud of where we are. We are proud of our attitudes toward each other. We have gained increased strength as a nation over the past ten years.[193]

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[188] T. Noer, 'Segregationists and the world: The foreign policy of white resistance,' in B.G. Plummer, *Window on freedom: Race, civil rights, and foreign affairs, 1945 - 1988*, 2003, p. 145.
[189] B.G. Plummer, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974,* 2013, p. 254.
[190] B.G. Plummer, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974,* 2013, p. 102.
[191] M. Bundy and U. Haynes to President Johnson, 10 June 1965, in B.G. Plummer, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974,* 2013, p. 152.
[192] J. De St. Jorre, South Africa: Up against the world, *Foreign Policy* 28, 1977, p. 55.
[193] Memorandum of conversation, Vienna, 19 May 1977, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1977 - 1980*, Volume XVI. Southern Africa, p. 838.

Vorster, in turn, used Bantu Education as an example of his perceived benevolence of the apartheid government, as the system placed black education in the hands of the government, and made education accessible:

> You mustn't equate the American black with the South African black, and I can argue this until the cows come home. Now, Afrikaner children go to Afrikaans schools; English go to English schools, Xhosa to Xhosa schools, Vendas to Venda schools, Zulu to Zulu schools, and Coloureds to Coloured schools. No one can change this. No one will dare to. If you say change, I'll say I can't. It is ingrained, and I won't. Whilst this is our position, we have created opportunity.[194]

Vorster's reactive obstinance to perceived foreign interference in the apartheid government's domestic policy was also present when he said, 'I asked prominent Americans whether they have solved their colour question in America. And they tell me, "No." Then I asked the British whether they have solved their problem. They too say, "No." Have I not the right thing to ask: If the solution you offer is by your own admission no solution, what moral right do you have to impose it on me and my people?'[195]

By the end of the 1970s, Prime Minister John Vorster and his National Party made United States interference in South Africa's internal affairs the central theme of their successful campaign for re-election.[196] In the United States, it took until 1986 for Congress to legislate economic sanctions against South Africa, overriding President Ronald Reagan's veto.[197] The time of an amicable relationship was decisively in the past, spurred largely by the global outcry against apartheid in both the press and the UN.

5. Diplomacy on the world stage

While the relationship between the United States and South Africa was an increasingly fraught one by the 1960s following the Sharpeville Massacre, it was relatively benign in comparison to some of the forceful global diplomatic responses against apartheid. It should be understood that racist societies such

[194] Memorandum of conversation, Vienna, 19 May 1977, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1977 - 1980*, Volume XVI. Southern Africa, p. 840.
[195] E.J. Morgan, Black and white at center court: Arthur Ashe and the confrontation of apartheid in South Africa, *Diplomatic History* 36 (5), 2012, p. 815.
[196] Intelligence assessment, January 1978, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States, 1977 - 1980*, Volume XVI. Southern Africa, p. 996.
[197] H. Zinn, *A people's history of the United States: 1492 - present*, 2003, p. 608.

as the United States and South Africa in the 1950s did not exist as isolated, self-contained islands. As J.W. Cell argues, they participated in an international dialogue, sharing information, attitudes, stereotypes, moral standards, and attempts to resolve problems that they perceived to be common.[198] This section will subsequently look at the role that discriminatory measures such as education played on a world stage, with specific reference to how the UN shaped the legacy of their collaboration in the decades that followed.

Shortly after the United Nations' inception in 1945, following the San Francisco Conference, the UN would become the stage for the discussion of prescient affairs related largely to global security and wellbeing.[199] Smaller countries demanded for a greater voice in the UN in the 1950s, while they also tested the scope of the UN's powers. Human rights violations in the United States and South Africa would be one of its first tests.

So dire were global perceptions of racism in the United States that in 1946, the National Negro Congress (NNC) drafted a petition on human rights violations in the United States.[200] It coincided with the Indian government's campaign on behalf of South African Indians to the UN in the same year. The NNC's campaign highlighted the numerous examples of racism in the United States, including the military draft, poverty, poor schooling and housing, high black mortality rates, and persistent examples of peonage and lynchings.[201] By the same token, India became a leader in the fight against racial discrimination by consistently being a thorn in South Africa's side through their insistences that the UN address discrimination in that country. The rhetoric and the reports of developments from within South Africa were too reminiscent of the Nazi-era to be treated with equanimity at the UN so soon after the conclusion of World War II.[202]

As South Africa's racist policies increasingly made it a global pariah, the office of the United Nations Political and Security Affairs' William Sanders suggested that the United States adopt a four-point strategy whenever South African racial policies were discussed at the UN General Assembly.[203] First, it

[198] J.W. Cell, *The highest stage of white supremacy*, 1982, p. 21.
[199] P.S. Boyer (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the United States history,* 2001, p. 792.
[200] E.S. McDuffie, Black and red: Black liberation, the Cold War, and the Horne thesis, *The Journal of African American History* 96 (2), 2011, p. 241.
[201] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, 1996, p. 171.
[202] R. Schifter, Human rights at the United Nations: The South African precedent, American University International Law Review 8 (2), 1993, p. 361.
[203] J.P. Brits, Tiptoeing along the apartheid tightrope: The United States, South Africa, and the United Nations in 1952, *The International History Review* 27 (4), 2005, p. 764.

should vote for the inclusion of the item on the agenda of the General Assembly. Second, the United States should pursue a moderate and cautious approach through informal discussions with other delegations and should not be the nation to take initiative in this regard. Third, the United States should support the view that the Assembly has jurisdiction to handle the matter, and that the Article 2(7)[204] of the charter did not preclude section action. Finally, if the General Assembly did proceed with the matter, the United States should attempt to prevent a motion condemning South Africa, as it might harden the South African attitude about racial matters.[205] However, despite this stance, there were differences within the ranks of the State Department on the best way to deal with the South African situation at the UN.[206]

While India first brought South Africa's racial discrimination before the UN's General Assembly in 1946, it would not be until 1952 that the policy of apartheid appeared on the UN's official agenda.[207] During the session, United States spokesman Charles Sprague declared his government's respect for 'the sovereignty of the great Union of South Africa … which has long been … [a] friendly relationship. My delegation is exceedingly reluctant to point an accusing finger at this member of state and does not intend to decide'.[208] South Africa and its major Western trading partners and military allies relied on Article 2(7) to forestall the discussion by the General Assembly on South Africa's apartheid policies.[209] South Africa soon became hostile towards the UN. Shortly after the implementation of Bantu Education in 1953, during a speech at the Annual Conference of the National Party of the Orange Free State, Prime Minister Malan characterised the United Nations as 'a failure, a cancer eating at the peace and tranquillity of the world, and unless radically reformed, it should disappear from the face of the earth.'[210]

As South Africa was becoming increasingly isolated as a result of their intransigence, the United States finally enjoyed a boost to its prestige internationally following the unanimous *Brown* v. *Board of*

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[204] This article relates to the principle that all members of the UN are sovereign nations, and that the UN does not have the authority to intervene in a nation's domestic jurisdiction. South Africa would repeatedly refer to Article 2(7) in its defense, and the US, France and United Kingdom would use the legal precedent to avoid taking a formal stance on the items posed against South Africa.
[205] J.P. Brits, Tiptoeing along the apartheid tightrope: The United States, South Africa, and the United Nations in 1952, *The International History Review* 27 (4), 2005, p. 764.
[206] J.P. Brits, Tiptoeing along the apartheid tightrope: The United States, South Africa, and the United Nations in 1952, *The International History Review* 27 (4), 2005, p. 767.
[207] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world: The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 232.
[208] W. Minter, *King Solomon's mines revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 75.
[209] J.P. Brits, Tiptoeing along the apartheid tightrope: The United States, South Africa, and the United Nations in 1952, *The International History Review* 27 (4), 2005, p. 755.
[210] J. Barber, *South Africa's foreign policy, 1945 - 1970,* 1973, p. 73.

Education-ruling in 1954.[211] In declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, the Supreme Court's unanimous decision enshrined the Cold War understanding that domestic racial equality was a vital component of United States foreign policy and national security.[212] In the Cold War climate, the decision was called a 'blow to communism', helping the 'Free World's cause.[213]

In the same year, the UN initiated the process of setting a framework to study discriminatory educational practices internationally.[214] The study with its findings on discrimination in education was subsequently released in 1957.[215] In the United States, the report makes the distinction that while *Brown* was significant in desegregating public schools, private schools were still able to discriminate against students based on colour.[216] Its examination of South African education, meanwhile, approached several missionaries for their insight and reactions to the newly-centralised education system that had taken educational agency out of ecclesiastical hands. All interviews presented in the report were consistently concerned at the infringement of black pupils' rights.[217] The Catholic Church was quoted as saying, 'We are asked to stand aside from the field of education while the future of South Africa is hewn out with massive apartheid measures, that fall like hammer blows on the soul of the black man and the conscience of the white.'[218]

In addition to South Africa being a constant agenda item at the UN, by 1957 the NAACP organised a 'Day of protest' to highlight the continued persecution of black South Africans, and Pretoria's refusal to endorse the UN's declaration on human rights. The event was attended by high-profile activists, including Martin Luther King Junior and former first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt. Roosevelt was initially reluctant to sign the petition for seeming hypocritical given the United States' continued struggle with racism within its own borders.[219]

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[211] A. Lester, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* overseas, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 148 (4), 2004, p. 459.
[212] K. Gaines, The Civil Rights Movement in world perspective, *OAH Magazine History* 21 (1), 2007, p. 59.
[213] J. Lepore, *These truths: A history of the Unites States,* 2018, p. 581.
[214] UN Economic and Social Council, Report of the sixth session of the sub-commission on prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities to the commission on human rights, January 1954.
[215] UN Economic and Social Council, Study of discrimination in education, Special rapporteur of the sub-commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, August 1957.
[216] UN Economic and Social Council, Study of discrimination in education, Special rapporteur of the sub-commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, August 1957, p. 16.
[217] UN Economic and Social Council, Study of discrimination in education, Special rapporteur of the sub-commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, August 1957, p. 143.
[218] UN Economic and Social Council, Study of discrimination in education, Special rapporteur of the sub-commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, August 1957, p. 145.
[219] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, 1996, p. 268.

At the UN, the United States continued to abstain on anti-apartheid resolutions until 1958, on the grounds of UN legal incompetence to express itself on the topic. It instead chose to assume a middle position, which, according to a spokesperson, avoided 'both excess of zeal and timid legalism' in dealing with the apartheid question.[220] However, South African recalcitrance about the control of South West Africa made things difficult for the United States at the UN. South Africa's presence in this region was consistently discussed at the UN. Pretoria had administrative control over this territory following the First World War when it was removed from German control. South Africa administered this region as a *de facto* fifth province and expanded its apartheid policies into this region.[221] The United States delegation had the onerous task of moderating criticism of South African actions and the diminished hope that the Union Government might change the direction of its racial policies. It had partial success in deferring the UN's responsibility to not interfere with the domestic issues of a nation.[222]

The response to the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 at the UN was swift and South Africa faced a firestorm of questions following the human rights tragedy. In addition to the outcry of the human rights violations, the National Security Council discussed the political climate in South Africa at length. The United States responded to the UN Security Council, appealing to South Africa:

> with the greatest sincerity and friendly intent, that it reconsider the policies which prevent people of certain races in the Union from enjoying their God-given rights and freedoms. In former years we have made the appeal in the name of justice. Today we make it also in the name of peace. Truly, as we see it here now, the two are in the long run inseparable.[223]

Domestically, grassroots organisations within the United States were far more critical of the Sharpeville Massacre than the official stance communicated at the UN. Protests took place outside the South African consulate in New York, vocalising their support for black South Africans and highlighting the similarities between apartheid and Jim Crow.[224]

South Africa responded with regret for the loss of lives as a result of Sharpeville. However, it decided in its conclusion to respond to the Soviet Union, who had earlier stated the 'South African authorities …

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[220] A. Vandenbosch, *South Africa and the world: The foreign policy of apartheid*, 1970, p. 235.
[221] E. Michel, 'Since we can't now bet on a winner, we should be hedging out bets and buying time': President John F. Kennedy, domestic racial equality and apartheid South Africa in the early 1960s, *Safundi* 22 (4), 2021, p. 338.
[222] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 121
[223] UN Security Council, Verbatim record of the eight hundred and fifty-fifth meeting, 1 April 1960, p. 11.
[224] B.G. Plummer, *In search of power: African Americans in the era of decolonization, 1956 - 1974,* 2013, p.85.

have embarked on a course of the mass destruction of people of other races.'[225] The South African delegate to the UN, Bernardus Fourie, when asked if Sharpeville constituted the mass destruction of other races, responded with a retaliatory question to the Soviet Union: 'How would the representative of the Soviet Union describe the loss of life running into hundreds of thousands, elsewhere?'[226]

With the steadfast spotlight on South African human rights violations, the UN surveyed the state of apartheid in South Africa in 1960, which included an extensive discussion on Bantu Education.[227] The report stated general facts about Bantu Education and focused on government expenditure, as well as the centralised control that the government had over education following the implementation of the Act.[228] The Soviet Union also vocalised their critique of Bantu Education in South Africa. In the same year, a USSR delegate to the UN Security Council, Arkady Sobolev, criticised South Africa by stating that 'in the cultural field, the discrimination seems a denial to the indigenous inhabitants of the educational facilities which are available to the whites, an artificial slowing down of cultural development, and the actual encouragement of illiteracy among indigenous and habitants.'[229]

While the UN was preoccupied with discussing South African human right violations, Mary Dudziak argues that there was an inconsistency in the way in which the UN dealt with human rights violations. To her point, the UN appeared to turn a blind eye towards other instances of violence, including the mass killings of Hutus in Burundi in 1972 - 1974; the political murders perpetrated by President Idi Amin of Uganda; as well as Pol Pot's murder of millions of his fellow citizens in 1978 in Cambodia.[230]

Ultimately, despite this critique, the attention that the UN directed towards the discussion of apartheid, in addition to certain grassroots organisations' efforts in the United States led to most Americans strong disapproval of South Africa's white supremacist government. However, when polled in 1978, only four percent of Americans picked *any* African issue when asked to 'name the two or three biggest foreign policy problems facing the United States today.'[231] The United States President at that time, Jimmy Carter, utilised the diplomacy of civil rights activist and United Nations ambassador, Andrew Young, to

[225] UN Security Council, Verbatim record of the eight hundred and fifty-fifth meeting, 1 April 1960, p. 21.
[226] UN Security Council, Verbatim record of the eight hundred and fifty-fifth meeting, 1 April 1960, p. 21.
[227] United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, Apartheid in South Africa, 20 July 1960, p.31.
[228] United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, Apartheid in South Africa, 20 July 1960, p. 32.
[229] UN Security Council, Verbatim record of the eight hundred and fifty-fourth meeting, 31 March 1960, p. 30.
[230] R. Schifter, Human rights at the United Nations: The South African precedent, *American University International Law Review* 8 (2), 1993, p. 371.
[231] *South Africa: Time running out. The report of the study commission in US policy toward Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 340.

build up goodwill for the United States among black African nations. Simultaneously, he urged South Africa to liberalise its policies in a way that ensured the continued economic stability that the United States needed to ensure a reliable supply of raw materials.[232] However, South Africa's human rights abuses continued to conflict with the strategic and economic opportunities that it offered the West.[233]

The diplomatic relationship between the United States and South Africa in the 1950s was a complex and contradictory one: joined together by a shared ideological stances and economic mutualism, while the different directions they chose to adopt in relation to racial justice drove a wedge between them. It has been illustrated how discriminatory measures such as education and the associated international outcry in the UN shaped their legacy of their collaboration in the decades that followed.

The next two chapters will explore the central focus of this thesis as it seeks to further deepen the understanding of the United States and South Africa's relationship by analysing the public responses to the two seminal educational policies from opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

[232] H. Zinn, *A people's history of the United States: 1492 - present*, 2003, p. 566.
[233] A. Thomson, Contending with apartheid: United States foreign policy towards South Africa*, Studia Diplomatica* 58 (4), 2005, p. 52.

Chapter VI

Probing perceptions in the press: US politics, power and propaganda

Brown v. *Board of Education* (1954)

[The black press is] 'the greatest single power in the Negro race.'
- Edwin Mims in *The Advancing South* (1926)

1. Introduction

For the purpose of this chapter, the press's coverage of, and public sentiment in relation to, the watershed historical Supreme Court ruling of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is analysed. This unanimous decision by the highest court in the United States codified nation-wide school integration across the nation. As indicated, the predominant newspapers that were used for this analysis include a sample of black perspectives, as well as white liberal and conservative perspectives for both the United States and for a comparative international perspective, those from South Africa. In regard to newspapers from the United States, the NAACP's publication *The Crisis*, as well as *The Chicago Defender* were examined as a select sample of black perspectives on education in the early 1950s. The *New York Times* and *The Atlanta Constitution* represent the liberal and conservative-leaning sample in the United States respectively.[1] In South Africa, the weekly newspaper, *The Bantu World*, was analysed as being representative of a newspaper marketed specifically to a black audience. However, as a subsidiary of the white-owned Bantu Press conglomerate, and due to the apartheid government's censorship of critical voices, one should be cognisant of the fact that it was not a wholly accurate representation of black voices in South Africa at that time. The *Rand Daily Mail* provided a white liberal point of view, while *Die Transvaler* provided the conservative Afrikaans perspective.[2] As the United States media had a greater geographic and demographic reach, the United States perspectives are more exhaustive than the South African counterpart.

This chapter's examination illustrates first and foremost how varied the responses to school integration were in the United States. These public perceptions provide an important glimpse into the past of a divided nation in terms of racial integration in schools. In addition to the press highlighting why school integration was significant, a diverse subset of opinions is also present in the discussion below. In addition, this chapter highlights not only various historical similitudes within a Cold War context between the United States and South Africa, but also explores how the American perception of the *Brown*-ruling as a bulwark for 'freedom' and 'democracy' against communism was interpreted differently in South Africa. In surveying these connections, a more layered, complex and ultimately nuanced historical view is exposed.

[1] H.A. Merrill and J.C. Fisher, *The world's great dailies: Profiles of fifty newspaper*s, 1980, p. 68.
[2] M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961, p. 305.

2. Background

Shortly after the birth of the nation of the United States of America and the drafting of the constitution which outlined a framework for the new country's government, James Madison set out to codify the individual rights of its citizens. Foremost on Madison's mind was enshrining five innate personal freedoms, of which the freedom of the press was one. Ever since the First Amendment was ratified in 1791, it can be argued that newspapers have kept a record of the moral pulse of the United States. However, in addition to the industry's function of serving as history's proverbial 'first draft', the media also had a profound impact in shaping the American public's opinion in relation to both domestic and foreign affairs.[3] The press essentially not only held up a mirror to public sentiment in the United States, but also in some instances provided them with an opportunity to observe beyond the looking glass at international perspectives.

It should be noted that historically, the 1950s saw a seismic shift to the way in which Americans consumed information. Television's popularity skyrocketed, and subsequently journalists adapted the way in which they interacted with their stories. At the beginning of the decade, only nine percent of American homes had a television,[4] but by the end of the decade, the figure rose to 86 percent.[5] In response to this changing media landscape, the autonomous United States Information Agency was created in 1953, which reframed how information was shared with the public after its prior function of war-time information dissemination.[6] With its recreation, a new war impacted its agenda: the Cold War. The media landscape faced the task of interpreting the meaning of the Cold War, and the former simplicity of American life started becoming increasingly complex.[7] With the rising popularity of television, newspapers, print associations, news, magazines, and radio all began to change. However, in spite of this, the traditional press persisted in being the most trusted news source for Americans. Furthermore, by the end of the decade, a study indicated that newspapers remained more believable to individuals in the United States than television news reports.[8] Thus, while television was undoubtably transformative in the mediascape of the United States and the world, newspapers remained the most trusted source of information for Americans in the 1950s, despite the popularity of television. As a result, television reporting on educational reform in both the United States and South Africa was not considered as a part of this thesis.

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[3] W.D. Sloan, (ed.), *The media in America: A history*, 2014, p. 344.
[4] W.D. Sloan, (ed.), *The media in America: A history*, 2014, p. 467.
[5] M. Ember and E. Emery, *The press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*, 1992, p. 367.
[6] M. Ember and E. Emery, *The press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*, 1992, p. 377.
[7] M. Ember and E. Emery, *The press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*, 1992, p. 364.
[8] M. Ember and E. Emery, *The press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*, 1992, p. 393.

3. A historical overview of the media landscape in the US in the early 1950s

The mid-twentieth century was a turning point for the global media landscape. From new post-war ideologies, cultural norms, conflicts and technologies, the traditional print media stood on the precipice of irrevocable change. For the black press in the United States, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a massive increase in the establishment of newspapers. By the mid-twentieth century, it is estimated that there were 175 black newspapers, with an average lifespan of nine years.[9] While by 1944 there were 210 black weekly, semi-weekly or bi-weekly newspapers, most newspapers were limited to the small regional areas in which they were published. It is estimated that the weekly black press alone had a total circulation of around one and a half million readers, while a third of all black families residing in cities regularly subscribed to black newspapers.[10] While it is difficult to make accurate projections of newspaper circulation in the United States, one study estimated a steady increase following World War II.[11] To contextualise, by mid-1954, the civilian population residing in the United States was estimated to be 159 084 000[12] while weekly newspaper circulation reached 55 072 000, meaning that 36 percent of civilians in the United States consistently relied on weekly newspapers as a source of information. Furthermore, some historians speculate that each copy of a black weekly, such as *The Chicago Defender*, changed hands at least five times, indicative of a far greater reach than the official circulation figures suggest.[13] As such, newspapers with national reach, such as *The Chicago Defender*, had profound impacts on the social and demographic spread of black communities in the United States, after it played a major role in the promotion of the so-called 'Great Migration' following World War I.[14]

Thus, the black press is important because it provided news and opinions which the black public wanted to read about and which was largely absent in terms of representation in the white press.[15] In assessing the general opinions expressed in the black press, sociologist Gunnar Myrdal found that editorials and columns in smaller regional black newspapers conveyed similar sentiments to those that were held nationally. Myrdal estimated that the press defined the extent of black identity to its United States

[9] W.D. Sloan, (ed.), *The media in America: A history*, 2014, p. 312.
[10] As per US Census data of 1 July 1954, the US had a population of over 145 million people, of whom 17 million were black.
[11] Pew Research Center, S. Naseer and C. St. Aubin, Newspapers fact sheet, 2023.
[12] US Department of Commerce's Bureau of Census, 'Current population reports: Population estimates', Series P-25, No. 99, 13 August 1954.
[13] M.E. Stovall, 'The Chicago Defender' in the Progressive Era, *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (3), 1990, p. 160.
[14] The US Labour Department estimated that *The Chicago Defender* was more successful at prompting mass migrations of black communities from the South to the North than all the labour agents combined. For more see K.A. Bitner, The role of *The Chicago Defender* in the Great Migration of 1916 - 1918, *Negro History Bulletin* 48 (2), 1985, p. 23.
[15] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 909.

audience by creating a feeling of strength and solidarity.[16] Another factor to consider is that black resistance to discrimination intersected with rising levels of black literacy.[17] Furthermore, Myrdal states that the black press in the United States served as both an educational agency, as well as a power agency, intersecting with the influence of both black churches and schools in determining the direction through which black Americans were becoming acculturated.[18] In terms of control, the agenda of the black press in the United States in the mid-twentieth century was primarily set by active members of both the upper and middle classes of the black community.[19] As a result, it could be argued that the black press in the United States was largely free of white influence, and as a result, its approaches were determined largely by economic factors.[20] Subsequently, some black newspapers at times turned to a certain extent of sensationalist news to ensure the economic viability of their papers, as was also common in the white press in the United States.[21] Since its inception, the black press stood at the intersection of information dissemination and social justice, and as such its purpose was summarised by editor of the *Journal and Guide* in Norfolk, Virginia, P.B. Young as being 'a special pleader; it is an advocate of human rights.'[22] As such, the black press in the United States was called the 'greatest single power in the Negro race'.[23]

The Chicago Defender was a weekly newspaper, founded in 1905 by Robert S. Abbott, after he became disillusioned with the white press that constantly emphasised black crimes and omitted black achievements.[24] It ultimately became one of the United States' foremost shapers of black thought.[25] Its innovative distribution process at the hands of traveling railroad porters, roadshow entertainers and itinerant musicians meant that *The Chicago Defender* was distributed far beyond the city limits.[26] Its editorials were often controversial opinions that pushed for the advancement of the black race, and as a result, it was sometimes regarded as a 'racial injustice watchdog'.[27] Its positive angles celebrating

[16] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 911.
[17] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 912.
[18] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 923.
[19] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 920.
[20] M.E. Stovall, 'The Chicago Defender' in the Progressive Era, *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (3), 1990, p. 160.
[21] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 922.
[22] P.B. Young, 'The Negro press - Today and tomorrow,' *Opportunity*, July 1939 in G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 908.
[23] E. Mims, *The advancing South* (1926), quoted in G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy: Volume II*, 1996, p. 924.
[24] M.E. Stovall, 'The Chicago Defender' in the Progressive Era, *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (3), 1990, p. 159.
[25] M.E. Stovall, 'The Chicago Defender' in the Progressive Era, *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (3), 1990, p. 159.
[26] K.A. Bitner, The role of *The Chicago Defender* in the Great Migration of 1916 - 1918, *Negro History Bulletin* 48 (2), 1985, p. 22.
[27] S. Webb, Understanding the complexities of the black press in Chicago during the interwar years: The influence and history of *The Chicago Defender*, *Global Africana Review* 7, 2023, p. 30.

black successes also helped to decentralise the predominant narratives regarding black people in the white mainstream press.[28] Ultimately, in the 1950s, *The Chicago Defender* was rivalled only by the *Pittsburgh Courier,*[29] and presented a counterpoint in the way in which black people were reported on in the mainstream white media. This makes this historical newspaper of significant value to this chapter's analysis.[30]

Meanwhile, the NAACP's mouthpiece, *The Crisis*, also contributed significantly to black thought in the United States. The publication was shaped by the vision of W.E.B. Du Bois, whose assertive ideas and intellectual engagement during his tenure as editor from 1910 to 1934 led to him having a reputation as the father of so-called 'militant journalism.'[31] Du Bois envisioned his publication to serve almost as a mentor of race, teaching black Americans not only how to protest, but also how to live within the discriminatory constraints of the United States.[32] Furthermore, on an international level, he advocated for the rights of black people in Africa, and for their sovereignty from their colonial oppressors.[33] *The Crisis* also played a significant role in educating both the black professional elites and the working class about the actions that the NAACP was taking on their behalf. Furthermore, *The Crisis* was an integral part of the Civil Rights Movement, as it was a vehicle for national fundraising which paid for litigation expenses; helped with the dissemination of information; as well as creating a positive perception of the NAACP.[34] With the advent of World War II and with its reputation as the leading voice for black civil rights, the NAACP's membership skyrocketed to 400 000 members.[35] Following the conclusion of the War and as the new reality of the Cold War unfolded, the NAACP insisted through its publications that communists were not sincere in their concern over the plight of black Americans, but merely to exploit race as a means of gaining ideological traction in the United States.[36] Ultimately, the NAACP and *The Crisis* entered its most prosperous period during the height of the Cold War.[37] Its goal was to reach the

[28] S. Webb, Understanding the complexities of the black press in Chicago during the interwar years: The influence and history of *The Chicago Defender*, *Global Africana Review* 7, 2023, p. 30.
[29] S. Webb, Understanding the complexities of the black press in Chicago during the interwar years: The influence and history of *The Chicago Defender*, *Global Africana Review* 7, 2023, p. 28.
[30] M. Newman, Reviewed work: Newspaper wars: Civil rights and white resistance in South Carolina, 1935 - 1965, *Media History* 24 (3), 2018, p. 555.
[31] E.M. Rudwick, W.E.B. Du Bois in the role of *The Crisis* editor, *The Journal of Negro History* 43 (3), 1953, p. 214.
[32] E.M. Rudwick, W.E.B. Du Bois in the role of *The Crisis* editor, *The Journal of Negro History* 43 (3), 1953, p. 221.
[33] E.M. Rudwick, W.E.B. Du Bois in the role of *The Crisis* editor, *The Journal of Negro History* 43 (3), 1953, p. 228.
[34] V.P. Franklin, Introduction: Documenting the NAACP's first century - From combatting racial injustices to challenging racial inequalities, *The Journal of African American History* 94 (4), 2009, p. 453.
[35] M. Berg, Black civil rights and liberal anti-communism: The NAACP in the early Cold War, *The Journal of American History*, 94 (1), 2007, p. 81.
[36] M. Berg, Black civil rights and liberal anti-communism: The NAACP in the early Cold War, *The Journal of American History*, 94 (1), 2007, p. 94.
[37] A. Meier and J.H. Bracey, The NAACP as a reform movement, 1909 - 1965: 'To reach the conscience of America', *The Journal of Southern History* 59 (1), 1993, p. 22.

'conscience of America,'[38] pertaining to racial discrimination and ultimately to be 'free by '63.'[39] Thus it is also an important publication for this chapter's analysis to reflect the integration of varied black voices.

Pertaining to the white print media in the United States, the *New York Times* was established in 1851, as a daily newspaper rooted in the journalistic philosophy of reporting for 'public good', rather than reverting to sensationalism.[40] As a result of its reputation for elite, liberal-leaning reporting which strove for objectivity, a 1958 study found that those most interested and involved in foreign affairs in the country, read the *New York Times*, even if they did not live in the city of New York.[41] Meanwhile, the conservative echelon of American society remained reliant on print media as a way of circulating their conservative beliefs.[42] In Georgia, conservative stances were reported on extensively in *The Atlanta Constitution* since its inception in 1868. Regarded as one of the Southern states' most distinguished dailies, the newspaper covered historical events that took place within a conservative context of the state's social and political milieu.[43] However, this does not mean the newspaper reflected that state's largely conservative views by extension, as its editor Ralph McGill was an early supporter of civil rights in the 1940s, and the newspaper valued the concept of 'fairness' as a central element of its editorial philosophy.[44] The newspaper is thus of immense importance to this thesis, as it reported on Georgia's development as one of the loudest voices opposed to school integration during the so-called massive resistance, while maintaining journalistic integrity. In particular, it was selected since it was situated in the same state as Georgia governor Herman Talmadge, who was one of the strongest dissenting voices against the integration of education in the American South in 1954.

4. 'State' schooling: The struggle for school control in the US

4.1. Domestic perspectives

In analysing the four United States newspapers discussed above, certain thematic elements inherently bound their reporting together, even if their stances and perspectives diverged as a result of their varied interests. In addition to their function of reporting on events, some of the core threads evident in all four

[38] A. Meier and J.H. Bracey, The NAACP as a reform movement, 1909 - 1965: 'To reach the conscience of America', *The Journal of Southern History* 59 (1), 1993, p. 6.
[39] G.B. Current, The significance of the NAACP and its impact in the 1960s, *The Black Scholar* 19 (1), 1988, p. 10.
[40] W.D. Sloan, (ed.), *The media in America: A history*, 2014, p. 297.
[41] J. L. Baughman, *Henry R. Luce and the rise of the American news media,* 1987, p. 170.
[42] L.G. Gifford, "The education of a Cold War conservative: Anti-communist literature of the 1950s and 1960s" in G. Barnhisel and C. Barnhisel (eds), *Pressing the fight: Print, propaganda, and the Cold War,* 2010, p. 50.
[43] H.A. Merrill and J.C. Fisher, *The world's great dailies: Profiles of fifty newspaper*s, 1980, p. 68.
[44] H.A. Merrill and J.C. Fisher, *The world's great dailies: Profiles of fifty newspaper*s, 1980, p. 68.

publications include, *inter alia,* explanations of how the court case would impact its readers' lives, and why it was significant; the implications it would have domestically for teachers, pupils and their communities; the immense impact it promised to have on diplomatic relationships and global perceptions; and the function of the ruling as an example of democracy in the world threatened by communism. The depth and clarity of perspectives provided by black newspapers to their audience is also noteworthy and expansive, as will be illustrated below.

The first thematic element that is apparent in this analysis of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954) relates to the fact that the press utilised its influence to underscore to its readers *why* the proceedings in the Supreme Court were significant to their lives. This extends beyond the mere presentation of developments, and rather sought to help its readers draw deeper connections to the profound impact the ruling could have to not only their lives, but the lives of their fellow citizens. As expected, diverse audiences and their world views largely impacted the editorial choices made in terms of which significant aspects were highlighted. Another aspect at play was the fact that the black press was aware of the transformation that both black communities in the United States and globally, as well as the black press in itself, were undergoing at this time. Thus, pertaining to this particular milieu in which the press existed, the black press had an awareness of a new tone it had struck as a result of a new era of leadership in the 1950s. This change was reportedly due to the black media moving away from the so-called militancy in favour of a focus on social reforms, which included, but was not limited to, education.[45] The NAACP was given credit for this new approach to resistance as a result of their increased focus on litigious action, while president Harry Truman's military integration of 1948 was also lauded for this new character.[46] In short, *The Chicago Defender* praised strong leadership for 'cleaning up our own house and proving to the world that democracy works for all and not a limited few.'[47] One year later, the opinion section of *The Chicago Defender* echoed this sentiment when it repeated, in relation to global politics, 'that a man's color, religion or ancestry cannot alter his legal status in this country, nor affect in any way his constitutional rights.'[48]

This changing power dynamic related to civil rights advances resulted in newspapers explaining why it was that schools were the next battlegrounds to continue this progress. The power of the press was also on display when the NAACP acknowledged the importance of newspapers in not only providing

[45] Our opinions: Leaders change tactics, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 March 1951, p. 6.
[46] Our opinions: Leaders change tactics, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 March 1951, p. 6.
[47] Our opinions: Leaders change tactics, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 March 1951, p. 6.
[48] Our opinions: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 20 December 1952, p. 10.

coverage of their cases, but also for its role for raising funds for its LDEF, which funded the *Brown*-case.[49] The NAACP proactively used its mouthpiece, *The Crisis*, as a platform to educate its audience on salient court cases related to education, and it stressed the idea that schools are the 'great unifying force in American life,' and that 'equality of physical equipment is no substitute for equality of treatment and acceptance by one's fellow citizens'.[50] This underscores why the NAACP were such strong proponents of supporting the litigious action pertaining to segregated schools in particular, as they believed it was the cornerstone to a morally just society. *The Crisis* also outlined key tenets of the NAACP's arguments in court, which included how segregated education negatively impacted both black and white Americans. For the black population it created a 'feeling of inferiority,' whereas for white Americans it bred 'conceit and racial insolence.'[51] *The Crisis* reported that segregation in schools, and in other parts of life in the United States, pointed to the country's weakness as a leader and example of democracy in the free world.[52] The *New York Times* further underscored the importance of the court hearings to black Americans in particular, as illustrated by its focus of its detailed description of the first hearing at the Supreme Court, in which the proceedings were attended overwhelmingly by a black audience.[53] The *New York Times* is also the only newspaper studied for this analysis that connected the battle for integrated schools to Native American education, by highlighting Thurgood Marshall's statement that Native Americans were in a better position in Southern states than black Americans, but that they had not 'had the judgement or the wherewithal to bring lawsuits' to improve their educational situation.[54]

Continuing to use its platform to emphasise the importance of school segregation cases as being the forefront of the civil rights, *The Crisis* explored in great depth the significance of the moment. For example, in its January 1953 issue, it published a seven page overview of a history of the case, the proceedings, and legal insights. *The Crisis* represented the trial as 'an epic struggle of our times,' where the NAACP's young lawyers were battling for a 'new order in which racial discriminations are banned', against the old guard, 'defending the southern "way of life" with its racial taboos.'[55] As a monthly

[49] NAACP board votes thanks to press: Resolution praises school fight support, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 2 January 1954, p. 2.
[50] Editorials: Supreme Court and segregation, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 34.
[51] Editorials: Supreme Court and segregation, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 34.
[52] Editorials: Supreme Court and segregation, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 34.
[53] L.A. Huston, Supreme Court asked to end school segregation in nation, *New York Times*, 10 December 1952, p. 1.
[54] L.A. Huston, Supreme Court asked to end school segregation in nation, *New York Times*, 10 December 1952, p. 24.
[55] Along the N.A.A.C.P. battlefront: Fate of segregated schools before the U.S. Supreme Court, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 41.

publication, *The Crisis* had the benefit of publishing longer, more reflective pieces, and thus freed from the time and space constraints to which daily newspapers are beholden. However, it was not only the black press that focused on the significance of the Supreme Court case, and its potential far-reaching consequences. Georgia's *The Atlanta Constitution* described the constitutional battle for desegregated schools taking place in the Supreme Court as 'one of the most explosive issues in American life'.[56]

The widespread predicted consequences were scrutinised by all of the publications analysed, however their focus diverged based on their audience's interests. A year before the historic *Brown* v. *Board of Education*-ruling, *The Chicago Defender* already grappled with what the implementation of school integration would mean for its community. A prescient awareness existed within black communities that the ruling would have ramifications that were far more nuanced and complex than a simple celebration of a civil rights victory. One black couple from Alabama outlined a plan for educational integration in *The Chicago Defender* out of concern that integration might create the same 'chaotic conditions' as those which followed the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. Their proposed plan considered not only the educational implications, but also the reactions of parents and teachers, which were nuanced, indicating an appreciation of the depth and breadth of the potential ruling's implication, ranging from positive to negative perceptions.[57] In addition, *The Crisis* gave a similar assurance in 1953, by quoting an editorial from *The Danville Register*, that integrated schooling is 'no longer … a possibility; it has become a probability.'[58]

In assessing public opinion by posing the question of how the Supreme Court would ultimately rule in its school segregation case, *The Chicago Defender* highlighted perspectives by members of the public who agreed integration was inevitable, labelling school segregation as 'cancer … eating away the democratic principles of our Constitution,' and an 'evil practice,' while other members of the public who were interviewed shared the conviction that the United States should 'set examples for other nations,' and it seeming 'silly that in a democracy' segregation was necessary.[59]

The political perceptions of the consequences of integration in the South contrasted sharply to the above-mentioned public opinions from the North. Some of the Southern states where the segregated

[56] C.G. Moulton, High Court told segregation guards rights; Badge of slavery, foes say, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 10 December 1952, p. 1.
[57] T.J. Quarles, Mr. and Mrs., Alabama couple proposes school integration plan, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 15 August 1953, pp. 1 - 2.
[58] School segregation, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 37.
[59] Man on street. How will court act on schools, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 12 December 1953, p. 5.

status quo was perceived to be threatened started formally outlining their early action plans to resist integration. This included extreme responses, proposals and perceived 'solutions', including the complete abolishment of public schools. The Mississippi governor, Hugh White, regarded this proposal as a 'wise move,' even if replacing public schools with private schools was not necessarily a 'satisfactory answer' to the situation.[60] Ultimately, Mississippi implemented what *The Chicago Defender* coined an 'equalisation program' to ensure the 'separate but equal' doctrine was applied consistently while they searched for other legal avenues to circumvent the anticipated Supreme Court's ruling.[61]

The state of Georgia explored similar avenues in the years preceding the *Brown*-ruling. Governor Herman Talmadge was recalcitrant and insisted that segregated Georgian schools were in no way violating the Constitution. In a lengthy statement published in *The Chicago Defender* in 1953, Talmadge argued that his state would heed to the Constitution of the United States rather than a series of 'judicial decisions subject to change without notice.'[62] Talmadge argued that these judicial opinions ultimately violated the Tenth Amendment, which reserves power to the states, and that it subsequently made the High Court's ruling unconstitutional.[63] It is worth noting that not all Georgian politicians were aligned with Talmadge's stance. In contrast, a representative from Glynn County, Charlie Gowen, vowed to hold 'hotheads in line' to save the state's public school system.[64] However, the author of the article in *The Atlanta Constitution* wrote ambiguously and it is left unclear if Gowen was referring to white politicians who planned to circumvent a judicial order, or black individuals opposed to segregation in schools.[65] The following day, *The Atlanta Constitution* published an article that almost read as a forewarning, in which it referenced 'outbursts of hatred' in non-segregated schools, and deduced that there was a 'feeling between the races and we cannot hide that fact.'[66] Balancing this tone, which focused on negative race relations, was an opinion piece by Thomas Stokes, who acknowledged that 'we are, surely, all guilty' of misinterpreting the Fourteenth Amendment, and that the best path forward was to try and follow the Court's imminent ruling 'in a tolerant spirit, white and black … as best we can.'[67] Meanwhile, the *New York Times* reported on South Carolina governor James Byrnes's commitment to continue segregation in the face of the potential integration of schools. His approach was described as

[60] Gov. White opposes end of public schools, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 19 December 1953, p.3.
[61] Miss. votes to revise schools on trial basis, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 15 May 1954, p. 7.
[62] H. Talmadge, Gov. Talmadge talks: Georgia governor says segregated schools do not violate the constitution, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 19 December 1953, p. 9.
[63] H. Talmadge, Gov. Talmadge talks: Georgia governor says segregated schools do not violate the constitution, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 19 December 1953, p. 9.
[64] New fight seen on segregation, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 11 December 1952, p. 22.
[65] New fight seen on segregation, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 11 December 1952, p. 22.
[66] C.G. Moulton, Segregation called bar to hatred, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 12 December 1952, p. 1.
[67] T.L. Stokes, Supreme Court faces grave issue, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 12 December 1952, p. 4.

a chance for the state to choose between integration or maintaining the segregated norms, communicating to his audience that 'reluctantly we will abandon the public school system. To do that would be choosing the lesser of two great evils.'[68]

In an attempt to prepare its readers for the ultimate court ruling, *The Atlanta Constitution* published a prediction by the dean of the Woodrow Wilson College of Law that 'the Supreme Court's "new conservative complexion"' could indicate a victory in the case for the South.[69] The *New York Times* predicted a similar expectation that the Supreme Court's decision would be 'sharply divided'.[70] In spite of predictions such as these, it is clear from the reporting by *The Atlanta Constitution* and the *New York Times* that Georgia and other Southern states were actively outlining the details of their contingency plans from as early as 1952 - objectives that would eventually become a part of the massive resistance against integrated schools from 1954 onwards.[71] The *New York Times* highlighted that while three states in particular (Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina) were actively prepared to resist integration, that the South was largely divided in its stances to the ultimate integration of schools.[72]

While there was a plethora of opinions related to the domestic implications of the court proceedings, the press also illustrated why the ruling was significant from an international perspective. The diplomatic implications of integrated education came to a front as early as 1952 for the federal government, when Attorney General James McGranery was refused permission by the Supreme Court to personally submit an *amicus curiae* brief in the school segregation case, as is customary in matters of national interest.[73] Ultimately, the Assistant Attorney General, J.L. Rankin, represented the government in court the following year, where he insisted that the Supreme Court had the 'power and duty' to abolish segregation.[74] President Eisenhower's executive powers were also highlighted by *The Chicago Defender* when it stated that 'the President was very explicit in asking for [concrete] action' in relation to 'the problem of discrimination'.[75] The *New York Times* mirrored this sentiment when reporting that

[68] Segregation will continue or schools go, Byrnes says, *New York Times*, 17 March 1951, p. 24.
[69] J. Pinso, Kilbride sees segregation victory, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 12 December 1952, p. 27.
[70] A. Krock, In the nation: Basic law and the pressures of the period, *New York Times*, 11 December 1952, p. 32.
[71] See, for example, M.L. St. John, Board again holds secret school talk, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 2 March 1951, p.1; B. Spencer, 250 Oppose school-merger bill as education leaders urge passage, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 9 December 1953, p. 5; H. Hancock, Schools segregation study group released, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 9 December 1953, p. 12; and Talmadge signs segregation bill, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 11 December 1953, p. 3.
[72] J.N. Popham, School bias issue divides the South, *New York Times*, 14 December 1953, p. 42.
[73] V.T. Spraggs, Deny McGranery plea against Jim Crow schools, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 13 December 1952, p. 1.
[74] E. Payne, School decision expected by June: Case before U.S. court 12 months, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 19 December 1953, pp. 1 - 2.
[75] Ike wants action! *The Chicago Defender (National edition),* 29 August 1953, p. 2.

Eisenhower sought 'by every power of his office to wipe out all forms of segregation in the district.'[76] The focus by the press on Eisenhower's commitment to integration was linked to the declining global reputation of the United States as a result of its domestic racial policies. For example, *The Chicago Defender* examined how segregation alienated the United States diplomatically from black communities globally when it quoted the NAACP's Washington D.C. district president as saying that the 'eyes of the dark-skinned world will note the exceptions' rather than the 'victories' of systematic integration.[77] The presence of 'a considerable number of correspondents for foreign papers' during the Supreme Court's hearings also supports the fact that the court ruling had the eyes of the world turned to it.[78] In an international context, the case brought attention to the fact that black Americans were serving in an integrated conflict in Korea, in spite of domestically still being treated as a 'white man's burden' in relation to their schooling.[79] *The Crisis* echoed this belief when it quoted its lawyers' rebuttal during an argument in the case:

> the Negro cannot be considered anyone's burden, but rather a free citizen. He is now fighting in Korea in an integrated army along with white servicemen. All that he asks is that his children go to integrated schools along with the children of white comrades in Korea.[80]

Another contextual theme in the reporting of the press is the significance of the individual petitioners' and respondents' stances in court. The NAACP's black legal team, in particular the role of the attorney Thurgood Marshall, was portrayed in the media as being leaders in the fight for school integration. Marshall received extensive coverage, which included the reported air of *gravitas* that he brought to the courtroom, and the multiple awards he received as a result of his contributions to advancing American democracy.[81] In contrast, *The Atlanta Constitution*, in its account of the first hearing of *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* initially referred to Marshall simply as 'a Negro attorney', while in contrast, the respondent's John Davis was referred to not only by name, but was characterised as a 'renowned constitutional lawyer.'[82] As the newspaper initially focused predominantly on the respondent's

[76] L.A. Huston, School bias arguments end; High Court will rule later, *New York Times*, 10 December 1953, p. 24.
[77] Jim Crow ends in 23 D.C. agencies: Immediate action order of commission board, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 12 December 1953.
[78] E. Payne, and A. De Mille, Rehearing school case cost bared: More than $40,000 without lawyers' fees, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 19 December 1953, p. 4.
[79] V.T. Spraggs, High court weighs school bias cases, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 20 December 1952, p. 2.
[80] Along the N.A.A.C.P. battlefront: Fate of segregated schools before the U.S. Supreme Court, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 47.
[81] Marshall gets 8th Abbott Award, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 15 May 1954, p. 1.
[82] C.G. Moulton, High Court told segregation guards rights; Badge of slavery, foes say, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 10 December 1952, p. 1.

arguments only, the detail and tone of their coverage highlighted the often reductive and patronising tone of Davis's arguments. Examples include him calling the federal government's stance on integration 'lame and impotent.'[83] He also suggested that integration would have limited value to students by posing the question, 'would the "terrible psychological handicap" for Negro children, of which their elders complain, be removed … by having three white children in the same room?'[84] The apparent diminishment of Marshall's worth did not last, and his major contributions to the case could not be ignored for long. *The Atlanta Constitution* soon reported on his petitions in detail. For example, it highlighted Marshall's comment that 'America may lose a war unless the question of racial discrimination is solved.'[85] In addition, the work of local organisations in favour of school integration was reported on by *The Atlanta Constitution*, including the Georgia NAACP-branch branding the state's planned privatisation of schools as a 'diabolical scheme' fostered by politicians with 'diabolical minds'.[86] In the column adjacent to this report was coverage of Mississippi's intention to follow Georgia's example with its public to private school plan.[87]

During the recounting of the Supreme Court proceedings, the press also provided an extensive history of the fight for integrated education. *The Chicago Defender* expressed a notable relief at the attention the Supreme Court was giving the case, as is evident in the passage, 'We are glad that the court has finally seen fit to meet the issue head-on.'[88] In addition, *The Chicago Defender* presented both sides of the arguments which included a focus on the damaging impact of the 'separate but equal' doctrine on the mental and emotional wellbeing of black students on the one hand; and the constitutionality of integrated schooling on the other.[89] Meanwhile, the *New York Times* provided an analysis of the flexibility of the Constitution as a document that is proverbially a 'living' one, as the Supreme Court ultimately has the power to reverse decisions it had made itself, as it was keeping with the times and the development of acceptable social norms.[90] *The Crisis* included the irony-laden fact that the respondents opposition to integration was rooted on a quote by its founder, W.E.B. Du Bois in relation

[83] D. Garwood, Davis challenges court's authority to mix schools, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 8 December 1953, p. 1.
[84] D. Garwood, Davis challenges court's authority to mix schools, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 8 December 1953, p. 1.
[85] D. Garwood, End segregation in schools, urges Brownell aide, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 9 December 1953, p. 14.
[86] State NAACP brands school plan 'big steal', *The Atlanta Constitution*, 8 December 1953, p. 3.
[87] Segregation plan speeded by Mississippi, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 9 December 1953, p. 3.
[88] Our opinions: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 20 December 1952, p. 10.
[89] V.T. Spraggs, High court weighs school bias cases, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 20 December 1952, pp. 1 - 2.
[90] A. Krock, In the nation: Basic law and the pressures of the period, *New York Times*, 11 December 1952, p. 32.

to his argument related to the advantages for black students to remain in segregated schools. In what was perhaps an attempt by *The Crisis* to draw attention to the racial undertones of the respondents, it highlighted that one member of the respondents team 'apparently had difficulty in pronouncing the word 'Negro', alluding to the fact that they might be more accustomed to uttering the term as a slur.[91] A similar argument to the respondents and Du Bois's was highlighted by the conservative press, when *The Atlanta Constitution* published a lengthy letter by a black father following the Supreme Court's ruling, who was decisively opposed to school integration.[92] A subsequent rebuttal to this sentiment leaned heavily on the theme of how racial discrimination weakened the 'defense of democracy in our fight against communism, for the doubtful races of the world may wonder when they see some undemocratic practices.'[93] This is indicative of how many of the themes highlighted in this analysis, such as the notion of democracy, a fear of communism, racial justice and international perspectives are intrinsically linked.

To the point above, one of the most persistent themes of the press's coverage of segregated education relates intrinsically to its Cold War context: communism, and by proxy the importance of strong democratic principles in the United States. The media, in its various stances, all pointed to how segregated education gave leverage to the Soviet Union's communist propaganda machine. *The Chicago Defender* highlighted comments made by Dr. George S. Counts, who was a professor of education of Columbia's Teachers College. He predicted that an assertive ruling on school integration would underline American democratic ideals, leading 'the free world in the struggle against the ruthless thrusts of Communist despotism.'[94] *The Chicago Defender* and *The Atlanta Constitution* both noted that the eventual *Brown*-ruling was entirely ignored by communist organs, and reasoned that the promise of integration took 'the sting out of the most effective single piece of communist propaganda.'[95] Once the Supreme Court delivered its unanimous decision, the United States ensured that the world was swiftly made aware of it, as reported by *The Atlanta Constitution*. Through the 'Voice of America' shortwave broadcasts to Eastern European countries, and teletyped to 34 language desks, it was reported that the United States ensured that the world knew it was undoubtably a leader in democratic principles.[96]

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[91] Along the N.A.A.C.P. battlefront: Fate of segregated schools before the U.S. Supreme Court, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 44.
[92] Negro father asks about court decision: 'Is anybody thinking about the Negroes?', *The Atlanta Constitution*, 20 May 1954, p. 4.
[93] C.F. Morgan, Second 'Negro father' declares that first did not express true sentiment of race, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 22 May 1954, p. 4.
[94] Teachers union bans segregation: AFL body also raps Byrnes appointment, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 August 1953, p. 4.
[95] Supreme Court decision boosts stock of the U.S. in the world capitals, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 6, and Reds ignore decision, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 24 May 1954, p. 1.
[96] U.S. speeds news of decision by 'Voice' and overseas outlets, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 6.

Indeed, the *New York Times* described the *Brown*-decision as a victory towards a more perfect democracy, and that when 'hostile propagandists rises [*sic*] in Moscow or Peiping to accuse us of being a class society we can if we wish recite the courageous words of yesterday's opinion.'[97] It also called the Supreme Court the 'guardian of our national conscience.'[98] The sentiment was further advanced in the newspaper when a professor from Harvard University, Gordon Allport, was quoted as saying that in addition to the promise of a better life for black Americans, it also 'raises American prestige throughout the world. It demonstrates that democracy is still a vital and growing ideal in this country.'[99] Furthermore, the ruling was reported to alleviate a sense of guilt that white Americans had as a result of racial discrimination.[100]

The most persistent theme prevalent in the analysis of the press's coverage of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is undeniably the unanimous acceptance of the historical nature of the day. While there is a significant contrast in why the day was perceived as significant, the media was united in its appreciation of the magnitude of the Supreme Court's decision on 17 May 1954. By far the most emotionally evocative and extensive reporting was provided by *The Chicago Defender*. It had nuanced and complex reporting: weighing the constitutional implications against domestic reaction, historical significance, quantitative repercussions and ultimately balancing it with moving human interest perspectives. For example, to highlight the immense symbolic moment for black communities, *The Chicago Defender* chose to summarise the historic moment of the highest court in the land's decision through the eyes of a former slave:

> The old man with the cane toiled painfully up the long flight of marble stairs leading up to the chambers of the Supreme Court of the United States. With his free hand he clutched the hand of a small bright eyed boy. Past him the throng of hopeful spectators hurried. A reporter approached the old man. "I'm 95", he told him. "I was born in slavery. This here is my great grandchild. I jes wanta see if it's gonna happen. We been waitin' a long time. Maybe it'll be better for Sonny here. And if it does come, I kin go on to glory happy."[101]

The Chicago Defender further reported that the intensity of the interest of the whole world at that moment was 'only exceeded by the H-bomb,' as any other outcome would have inhibited the free world's fight

[97] 'All God's chillun', *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 28.
[98] 'All God's chillun', *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 28.
[99] Court said to end 'a sense of guilt', *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 18.
[100] Court said to end 'a sense of guilt', *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 18.
[101] History of school cases covers five years: Cases spring from desire of parents for better education for children, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 21.

against totalitarianism.[102] A reporter of *The Chicago Defender* went so far as to put her commitment to objective reporting aside when she shared in the tangible joy of the moment when the decision was shared, 'The members of the press went completely wacky. There I was - right in the middle of it and almost out of my mind! I'm so excited I'm like I'm drunk. I'm turning around like one of those spinning tops.'[103] One parent who was instrumental in the initial filing of one of the cases integrated into the *Brown*-ruling shared her pride at the decision by stating, 'now we can hold up our heads before the world.'[104]

Beyond the celebratory nature of these human-interest angles, *The Chicago Defender* wasted no time in grappling with the dawn of the new complicated reality of what desegregation would look like for black teachers, as well as the job insecurity that seemed almost assured as some Southern states vowed to not employ black teachers in white schools.[105] In weeks that followed the ruling, *The Chicago Defender* shone the spotlight on Southern states who were guilty of fear-mongering, after some states declared that black teachers would not be employed to teach integrated classes.[106] The newspaper also gave a voice to the increased feelings of insecurity experienced by black teachers, as school boards and state governors had time to digest the ruling and started elaborating on their reactions and stances. *The Chicago Defender* also highlighted instances where black teachers' jobs 'depended upon the whims of school officials who regard Negro education as a bad heritage they must endure,'[107] as well as the prevalent rumours in Southern states that instilled a sense of fear amongst black teachers concerned about their job security.[108] *The Chicago Defender* published the phrase, 'regardless of how these [rumours] might look to others, they have very real meaning to Negro teachers in the South.'[109] It thus acknowledged, normalised and destigmatised black teachers' fears and vulnerabilities, which allowed them to process these developments within a broader perspective. In doing so, *The Chicago Defender* served a powerful social function to its audience. The newspaper was rooted in a realistic approach and

[102] History of school cases covers five years: Cases spring from desire of parents for better education for children, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 21.
[103] E. Payne, Ethel meets boy made immortal by U.S. Supreme Court decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 4.
[104] E. Payne, Ethel meets boy made immortal by U.S. Supreme Court decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 4.
[105] D. Garwood, Kill Jim Crow schools: U.S. Supreme Court rules unanimously in ending segregation in education, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 2.
[106] NEA president is mum on schools' decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 2.
[107] E.P. Waters Jr., How decision affects teachers in the south: Edict arouses job insecurity, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 1.
[108] E.P. Waters Jr., How decision affects teachers in the south: Edict arouses job insecurity, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 1.
[109] E.P. Waters Jr., How decision affects teachers in the south: Edict arouses job insecurity, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 1.

acknowledged that while 'there will be a mortality among Negro teachers,' it also reassured it readers that it would not be to the extent that teachers as a broader group should feel insecure.[110]

The Atlanta Constitution also covered the historic ruling extensively. However, its front page headlines provided a defiant and defensive perspective, including: 'Court kills segregation in schools; Cheap politics, Talmadge retorts'; 'Segregation to continue, school officials predict'; 'Candidates vow to keep barriers' and 'Ruling doesn't apply to Georgia, Cook says, pledging long fight'.[111] According to the newspaper, Georgian responses to the ruling were divided into three groups: the 'openly defiant'; a group aligned with the stance that a 'way must be found' to question the constitutionality of the court's ruling; and finally, those accepting the rule of law, in spite of 'deploring the court's finding'.[112] The Georgian governor Herman Talmadge (who featured prominently in his defence against integration in the months that followed) while warning against violence, called for an immediate session with one of the appointed commissions in studying school segregation, to plan for 'permanent segregation of the races' in Georgia.[113]

Meanwhile The *New York Times* highlighted the unanimous nature of the decision on its front-page coverage, and while that day's issue covered the case and the implications comprehensively, it maintained a balance of other domestic and international news. The day after the ruling saw the *New York Times* reporting on the political implications of the ruling for Eisenhower; the history of the ruling; the varied nature of Southern reactions; deconstructing the petitioners' case on sociological terms; the reaction of school teachers; a map of segregated schools in the United States; editorial excerpts from newspapers across the United States; pay scale discrepancies between white and black educators; as well as a look ahead to next steps.[114]

While the *New York Times* had extensive coverage, perhaps the most singular focus on the court proceedings and ultimate ruling of the Supreme Court appeared in *The Crisis* as the mouthpiece of the NAACP who funded the case, with over thirty pages of coverage on this event in its June-July issue of 1954.[115] This included the complete text of the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* ruling, the history of the five

[110] E.P. Waters Jr., How decision affects teachers in the south: Edict arouses job insecurity, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 2.
[111] *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 1.
[112] W.S. White, Russell demands curbs on use of court as 'tool', *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 1.
[113] M.L. St. John, Calls panel to set up lasting ban: Urges Georgians to remain calm, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 1.
[114] *New York Times*, 18 May 1954.
[115] *The Crisis*, June-July, 1954.

cases that were ultimately brought before the Supreme Court, a map of segregated education in the United States, photographs, fact sheets, editorial excerpts from newspapers across the United States in relation to the ruling, as well as a reflective editorial.[116]

Ultimately, it was black newspapers that engaged with the implications of school integration on black communities most deeply, with particular relation to the reactions of teachers. Prior to the Supreme Court's ruling on school segregation, and perhaps anticipating fears for black teachers, *The Crisis* acknowledged that not all black teachers would welcome integration in fear of losing their jobs.[117] The publication stressed that any 'forward and progressive step means a temporary sacrifice to some people,' but that through preparation and resourcefulness, the long-lasting implications would be wholly positive.[118] Readers were also cautioned that desegregation 'requires watchfulness and … we cannot relax our vigilance for a moment.'[119] In contrast, immediate teacher reactions were limited to white educators by *The Atlanta Constitution*, and while many teachers who were opposed to integration refused to go on record with their opinions, others were openly defiant, such as a high school science teacher, Lucien Bell, who said, 'Negroes and whites in the same school in Georgia just won't work and you may quote me by name.'[120] Other teachers expressed that they would rather exit the profession than teach integrated classes.[121] The *New York Times* included extensive quantitative data relating to how the ruling would impact black teachers, but no black voices were included in their reporting.[122] Further adding to the nuances of black perspectives, *The Chicago Defender* included a perspective of three hundred black members of school boards in Georgia, requesting that segregated schools remain in place. These individuals argued that their children would receive a better and more balanced education if they were taught by a teacher of their own race.[123] Overall, *The Chicago Defender* assessed that reaction in the South ranged from 'outright defiance to grudging acceptance with, of course, some exceptions that are encouraging.'[124]

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[116] *The Crisis*, June-July 1954.
[117] E.C. Roberts, What I would do if I were a Negro, *The Crisis*, October 1953, p. 479.
[118] E.C. Roberts, What I would do if I were a Negro, *The Crisis*, October 1953, p. 479.
[119] E.C. Roberts, What I would do if I were a Negro, *The Crisis*, October 1953, p. 485.
[120] Negro-white classes won't work, disappointed county teachers say, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 3.
[121] School bias issue has complexities, *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 22.
[122] School bias issue has complexities, *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 22.
[123] 300 Negro Georgians ask to keep Jim Crow, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 3.
[124] Our opinions: A challenge to Southern leadership, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 5 June 1954, p. 11.

In an extensive piece exploring black educators' response to the *Brown*-ruling, *The Chicago Defender* enunciated the complex and layered perspectives on the historical event within black school communities. Responses ranged from 'a majestic break in the dark clouds with which the face of man's destiny everywhere has been obscured,'[125] to the fact that not only black communities, but all racial groupings, were to benefit from integrated schools.[126] Other educators cautioned that black communities were standing 'too close to this event to appreciate it fully,'[127] and that the battle was not yet won, as the court's decision did not eradicate the 'false ideologies of white supremacy and historic traditions and practices of racial superiority.'[128] An editorial in *The Crisis* supported this view, arguing that it was 'necessary to temper our exultation with the warning that this is a major battle won, not a campaign concluded.'[129] In a strongly worded warning, the NAACP cautioned against 'unintelligent optimism and childish faith' that the abolition of segregation in schools was not 'the final solution for the social cancer of racism'.[130]

Ecclesiastical views were also included in the media coverage, and pastors who were interviewed reflected the varied responses also present in the press. Rooted to a larger extent in spiritual sentiments, they cautioned against the use of violence and encouraged those opposed to the ruling to behave in ways that were rooted in Christian values. One Presbyterian pastor, for example, said that 'it is merely a social separation that helps to protect the racial integrity of both groups of American citizens.'[131] This attitude was reported on again one year later after the *Brown II* decision by Methodist ministers, who deemed integration 'idealistic' and 'not practical'.[132] Meanwhile, a rabbi in New York labelled the Supreme Court decision 'a day of major disaster for communism.'[133]

Another pattern that became apparent in this analysis is that the unanimous nature of the ruling took many Americans by surprise.[134] *The Atlanta Constitution* reported that the Southern press's reactions

[125] H.M. Bond, President of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, quoted in Educators comment on schools decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 5.
[126] J.S. Scott, President of Wiley College Marshall, Texas quoted in Educators comment on schools decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 5.
[127] H.C. Warren, President of Tougaloo College, Mississippi, quoted in Educators comment on schools decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 5.
[128] J.P. Brawley, President of Clark College, Georgia, quoted in Educators comment on schools decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 5.
[129] Editorials: Segregation decision, *The Crisis*, June-July 1954, p. 352.
[130] Editorials: Segregation decision, *The Crisis*, June-July 1954, p. 352.
[131] L. Harre, Atlanta pastors react with mixed feelings, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 3.
[132] L. Harre, Integration won't work, ministers here tell Methodist conference, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 4 June 1955, p. 1.
[133] School decision called milepost, *New York Times*, 23 May 1954, p. 81.
[134] G. Williams, Georgia's delegation hits ruling, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 1.

to this ranged from bitterness to optimism.[135] Perhaps one of the most well-known reactions, reported on by quoting the full text, was Talmadge's statement on the court ruling, which stated that the *Brown*-decision 'reduced our Constitution to a mere scrap of paper.'[136] He later also accused the court of 'judicial brain washing.'[137] The *New York Times* explained that the unanimous nature of the ruling was a result of Chief Justice Earl Warren's convincing argument to other judges that the overall acceptance of the decision would be influenced by the court deciding as one unified voice.[138] Other politicians explained the Supreme Court's decision by laying blame at the feet of the 'meddlers, demagogues, race-baiters and communists in the United States [who] are determined to destroy every vestige of states' rights.'[139] *The Atlanta Constitution* reported on Talmadge's response that 'no one's a better friend of the colored people of Georgia than the white people of Georgia'[140] in spite of his open defiance to integration in his state.

Following the *Brown*-ruling and the subsequent onset of massive resistance in the South, all the publications analysed in this chapter looked ahead to the future. *The Chicago Defender* stressed the NAACP's commitment to ensure the ruling was adhered to, serving almost as a means to assuage any fears its audience might have with reassuring statements such as 'the power of the Supreme Court of the United States is greater than that of the Gibson [Georgia] school board'.[141] It also focused on the enthusiasm of Washington D.C. to desegregate its schools, and serve as a model for other states in their journey towards integrated schools.[142] Indeed, the *New York Times* reported that Eisenhower encouraged the capital to become a 'trailblazer' in desegregating its schools.[143] In addition, *The Chicago Defender* reassured its readers that many Southern clergy members, teachers and civic leaders expressed their willingness to integrate their schools within the framework of the Supreme Court's ruling.[144]

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[135] Bitterness and optimism reflected in Dixie press, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 6.
[136] Talmadge text, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 9.
[137] A. Riley, Talmadge vows segregation despite court 'brain wash'; Will meet Dixie governors, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 21 May 1954, p. 1.
[138] L.A. Huston, Segregation: Warren role in case, *New York Times*, 23 May 1954, p. 154.
[139] A. Riley, Candidates renew vow to maintain segregation, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 10.
[140] Talmadge hits states' 'hypocrisy', *The Atlanta Constitution*, 22 May 1954, p. 11.
[141] R.H. Denley, NAACP to insist upon compliance, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 1.
[142] Some states, cities plan immediate compliance with schools decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 3.
[143] L.A. Huston, Eisenhower spurs capital's schools to end race bars, *New York Times*, 19 May 1954, p. 1.
[144] Southern comment on decision: Dixie response mixed, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 5.

The Atlanta Constitution reported on the fact that Georgia had been earmarked by the NAACP as an important location to meet about school integration a month before the Court's ruling was made.[145] The extent of public resistance to school integration was reported on by *The Atlanta Constitution*, when they stated that Talmadge received more than a thousand telegrams concerning segregation, and that only five disagreed with his stance, of which four came from out of state.[146] Consistently obstinate in his attitude, it was reported that 'Negroes and whites will not attend the same schools in Georgia even if troops are sent in to enforce' the Supreme Court's ruling.[147] He further used incendiary language by stating that 'you can't change ideas, thoughts, thinking and the customs of people by decisions of the Supreme Court … that is unless you line them up against a wall and shoot them.'[148] The *New York Times* also critiqued the lack of a unified 'blueprint' for integration as a potential inhibitor for speedy integration.[149] In comments following the ruling, Marshall reassured black families that non-compliance to the ruling by certain Southern states would result in consequences from the federal government.[150] *The Crisis* committed to the same, stating that 'we are not going to coddle school boards and superintendents' who were actively working towards a delay in integrating.[151] Examples of intimidation were also reported on by the black press, which included an instance where a ten-foot high cross was attached to the front of the home of a school superintendent in Lexington, Kentucky, before being set on fire. This was reported as being an act of resentment over the Supreme Court's ruling.[152] In dealing with the consequences of desegregation, *The Chicago Defender* later lay the blame for the potential closure of two black schools at the feet of the *Brown*-ruling.[153] *The Chicago Defender* also highlighted the extreme reaction of some Southern states following the *Brown*-ruling, notably highlighting Talmadge's commitment to calling out 'the militia' to resist integration in schools.[154]

In contrast, it was reported that the Northern reaction to the *Brown*-ruling was unanimously favourable, with a strong focus on how integrated schools repaired and even enhanced the reputation of the United

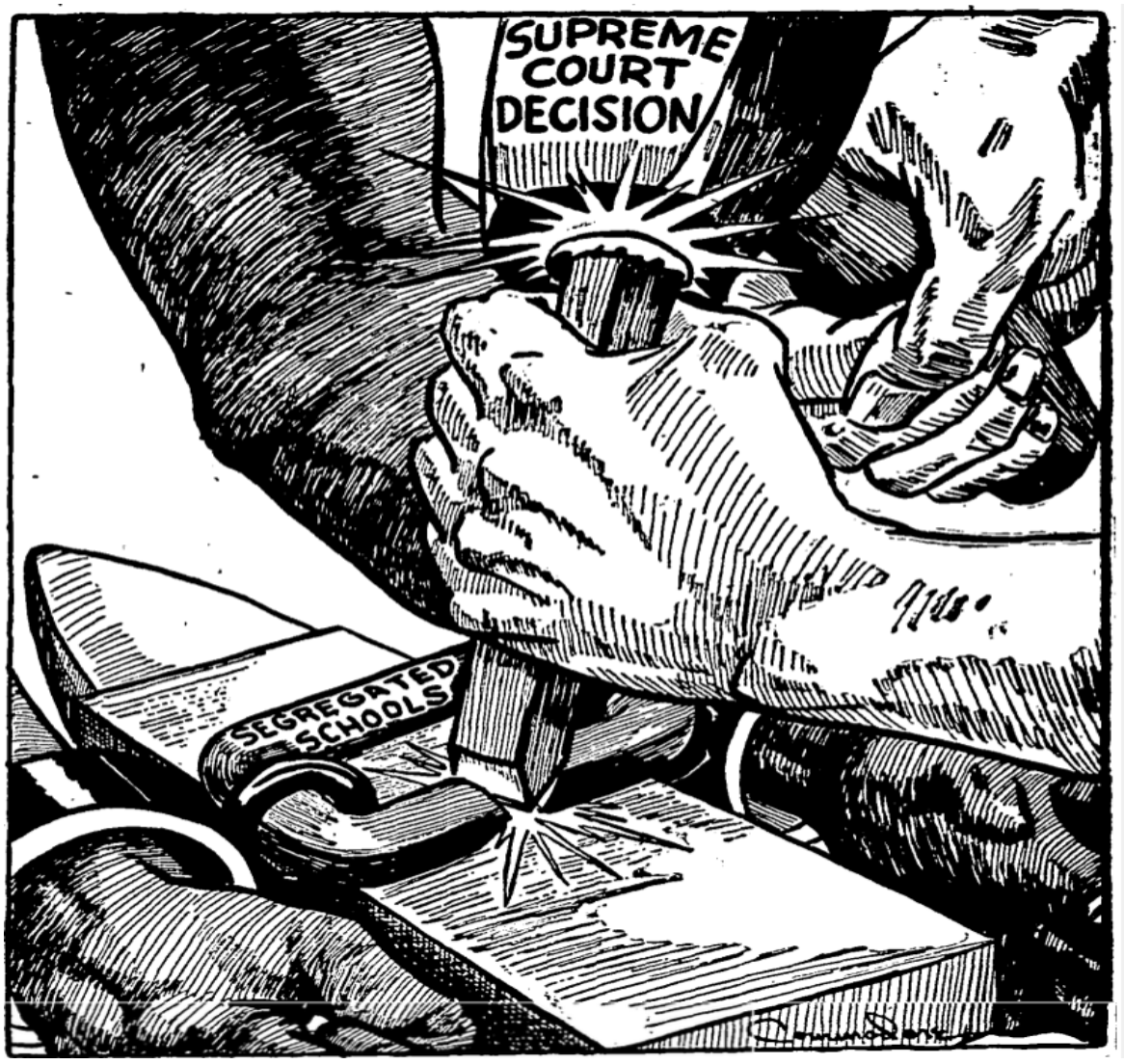
[145] NAACP meets here on Saturday: State leaders to map strategy, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 17.
[146] Talmadge receives 1,000 telegrams; Only 5 opposed to separate schools, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 20 May 1954, p. 1.
[147] NAACP urges early action at local level as Talmadge says U.S. can't force mixing, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 24 May 1954, p. 1.
[148] NAACP urges early action at local level as Talmadge says U.S. can't force mixing, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 24 May 1954, p. 9.
[149] J.N. Popham, Segregation: South looks ahead, *New York Times*, 23 May 1954, p. 154.
[150] Atty. Marshall comments…, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 1.
[151] Editorials: Segregation decision, *The Crisis*, June-July 1954, p. 353.
[152] Burn cross on lawn of school head, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 3.
[153] 2 Schools face extinction: Integration hits Storer College and Bordentown, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 18 June 1955, p. 1.
[154] D. Garwood, Kill Jim Crow schools: U.S. Supreme Court rules unanimously in ending segregation in education, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 1.

States abroad. New York congressional representative, Adam Clayton Powell was quoted as saying, 'democracy in action has given communism its worst defeat … the Supreme Court decision was more effective than any military victory.'[155] The Cold War context was often utilised in analogies, with one opinion piece stating, 'neither the atom bomb nor the hydrogen bomb will ever be as meaningful to our democracy as the unanimous declaration of the Supreme Court'.[156] The Civil Rights activist, A. Phillip Randolph also stressed that the decision gave 'integrity, reality and strength to the foreign policy of the United States.'[157] Both the *New York Times* and *The Atlanta Constitution* frequently used the analogy of war, battles and legal arsenals as metaphorical descriptions of this issue.[158] The NAACP's executive secretary, Walter White, evoked prescient Cold War imagery when declaring that the organisation would 'use the courts, legislation and public opinion to crack the iron curtain of segregation' in all spheres of life.[159]

In an effort to summarise the significance of the ruling in a more digestible way, *The Chicago Defender* and *New York Times* both published extensive political cartoons on the ruling. *The Atlanta Constitution* also included some cartoons, but not to the same extent. *The Chicago Defender* predominantly connected the civil rights ruling to greater notions of justice and democracy, but also highlighted responses from the South. The *New York Times* provided a national overview of reactions to the Supreme Court's ruling by including political cartoons depicting an array of stances. *The Atlanta Constitution*, on the other hand, was more focused on the South's preference for a more gradual implementation strategy to school integration, as illustrated below.

[155] North applauds school decision: Hail news as great triumph, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 4.
[156] Our opinions: Prelude to freedom, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 29 May 1954, p. 11.
[157] Late comments on school edict, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 5 June 1954, p. 20.
[158] Final fight opens in Supreme Court on bias in schools, *New York Times*, 1 December 1953, p. 15; Wilson recalls Negro boy as a schoolmate, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 24 May 1954, p. 6.
[159] NAACP sets advanced goals, *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 16.

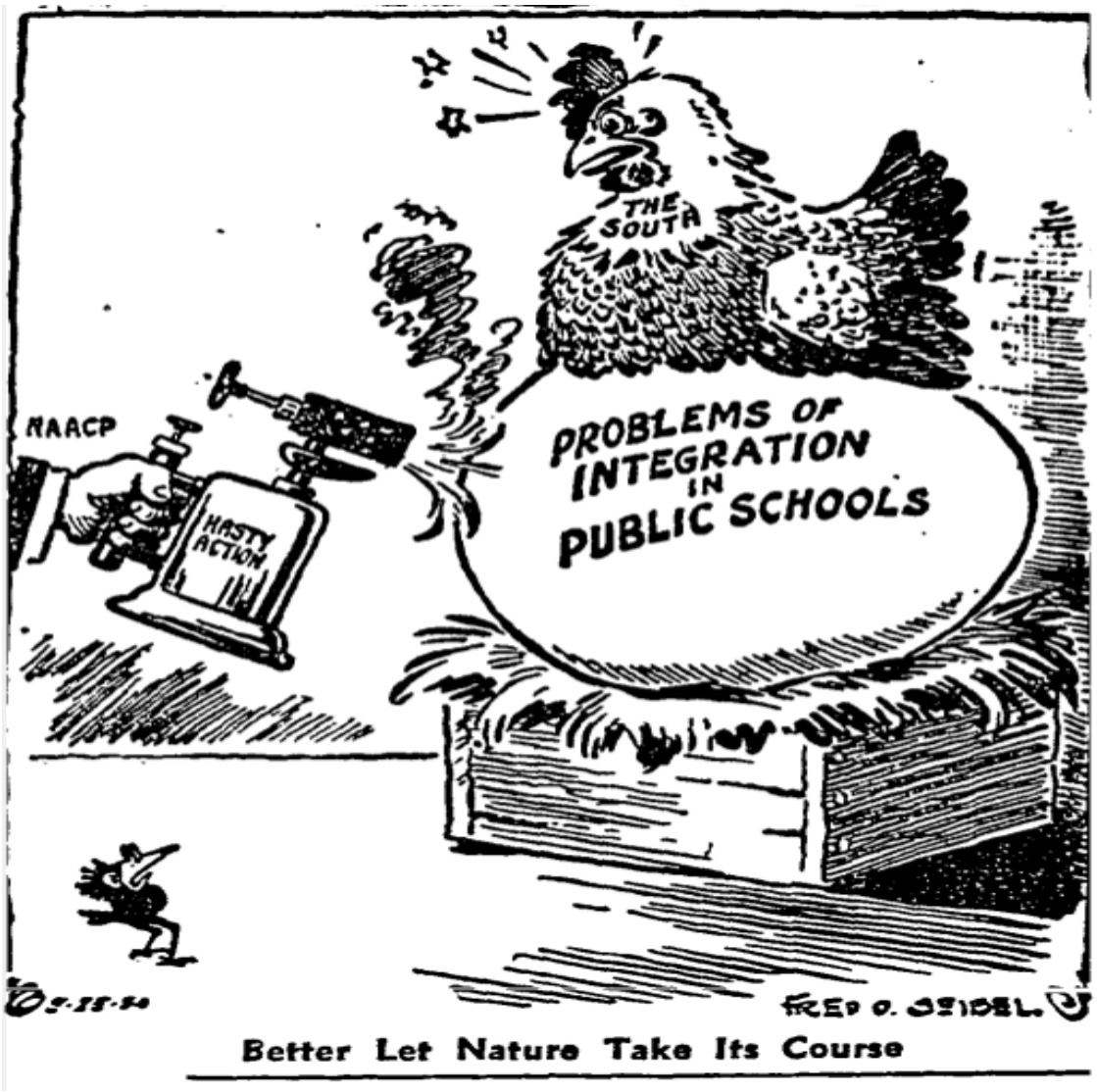
Figure VII: The Supreme Court's decision striking down segregated schools (1954)[160]



The political cartoon (Figure VII) illustrates the Supreme Court striking down school segregation in a forceful blow, denoting how these racially discriminatory school policies had inhibited black Americans' freedoms. It appeared in *The Chicago Defender* a month after the historic unanimous ruling, and as the subject in the cartoon is shackled, the cartoonist may be alluding to the fact that segregated schools were one of the lingering legacies of slavery in the United States that had inhibited black Americans progress until the court's ruling.

[160] Chester Commodore, Editorial cartoon, *The Chicago Defender,* 12 June 1954, p. 11.

Figure VIII: 'Better let nature take its course' (1954)[161]



The political cartoon (Figure VIII) is captioned, 'Better let nature take its course'. The American South is depicted as a chicken roosting over the existing problems of integration in public schools. The NAACP is shown adding to the consternation of the South by putting heat to the hatching egg to speed up integration through 'hasty action'. A black bird, symbolising Jim Crow, watches with concern towards the bottom left corner of the image. Thus, the cartoon is somewhat critical of the NAACP's role in school integration, suggesting that school integration is best left to play out in an organic way without external interference.

[161] This cartoon first appeared in the *Richmond Times Dispatch* before being reprinted in *The Chicago Defender*. Fred O. Seibel, The school riddle: Move fast or take it slow?, *The Chicago Defender,* 5 June 1954, p. 7.

Figure IX: 'Oh, fiddle-de-dee, I'll put that off 'till tomorrow' (1954)[162]

Figure IX depicts a so-called 'Southern Belle', a familiar term for a refined, usually upper-middle class young women from the planter class of the Antebellum South, grooming herself in front of a large ornate mirror. A well-dressed man with a hat in the one hand is seen in the mirror's reflection, holding the Supreme Court decision in his other hand. The woman appears dismissive and responds by suggesting the decision be put off to the future.

[162] Clifford 'Baldy' Baldowski, Editorial cartoon, 'Oh, Fiddle-de-dee, I'll put that off 'til tomorrow', *The Atlanta Constitution* on 24 May 1954, p. 4.

Figure X: 'No job for a race horse' (1954)[163]

"No job for a race horse."

Figure X suggests that steady progress in race relations had been made in the South through a gradualist approach, as illustrated by the South's work horse. However, the progress appears to be endangered with the arrival of a school leader in academic robes, who insists that faster progress is needed by using his race horse - covered in a blanket labelled 'forced progress'. The cartoon's caption, 'No job for a race horse' further illustrates that this approach may be perceived by some as a flawed one that undermines the gradual progress made in the South up to this point.

[163] This cartoon first appeared in *The Arkansas Democrat* before being reprinted in the *New York Times*. 'No job for a race horse', *New York Times,* 23 May 1954, p. 154.

The aforementioned theme of communism and democracy continued to be consistently interwoven in the press's account as it reflected on the deeper meaning of the Supreme Court ruling. The global standing of the United States as a leader of democratic principles was heavily emphasised by *The Chicago Defender*, and 'her appeal to the millions of colored people of Asia and Africa to espouse the cause of democracy is immeasurably strengthened,'[164] and separately that 'the Justices knew that we could not afford to tell the world that we believe in second class citizenship based wholly on race'.[165] *The Crisis* lay the blame of 'the communist strategy of divide and conquer' at the feet of extremists on both sides of the segregation argument, arguing that the United States should maintain her 'spiritual solvency by practicing her democratic principles.'[166]

As the press was grappling with the implications of this ruling to international diplomacy, there was sparse reaction reported on from African nations to the *Brown*-ruling present in United States' newspapers. One of the few African countries' perspectives was that of Kenya, which fell along similar lines to the United States in terms of its opinions pertaining to the ruling: it was welcomed by the black community in that country, while the white community in Kenya largely sided with the Southern, anti-segregation perspective.[167] On the other hand, the *New York Times* physically juxtaposed the reaction of the South African government to the *Brown*-decision to desegregation in the United States, by placing two stories next to each other. One headline, aimed at the Prime Minister D.F. Malan read, 'Malan acts again on racial curbs:' with the by-line, 'Introduces bill taking voters of mixed blood off rolls as press features U.S. ruling', placed next to 'Segregation in schools barred [in Albany, New York] since '38'.[168] This editorial decision highlighted how far ahead certain states were perceived to be in terms of integration in the United States at a time when the South African government was working actively to segregate its nation. A further paradox highlighted was that the South African newspaper, the *Natal Daily News*, was quoted in the *New York Times*, where it stated that the Supreme Court's decision was 'positive proof that democracy is for all men.'[169]

One year later, with the *Brown II*-ruling in 1955, the press in the United States was united again in recognising the significance of the moment, albeit for different reasons. The ruling provided states with

[164] J. Lewis, President of Morris Brown College, Georgia, quoted in Educators comment on schools' decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 5.
[165] B.E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, Georgia, quoted in Educators comment on schools' decision, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 22 May 1954, p. 5.
[166] Editorials: Segregation decision, *The Crisis*, June-July 1954, p. 352.
[167] Kenya hears of Supreme Court ruling, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 5 June 1954, p. 21.
[168] Malan acts again on racial curbs, *New York Times*, 19 May 1954, p. 22.
[169] *Natal Daily News* quoted in Malan acts again on racial curbs, *New York Times*, 19 May 1954, p. 22.

a more concrete directive for the implementation of integrated schooling. Many newspapers in the United States printed the opinion in full, including *The Chicago Defender* and *The Atlanta Constitution*. While, in general, the NAACP seemed to be accepting of the directive, the president of the Mississippi Conference of the organisation criticised the decision by saying, 'it looks like the Supreme Court doesn't believe in our Constitution either.'[170] Another perspective argued that the order created more problems than it solved, and that 'violent segregationists are hailing the order as a great victory indicates its true worth.'[171] For example, the executive secretary of the Mississippi Association of Citizens Council accepted the ruling as 'glad tidings … the first reasonable thing the court has done'.[172] In failing to set a concrete deadline for school integration, *The Chicago Defender* accused the Supreme Court of presenting a 'poor compromise'.[173] In sampling civic leaders in Atlanta, Georgia, six out of seven endorsed to various levels the ruling.[174] *The Crisis* expressed its disappointment that the Supreme Court had set no deadline for integration, or to take the opportunity to 'slap down the little agitating minority' that resisted integration.[175] Ultimately, however, by the time the second *Brown*-ruling had been made, *The Crisis* was content that many Southern states were in the process of desegregating, in spite of 'the yappings of some politicians' and scare tactics used by states such as Alabama and Georgia to intimidate black teachers by threatening to revoke their teaching licenses.[176]

The Atlanta Constitution reported extensively on the second ruling, with its front page filled with various reactions to it, all presenting favourable responses which seemed to reaffirm the Southern states' stances on the initial ruling.[177] The most negative reaction came from Georgia's Attorney General, Eugene Cook, who likened the ruling as passing a 'hot potato', trying to 'sugarcoat the pill of tyranny' and ultimately opening the door to a string of segregation-related litigation.[178] In relation to the *Brown II*-decision, the *New York Times* outlined the national press's reactions to the edict, which were all positive perspectives, while more nuanced and varied reactions were given from politicians in Congress, as well as the wide spectrum of reactions across different states.[179] As with the first *Brown*-ruling, the NAACP committed to planning its strategy in Atlanta following *Brown II*.[180] Simultaneously, nine black parents

[170] U.S. Supreme Court directive analyzed, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 June 1955, p. 1.
[171] Supreme Court bows to Dixie, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 June 1955, p. 9.
[172] Dixie crows over mild school rule, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 June 1955, p. 1.
[173] E.L. Payne, Decree labelled a compromise, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 June 1955, p. 1.
[174] Atlanta leaders OK Supreme Court ruling, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 June 1955, p. 7.
[175] Editorial comment on High Court ruling, *The Crisis*, August-September 1955, pp. 424, 427.
[176] Editorials: School desegregation, *The Crisis*, August-September 1955, p. 430.
[177] *The Atlanta Constitution*, 1 June 1955, p. 1.
[178] Cook rips segregation ruling as 'hot potato', *The Atlanta Constitution*, 2 June 1955, p. 1.
[179] Press comment on court ruling, *New York Times*, 1 June 1955, p. 23.
[180] NAACP to map strategy at parley here Saturday, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 2 June 1955, p. 1.

filed a petition against the city of Atlanta, urging for speedy integration.[181] Meanwhile, it was reported that the state of Alabama vowed to close its schools before desegregating.[182] Finally, the *New York Times* also reported on the NAACP's reaction to the ruling, quoting executive secretary, Roy Wilkins, as saying that as a 'clear directive' had been issued, 'great reservoirs of people favoring desegregation [would no longer be] intimidated by the politicians.'[183]

It is evident from this analysis that many of the themes and patterns present in the reporting of the landmark ruling of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* are intrinsically interwoven, despite the varied viewpoints of the respective newspapers. The manner of reporting speaks to the type of nationhood that differing parts of the United States wished to construct, ranging from defiant segregation to harmonious integration. In analysing these perspectives, insight is provided into what information its respective readers prioritised and valued, as well as illuminating through editorials and letters to the editor a more thorough enquiry into the issues communities faced. These insights extend beyond the scope of traditional, purely 'factual' reporting, while also highlighting the significant contribution that the press in the United States, and its readers, believed this ruling had on the country's international standing.

4.2. South African perspectives

In spite of the aforementioned perception that the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* ruling enhanced the global standing of the United States as a leader in democracy, an analysis of South African newspapers depicts an interpretation which stands in stark contrast to this narrative. While not an exhaustive survey of South African papers, the following analysis indicates that the focus of the press was predominantly on documenting the watershed moment. As Table IV below illustrates, the ruling as an example of global democracy was not a narrative that was communicated by the South African media in the time period analysed, when contrasted to the extensive coverage that this notion received in newspapers in the United States. While the press in the United States emphasised democracy overwhelmingly, it barely featured in the South African media. The threat of communism, however, was more equitably approached in the media reporting of both countries.

[181] 9 Atlanta Negro parents file petition for quick school desegregation, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 4 June 1955, p. 1.
[182] Alabama seeks legal aid to fight school ruling, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 3 June 1955, p. 1.
[183] N.A.A.C.P. lauds decision on bias, *New York Times*, 1 June 1955, p. 24.

Table IV: An overview of key terminology referenced in a selection of United States and South African newspapers on specified dates (1951 - 1954)[184]

Newspaper	Instances where the idea of 'democracy', or the US as a 'leader of the free world' is referenced	Instances where the global threat of 'communism' is referenced
The Chicago Defender (US)	10	5
The Crisis (US)	2	1
The Atlanta Constitution (US)	4	3
New York Times (US)	5	3
The Bantu World (SA)	1	0
Die Transvaler (SA)	0	3
Rand Daily Mail (SA)	0	2

The newspaper that reported profusely on the event and therefore appeared the most concerned with the ruling was *Die Transvaler.* It primarily reflected the conservative echelon of South Africa's fears with their unease being rooted in the fact that *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was seen as an example of the risks inherent with a high court with overreaching powers. Furthermore, the newspapers examined in this section emphasised the imminent onslaught of a massive resistance by the South, how the ruling had repercussions with respect to the idea of the American 'nation', as well as the court's decision highlighting similitudes between South Africa and the United States' fraught racial environments. As the analysis below will illustrate, the self-imposed notion of America as an example of democracy to the world did not feature prevalently in the manner in which the South African press reported on this event.

The Bantu World, as a newspaper representative of black South Africans, should have ostensibly been critical of segregated education in the United States, and thus celebrated the success of the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* ruling as a civil rights victory. However, the lack of coverage of this topic is indicative of the far-reaching impact of the apartheid government's censorship and intimidation. By 1954, it set the agenda for black newspapers that realised full well that they published under the assumption that their stories would be studied in microscopic detail by the draconian government. In the time period studied, *The Bantu World* only reported on education in the United States in four articles in total - and only two

[184] Table based on analysis of four US newspapers and three South African newspapers for the period of 1951 - 1954.

of those pertained specifically to segregation. The first two instances were part of a series called 'Letter from the States', a weekly publication in January of 1953, detailing the experiences of a black South African teacher, academic, journalist, and eventual editor of *The Bantu World*, Jacob M. Nhlapo who was traveling through the United States in 1953.[185] The letters portray a wholly positive narrative of the United States, praising public schools and colleges, including the statement, 'I may state here that no country in the world makes as much provision for higher education' as the United States.[186] He also celebrated black leadership and the representation of African history in United States colleges.[187] In spite of the fact that Nhlapo travelled to what he called the 'Deep South', he does not once mention experiences with racism, discrimination or segregation in a negative light. Instead, he comments on his personal experiences that 'all over America both white and Negro people treated me with genuine love'.[188] His positive experiences may be attributed to the fact that he was an invited guest to many tertiary institutions, and subsequently interacted with a subset of people who treated him with respect and dignity.

Directly following the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* ruling, *The Bantu World*'s only immediate coverage was a four sentence, 72-word article on the front page of its 22 May 1954 edition. The article quoted Chief Justice Warren's ruling, and shortly described it as a 'victory for Negro parents who are fighting a long battle in the courts to open all American schools to Negro children.'[189] The following week, a more evolved opinion was portrayed when it described the ruling as a 'blow at Jim Crow' that was the conclusion of a 'battle that has been raging for eighty-six years.'[190] The piece provided a historical overview to the 1896 *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision that set the precedent that 'separate but equal' was constitutional, highlighting that while constitutional, 'there was always a feeling that at no time could separate and equal be synonymous.'[191] It also looked ahead to the potential far-reaching consequences of the *Brown*-ruling, stating that 'Jim Crow has been dealt another blow and that his funeral is surely coming.'[192] *The Bantu World* also highlighted that the legal team who accomplished this were all black attorneys, and that they fought a 'relentless but dignified fight.'[193]

[185] J.M. Nhlapo, Letter from the States, *The Bantu World*, 3 January 1953, p. 3 and 10 January 1953, p. 3.
[186] J.M. Nhlapo, Letter from the States, *The Bantu World*, 3 January 1953, p. 3.
[187] J.M. Nhlapo, Letter from the States, *The Bantu World*, 10 January 1953, p. 3.
[188] J.M. Nhlapo, Letter from the States, *The Bantu World*, 10 January 1953, p. 2.
[189] U.S.A. court ruling on education, *The Bantu World*, 22 May 1954, p. 1.
[190] A blow at Jim Crow, *The Bantu World*, 29 May 1954, p. 3.
[191] A blow at Jim Crow, *The Bantu World*, 29 May 1954, p. 3.
[192] A blow at Jim Crow, *The Bantu World*, 29 May 1954, p. 3.
[193] A blow at Jim Crow, *The Bantu World*, 29 May 1954, p. 3.

On the other hand, *Die Transvaler*'s first mention of the potential ruling on integrating schools in the United States relates to Georgia governor Talmadge's commitment to transforming public schools to private schools, and in an ironic contrast to the representation in the press in the United States as a blow against communism, highlighted that the abolishment of segregation would bring the United States 'one step closer to the communists.'[194] Shortly thereafter, *Die Transvaler* also reported on the desegregation of schools associated with United States military facilities, with a headline which alluded to the constitutional requirement to 'end apartheid in the US.'[195] The day after the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision, the leading front page story related to the case's significance to black Americans with the headline: 'Court rules against segregation in schools: Negroes win big case in US'.[196] A paragraph, written in parentheses at the end of the article, outlined how some Southern states were committed to transforming into private schools to avoid desegregation, while also stressing that 'one state declared itself ready to defend the principle of segregation through violence'.[197] The ruling received extensive coverage in the days that followed, with *Die Transvaler* framing it as a 'constitutional crisis' in the United States. In the same way that *The Chicago Defender* utilised storytelling to evoke emotions to underline the significance of the moment, so too did *Die Transvaler*. For example, the first paragraph of the front page story on this perceived constitutional crisis begins, 'Hundreds of residents of the city of Richmond, Virginia, stood on street corners defeated and dismayed as they read newspaper headlines of the local afternoon newspaper declaring "school segregation rejected."'[198] It also grappled with the Supreme Court's motives and alluded to the decision's implications for the American *volk* or nation, that segregation is needed to preserve peace, and that the majority of black Americans would attend segregated schools by choice.[199]

Die Transvaler also used the *Brown*-ruling as an important event to draw parallels between the United States and South Africa. First, it outlined that the United States and South Africa were similar in that they were racially divided into societies where, 'whites, as the dominant race, provide non-whites, as a race of less culture and development, the opportunity to develop their own foundational skills according to their abilities, to share in the fruits of civilisation.'[200] Second, it discussed why the court ruling, which 'destroyed established race relations with the swish of a pen' was of importance. *Die Transvaler* outlined that this was an example of what happens when the court system in a country is given too much power;

[194] Dring aan op skole met segregasie, *Die Transvaler*, 19 August 1953, p. 3.
[195] Wil apartheid in V.S.A. beeindig, *Die Transvaler*, 24 August 1953, p. 1.
[196] Hof beslis teen segregasie in skole: Negers wen groot saak in V.S.A., *Die Transvaler*, 18 May 1954, p. 1.
[197] Hof beslis teen segregasie in skole: Negers wen groot saak in V.S.A., *Die Transvaler*, 18 May 1954, p. 1.
[198] Grondwetkrisis in Amerika?, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 1.
[199] Grondwetkrisis in Amerika?, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 1.
[200] Waar die hof baas is, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 4.

as well as how it undermined the principles of a democratic society where the voters should have the ultimate say.[201] This stands in contrast to the *zeitgeist* in South Africa at the time, which was not a democratic nation as only white people had the right to vote at that time. *Die Transvaler* recommended that South Africa learn from the mistakes made by the United States in ensuring that its associated national policy rid itself of any traces of federalism in its unitary constitution.[202]

In the days that followed, *Die Transvaler* also stressed that constitutional changes would not change *de facto* segregation in the United States, since white Americans would continue to move away if there was an influx of black residents to their neighbourhood.[203] In another parallel between the United States and South Africa, it indicated that nations who lack racial diversity tend to oversimplify the issue of race relations, as they do not truly comprehend the issues which the United States and South Africa face.[204] In quoting international press reports, they highlighted the coincidence of the timing of the *Brown*-ruling, which coincided with Prime Minister D.F. Malan's efforts to remove coloured South Africans from the voting roll; the contrast of a liberal victory in the United States in comparison to the erosion of human rights in apartheid South Africa, and the eventual likelihood of racial strife.[205] *Die Transvaler* only linked the *Brown*-decision to a calculated diplomatic decision in one instance, when it quoted Chester Bowles from the *New York Times Magazine* who wrote that 'no American returning from the East can deny that the status of the American Negro is the key to the country's relationship with nations from Asia and Africa,' ultimately linking the issue of desegregation to the fight against communism.[206]

In defence of reactions emulating from Southern parts of the United States, *Die Transvaler* postulated that it was a result of their unwillingness to merge the international fight against communism with their domestic agenda.[207] The abolition of segregation in schools was referred to as a 'scandalous, illegal and a tyrannous violation of power.'[208] Furthermore, the court's ruling was reported to have undermined the fact that 'there is no doubt that the nation of America wishes to remain a white nation.'[209] *Die Transvaler* argued that the difference in racial composition of South Africa and the United States meant that if South Africa were to adopt a similar principle, there would be an existential threat for the population of 'barely 2.5 million white people in the ocean of nearly ten million non-whites' warning that

[201] Waar die hof baas is, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 4.
[202] Waar die hof baas is, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 4.
[203] Blankes trek as nie-blankes kom, *Die Transvaler*, 20 May 1954, p. 1.
[204] Kleurvraagstuk word maklik vereenvoudig, *Die Transvaler*, 20 May 1954, p. 3.
[205] Kleurvraagstuk word maklik vereenvoudig, *Die Transvaler*, 20 May 1954, p. 3.
[206] Amerika sien negervraagstuk in lig van sy wêreldpolitiek, *Die Transvaler*, 20 May 1954, p. 6.
[207] Amerika sien negervraagstuk in lig van sy wêreldpolitiek, *Die Transvaler*, 20 May 1954, p. 7.
[208] "Hof se beslissing oor segregasie skandalig", *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1954, p. 3.
[209] Die howe en die politiek, *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1954, p. 6.

the character of that nation will become predominantly 'Bantu'.'[210] Ultimately, they argued, nothing would remain of the European civilisation of this country.'[211] To reassure the reader, *Die Transvaler* stressed the fact that the South African government had chosen a unitary constitution, rather than the federal model of the United States.[212] Following the *Brown II*-edict, *Die Transvaler* reported on the details of the latest court mandate,[213] in addition to the statistic that the court ruling would impact ten million white pupils, and only 2.5 million black students. It indicated that Mississippi senator, James Eastland deduced that resistance was the only solution.[214] The state's solution, *Die Transvaler* reported a few days later, was to rather shut all schools than allow for racial integration.[215]

Meanwhile, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported on the second hearing of the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case, with specific focus on the Eisenhower-administration's request to declare school segregation as 'unconstitutional'.[216] The newspaper also focused on Mississippi's determination to abolish public schools and replace them with private schools in the case that school integration would be mandated by the courts. It continued to quote Mississippi's Speaker of the House of Assembly, Walter Sillers's defence of this decision as being 'our responsibility to the people to see that the White race is not mongrelised.'[217] In addition, it reported on Eisenhower's strong show of support to the NAACP's black attorneys in the case.[218] In a piece interviewing a South African who visited the United States on a Fulbright grant, G.H. Hatt emphasised how in the North, schools harmoniously were integrated, but that this approach might not work in South Africa, without elaborating why.[219]

The final Supreme Court ruling the *Brown*-case received front page coverage in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 18 May 1955 which highlighted its unanimous nature, and quoted parts of the court's opinion.[220] However, of equal concern at the time for the *Rand Daily Mail* was another matter altogether: the fact that the South African state did not make a profit on uranium sales to the United States and Great Britain.[221] This indicates that diplomatically, South Africa had other concerns ingrained within the Cold War context which extended beyond the domestic agenda of the United States. Beyond this, in the time

[210] Die howe en die politiek, *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1954, p. 6.
[211] Die howe en die politiek, *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1954, p. 6.
[212] Die howe en die politiek, *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1954, p. 6.
[213] Hof in V.S.A. beslis oor segregasie, *Die Transvaler*, 1 June 1955, p. 1.
[214] Hofbeslissing oor segregasie raak miljoene kinders, *Die Transvaler*, 2 June 1955, p. 3.
[215] "Skole kan negers plaaslik skei", *Die Transvaler*, 4 June 1955, p. 3.
[216] Segregation is 'unconstitutional', *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1953, p. 1.
[217] State adopts bill to beat U.S. school colour bar ruling, *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1953, p. 1.
[218] State adopts bill to beat U.S. school colour bar ruling, *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1953, p. 1.
[219] Big U.S. schools are run like a province - Visitor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1953, p. 6.
[220] Supreme Court tiles against segregation in U.S. schools, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 May 1954, p. 1.
[221] State does not make profit on uranium sales, *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 May 1954, p. 11.

period studied, the *Rand Daily Mail* did not extensively cover the Supreme Court's decision. In relation to *Brown II*, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported on the court's ruling as an overview of the edict, highlighting only that schools should integrate 'as rapidly as possible.'[222] It also covered the fact that following the court's ruling, South Carolina resolved to shut down its schools rather than integrate them.[223]

To conclude, *Die Transvaler*'s coverage of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* related largely to the event as a cautionary tale of a constitutional crisis within a global context of communism, while the *Rand Daily Mail's* focus was less emotionally evocative, and focused on relatively impartial reporting. *The Bantu World*'s muted coverage of the event may be indicative of its cautious approach to reporting on racial justice, whilst publishing under the constraints of the censorship of the apartheid government's watchful eye. The Cold War context of the event is fundamentally embedded within the coverage, with particular relation to how the *Brown*-ruling was related to the ideological struggle against communism. However, contrary to some popular belief in the United States, the South African media did not celebrate the moment as a global democratic victory.

5. Conclusion

This chapter presented an analysis of seven newspapers from the United States and South Africa, and explored the way they chose to engage with race-based educational reform in the United States in the early 1950s. By examining the newspapers' editorial choices, reporting and the manner in which they chose to frame the *Brown* v. *Board of Education*-decision, this chapter also illuminated the complexity of broader media narratives within their Cold War context. Furthermore, this analysis illustrated how the press did not just function as an avenue for information dissemination, but also impacted public discourse. Ultimately, while the Supreme Court's decision was lauded as a civil rights victory and an example of 'democracy in action' for the United States, this chapter has illustrated that public perceptions of this monumental unanimous ruling and its implications varied tremendously - both domestically and internationally.

[222] U.S. Southern states told: End school segregation quickly, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1955, p. 1.
[223] U.S. county will resist school integration, *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 June 1955, p. 1.

Chapter VII

Probing perceptions in the press: South African politics, power and propaganda

'Africa, more than ever before, looks to America for its salvation …
Our people are realizing more education is the road that leads to civilization.'
- Reverent Livingstone Mzimba in *The Chicago Defender* (1954)

1. Introduction

As the United States stood on the precipice of significant educational reform in the mid-twentieth century, so too South Africa's apartheid government set its course to bring about an educational revolution within black communities. The Bantu Education Act, signed into law in 1953 and implemented from the beginning of the academic year in 1954, changed the educational landscape in South Africa profoundly, as state-controlled, racially segregated schools became the new norm. In this chapter, the press's coverage of this watershed historical moment is examined, illustrating public perceptions and sentiments to this significant development. In keeping with the research precedent set in chapter six, the same seven newspaper publications were utilised to achieve this critical analysis, including *The Bantu World*, *Rand Daily Mail* and *Die Transvaler* in South Africa, as well as *The Chicago Defender*, *The Crisis*, *New York Times* and *The Atlanta Constitution* for international perspectives on Bantu Education Act.

In particular, this chapter discusses not only the media's perceptions of the House of Assembly debates surrounding the first and second readings of the Bantu Education Bill in 1953, but also explores public opinion to the proposed educational reform. As one of the apartheid government's earlier racist reforms, the idea of education as a state-controlled institution, and how it relates to the *volk,* or Afrikaner nation, was explored by the press. It also highlighted the various value sets placed on, and perceived uses of education by different South African groups. This chapter's analysis also examines the extent to which the black media in South Africa had already been censored by the apartheid government at that time, when compared to the extent of coverage on racially segregated education of its white counterparts. Finally, in assessing the predicted consequences and realities of racially segregated education in South Africa, the domestic and international press, and the associated public opinion, paints a picture of greatly divided stances related to apartheid and its segregation in schools.

2. Background

South Africa had an arduous journey before it was able to reap the rewards of a free press. While the apartheid government's draconian laws stifled free speech, black voices were marginalised many decades before the National Party took control of the nation in 1948. For example, the founder of the South African Native National Congress (the precursor to the African National Congress) John Dube, was denied permission to expand a political branch of his party in Natal by the Minister of Native Affairs in 1906, 'until the native press adopts a more respectful and proper tone towards the Government and

the white race.'[1] Under the National Party's apartheid government, censorship would become far more systemic and widespread. As a result, many South Africans critical of the government interacted with the press largely as if through smoke and mirrors, shaping opinions not only on what was included, but making inferences of omissions too.

While the world's media landscape was irrevocably changing in the 1950s as a result of the rising popularity of television, South Africa's apartheid government only allowed televisions in private homes in 1976.[2] While the introduction of television in the country was first proposed by the J. Arthur Rank organisation in 1953, the National Party prohibited the implementation thereof.[3] This new medium, with international programs predominantly in English and originating in overseas countries with a perceived different set of values, was seen as a threat to the Afrikaner *volk*'s nation-building endeavour, and a perceivably 'dangerous' visual representation of racial fraternity and liberal international ideas.[4] Thus, while television was undoubtably transformative in the mediascape of the United States and the world, it was comparatively non-existent in South Africa. Thus, the print media remained the key medium of information for many South Africans - albeit if one that was under increasing government scrutiny.

3. A select historical overview of the media landscape in South Africa in the early 1950s

As with many other nations in the mid-twentieth century, the South African media was also in a period of evolution as a result of its historical context. However, rather than adapting in response to the rise of television as was the case in the United States, the South African press was increasingly responding to the developments under the direction of the apartheid government. At a time when the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 was starting to encroach on freedom of speech and inhibit critical voices, a certain degree of freedom to publish critical reflections of opinions still existed. Thus, as codified press censorship under the apartheid government's draconian direction continued to increase, there was still, for a brief moment in the 1950s, short-lived and limited freedom of the press. In time, the scale of press censorship at the height of apartheid would grow to encompass more than 75 laws and provincial

[1] L. Switzer and M. Adhikari (eds), *South Africa's resistance press: Alternative voices in the last generation under apartheid*, 2000, p. 84.
[2] C.C. Chimutengwende, The media and the state in South African politics, *Africa in Struggle* 10 (1), 1978, p. 46.
[3] E.C. Corrigan, South Africa enters the electronic age: The decision to introduce television, *Africa Today* 21 (2), 1974, p. 15.
[4] E.C. Corrigan, South Africa enters the electronic age: The decision to introduce television, *Africa Today* 21 (2), 1974, p. 16.

ordinances, which directly and indirectly impacted the freedom of journalists, writers, and disseminators of information in 1978.[5]

At the advent of apartheid, black newspapers in South Africa were important voices of, and for, black intellectuals which extended beyond the function of reporting on current affairs. With scant publication outlets in South Africa, many early African writers had to turn to newspapers to share their creative ideas.[6] Black newspapers in South Africa were also used as a voice for marginalised black communities, but faced resistance even before the advent of apartheid, as illustrated through the earlier example of John Dube. The black press in South Africa grew in influence, and it is estimated that by 1931, there were nineteen black newspapers nationally.[7] The *petty bourgeoisie* were the most significant communicators and consumers of news within the black South African media at the time.[8] However, by the mid-1930s, most independent black publications had either collapsed or were taken over by the white media conglomerate, Bantu Press, which ultimately founded *The Bantu World*.[9] These white investors recognised the economic potential of African consumers at the same time as the state was broadening its efforts to institutionalise segregation and maintain black South Africans' tribal affiliations.[10] *The Bantu World* was printed in six languages: isiZulu, Sesotho, isiXhosa, Setswana, English and Afrikaans, indicative of the breadth of the audience that it was attempting to identify with. Bantu Press's total circulation of all of its chains was estimated to be upwards of 60 000 readers.[11] Ultimately, there were only seven black newspapers remaining by 1951, all of which were captive to their white owners.[12] In spite of this, an anonymous article on the African Press written in 1953, described the black press as a 'legitimate, sedate and moderate organ of protest and … the Voice of

[5] C.C. Chimutengwende, The media and the state in South African politics, *Africa in Struggle* 10 (1), 1978, p. 50.
[6] L. Switzer and M. Adhikari (eds), *South Africa's resistance press: Alternative voices in the last generation under apartheid*, 2000, p. 80.
[7] L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 351.
[8] L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 351.
[9] L. Switzer and M. Adhikari (eds), *South Africa's resistance press: Alternative voices in the last generation under apartheid*, 2000, pp. 95 - 96.
[10] L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 352.
[11] T.J. Couzens, The black press and black literature in South Africa, 1900 - 1950, *English Studies in Africa* 19 (2), 1976, p. 95.
[12] L. Switzer and M. Adhikari (eds), *South Africa's resistance press: Alternative voices in the last generation under apartheid*, 2000, p. 97.

the People.'[13] It also claimed to be a 'better watch-dog of African interests than political and social bodies. It [was] more alert, articulate, militant, and informed.'[14]

However, with the increased iron grip of the apartheid government stifling the freedom of the press, *The Bantu World* became more muted in its coverage of black politics. The result of the economic influence of its white owners also meant that Bantu Press ultimately succeeded in alienating a wide proportion of its intended constituency.[15] It eventually focused predominantly on sports and entertainment and avoided publishing on political issues altogether.[16] Published as a weekly, *The Bantu World* relied less on the immediacy of its news than on its ability to comment and reflect on evolving opinions, which encouraged its journalists to be more philosophical, and even to an extent serve as moral commentators, rather than merely reporters of events.[17] In time, as a result of its leadership and apartheid context, *The Bantu World* de-emphasised the negative news associated with apartheid South Africa's discriminatory practices.[18] While these factors all inhibit the authenticity of *The Bantu World* as an accurate representative of black agency, it is one of the only dominant national black publications from that time.[19] By the end of the 1950s, *The Bantu World* had a circulation of 10 837,[20] which makes it a significant source to utilise.[21]

Pertaining to the white media in South Africa, the English language press generally served as opposition to the apartheid government between the end of World War II and 1958,[22] in terms of commercial success, circulation, and the scope and weight of its news.[23] The most outspoken voice against the apartheid government was the *Rand Daily Mail*, founded in 1902 and based in Johannesburg. By 1959,

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[13] T.J. Couzens, The black press and black literature in South Africa, 1900 - 1950, *English Studies in Africa* 19 (2), 1976, p. 94.
[14] T.J. Couzens, The black press and black literature in South Africa, 1900 - 1950, *English Studies in Africa* 19 (2), 1976, p. 94.
[15] A. Hadland, The world paper famine and the South African press, 1938 - 1955, *South African Journal of Economic History* 20 (1), 2005, p. 60.
[16] C.C. Chimutengwende, The media and the state in South African politics, *Africa in Struggle* 10 (1), 1978, p. 53.
[17] T.J. Couzens, The black press and black literature in South Africa, 1900 - 1950, *English Studies in Africa* 19 (2), 1976, p. 97.
[18] L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, p. 357.
[19] The void of authentic representation resulted in the rise of a new generation of exciting black journalism with the *Drum* magazine. While not analysed for the purposes of this thesis, it should be noted that it was of immense importance to the black community as an articulator of their experiences and aspirations from the late 1950s onward. For more, consult M. Chapman (ed.), *The* Drum *decade: Stories from the 1950s*, Durban, 2001.
[20] M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961. p. 306.
[21] In 1954, South Africa's population was estimated by some sources to be over 12.5 million people, of which 2.5 million were white and ten million were black South Africans.
[22] C.C. Chimutengwende, The media and the state in South African politics, *Africa in Struggle* 10 (1), 1978, p. 49.
[23] M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961, p. 6.

it had amassed a readership of 114 142.[24] Of this total audience, it is estimated that up to 30 000 were black South Africans.[25] Meanwhile, the pro-National Party newspaper, *Die Transvaler*, was established in 1937 and edited by Hendrik F. Verwoerd.[26] It served as the largest conservative morning daily in the Transvaal during the 1950s, with a readership of 40 811.[27] As a result of their largely contradictory viewpoints and expansive reach as daily publications, these two newspapers were analysed in this chapter.

4. 'State' schooling: The struggle for school control in South Africa

4.1. Domestic perspectives

When the Bantu Education Bill was introduced to the House of Assembly, and through its early implementation as an Act, many different perspectives were presented to the South African public. Ranging from how it could shape the idea of the Afrikaner *volk*, or nation, to the sensationalist drama of unparliamentary conduct during debates, the breadth of perspectives is noteworthy. However, only one newspaper, *The Bantu World*, with its voice already limited by the apartheid government, was concerned with the harsh realities of what this Act would mean for black teachers, pupils, and their broader communities. The analysis below will illustrate that the South African press reported on Bantu Education in fair measure, highlighting the value of education, the powers of the church, public reaction, issues of implementation, and examples of protest. Crucially, as the analysis below also indicates, both the English and Afrikaans media were guilty of scant concern or appreciation for the profound ramifications of the Act on black communities, let alone its long-term, damaging impact.

The first theme that is apparent in the study of the South Africa's press on Bantu Education, is the evidence of the value placed on education by various stakeholders within the country. Education, viewed as a powerful social institution of upliftment, was clearly valued by both black and white South Africans. However, the motivations behind pursuing and implementing education, and the assessment of the innate meaning of 'value' varied greatly amongst these different racial groupings, as the following

[24] It is also estimated that roughly one in five readers read both Afrikaans and English papers. For more, see M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961, p. 304.
[25] C.C. Chimutengwende, The media and the state in South African politics, *Africa in Struggle* 10 (1), 1978, p. 48.
[26] Verwoerd, who was also the Minister of Native Affairs, would eventually go on to become the prime minister of South Africa in 1958, and is often referred to as the 'architect of apartheid', H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 292.
[27] M. Broughton, *Press and politics of South Africa*, 1961, p. 305.

analysis illustrates. Shortly prior to the introduction of the Bantu Education Bill to the House of Assembly, teacher and author Ezekiel Mphahlele[28] delivered an address at a conference in Pretoria in 1953. Teachers requested that his message be shared in *The Bantu World* so that educators across the nation could benefit from it. In the address, Mphalele admonished white academics such as Harold Jowitt, who was one of the individuals responsible for scholarly discussions of what Jowitt defined to be 'African intelligence', 'the native mind' and 'native psychology.'[29] Mphalele argued that these types of concepts created, 'a mythical kingdom where only Black people are supposed to benefit from [these] ideas.'[30] Furthermore, Mphahlele stressed that these concepts were meaningless, had been outlived, and were the result of a 'scheming mind with a sinister political move such as characterised the report of the Eiselen Commission.'[31] Ostensibly, predicting the outcome of what it would mean if the apartheid government accepted this Commission's recommendations as it ultimately would, Mphahlele cautioned against the dangers of education being used as a method of 'conditioning of the mind of a subject people to suit the selfish interests of the ruling class.'[32] Thus *The Bantu World* was a part of creating the conversation of early critique against the Bantu Education Bill.

The Bantu World also featured articles on different black educational institutions in both South Africa and the United States, further indicative of an awareness of the value and interest that its readers placed on education as a tool for self-advancement. For example, a photo feature was included on the Wilberforce Institute, which was established by the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in 1908 in Evaton in the Transvaal as an alternative to conventional mission education.[33] As a vocational training institution, *The Bantu World* stressed that it was the only institution of its kind in the Union, as it was run 'solely by Africans and people of African descent.'[34] A mere two weeks later, a historical overview of the Tuskegee Institute in the United States was provided in the same teachers' column by the above-mentioned J.M. Nhlapo. He described the Tuskegee Institute as one of the most community-conscious institutions, which was interested in all parts of black life.[35] Furthermore, *The Bantu World* promoted its readers' values and investment in education, when it encouraged them to adopt a new year's resolution

[28] A well-known black South African writer and anti-apartheid critic, Mphalele changed his birth name, Ezekiel, to Es'kia in 1977. Harold Jowitt was the director of African education in Uganda, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Bechuanaland (Botswana) as well as Basutoland (Lesotho).
[29] Teachers' column, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, p. 3.
[30] Teachers' column, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, p. 3.
[31] The Eiselen Commission, as discussed in chapter four was the government report that served as the foundation for the ultimate Bantu Education Act. Teachers' column, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, p. 3.
[32] Teachers' column, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, p. 3.
[33] A.T. Habedi, Wilberforce Institute: A story of sacrifice and devotion, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, pp. 4 - 5.
[34] A.T. Habedi, Wilberforce Institute: A story of sacrifice and devotion, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, pp. 4 - 5.
[35] Teachers' column: Tuskegee Institute, *The Bantu World*, 22 August 1953, p. 8.

in its first issue of 1954 to combat illiteracy within black communities by sending more children to school, and by donating generously to schools within black communities.[36]

The value of black education to many white South Africans became increasingly apparent with the introduction of the Bantu Education Bill in the House of Assembly in August of 1953. *Die Transvaler* described Verwoerd's speech as 'one of the most important to ever be delivered in the House of Assembly.'[37] *Die Transvaler* reasoned that the Bill would bring about a complete revolution in black education in South Africa, as it was rooted in philosophical pedagogy that was well researched, and thus, not introduced out of the blue.[38] In reporting on the significance of the discussions, *Die Transvaler* included three articles on black education on a single page on 18 September 1953. Particular light was shed on the fact that education for black South Africans at the hands of missionaries was perceived to be a 'pointless tragedy,' as it undermined the cultural traditions and identity of the black population.[39] Furthermore, *Die Transvaler* presented the point that it was only logical that the government should control black education, as it was the state which was funding it. In a striking representation of the differences in value of black and white education, the newspaper outlined how black pupils would not be taught skills and academic pursuits beyond those that the government deemed would have value in their future.[40] Thus, *Die Transvaler* elaborated, black education should be placed under the control of a central authority, in keeping with an extensive (state-sanctioned) study, and in spite of the oppositions' complaints.[41] Some days later, the newspaper continued with the thematic exploration of the value of black education in South Africa by examining its link to the Afrikaner *volk*, or nation. In quoting University of Pretoria Professor, P.J. Coertze,[42] black education was depicted as existing as an intrinsic part of the Afrikaner-nation's destiny, when Coertze stated that the 'Afrikaner-nation is called upon to guide the Native to civilisation; called to help enhance their culture.'[43] In addition, Coertze, argued that one way to achieve this was by committing to integrate the Afrikaans language into black schools, and to stress to black pupils that English is not the only necessary language to secure a job.[44]

[36] Forward to 1954, *The Bantu World*, 2 January 1954, p. 1.
[37] Omwenteling van naturelle-onderwys, *Die Transvaler*, 21 September 1953, p. 6.
[38] Omwenteling van naturelle-onderwys, *Die Transvaler*, 21 September 1953, p. 6.
[39] Die naturel moet as lid van sy ras opgevoed word, *Die Transvaler*, 18 September 1953, p. 2.
[40] Die naturel moet as lid van sy ras opgevoed word, *Die Transvaler*, 18 September 1953, p. 2.
[41] Naturelleonderwys hoort onder die sentrale regering, *Die Transvaler*, 18 September 1953, p. 2.
[42] P.J. Coertze was a professor of *Volkekunde*, or the study of nations, at the University of Pretoria. He asserted that the division of people based on their ethnicity was in accordance with 'God's plan'. For more, see P.J. Coertze, *Filosofiese en metodologiese grondslae van die volkekunde*, Pretoria, 1980.
[43] Naturelle moet ook Afrikaans leer, *Die Transvaler*, 18 September 1953, p. 2.
[44] Naturelle moet ook Afrikaans leer, *Die Transvaler*, 18 September 1953, p. 2.

The *Rand Daily Mail*'s perspectives on the value of, and questioning of the necessity for, black education was largely made apparent in the manner in which it extensively reported on the House of Assembly debates and opposition to the Bantu Education Bill.[45] One example lies in the manner in which it reported on the point of view of the United Party's Kensington representative, P.A. Moore. He argued that his party regarded 'education as one complete whole, and that it could not be divided into White education, Black education, Coloured education and Indian education.'[46] The *Rand Daily Mail* also frequently reported on how acrimonious and heated the debates were as a result of the differences in opinions in the House of Assembly. In particular, one debate was highlighted where the discussion on Bantu Education was summarised by the following headline and by-line: 'Verwoerd wants Native Education on state lines. Denounced in the House: "Russia has it, Nazi Germany had it."'[47] In addition to them making their own inferences, the newspaper also brought the readers' attention to the apparent disinterest by Afrikaner members of parliament to the oppositions arguments, when it described the scene of a heated discussion where the Minister of Finance, Nicolaas Havenga merely 'looked up disapprovingly from his glossy magazine on thoroughbred horses.'[48] In another instance, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that House of Assembly members who were opposed to the Bill were subjected to racial slurs, while the opposition's arguments were regarded as a waste of time by members of the National Party's representatives, who were reported to have shouted interjections that included, on various separate occasions, 'Shut up!', 'Moscow!', and 'You're not a white man!' all which the *Rand Daily Mail* described as 'irritating, irrelevant, schoolboy-like interjections.'[49] Ultimately, to try and calm the emotionally-fraught debate surrounding Bantu Education, the insults and interjections listed above were eventually banned in the House of Assembly, as well as banning others deemed to be unparliamentary conduct from both sides, including unfounded allegations such as that a member of the House 'left his swastika behind'.[50] In detailing the fierce disagreements between representatives from opposing sides of the argument, the *Rand Daily Mail* illustrated its implicit conviction that black education, and its intrinsic value, meant it deserved an equal footing to its white counterpart.

Pertaining to the debates in the House of Assembly, *The Bantu World* cautiously expressed its deep concern at the logic of the decision in which 'African education is to be taken away from the Department of Education, where it naturally belongs, to the Department of Native Affairs which is not equipped for

[45] Adjournment motion takes house unawares in mid-afternoon, *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 September 1953, p. 11, Natal refuses to lose control of Bantu Education, *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September 1953, p. 9.
[46] Natal refuses to lose control of Bantu Education, *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September 1953, p. 9.
[47] Verwoerd wants Native Education on state lines, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 September 1953, p. 9.
[48] Verwoerd wants Native Education on state lines, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 September 1953, p. 9.
[49] The session in review, *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 October 1953, p. 11.
[50] M.P.s not allowed to say colleague has 'a bit more brain than a flea', *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 January 1954, p. 6.

such a specialised and scientific function.'[51] It also highlighted the potentially far-reaching consequences, by explaining that the 'syllabus, discipline, staff appointments, school hostels, bursaries and all what belongs to African schools and African education will … fall under the control of the Minister of Native Affairs.'[52] The *Rand Daily Mail* argued that these developments were the apartheid government's first concrete step towards establishing Bantustans.[53]

Simultaneously, the ecclesiastical power struggle between the pro-apartheid Dutch Reformed Church and missionaries from other Christian denominations coincided with the discussion of the Bantu Education Bill in the House of Assembly. The South African press chronicled the church's roles and reactions to it in a fair amount of detail. For example, *Die Transvaler* recounted how at a Dutch Reformed Church conference, the overwhelming majority of missionary leaders in attendance voted in favour of placing state-supported black schools under the complete control of the government.[54] Meanwhile, the *Rand Daily Mail* also reported on the reaction of the Dutch Reformed Church, quoting reverent J. Reyneke as saying, 'the devil was not as black as he was painted', predicting that given time and trust in the government, Bantu Education would show its value to society.[55] In addition, the *Rand Daily Mail* published extensively on the impact that the proposed Bill would have on mission schools, and amplified dissenting voices within churches who were opposed to the implementation of the Bill.[56] The newspaper also highlighted the National Party's perspective on English missionaries, by quoting its Ermelo representative, Albert Hertzog as follows: 'the main concern of the missionaries, he thundered, was to advance British imperialism and convert Natives into members of their Churches rather than make them what Dr. Hertzog called "Good Bantus."'[57] The following year, the *Rand Daily Mail*, reiterated this point by reporting that Verwoerd believed the churches were opposed to the Bantu Education Act for self-serving reasons. It was his reported belief that as the government had historically subsidised churches to run black schools, the new centralised control of black schools diminished missionary coffers, which Verwoerd metaphorically described as 'the milk of the cow' having run dry.[58]

[51] Bantu Education Bill, *The Bantu World*, 22 August 1953, p. 1.
[52] Bantu Education Bill, *The Bantu World*, 22 August 1953, p. 1.
[53] J. Cope, Native Education Bill is first step toward Bantustan, *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 August 1953, p. 11.
[54] Staatsondersteunde naturelleskole moet staatskole word, *Die Transvaler*, 12 December 1952, p. 8.
[55] D.R.C. Minister on Native Education Bill: 'Not altogether happy, but trusts the government', *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September 1953, p. 10.
[56] Bill strikes fatal blow at educational work of church, *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1953, p. 7.
[57] Nats. pull out old U.P. version of their Bantu Education Bill, *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September 1953, p.6.
[58] Verwoerd hits at the English churches, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 November 1954, p. 12.

While white newspapers were frequently concerned with the impact of the proposed Bill on missionaries and churches, *The Bantu World* predominantly focused its attention on what the realities of the Bill would mean for black communities. The newspaper's strongest admonishment of the proposed Bill was published on 29 August 1953 in a substantial piece which reflected on both feelings of powerlessness and reprove in the light of the government's intended actions. This is evident in the following quote: 'We realise that the African who is no voter is powerless to make his objection effective to anything the Government plans to do.'[59] *The Bantu World* also set the tone of the black press's desire for a more equal society when it stressed that the newspaper stood for 'interracial concord and goodwill.'[60] It went on to state that there was 'nothing that we find more deplorable than the overriding of the Africans' feeling by those who are privileged to wield the sceptre of power.'[61]

While the previous chapter illustrated that newspapers in the United States frequently turned to political cartoons as a way of interpreting current affairs, this was not the case in South African newspapers. While all of the South African newspapers analysed in this thesis appeared to feature the cartoons from their contributors fairly frequently on a wide variety of political issues, cartoons related to segregated education were scant in 1953. Indeed, in the time period studied, only *The Bantu World* and *Rand Daily Mail* included political cartoon commentary, as illustrated below. This is telling, as the long-lasting effects of the Bantu Education Act were perhaps not yet fully appreciated at that time, while the increased censorship of the apartheid government undoubtedly resulted in extreme editorial caution for all the newspapers studied.

[59] 'Native education', *The Bantu World*, 29 August 1953, p. 3.
[60] 'Native education', *The Bantu World*, 29 August 1953, p. 3.
[61] 'Native education', *The Bantu World*, 29 August 1953, p. 3.

Figure XI: 'Forward or backward?' (1953)[62]

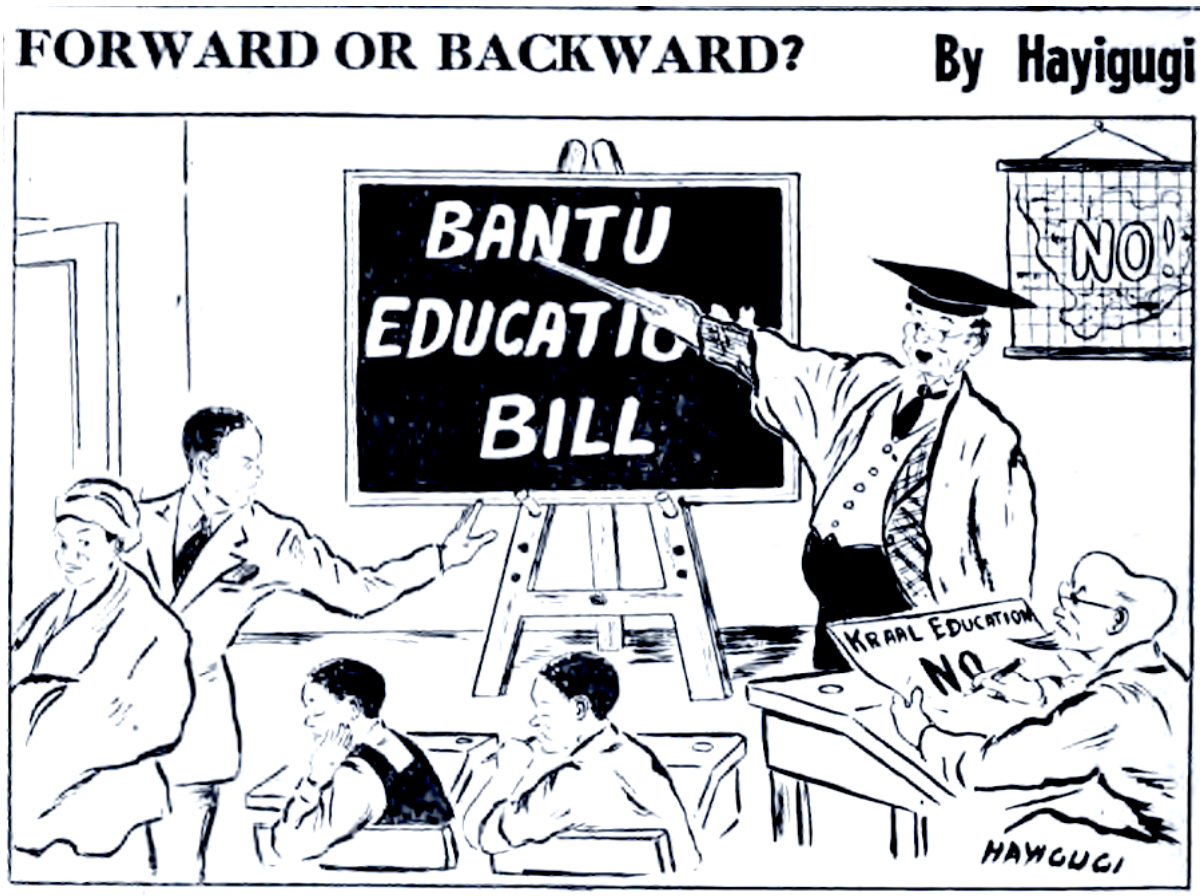

Figure XI was published as the Bantu Education Bill was being discussed in the House of Assembly in 1953. While at first glance it appears to be a straightforward political commentary on the two sides of the debates, a deeper examination reveals a breadth of opinions pertaining to the proposed education system. This includes black pupils and parents turning their bodies away from the teacher; a map of South Africa pinned to the wall with the words 'No!' inscribed on it; as well as another adult, who appears to be white and scowling (given the distinct facial hair and glasses is a depiction of National Party member Dr. Albert Hertzog), noting down 'Kraal education: No'.[63] These depictions, along with the title, denotes the uncertainty, if not disdain, within the black community of what proposed Bantu Education Bill would mean for pupils and black communities.

[62] Hayigugi, Forward or backward? *The Bantu World,* 29 August 1953, p. 3. This cartoon has been digitally enhanced to have a white background to maintain a consistent depiction of cartoons in this thesis. The original newspaper's light brown patina has been removed.
[63] A 'kraal' is a traditional cattle enclosure for many black South African ethnic groups. These enclosures often served as a traditional gathering space, and by proxy a community-centered educational space for black South Africans in rural areas.

Figure XII: 'The cry' (1953)[64]

The satirical cartoon in Figure XII shows National Party House of Assembly member for Ermelo, Dr. Albert Hertzog accusing a missionary of kidnapping a black pupil to educate them, as a commentary on the heated debates surrounding the second reading of the Bantu Education Bill. The title may allude to the parable of 'the boy who cried wolf', suggesting that Hertzog is raising alarm over an insignificant issue.

[64] Bob Connolly, The cry, *Rand Daily Mail,* 25 September 1953, p. 11.

In addition to expressing their alarm at an array of issues, *The Bantu World* stressed that the aspect they feared the most was 'making African education something inferior to that of those racial groups whose education is still considered an activity.'[65] One month later, *The Bantu World* characterised Verwoerd's plan as that 'under his control, he would reform it so that Africans would be "taught from childhood" to realise that equality with Europeans was not for them' and that 'people who believed in equality were not desirable teachers for Africans.'[66] In contrast, the *Rand Daily Mail* quoted government assurances that the intention behind the Bill was not to 'indoctrinate' South Africa's black population, but rather to plan out black education according to the needs of their community.[67] As mentioned, *The Bantu World* was concerned that the Department of Native Affairs was ill-equipped to do justice to education. However, *Die Transvaler* posed its defence when it described a 'neglected' black education system that would be transferred to a department that was 'taxed' with working with the black population on a day-to-day basis, and thus allegedly knew them, and their needs, the best.[68]

While it praised the work of religious schools, *Die Transvaler* suggested that the 'time was ripe', and that the government was justified to 'stab the knife deeply' into the long-lasting task of lifting black education out of the ground, and ultimately reshaping it to meet the needs of the country.[69] Only three days later, *Die Transvaler* critiqued the mission school system for teaching an 'irrelevant curriculum' to its black learners, when it accused them of trying to transform these students into so-called 'English gentlemen', due to the fact that instead of learning practical skills that would make the pupil 'useful', they were rather learning 'when King George the First passed away'.[70] The idea of teaching 'useful' skills was the focus of an extended article in *Die Transvaler*, which highlighted quotes by Verwoerd such as that 'the Native should feel that education is worth enough to him that he is willing to stick his own hand in his pocket' to pay for it.'[71] This quote supports a pertinent issue of the apartheid government which *Die Transvaler* highlighted, related to the government's objective to create an education system that felt 'valuable' to black communities specifically. In doing so, the government hoped to pass on the cost of black education exclusively to black communities by creating an educational system that they perceived as having value.[72] However, black communities did not agree with this summation, as is evident in their reactions that follow.

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[65] 'Native education', *The Bantu World*, 29 August 1953, p. 3.
[66] Equality is not for them, *The Bantu World*, 26 September 1953, p. 3.
[67] Bill meant to plan Native Education, not indoctrinate, *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 September 1953, p. 6.
[68] Omwenteling van naturelle-onderwys, *Die Transvaler*, 21 September 1953, p. 6.
[69] Omwenteling van naturelle-onderwys, *Die Transvaler*, 21 September 1953, p. 6.
[70] Sappe beveg eintlik eie wetsontwerp, *Die Transvaler*, 24 September 1953, p. 2.
[71] Kennis moet vir hom bruikbaar wees, *Die Transvaler,* 24 September 1953, p. 4.
[72] Kennis moet vir hom bruikbaar wees, *Die Transvaler,* 24 September 1953, p. 4.

The Bantu World also published some of the public's reaction to the discussion of the Bill and provided telling insight into how the black community regarded these developments in education. One resident from Krugersdorp, J.S. Motsieloa, stressed that the Bill did not 'merit the paper on which it is written, and against which the strongest possible protest should be registered.'[73] Motsieloa claimed that the legislation, based on ideology rather than science, aimed to not only 'enslave the minds of the African children, but also to make of them square pegs in round holes.'[74] The author's admonishment also included a critique of the apartheid government's failure to appreciate the extent to which 'the African has increasingly become an integral part of country's economic fabric.'[75]

The readers of the *Rand Daily Mail* also appeared to be engaged with the progression of the Bill, as can be seen in the section of the newspaper entitled, 'Readers' points of view'. One reader, E.M. Binyon's critique of the Eiselen Commission's report, highlighted a similar concern to the aforementioned letter from *The Bantu World*, relating to the fact that educators should have the power to set the agenda in schools as opposed to the Department of Native Affairs. Furthermore, Binyon argued that the purpose of education should not be to transmit culture, but rather that culture is the development of true education, which is something that should nourish the body, mind and spirit of the learner.[76] Another *Rand Daily Mail* reader, O.E. Lee argued that education was made to conform to a singular Nationalist pattern with the proposition of the Bill.[77] A particularly metaphorical letter of disdain was submitted by 'Dorp Japie', who argued that the Bill aims at the 'eradication of the English language in the mouths of Africans. The basic purpose, of course, is to retard the Bantu, and herd him into culture-kraals, impound him in the field of manual unlettered labour, fearing a Nationalist-Afrikaner sjambok-carrying God.' This reader finally described the Bill as a 'calculated piece of mind-destroying Communist planning.'[78] Another reader echoed this, saying the state policy had a 'familiar ring of totalitarianism' to it.[79] Needless to say, no opposition to the proposed Bill was published in *Die Transvaler*.

[73] J.S. Motsieloa, Over to you, *The Bantu World*, 5 September 1953, p. 3.
[74] J.S. Motsieloa, Over to you, *The Bantu World*, 5 September 1953, p. 3.
[75] J.S. Motsieloa, Over to you, *The Bantu World*, 5 September 1953, p. 3.
[76] E.M. Binyon, You can't have two kinds of education: Eiselen theory criticised, *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 September 1953.
[77] O.E. Lee, Making one pattern for all: What too much central rule means, *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 September 1953.
[78] Dorp Japie, Culture Kraals, *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 October 1953, p. 8.
[79] M. Jarrett-Kerr, What the archbishop said: Church united on Native Education, *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1953, p. 10.

In their function as apprising the public of important developments, all the South African newspapers analysed in this section also outlined to varying degrees the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. At the start of the first school year after the passing of the legislation, *The Bantu World* was concerned at the lack of transparency by the apartheid government pertaining to how the implementation of the Bantu Education Act would transpire. It wrote that while the Act was passed in the House of Assembly 'with great beatings of the propaganda drum', black communities were still unaware of the details of how the Act would impact their children.[80] The newspaper also expressed their frustrations, as they had attempted to find answers for black parents on what the Bantu Education Act in action would mean. In the end, the team of reporters found 'it hard to track down anybody who can give [explanations] to us'.[81] The only thing the newspaper could offer its readers was an address to a government official to write letters of concern to.[82] Adjacent to this article, *The Bantu World* also published a human-interest piece on the start of the academic year. It was focused on the overcrowded conditions of schools in urban areas. In the piece, it highlighted that, 'as usual … there were pathetic scenes … weeping mothers and tired children trudged in the heat from one school to another, only to be turned away by dejected headmasters whose schools were packed to bursting.'[83] In the weeks that followed, *The Bantu World* reported that the problem of school overcrowding appeared to be a national issue.[84]

The *Rand Daily Mail* focused on how the government intended to implement the Act, but did not provide black perspectives, while *Die Transvaler* omitted any explanation of implementation at the beginning of the year entirely.[85] It would only be months later that some black reactions were reported on in *Die Transvaler.* This included a report where the general board of the Transkei region met with W.W.M. Eiselen. During the meeting, a man identified only as S. Mabude accused Eiselen of only respecting the South African law when it benefitted white people, but not when the law pertained to black people.[86] Madube stressed that very few, if any, black South Africans supported the Bantu Education Act, and that 'misunderstanding and suspicion reigned' as a result of the lack of the government's communication in this regard.[87]

[80] New authority hard to find, *The Bantu World*, 23 January 1954, p. 1.
[81] New authority hard to find, *The Bantu World*, 23 January 1954, p. 1.
[82] New authority hard to find, *The Bantu World*, 23 January 1954, p. 1.
[83] Mothers weep as schools close their doors, *The Bantu World*, 23 January 1954, p. 1.
[84] More schools are needed, *The Bantu World*, 6 February 1954, p. 3.
[85] Bantu Education Act is a big effort to educate S.A. masses, *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 January 1954, p. 11.
[86] 'Ons vrees oorname van beheer oor Naturelleonderwys', *Die Transvaler,* 28 April 1954, p. 4.
[87] 'Ons vrees oorname van beheer oor Naturelleonderwys', *Die Transvaler,* 28 April 1954, p. 4.

Resistance to the Bantu Education Bill in black schools, and later the Act itself, was reported on by all the newspapers analysed. Prior to the Bill's formal introduction in the House of Assembly, *Die Transvaler* reported on rumours that some black teachers were encouraging their students to disobey or resist apartheid laws.[88] The newspaper reassured its readers that while these teachers were in the minority, they would face consequences, as the spread of political propaganda in schools would result in their schools losing government subsidies.[89] Meanwhile, within the first few days of the Bill's reading in the House of Assembly in 1953, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported on two separate protests by parents and teachers opposed to the proposed Bill.[90]

The Bantu World was cognisant of the potential consequences of resisting apartheid and made this apparent to its black audience as the government worked actively to suppress resistance. The government's chief Native Commissioner at the time, identified only as Mr. Nester in *The Bantu World*, warned black teachers to be careful about what they wished for. He argued that while a lack of education meant a 'dark future for anybody,' the notion of compulsory education that many black teachers had expressed a desire for could not be guaranteed because of circumstances and 'difficulties of the system.'[91] Meanwhile, the newspaper also related the opinions of the Transvaal African Teachers' Union (TATU)'s chairman, O.S.B. Masenya. While critical of the Act, he encouraged teachers to reserve their judgements until more concrete consequences and action plans had been presented to them.[92] Simultaneously, the Cape Province African Parents Association called on parents for their comments as they were preparing to react to the new education system.[93] The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported on teachers protesting against the terms of the Bantu Education Bill at the annual meeting of the Natal Association of European Teachers.[94] The newspaper also covered the Cape Province Africa Teachers' Association's call to teachers to 'demonstrate their readiness to fight for true education,' as they argued that 'the blanket of silence that the apostles and perpetrators of apartheid would throw over the issue … is a sure indication of the evil designs behind the Bantu Education Act.'[95] In addition, the ANC branch in the Cape Province condemned the Bill prior to its implementation.[96] In publishing these types of

[88] Optrede teen politieke onderwysers, *Die Transvaler*, 9 December 1952, p. 3.
[89] Optrede teen politieke onderwysers, *Die Transvaler*, 9 December 1952, p. 3.
[90] Bantu Education Bill provokes more protests, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 August 1953, p. 9.
[91] Teachers' column, *The Bantu World*, 15 August 1953, p. 8.
[92] Teachers in the news, *The Bantu World*, 9 January 1954, p. 3.
[93] Cape parents meet, *The Bantu World*, 16 January 1954, p. 1.
[94] Teachers protest to Verwoerd, *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 September 1953, p. 9.
[95] Native teachers to confer on Bantu Education Act, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 December 1953, p. 9.
[96] Bantu Education Act condemned by Cape A.N.C., *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 November 1953, p. 6.

efforts, the South African press essentially documented the early grassroots movements against Bantu Education.

The concern about linguistic instruction was introduced in *The Bantu World* by a parent in 1954. Z.S. Monyapheng from Mahikeng[97] argued that teaching English grammar to black students was 'altogether useless,' arguing for a total abolition of grammar from black schools.[98] Finally, the ANC Youth League also was reported to have had strong words of warning to teachers as the Bantu Education Act was officially implemented. Teachers were urged in *The Bantu World* to choose a side regarding the Act, and 'if they did not … the forces of liberation would regard them as being on the side of the oppressors.'[99] While Eiselen warned black teachers not to protest the Act, as they were paid employees of the state,[100] Senator W.G. Ballinger was quoted as reassuring black teachers that it was 'perfectly constitutional for Native teachers to agitate for the repeal of the Bantu Education Act.'[101] While not in the allocated time period of the study, a piece in *Die Transvaler* did report on one of the ANC's early protests against Bantu Education that is worth noting. During a school awards ceremony in Orlando, close to Johannesburg, the ANC covertly handed out flyers to those in attendance, which accused the keynote speaker from the Department of Native Affairs, C.W. Prinsloo, of being:

> a propaganda agent spreading the poison of Bantu Education … The Native teacher has to administer the poison. Our children need to drink the poison. Us, as parents, are asked to pronounce our blessing on this poison. Bantu Education is slave education. It means oppression forever. Down with Verwoerd! Eiselen! Prinsloo and Co.! We do not want Bantu Education![102]

Die Transvaler also described an instance where Verwoerd was admonished by an unnamed Sekukuni chief, who asked him, 'Is it not much better that the Bantu should be consulted about legislation affecting them before it is made into law? A great deal of the legislation leads to animosity … You, Dr. Verwoerd, have the key to this legislation … You must be a father to our people.'[103]

Ultimately, in analysing a selection of the South African press's stances on these educational developments, it is apparent that more questions than answers remained when the Bantu Education

[97] At the time when *The Bantu World* published this piece, the city was referred to as 'Mafekeng'. However, the current name of the city, 'Mahikeng' was used above, as it is also the city's original name.
[98] Z.A. Monyapheng, Over to you, *The Bantu World*, 16 January 1954, p. 3.
[99] D. Nokwe, Youth leader reports, *The Bantu World*, 6 February 1954, p. 1.
[100] Eiselen warns Native teachers against protest, *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1953, p. 9.
[101] 'Agitation for repeal of Education Act is constitutional', *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1953, p. 11.
[102] A.N.C. doenig met pamflette op prysuitdeling, *Die Transvaler*, 23 October 1954, p. 4.
[103] Verwoerd hits at the English churches, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 November 1954, p. 12.

Act was implemented. By the time the legislation came to fruition, South Africans remained unaware of the far-reaching consequences it would have on the fabric of the country's society. However, the press led the forefront of providing information when available and documented the public's sentiments and occasional resistance and protest.

4.2. United States perspectives

Newspapers in the United States were predominantly focused on the Bantu Education Act within the diplomatic context of the impact of foreign race relations on the country. As a result, the accounts presented in the United States media often related to apartheid in broad brushstrokes, highlighting South African racial sentiments without explicitly mentioning education. This was in part responsible for shaping perceptions of South Africa to its global audience. Thus, in reporting on the Bantu Education Act, the press in the United States largely approached the topic in one of two ways: first, it shone the spotlight on the South African government's racist practices, and second, it made a concerted effort to motivate to its audiences why it was that the actions of the South African government mattered to their American audience. In addition to the weaponising of education by the apartheid government, it also focused on the general decline of imperialism in Africa, wrote in defence of American missionaries, while simultaneously vilifying Malan at the helm of the apartheid government.

In an attempt to contextualise apartheid accurately, the press in the United States relied on the South African newspapers in considerable measure. Of particular concern to them was segregation both in schools and at institutes of higher learning. For example, as *The Chicago Defender* attempted to draw parallels between apartheid and Jim Crow in the United States, it quoted a National Party mouthpiece, *Die Burger*'s assessment of the United States court system in comparison to Malan's attempts to overhaul the South African court system.[104] Leaning into quantitative data to stress its point, *The Chicago Defender* reported on the discussion of the Bantu Education Bill in the House of Assembly, and highlighted that Verwoerd wanted to place the control of over eight million black school children into the hands of a small white minority.[105] The newspaper also lay the blame of the fierce campaign against integrated education at the feet of the South African nationalist press. It accused these newspapers and the leaders of the National Party of 'carrying on a steady campaign lasting several years' against the policy of admitting non-white students to the universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.[106]

[104] Malan asks bill to form High Court: Court would be aid to Jim Crow voters, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 10 October 1953, p. 6.
[105] Whites hint control of Native education, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 10 October 1953, p. 12.
[106] Malan may bar Negroes from school, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 19 December 1953, p. 20.

Meanwhile, *The Crisis* shared a statement signed by 21 prominent South African educators, professionals and businessmen who condemned this discriminatory exclusion at a tertiary level as a 'tragedy for the future of this country.'[107] In addition, *The Chicago Defender* shared its own reflection on the case, when it stated that Malan and his followers failed to realise that 'education for even a handful of Negroes can do much to placate the hostility of the alleged danger which the government cites as justification for all its harsh measures. What is said for putting hope in the enforced ignorance of any man?'[108] Furthermore, *The New York Times* also reported on this discrimination at universities in a descriptive piece where it highlighted the apartheid government's campaign against English-speaking and more liberal-leaning universities, as well as its threat of repercussions against protest to its decision.[109]

Also of interest to the media in the United States was the idea of internal opposition, as well as external resistance. After the implementation of Bantu Education, it was reported how dissent from within the Afrikaner press was starting to develop. *The Chicago Defender* wrote about *Die Transvaler*'s assistant editor G.D. Scholtz, who argued that 'it is highly probable that the Negro is in no way inferior and can achieve a level of civilization equal to that of the white man,' as well as that 'racial segregation laws are, in the long run, useless.'[110] The irony of this stance, coming from a journalist employed by one of the principal organs for the Malan-government, was highlighted. The *New York Times* also detailed the reactions of teachers who were deeply concerned about the differing standards of education between black and white learners, and the resulting implications of black pupils believing they were inferior to the white population.[111] In its assessment of the Nationalist press, the *New York Times* argued that these newspapers were more concerned about the UN's membership costs and 'what a waste of money it is' than the implications of the Bantu Education Act.[112]

In explaining apartheid and the government's racist stances to its black audience, *The Chicago Defender* outlined how Malan 'reaffirmed his belief in racial segregation and said that "natural differences" among races would continue for generations to come.'[113] While not related specifically to the educational echelon, the racist attitudes, and the associated violence thereto, were discussed broadly. Even the conservative, and generally more sympathetic *The Atlanta Constitution* described

[107] Looking and listening: Academic apartheid, *The Crisis*, May 1954, p. 286.
[108] Malan rants on, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 April 1954, p. 11.
[109] Malan racial bar hits universities, *New York Times*, 12 December 1953, p. 12.
[110] Malan urged to ban Jim Crow, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 September 1954, p. 4.
[111] Malan racial bar hits universities, *New York Times*, 12 December 1953, p. 12.
[112] Malan racial bar hits universities, *New York Times*, 12 December 1953, p. 12.
[113] Malan still believes in segregation, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 10 January 1953, p. 1.

Malan's election victory as a 'dangerous era ahead in racial relations' and drew the parallel to its voting system that gave more weight to the rural district to the United States electoral college.[114] This election was characterised by the newspaper for its intimidation, and it was reported that several United Party meetings in Johannesburg were broken up by people wielding clubs and bicycle chains.[115] Malan's election victory was labelled as the 'black peril' general election by *The Atlanta Constitution*, and it portrayed white voters as being divided and fearful.[116] The newspaper also cautioned its readers almost prophetically that the National Party's 'steamroller methods' would lead to a totalitarian state outside the Commonwealth.[117]

Some examples utilised by the press in the United States to underscore the imminent injustices of Bantu Education include an exploration by the *New York Times* which highlighted that while native languages were intended to be a primary language of instruction in South African schools, the absence of technical materials and advanced texts in indigenous languages would further complicate the attempt to provide quality instruction.[118] Furthermore, Bantu Education was described as a way of weaponising education, by not only silencing possible African leaders, but also to disenfranchise black pupils by depriving them of opportunities.[119] In its discussions of parliamentary debates, however, *The Chicago Defender* surmised that the blame for these discriminatory practices could not only be laid at the feet of the National Party, writing that 'seasoned observers who listened to the debate in Parliament were quick to point out that the Nationalists and United Party have substantially the same interest to maintain white supremacy.'[120] Furthermore, the newspaper reported extensively on the development of apartheid legislation, using terminology that its readers would be familiar with. It noted that in South Africa, the principle that 'all men are not equal before the law' was enforced, as it had 'the support of both major parties in South African politics'.[121] Later, as the implementation of Bantu Education rolled out, the *New York Times* also reported on the increased taxation that black communities faced to pay for Bantu Education.[122]

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[114] Malan Africa victory bodes danger in race relations, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 17 April 1953, p. 13.
[115] Anti-Malan men charge pre-election steamrolling, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 14 April 1953, p. 2.
[116] A. Gafshon, Malan tense as racial vote nears, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 15 April 1953, p. 21.
[117] Anti-Malan men charge pre-election steamrolling, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 14 April 1953, p. 2.
[118] A. Ross, Education shift fought in South Africa, *New York Times*, 3 January 1954, p. 21.
[119] A. Ross, Education shift fought in South Africa, *New York Times*, 3 January 1954, p. 21.
[120] Malan asks whipping post for foes: Would jail Jim Crow fighters in S. Africa, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 21 February 1953, p. 6.
[121] The two white political parties in South Africa at that time were the National Party and the United Party. Malan mapping Jim Crow bill, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 15 August 1953, p. 3.
[122] South Africa policy set: Negroes to be taxed to provide funds for education, *New York Times*, 28 April 1954, p. 43.

In order to provide contextual explanations of the situation in education in South Africa, The *New York Times* reported on schools that were segregated by language, as opposed to race, prior to the introduction of the Bantu Education Bill. This was described as a reaction by the apartheid government to resist Afrikaans children being Anglicised as a result of English language instruction.[123] The newspaper also reported on how black education in South Africa was being revised following debates in the House of Assembly. The *New York Times*'s focus was on the 'entirely different' education that black learners would be given, and pertained to the transfer of control of black education to the Department of Native Affairs.[124] *The Crisis* described South Africa as being in a 'cleft stick' in terms of education, as it was wholly reliant on black education to increase its economic prosperity, whilst is simultaneously actively sought to avoid it as a means of dampening political organisation by its oppressed majority.[125] Furthermore, *The Crisis* denounced many other apartheid policies at the time, including the government's treatment of the internationally respected black academic Z.K. Matthews. It called upon world opinion to follow 'what is done by dictator Malan of South Africa in persecuting distinguished, intelligent, unselfish and Christian people who lead the African struggle for independence.'[126] *The Atlanta Constitution* also reported on the Group Areas Act,[127] characterising the apartheid government's actions as being a part of 'strict white supremacy policy,'[128] which was the reason why, it argued, South Africa was indicted by India at the UN.[129]

The press in the United States also reported on South Africa's tense interactions with the UN, as the organisation started investigating race relations in that country.[130] *The Chicago Defender* wrote of the diplomatic consequences of South Africa's attitude towards the UN, in the light of the conversations which Malan (who they branded an 'anti-Negro hater'[131]) was conducting with Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles with regards to the UN.[132] *The Crisis* shared with its readers the

[123] Split schools endorsed: Transvaal advances separation of white pupils by language, *New York Times*, 14 January 1953, p. 2.
[124] Negro education revised: New South African law sets up special conditions, *New York Times*, 18 September 1953, p. 7.
[125] J. Hatch, South African racial patterns, *The Crisis*, January 1952, p. 13.
[126] Resolutions adopted by the forty-fourth annual convention of the NAACP at St. Louis, Missouri, June 27, 1953: International racial justice, *The Crisis*, August-September 1953, p. 443.
[127] The Group Areas Act of 1950 was part of the apartheid regime's grand vision of a racially segregated South Africa. This law provided the government with a systemic, legal framework to establish 'group areas' of certain races, which led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of South Africans who were not classified as white.
[128] Malan, 80, to resign as Premier, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 13 October 1954, p. 24.
[129] Johannesburg racial edict would relocate 100,00, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 23 May 1953, p. 3.
[130] Malan snubs awaits Bunche: Select UN aide to study Africa, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 January 1953, p. 1.
[131] A. De Mille, On the spot, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 January 1953, p. 15.
[132] A. De Mille, On the spot, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 January 1953, p. 15.

work it had done in compiling a statement to the UN in protest of the 'evils existing in North and South Africa.'[133] The NAACP urged the United States to align with the interests of black South Africans, as it was a 'heavy and awful responsibility on the United States … [to identify] a course of action which will identify our country with the hopes and feelings, of millions of Africans and which will bring our Western friends and allies to a realisation that their own best interests lie equally in such identification.'[134]

Indeed, it would be the diplomatic factors and global context outlined in chapter five that were most prevalent in the narratives of the international press in relation to South Africa. These factors, such as the decline of imperialism and the threat of communism were frequently incorporated into the American narrative of why the developments in South Africa mattered to its audience, both educational and otherwise. Prior to the Bantu Education Bill's introduction to the House of Assembly, *The Chicago Defender* reported on the Malan government's fears for the longevity of its white population and quoted a spokesperson who said: 'Since the war, three great forces have emerged in the world: Communism, Asiatic Nationalism and Black Nationalism. All of these forces are fighting against the white people of South Africa.'[135] In a letter to the editor, a *New York Times* reader B.V. Reed emphasised the implications of Bantu Education to the American audience, writing that while 'these may seem to be remote and relatively inconsequential events in our hurried day,' the global repercussions would be immense, 'either when native nationalism comes of age in South Africa, or, more likely, when the Communists find it expedient to incite the discontent and unhappiness of the Negroes'.[136] However, the readers perspectives were varied and not always supportive of anti-apartheid views. For example, C.J. Lucas, who was the field superintendent of the African Gospel Church Missionary Society, as well as being involved with mission work in South Africa, shared a perspective that was critical of author Alan Paton's admonishment of Bantu Education.[137] Lucas expressed a strong support for the apartheid government and stressed that in his opinion, Bantu Education had the endorsement of black teachers, and that 'native chiefs are highly pleased with it' as it made black South Africans self-dependent.[138]

[133] Looking and listening: African unrest, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 38.
[134] Looking and listening: African unrest, *The Crisis*, January 1953, p. 39.
[135] Malan aide says Negroes peril country, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 28 February 1953, p. 6.
[136] B.V. Reed, Education in South Africa, *New York Times*, 13 May 1955, p. 24.
[137] Alan Paton was a white South African author and anti-apartheid activist whose 1948 work, *Cry, the Beloved Country* highlighted the discrimination and hardships that black South Africans faced as a result of systemic racism in the country. The 1951 film adaptation of the book further added to Paton's renown with an international audience.
[138] C.J. Lucas, Apartheid upheld, *New York Times*, 26 August 1955, p. 18.

In a broader sense, *The Chicago Defender* acknowledged that most Americans had little knowledge of what was happening in Africa in 1953, as a result of 'the remoteness of the continent and relatively sparse news reports from the region'.[139] The newspaper attempted to rectify this by employing a designated correspondent in Africa, Malcolm Johnson, to write a very tellingly-titled 'Africa in turmoil' column. By April, *The Chicago Defender* was motivating to its readers how 'supremely important' the 'embittered struggle between whites and Negroes for the control of Africa' are to Americans.[140] They continued that 'it would be sheer madness for American Negroes to stand on the side-lines while desperate Africans pit their meagre strength against overwhelming odds.'[141] In particular, focus was placed on Africa's rich mineral wealth, military bases, strategic war materials and manpower, along with the ethical question of who should control it: Africans; the three million white Africans and their 'racial brothers in Europe and America'; or a system of fair exchange?[142] Furthermore, a 'bitter war of ideas must be fought and won before brute force can be freely used to crush the African Negro … This battle of ideas must be won not in Africa but in Europe and America.'[143] The author of the piece, George McCray, lauded South African 'churchmen, labor leaders and educators' for openly opposing racial segregation policies.[144]

An extensive reflection piece continued to stress South Africa's relevance to global affairs. *The Chicago Defender*'s reporter, Malcolm Johnson outlined the 'serious trouble' that South Africa would face as a result of the apartheid government's actions. He outlined rigid censorship of the press, the global repercussions of a white nationalist government in charge of a country with a majority black population, defiance of the UN, empowerment of the *Broederbond*[145] (which was described as the South African version of the Ku Klux Klan) and imminent violence.[146] Educational reform, however, was not mentioned. Meanwhile, *The Crisis* shared the resolutions of the NAACP, adopted at the 44th annual convention in 1953. In keeping with the theme of the prevalence of the Cold War's ideological conflicts in their

[139] Turmoil in Africa, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 17 January 1953, p. 1.
[140] G.F. McCray, Notebook on Africa: U.S. has vital stake in Africa's race conflict, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 25 April 1953, p. 1.
[141] G.F. McCray, Notebook on Africa: U.S. has vital stake in Africa's race conflict, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 25 April 1953, p. 1.
[142] G.F. McCray, Notebook on Africa: U.S. has vital stake in Africa's race conflict, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 25 April 1953, p. 1.
[143] G.F. McCray, Notebook on Africa: U.S. has vital stake in Africa's race conflict, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 25 April 1953, p. 1.
[144] G.F. McCray, Notebook on Africa: U.S. has vital stake in Africa's race conflict, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 25 April 1953, p. 2.
[145] The *Afrikaner Broederbond*, or simply referred to as the *Broederbond*, was founded in 1918 as a secret society that advanced the nationalist, Calvinist cultural traditions of white Afrikaans men in South Africa. Its political and cultural influence was most prominent during the apartheid government's reign.
[146] M. Johnson, Tighter race laws seen in S. Africa, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 25 April 1953, p. 6.

reporting, one of the areas of concern that *The Crisis* focused on was the fact that those individuals opposed to segregation were branded as communists. They also reaffirmed their 'unalterable opposition to every form of racial segregation, open and subtle, apparent and concealed, complete and partial.'[147] Moreover, *The Crisis* stated that 'the true evil and bedrock of racial discrimination is racial segregation. We will not be diverted from our determined efforts to destroy segregation by sugar-coated statements or diversionary tactics by compromisers on either side.'[148] The *New York Times* also linked developments in South Africa to a global context. In one piece, it focused on the resistance by the ANC, missionaries and teachers ahead of the implementation of the Bantu Education Act.[149] In addition to a detailed overview of how the apartheid government planned to control black education, it also drew the parallel between missionaries and rising African nationalism, which the Nationalist government subsequently wanted to curb.[150]

In accentuating why race relations in South Africa were important in a global context, *The Crisis* argued that the racial demographics of South Africa's population created an 'opportunity to experiment with and develop a pattern of racial relations which could be of immense benefit to the world as a whole.'[151] Furthermore, it argued that this racial 'experiment in multi-racial cooperation' was being interpreted by European community as an 'opportunity to establish a monopoly of power for the white minority.'[152] *The Crisis* wrote of its concern that the opportunities for an interracial experiment were being lost as a result of the innate belief in racial superiority by the white community in South Africa.[153] Diplomatically, *The Atlanta Constitution* disregarded education and racial discrimination, focussing instead on the fact that South Africa had rich uranium mines and that Georgia's senator, as a representative of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee, would inspect South Africa's uranium mines during a month's long visit on the invitation of the South African government.[154]

The general concern surrounding the decline of imperialism, and the associated consequences also impacted the lens through which events in South Africa were portrayed. *The Crisis*, for example, condemned both imperialism as 'unjust and a threat to world peace', and the 'dangerous racist policies

[147] Resolutions adopted by the forty-fourth annual convention of the NAACP at St. Louis, Missouri, June 27, 1953: Anti-segregation, *The Crisis*, August-September 1953, p. 427.
[148] Resolutions adopted by the forty-fourth annual convention of the NAACP at St. Louis, Missouri, June 27, 1953: Anti-segregation, *The Crisis*, August-September 1953, p. 428.
[149] A. Ross, Education shift fought in South Africa, *New York Times*, 3 January 1954, p. 21.
[150] A. Ross, Education shift fought in South Africa, *New York Times*, 3 January 1954, p. 21.
[151] J. Hatch, South African racial patterns, *The Crisis*, January 1952, p. 11.
[152] J. Hatch, South African racial patterns, *The Crisis*, January 1952, p. 14.
[153] J. Hatch, South African racial patterns, *The Crisis*, January 1952, p. 15.
[154] Russell set for S. Africa uranium trip, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 20 August 1953, p. 34.

of the Union of South Africa' in the same piece.[155] *The Crisis* highlighted again the diplomatic importance of Africa in its motivations for why citizens of the United States should take heed of their resolutions, as they stressed that the continent is 'the world's largest storehouse of natural resources and as a strategic continent' which might 'conceivably determine the future of the world' and that the 'grim alternative to such action is either terrorism or surrender in despair to communism - either of which would be disastrous.'[156] Contrary to this view, *The Atlanta Constitution* focused on the consequences of South Africa leaving the British Commonwealth as an example of the decline of imperialism, leading not only to England's embarrassment, but also to potentially 'squeeze the Indian and Pakistani residents out of the Union and making a harder push further toward authoritarianism under the guise of banning communism.'[157] *The Atlanta Constitution* lay the blame for racial disharmony at the feet of the *Broederbond,* immigration and Calvinism, all which would 'make more dangerous the smouldering embers of race warfare in South Africa'.[158] After a lengthy description, the author also stressed that race relations in South Africa directly impacted the United States, due to the fact that the its ally, Britain, was in a situation where its Commonwealth would be weakened.[159] In addition, it was underscored that South African issues were important to the United States, as it abhorred outbreaks of racial warfare which could infuriate other people of colour in Asia and Africa; as well as the essential impact of South Africa as a chief source of uranium to the United States, which could have potentially curtailed planned stocks of atomic weapons.[160] This decline of imperialism correlates to *The Chicago Defender*'s year-in-review for 1953, where it focused on the Mau Mau Uprising in Kenya. While not explicitly mentioning South Africa's apartheid regime, it highlighted the increasingly uneasy and fraught relationship that the British had in Africa.[161]

In addition to diplomatic interests, the implications on missionaries, who were often associated with foreign Christian denominations, resonated with many American papers. A significant amount of attention was paid to the struggle that the African Methodist Episcopal church (AME) faced in South

[155] Resolutions adopted by the forty-fourth annual convention of the NAACP at St. Louis, Missouri, June 27, 1953: International and colonial affairs, *The Crisis*, August-September 1953, p. 442.
[156] Resolutions adopted by the forty-fourth annual convention of the NAACP at St. Louis, Missouri, June 27, 1953: Peace and imperialism, *The Crisis*, August-September 1953, p. 443.
[157] C.L. Sulzberger, Gradual South African walkout on British held soon to being, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 April 1953, p. 2.
[158] C.L. Sulzberger, Gradual South African walkout on British held soon to being, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 April 1953, p. 2.
[159] C.L. Sulzberger, Gradual South African walkout on British held soon to being, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 April 1953, p. 2.
[160] C.L. Sulzberger, Gradual South African walkout on British held soon to being, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 April 1953, p. 2.
[161] 1953 in review: Foreign, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 2 January 1954, p. 4.

Africa by *The Chicago Defender.* The AME was a Christian denomination which was founded in the United States as a form of protest against racial discrimination.[162] This church and the Malan administration were at a stalemate in 1953 pertaining to the appointment of bishop Frederick D. Jordan to represent the AME in South Africa.[163] It was reported that the reason for this ban was as a result of the apartheid government believing that their churches had been used 'as meeting places for anti-government movements and that church members are actively engaged in resistance.'[164] Indeed, churches were reported on denouncing Bantu Education frequently.[165] The *New York Times* also reported on the South African media's approach to this conflict between English-speaking churches and the state, which ultimately was a struggle for the control of 'a platform for reaching the Negroes'.[166] It quoted extensively a piece in *Die Transvaler* pertaining to how mostly foreign missionaries used religion as a guise to perpetuate anti-Afrikaner sentiment amongst black pupils.[167] Some weeks later, the newspaper again reported on the struggle, highlighting that certain Anglican ministers would rather shutter the doors of mission schools than hand the educational institutions over to the government.[168]

Newspapers in the United States also vilified Prime Minister Malan frequently in their publications. In particular, *The Chicago Defender* disparaged Malan continuously, when it described Malan as the 'high priest of racism in South Africa.'[169] It also shared the lyrics of a ditty entitled, 'Don't malign Malan,' sung in Britain by anti-apartheid protesters. The South African press was reported to be outraged by the disrespectful tone and lyrics of the song, whilst *The Chicago Defender* was so inspired by the power of this example of satire that it suggested in jest that it be used in the fight against communism.[170] *The Chicago Defender* also summarised Malan as a 'racial extremist' whose term as Prime Minister focused on placing 'the union into the forefront of world politics and economics, and at the same time keep the native "in his place."'[171] *The Atlanta Constitution* had a more forgiving view of Malan, and after his resignation, called the event 'staggering'.[172]

[162] C.E. Walker, 'The A.M.E. church and Reconstruction', *Negro History Bulletin*, 48 (1) 1985, p. 10.
[163] AMES turn down deal with Malan, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 15 August 1953, p. 1.
[164] South Africa explains ban on AME bishops, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 14 March 1953, p. 1.
[165] Churches denounce African school law, *New York Times*, 31 October 1954, p. 12.
[166] Malan embroils church and state, *New York Times*, 7 November 1954, p. 10.
[167] Malan embroils church and state, *New York Times*, 7 November 1954, p. 10.
[168] Negro schools to close, *New York Times*, 23 November 1954, p. 3.
[169] Racial extremist is new boss of S. Africa, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 December 1954, p. 4.
[170] A. De Mille, On the spot, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 3 January 1953, p. 15.
[171] Racial extremist is new boss of S. Africa, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 11 December 1954, p. 4.
[172] Malan, 80, to resign as Premier, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 13 October 1954, p. 24.

One interesting example in the international accounts of Bantu Education relates to semantics and how news organisations used certain terms and phrases familiar with their American audience to make the news relevant, contextualised and comprehensible. For example, *The Chicago Defender* referred to some of Eiselen's reforms as a 'new deal' for black South Africans.[173] While the newspaper remained cognisant of the fact that the deal would not alter the 'deep-rooted segregation policy' affecting black South Africans, it nevertheless is an interesting analogy, given the generally positive light which the newspaper discussed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal on prior occasions. The choice of phrase may be indicative that *The Chicago Defender* was trying to contextualise what was happening in South Africa by comparing it to sweeping social reforms that its readers were familiar with. A similar example was apartheid being described as 'Jim Crow,' a term that its black audience could easily associate with their own experiences of racial discrimination.[174]

In conclusion, the press in the United States generally grappled with the task of stressing to its readers why racial injustices in South Africa impacted them. Through explanations and explorations, the international press embraced a more holistic, Cold War angle of Bantu Education and the apartheid government's egregious racist policies. To the outsiders, apartheid impacted global security as 'the future security of the West lies in no small degree on the people of America becoming aware of the total perspective'.[175]

5. Conclusion

This chapter examined the press's coverage of South Africa's Bantu Education Act in the mid-twentieth century, by analysing seven newspapers from South Africa and the United States respectively. While South Africa was becoming an increasingly divided nation under the iron grip of the apartheid government, its domestic newspapers were one of the avenues where these differences in public opinion were expressed. However, as the apartheid government was increasingly censoring dissenting opinions, the public perceptions portrayed in this chapter are limited to the editorial choices made in the interest of maintaining print operations amid a threat of government repercussions. In addition, through an analysis of newspapers, a more nuanced global perspective is provided, leading to greater subtlety in understanding the value sets of not only South Africa, but also in the United States.

[173] 'New Deal' in the works for S. Africans, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 17 January 1953, p. 9.
[174] Malan asks bill to form High Court: Court would be aid to Jim Crow voters, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 10 October 1953, p. 6.
[175] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, 1996, p. 234.

The international perspectives on Bantu Education illustrated that while the United States' print media had limited insight into the consequences of the Bantu Education Act at that time, they were immensely concerned with the wider diplomatic consequences of increasingly draconian apartheid legislation.

While the analysis across both this chapter and the one preceding it compared and contrasted newspapers in their domestic and international sections, a final, comprehensive reflection on the press' as a singular collective will be explored in the next, and final, chapter.

Chapter VIII

Tides of change: History, headlines and hegemony

'Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please.'
- Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*

1. Introduction

As the currents of diplomacy and domestic policy between the United States and South Africa in the mid-twentieth century converged and collided, overt and hidden historical undercurrents added to the direction of their national reform. This thesis aimed to add to the depth of contextual understanding of segregated educational policy by reflecting on historical similitudes and to contrast their disparate paths. In this final chapter, both the educational and diplomatic parallels of this paradoxical relationship will thus be reflected upon. The conclusions discussed in this chapter build on the analysis of preceding chapters, and as a result, key terminology, methodologies, frameworks and data will not be repeated for the purposes of this reflective conclusion. In particular, the role of the media as a tool to illuminate these historical similarities and differences forms a central part of this chapter's reflections.

In the 1950s, South Africa was standing on the precipice of codified racially segregated education, coinciding with the United States' decisive action to prohibit it. In spite of this educational paradox, there are remarkable parallels between the two nations. In exploring these similarities, and with particular reference to the media's coverage of these events, a certain thematic unity arises: that both events are ultimately a struggle for who controls education; that education was used as a powerful conduit and tool through which the government expressed its broader societal ambitions of racial inequality or equality; as well as education being regarded as a foundational mechanism for the idea of nationhood by many members of the public. Within its unique Cold War context, the analysis of a selection of primary sources also illuminated historical causation to the outcome of both segregated and integrated education. In surveying these connections, a more layered, complex and ultimately nuanced historical view was exposed. In addition, whilst the pursuit of a monolithic, absolute historical truth is futile, this more nuanced global perspective leads to greater subtlety in understanding the value sets of the United States and South Africa. In a sense, these two dissimilar sentiments continue to prevail in their respective modern-day societies, as does the permeating impact of media systems that perpetuate and proliferate certain political positions.

Another contribution of this study of the United States and South Africa through an educational lens is that it highlighted how education was regarded as a proverbial litmus test for the idea of nationhood through its perceived values and contributions to how individuals existed within their respective societies. This is as a result of the fact that education is a common denominator within diverse societal

groupings and is often regarded as the stage on which broader political ambitions and ideas are played out. To the United States, perceptions on education were divided, ranging from educational desegregation as a wholly positive example to the world;[1] integration existing as a reflection of the nation's conscience;[2] and even in more extreme cases, as a constitutional crisis to the United States, as the federal government was perceived to be overstretching their powers into the affairs of its states.[3] Meanwhile, the conservative South African media linked educational developments in the United States to being a constitutional crisis for the United States as it stood on the precipice of a national reckoning,[4] highlighting that white America remained committed to endure as a 'white nation'.[5] Furthermore, in apartheid-governed South Africa, education was seen by many white South Africans as an extension of the Afrikaner '*volk*' or nation's burden in relation to its responsibilities to its native population,[6] while the black population in South Africa clearly saw education as a powerful means of social and economic upliftment.[7] Furthermore, the paternalistic relationship between white South Africans and black education also highlights the notion of a racist perception of obligation, which has echoes of American exceptionalism. Through a close study of newspapers, an enhanced awareness of the social memory and collective identity in both the United States and South Africa was illuminated. Pertaining to the idea of 'nation', the diverse focus of both the strengths and weaknesses of the historical narrative in these countries was highlighted.[8] This was achieved by inferring through analysis the perceptions of nation, national values, and domestic preferences in both the United States and South Africa through the lens of education, as presented in the print industry. The previous chapters' analysis also provides insight into the types of nations that were attempted at being constructed, based on the analysis of diverse sets of agencies.

2. Educational frameworks: Final findings

The United States and South Africa both traversed arduous journeys to 'integrated' education. As two sovereign nations with distinct historical trajectories, major contrasts in attempts to 'achieve' the goal of equal educational opportunities naturally exist. Historically, South Africa's educational institutions were significantly more centralised and homogeneous than in the United States, because of political systems

[1] Man on street. How will court act on schools, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 12 December 1953, p. 5.
[2] 'All God's chillun', *New York Times*, 18 May 1954, p. 28.
[3] Talmadge text, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 9.
[4] Grondwetkrisis in Amerika?, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 1.
[5] Die howe en die politiek, *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1954, p. 6.
[6] Naturelle moet ook Afrikaans leer, *Die Transvaler*, 18 September 1953, p. 2.
[7] Teachers' column, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, p. 3.
[8] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 588.

and the much smaller geographical footprint of the nation. The United States historically had, and continues to have, a much less unified and more fractured educational approach. This is also as a result of political mechanisms such as concurrent rights between states and the federal government, as well as the Tenth Amendment which reserves power to the nation's individual states. Thus, the diversity of social and cultural norms present within the nation's 48 states which were a part of the United States in 1954 resulted in vastly different reactions to the ruling, as well as unique educational approaches and policies in each of these states.

Consequently, the ruling governments of both the United States and South Africa in the mid-twentieth century were the flagships that determined the direction that education would have to navigate on their divergent educational journeys. However, while on the surface educational integration and segregation in the United States and South Africa seem to respectively contrast distinctly in the courses they would take, beneath the surface a vast and hidden network of currents connected these two countries together through a remarkable proportion of thematic unity. The next section highlights some of these similarities.

In both the United States and South Africa, segregated education systems undermined the sound established traditional knowledge systems that existed within indigenous communities for centuries prior to the arrival of colonising forces.[9] In both these nations, the colonisers treated indigenous knowledge with disregard and impunity, and favoured their Western educational norms. Ultimately segregated education would impact not only the indigenous populations of these countries, but its nefarious influence also impacted all people of colour within their borders. Educational separation between indigenous people and foreign-born enslaved people soon arose within the two developing colonial settlements. In both the United States and South Africa, a small number of schools for enslaved people emerged in the seventeenth century sharing similar educational intent: for the enslaved individuals to better serve their white enslavers. While proportionally, South Africa's slave schools served a higher percentage of enslaved people than the minor amount of slave schools in the United States, both failed to produce schools with fundamental educational standards on par with the education that white pupils received.[10] As schools for enslaved people eventually were outlawed in some parts of the United States,

[9] For Native American knowledge systems, see D.B. Thorp, The beginnings of African American education in Montgomery County, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 121 (4), 2013, p. 315. For a discussion of South African indigenous educational systems, see J.D. Jansen, Curriculum as a political phenomena: Historical reflections on black South African education, *The Journal of Negro Education* 59 (2), 1990, p. 195.
[10] D.P. Alridge, On the education of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois and the paradox of segregation, *The Journal of African American History* 100 (3), 2015, p. 478, and F. Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p. 46.

in time the influence of missionary education functioning as private institutions would become essential to, and often the only avenue for the education of enslaved people.[11]

Missionary educational institutions produced pioneering black intellectuals who profoundly influenced discourse on race and education in both the United States and South Africa. For example, in the United States, the famous historically black Tuskegee Institution, established in 1881, while not a missionary institution, was inspired by AMA-schools. Its first president, Booker T. Washington was one of the leading early voices for black education, and its list of notable alumni include George Washington Carver, Betty Shabazz and Ralph Ellison.[12] Meanwhile, in South Africa, the mission school Lovedale, established in 1841, lay the foundation for intellectual titans such as Tiyo Soga, Sol Plaatje, Z. K. Matthews and Nelson Mandela.[13] Thus, as discussed in greater detail in chapters three and four, missionary education systems in both the United States and South Africa had a significant impact on the tide of educational advancement for black students. Indeed, by 1953, most schools in South Africa were mission run, while several historically black schools in the United States found their roots in Christian education.

Similarly, the desire for access to quality education coincided with major historical events in both countries. As industrialisation, urbanisation and migration became major contributing factors to the changing needs of the black populations in the nineteenth century, schools were necessitated to adapt. While these changes were driven by differing forces - Reconstruction in the United States and the discovery of precious minerals in South Africa - they both were catalysts for change in education in the late nineteenth century. As a result, disparities in the quality of education were intrinsically linked to geographic distribution. For example, in rural areas, the quality of education received by black pupils would often be sub-standard, with under-qualified teachers and lack of access to equal facilities in relation to their white counterparts. Meanwhile, in urban centres, schools for black pupils were frequently overcrowded. In both the United States and South Africa, the absence of a unified curriculum and funding structure further exasperated the problem of poor quality education for its black student population in the nineteenth century.

[11] L. Funke, The Negro in education, *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (1), 1920, p. 2.
[12] B.T. Gardner, The educational contributions of Booker T. Washington, *The Journal of Negro Education* 44 (4), 1975, p. 502.
[13] E. Vea Rosnes, A time for destiny for Norwegian mission schools in Zululand and Natal under the policy of Bantu Education (1948 - 1955), *History of Education* 49 (1), 2020, p. 104.

By the mid-twentieth centuries, both the United States and South African governments were cognisant of the rising, inevitable need for educational 'reform' within its black communities. In the United States, the sociologist Gunnar Myrdal's seminal work, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy,* published in 1944, highlighted the difficulties the United States was facing as a result of its poor race relations.[14] In South Africa, the course of black education changed irrevocably as a result of the Fagan and Sauer Commissions of 1946 and 1947 respectively, as well as the Eiselen Commission of 1951.[15] Following the publication of these respective findings, both the United States and South Africa formally decided to alter the course of black education. While the apartheid government's Bantu Education Act of 1953 stands in stark contrast to the 1954 *Brown*-ruling, both these watershed events plunged their countries into irrevocable educational reform with very little initial guidance from the government. As a schism existed between the two nations as they grappled with constitutionally mandated integration in the United States and codified apartheid in South Africa, the burden of change was placed at the feet of black communities in both nations. As was illustrated by the public reactions to the educational reform in chapters six and seven, black communities in both the United States and South Africa were largely left in the dark when it came to the changes and realistic processes to implement the new educational courses. This lack of clarity was an area of extreme concern to black communities, as illustrated in the sample of black newspapers analysed from both the United States and South Africa. *The Chicago Defender* and *The Bantu World* illustrated an awareness of education as a tool of social mobility and economic empowerment, but perhaps equally important, the cultural function of schools for its black students.[16]

As discussed in chapter three, the cultural capital that black schools provided is the 'sense of group consciousness' that is utilised as a resource in the development of collective economic upliftment as a network of kinship groups in a community that assists in the development of an economic enterprise.[17] This type of cultural capital, and the value and appreciation thereof, was present in both the United States and South Africa in the 1950s. As illustrated in chapters six and seven, black teachers in particular were valued as leaders within their communities, as through their guidance, they were able to equip their pupils for the world beyond the walls of their schools that was inherently inequitable. This

[14] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy. Volumes I and II*, New York, 1996.
[15] A. Morris and J. Hyslop, Education in South Africa: the present crisis and the problems of reconstruction, *Social Justice* 18 (1/2), 1991, p. 43.
[16] See *inter alia*, Teachers' column, *The Bantu World*, 8 August 1953, p. 3, and Our opinions: Jim Crow and the Supreme Court, *The Chicago Defender (National edition)*, 20 December 1952, p. 10.
[17] C.M. Span, 'I must learn now, or not at all': Social and cultural capital in the educational initiatives of formally slaved African Americans in Mississippi, 1862–1869, *The Journal of African American History* 87 2002, p. 198.

preference has deep historical roots in the United States, as prior to the end of the Civil War, some black people indicated a preference for black teachers over their white counterparts.[18] This sentiment extended well into the twentieth century. For example, in spite of incredible institutional challenges and discrimination, many black schools were still able to achieve success. This was highlighted in the discussion of the Jackson School in Texas,[19] as well as south-eastern Ohio's Thomas Jefferson Ferguson School and Albany Enterprise Academy[20] in the United States. A similar preference for black schools as centres of leading black thought and leadership existed in some regard in spite of great systemic difficulties at the Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools in South Africa.[21]

Pertaining to black intellectuals, both nations had discordant voices from within black communities who were opposed to the educational reforms of the 1950s. This includes W.E.B. Du Bois in the United States, who publicly opposed industrial education, as he argued that it downplayed the political aspirations of the black community, and by proxy stifled their progress towards equity.[22] In South Africa, A.B. Xuma lambasted the government's lack of equitable funding to black education,[23] while later the apartheid government overhauled the black educational system with a specific focus on vocational training as a means of ensuring that the population did not rise 'above the level of certain forms of labour.'[24] The funding discrepancy towards black pupils was also consistently low in both the United States and South Africa, in spite of the disproportionate tax burden placed on black communities to fund their education, in some instances even being regarded as 'double taxation' as illustrated in chapters three and four respectively.[25] Vast funding discrepancies also existed between black and white students in the United States. This is illustrated by the fact that black students in Georgia in 1926 - 1928 were assigned $4.59 per student, in contrast to the $36.29 per white student, a 790 percent discrepancy.[26] Similarly, in South Africa, black students in the homelands were only allocated R113 per year in 1983 - 1984, while white students enjoyed the benefit of 1463 percent more funding, with R1 654 allotted to

[18] A. Fairclough, 'Being in the field of education, and also being a Negro … seems … tragic': Black teachers in the Jim Crow south, *The Journal of American History* 87 (1), 2000, p. 71.
[19] P.B. Gill, Community, commitment, and African American education: The Jackson School of Smith County, Texas, 1925 - 1954, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 256.
[20] A.W. Randolf, Building upon cultural capital: Thomas Jefferson Ferguson and the Albany Enterprise Academy in Southeast, Ohio, 1863–1886, *The Journal of African-American History* 87, 2002, p. 190.
[21] C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 160.
[22] S. Sen, *Black education in white America*, 2018, p. 85.
[23] H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, 2007, p. 261.
[24] L. Maree, "The hearts and minds of the people" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.149.
[25] V.P. Franklin, Introduction: Cultural capital and African American education, *The Journal of African American History* 87, 2002, p. 176 and R. Hunt Davis Junior, "The administration and financing of African Education in South Africa 1910 - 1953" in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and education,* 1984, p.129.
[26] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, pp. 5-6.

them *per annum*.[27] Indeed, it was one of the apartheid government's significant areas of focus: to mandate its black population to finance their own educational facilities.[28] Another similarity highlighted through posterity is that the fears expressed by black teachers in *The Chicago Defender* and *The Bantu World* proved to be true. In the decades following 1954, black teachers, administrators and staff suffered job losses, demotions, as well as harassment or displacements in the process of desegregating schools in the United States.[29] The loss of black teachers was profound, as they brought not only their expertise to the classroom, but also their experiences, cultural norms, and a deeper understanding of the black experience in America.[30] Similarly, in South Africa, black teachers faced increased scrutiny from black communities as a result of their association with the apartheid government and the implementation of Bantu Education.[31]

In spite of the fact that both nations saw an increase in literacy in the twentieth century, access and ability to read and write do not exclusively equate to education that is tangibly equal to its white counterpart. Similarly, the twentieth century saw an increase of black pupils in regard to school attendance for both nations. However, in the United States, this increase was because of wider accessibility after the *Brown*-ruling, while in South Africa it was as a result of the Bantu Education enforcing school attendance.

Resistance to integrated and segregated education was a powerful driving force in the fight for equality, and both nations saw various organisations at the helm of the resistance efforts. In the United States, the NAACP's role in the Civil Right Movement cannot be overstated, as they were the civil rights organisation which funded the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case.[32] Meanwhile in South Africa, organisations such as the ANC, its Youth League, and the South African Student Movement were seminal in the resistance against the violent apartheid regime's educational reforms, and would continue

[27] R. Omond, *The apartheid handbook: a guide to South Africa's every day racial policies*, cited in J.D. Jansen, Curriculum change and contextual realities: an analysis of recent trends in black South African education, *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale de l'Education* 34 (3), 1988, p. 379.
[28] Omwenteling van naturelle-onderwys, *Die Transvaler*, 21 September 1953, p. 6.
[29] S. Ramsey, 'We will be ready whenever they are': African American teachers' responses to the *Brown* decision and public school integration in Nashville, Tennessee, 1954 - 1966, *The Journal of African American History*, 90 (1/2), 2005, p. 39.
[30] M. Lash and M. Ratcliffe, The journey of an African American teacher before and after *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, *The Journal of Negro Education* 83 (3), 2014, pp. 327 - 337.
[31] C. Glaser, The glory days of Morris Isaacson: why some Soweto high schools were able to succeed under Bantu Education, *South African Historical Journal* 70 (3), 2018, pp. 505 - 518.
[32] M.V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's legal strategy against segregated education, 1925 - 1950,* 1987, p. 11.

to be so for just on four decades.[33] The fight for racial equality also spanned further than mere educational equity. As public opinion in *The Atlanta Constitution*[34] and *Die Transvaler*[35] illustrated, they were fighting against ideas of nationhood rooted deeply in white supremacy, resulting in an institutional battle that extended beyond the walls of schools.

Upon final consideration, the most striking similitude that underscores the entire debate about black education in the 1950s in both nations relate to who has the power to control it. The United States was engaged in a fraught power conflict as Southern states believed they had the constitutional right to wholly control their schools, while the federal government believed it had certain overarching powers which coincided with its global commitment to racial integration and equity.[36] Ultimately, the federal government, through various means explored in chapter three, was able to enforce the integration of schools, while states maintained their rights to other administrative and curricular aspects of their educational ambitions.[37] In South Africa, the racist National Party government seized control of education from missionaries in an attempt to mould it to its grand vision of apartheid.[38] Through the careful implementation of the Bantu Education Act from 1954 onwards, its grand vision for a segregated, marginalised and educationally disadvantaged black population came to fruition, with devastating consequences. It is thus clear that examining the complex comparative historical developments in education of both the United States and South Africa is imperative in understanding the educational obstacles that both nations still face at present, and that the struggle for control in education remains prescient.

3. Headlines and hegemony: Echoes within education

Cold War diplomacy was a complex challenge that sought to determine a politically safe course amid unpredictable and changing global currents. No more complex was the diplomatic engagement than that between the United States and South Africa in the 1950s, as the two nations were drawn in disparate directions by different political tides. In the United States the federal government set its

[33] B.S. Ndimande, From Bantu Education to fight for socially just education, *Equity and Excellence in Education* 46 (1), 2013, p. 22.
[34] Alabama seeks legal aid to fight school ruling, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 3 June 1955, p. 1.
[35] Naturelle moet ook Afrikaans leer, *Die Transvaler*, 18 September 1953, p. 2.
[36] C.J. Ogletree, *All deliberate speed*, 2004, p.8.
[37] F. Brown, The first serious implementation of *Brown:* The 1964 Civil Rights Act and beyond, *The Journal of Negro Education* 73 (3), 2004, p. 182.
[38] J. Hyslop, State education policy and social reproduction of the urban African working class: The case of the southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (3), 1988, pp. 455 - 457.

domestic agenda on integrating schools in its Southern states, while simultaneously turning a blind eye to the egregious racist educational discrimination in South Africa in order to fulfil its own Cold War interests. American diplomats were aware of this duality and ironic contradiction, as illustrated in chapter five when the ambassador to the Union of South Africa's in 1953, Waldemar John Gallman's concern was explored, quoting him saying 'frequently, South Africans have turned to me and said: "You can understand our race problem. You have the same problem in the States."'[39] Primary source analysis also revealed that American diplomats to South Africa were ultimately urged by the State Department to 'avoid being drawn directly into discussions of South Africa's racial problems,' due to the fact that South Africans would not hesitate to point out their common ground with the United States in this matter.[40] As early as 1944, Myrdal warned that continued Jim Crow laws would equate to a loss of international prestige, power, and even become a hindrance to its future security.[41] Furthermore, it was highlighted that at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the delegates of the conference expressed that the United States' relationship with South Africa undermined its credibility with other African nations.[42]

Thus, this precarious but important diplomatic balancing act formed the foundation for the relationship between the two nations that existed as bulwarks against the spread of communism in a Cold War world. Indeed, despite great difficulties and waning common ground, it was highlighted in chapter five how the 1950s were akin to a golden age of diplomacy between the United States and South Africa, as a result of economic mutualism and the diplomatic bargaining chips associated with mineral and resource wealth. The historical background provided in that chapter also provided a slipway into contextualising the public's reaction and perceptions to two watershed moments in education, both locally and abroad. In first discussing a diplomatic history, a more refined examination was possible of not only the differences of public and private diplomacy, but also of popular opinions in the public echelons of society through a close study of the print media. The newspaper industry served an important function within this Cold War context. First, they serve as a record of the political and social views that made the greatest impact on individuals at their given historical moment; second, they provide a day-to-day record of life; and finally, newspapers also at times, through their editorials and letters to the editor, reveal a more thorough enquiry into issues beyond the scope of traditional, purely 'factual' reporting. As each newspaper analysed in chapters six and seven had its own agenda, they each covered a multitude of

[39] The Ambassador in the Union of South Africa (Gallman) to the Department of State, 24 February 1953, in US Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States*, *1952 - 1954,* Volume XI. Africa and South Asia, p. 983.
[40] T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's reluctant uncle: The United States and southern Africa in the early Cold War period*, 1993, p. 102.
[41] G. Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy, Volume II*, 1996, p. 1016.
[42] B.G. Plummer, *Rising wind: Black Americans and US foreign affairs, 1935 - 1960*, 1996, p. 268.

varied aspects and angles of the same news event. Thus, it was only through studying multiple newspapers with various perspectives that a holistic view could be created. In this exploration, the most predictive perspectives would originate from black newspapers.

From 1951, the South African writer Es'kia Mphahlele expressed the view that the world is experienced through one's blackness.[43] For this reason, in analysing black newspapers such as *The Chicago Defender*, *The Crisis,* and *The Bantu World,* an authentic glimpse into a small part of the black experience in South Africa and the United States in the 1950s was gained. Perhaps most demonstrative of all, was the profound and tangible impact the apartheid government had in stifling black speech, and by extension, shared black experiences in the print media.

As per census data of 1 July 1954, the United States had a population of over 145 million people, of whom 17 million were black.[44] In contrast, *Die Transvaler* reported that the South African population consisted of 'barely 2.5 million white people in the ocean of nearly ten million non-whites.'[45] Thus, according to these statistics, 12 percent of the United States population was black in contrast to the 80 percent of black South Africans at the same time. As a vast quantitative majority, one could argue that black South African voices should numerically be louder. However, this thesis's analysis indicated the devastating efficacy of the apartheid government in silencing black intellectual thought in traditional print avenues. Furthermore, the foundational role of the Union government in creating a culture of marginalised black perspectives since 1910 should also not be underestimated. Indeed, the subsequent apartheid government's discriminatory mechanisms built on the foundation laid by white South Africans decades before, as was illustrated by the history of the disenfranchised black media in chapter six.[46]

To further illustrate this point, the extent of coverage on these watershed moments in black education, or lack thereof, speaks volumes. *The Chicago Defender*, cognisant of the vast repercussions for its audience of black Americans, reported on the *Brown*-ruling in 83 different instances, covering a vast number of perspectives, and analyses during the period studied. Furthermore, on the passing and implementation of the Bantu Education Act, *The Chicago Defender* published 30 different articles. In stark, silenced contrast, *The Bantu World* only published 12 pieces in total on the Bantu Education Act

[43]C. Glaser, Soweto's islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958 - 1975, *Journal of South African Studies* 41 (1), 2015, p. 168.
[44] US Department of Commerce's Bureau of Census, 'Current population reports: Population estimates', Series P-25, No. 99, 13 August 1954.
[45] Die howe en die politiek, *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1954, p. 6.
[46] L. Switzer and M. Adhikari (eds), *South Africa's resistance press: Alternative voices in the last generation under apartheid*, 2000, p. 84.

during the same time, in spite of the fact that the legislation would have devastating and far-reaching consequences for its readers. *The Bantu World* reported on the civil rights victory of the *Brown*-decision a total of four times. Empirically, this is evidence of the extent to which the apartheid government was able to effectively silence black voices in the early years of its reign and years preceding the significantly discriminatory censorship that characterised the regime in the 1970s.[47] In juxtaposing the tone, complexity, nuance, depth of perspective, analyses, reflections, and predictions for the future of education that are present in the articles in the black United States newspapers with the reporting devoid of political tone in *The Bantu World*, one can begin to glimpse the magnitude of what was lost as a result of apartheid censorship. Moreover, *The Chicago Defender* was only one of many black dailies that existed in the United States, indicating that the magnitude of complete perspectives reported on in the United States was profound. In contrast, *The Bantu World* was the only national black weekly in South Africa (although some dailies did exist regionally), and thus one of the lone black voices in regular print in the country. It can be argued to an extent that the diminutive number of pieces in *The Bantu World* is as a result of it being a weekly newspaper, whilst *The Chicago Defender* was a daily publication. While this, of course, does impact the number of articles published, it neglects to consider the quality and extent of the reporting. Finally, it should also be noted that the diminished black voice in South African newspapers does not equate to it being a voice lacking in authenticity, but rather that it is marginalised, stifled and prohibited from enjoying the same freedom of expression and engagement that black papers in the United States, and white newspapers in general, enjoyed.

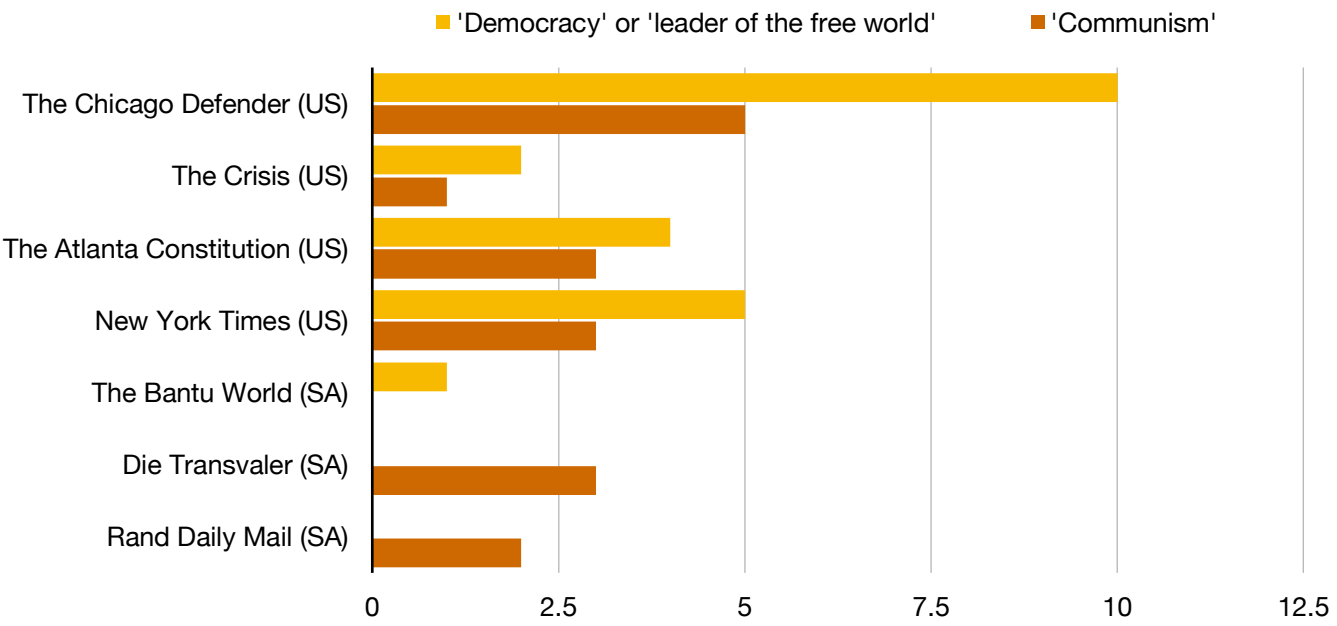
In using education as the lens through which to engage with a selection of newspapers in the 1950s, it is also apparent that white newspapers, both conservative and liberal, did not effectively reflect black perspectives in their manner of reporting. In comparing the tone, story selection, and subjects of interviews, this thesis's analysis illustrated how disconnected the white media was from black experiences, and how superficial their concern appeared in contrast to the quality, quantity and depth of black reporting. It thus underscores why it is essential for the historian to consider a multitude of perspectives in their research in order to create a nuanced understanding of historical context.

Another aspect that is understood with greater clarity through an analysis of the print media of these nations in the 1950s is the 'myth' of American exceptionalism. Semantically in this context, the term 'myth' is not necessarily synonymous with a falsehood, but rather the persistent and misplaced narrative stemming from within the United States media that the country was exceptional as leaders of the free

[47] C.C. Chimutengwende, The media and the state in South African politics, *Africa in Struggle* 10 (1), 1978, p. 50.

world. As this thesis's first chapter indicated, historiographically American exceptionalism eventually developed to the acknowledgement that while every society is indeed distinctive, none exist that are truly and objectively exceptional.[48] However, during the mid-twentieth century, the United States mass media consistently perpetuated the unifying narrative in both black and white publications of the United States being a leader in freedom and democracy to the Global South. As illustrated in the figure below, their innate perception as both the harbingers and custodians of democracy globally failed to resonate in South Africa and thus the myth is objectively inaccurate. While one should be cognisant that positive perceptions may have been reported on in this regard in other transnational regions, it did not feature prominently in the South African newspapers studied through the lens of education. What should be noted, however, is that the media's role in addressing, and perhaps even perpetuating a fear of the spread of communism received far greater traction within both these nations. Furthermore, these statistics only relate to the discussion of democracy and communism through an educational framework and does not take into account the vast amount of coverage these ideological differences received in other articles during the period studied.

Figure XIII: An overview of key terminology referenced in a selection of United States and South African newspapers on specified dates (1951 - 1954)[49]



[48] G.M. Fredrickson, From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history, *The Journal of American History* 82 (2), 1995, p. 594.
[49] This is an alternative visualization to aid in this chapter's final analysis, based on the data from Table IV.

In analysing the data in Figure XIII, it becomes apparent that although the South African media took no notice of the self-proclaimed title that the United States gave itself as leaders in democracy of the 'free world,' it did integrate communism into some of its reporting. This may be due to the fact that South Africa was publicly diplomatically aligned with its United States ally in the fight against communism. In instilling a fear of the spread of communism within its audiences, publications that were mouthpieces for the government, such as *Die Transvaler*, created a culture in which legislation such as the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 was tolerated, and persecution of purported communists was largely accepted and encouraged. Similarly, the Internal Security Act in the United States of the same year was also aimed at curbing communism domestically. Both nations accepted that the spread of the communist ideology potentially threatened their idea of nationhood. As the South African Minister of Justice, C.R. Swart expressed, communism was a poison to the Afrikaner nation, and warned that South Africa was 'a flammable powder keg' waiting to explode once communism takes hold.[50] As also illustrated in the figure above, within the United States, black newspapers most extensively linked civil rights advances directly to the fight against communism. Their stances were echoed by the Truman administration, as segregation was an accepted blight on the United States' international reputation. The president's committee on civil rights concluded that 'the treatment which our Negroes receive is taken as a reflection of our attitude toward all dark skinned peoples we cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics.'[51]

Pertaining to conservative voices, this thesis's analysis illustrated the large extent to which the print media served as an echo chamber for shared white anxieties and concerns in both the United States and South Africa. Many of the sentiments expressed by those opposed to integration in Georgia in 1954 in *The Atlanta Constitution* were attitudes that were mirrored in *Die Transvaler*. This included reasons why integration was perceived to be untenable,[52] the hysteria and outrage that followed the *Brown*-ruling,[53] as well the Supreme Court's decision as a constitutional crisis.[54]

[50] W. Botes, Politieke persepsie: skaduwees, eggo's of werklikheid - 'n ontleding van Suid-Afrika se persepsies van die kommunistiese bedreiging, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 16 (1), 2007, p. 49.
[51] A.S. Layton, International pressure and the US government's response to Little Rock, *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66 (2), 2007, p. 243.
[52] Negro-white classes won't work, disappointed county teachers say, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 3 and Waar die hof baas is, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 4.
[53] M.L. St. John, Calls panel to set up lasting ban: Urges Georgians to remain calm, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 1 and Blankes trek as nie-blankes kom, *Die Transvaler*, 20 May 1954, p. 1.
[54] W.S. White, Russell demands curbs on use of court as 'tool', *The Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1954, p. 1 and Grondwetkrisis in Amerika?, *Die Transvaler*, 19 May 1954, p. 1.

Finally, in analysing newspaper reports on select dates preceding the Supreme Court's ruling, it became apparent that the idea of the so-called 'massive resistance' in the United States had already germinated in Southern states in 1952.[55] This provides greater depth and a longer historical trajectory to the generally accepted narrative that the movement opposed to school integration started in 1954. Clearly school boards in the American South had prepared for the court-mandated change since the case first became common knowledge in the years preceding it. On the other hand, mission schools in South Africa were largely uncoordinated in their responses to the implementation of the Bantu Education Act.

To conclude, the newspapers analysed for this thesis were actively selecting which news and perspectives to present to its audiences, and consciously choosing which angle would be the most palatable. The print industry intimately knew its audiences' desires in order to be economically viable. Thus, inherently interwoven with the newspapers themselves, are the perceptions, perspectives and existential desires of their audiences. In studying how the discourse on segregated education was presented in these select newspapers, this thesis provided not only a snapshot of an editorial choice, but also the echoes of an audience's world view.

4. Conclusion

In embarking on a comparative transnational history, this thesis has sought to deepen the understanding and historical depth of the implications of educational reform. With segregated education as the cohesive theme of this thesis, its examination contributed towards illuminating the past events and the factors that have shaped in part the contemporary educational malaise in the United States and South Africa. Furthermore, with its focus on seminal moments in educational history, it navigated the reader through the ebb and flow of political and diplomatic currents of the 1950s in both these nations, towards a deeper transatlantic understanding of the history that exists between the United States and South Africa. This thesis's discussion elaborated on the vast ironies of the relationship between the United States and South Africa, which was, on the one hand, unified by shared diplomatic interests and on the other hand, simultaneously at odds pertaining to race relations. The thesis thus provides perspectives on a complex contextual milieu by using an educational lens to study the parallel way in which approaches to education were impacted by global currents. In highlighting both *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and the Bantu Education Act's unique features, a more illuminated understanding is provided

[55] See, for example, M.L. St. John, Board again holds secret school talk, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 2 March 1951, p.1; B. Spencer, 250 Oppose school-merger bill as education leaders urge passage, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 9 December 1953, p. 5; H. Hancock, Schools segregation study group released, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 9 December 1953, p. 12; and Talmadge signs segregation bill, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 11 December 1953, p. 3.

to the understanding of historical social processes and patterns. The value of this parallel examination includes the contextualisation of two historical moments, while elucidating each moment's substantial, unique historical features and similitudes.

Using newspaper analysis as a compass and anchored in the pursuit of contributing to a more inclusive global history, this thesis traversed the intertwined, multiple narratives of the United States and South Africa. It illustrated that while overtly the United States and South Africa were on two different educational courses, their trajectories were also steered by hidden global currents that were brought to light by a careful examination of primary sources. The print media served as a vessel through which to navigate public perceptions of watershed historical educational revolutions in the 1950s in these nations. Through this lens of education, this thesis also explored how collective social memory was presented and preserved for posterity by newspapers. In accessing this proverbial treasure trove of memories in the print media, it also uncovered the powerful underlying surges and ripple effects of global Cold War politics, as it shaped two nation’s sense of direction, purpose and identity. Ultimately, this thesis illuminates how a transnational study of the past creates a clearer, richer and a more interconnected path to understanding history holistically.

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