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EDUCATION AND LIBERATION

A RESOURCE DOSSIER

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1. INTRODUCTION

This resource dossier on Education and Liberation brings together a variety of short papers on Education.

The aim of the dossier is fourfold:

1. To provide a simple introduction for people wanting a better understanding of the role played by education in maintaining Apartheid society; and the role that education can play in building a new South Africa free of racial oppression, economic exploitation and social injustice;
2. To indicate some of the new strategies being developed by capital and the state in the sphere of education; and the effects these are likely to have on student struggles and the struggles of the oppressed and exploited in general;
3. To illustrate the proud history of resistance of our people to various forms of racist education; the nature of this resistance and how it has evolved; and
4. To survey some of the developments in education in democratic countries - the role of education in these countries, the problems that have been encountered, and the successes that have been achieved.

The dossier can also be seen as a resource pack for the Education Charter campaign. BEsides providing an introduction to the politics and economics of education, it can also be used in seminars and workshops organised by organisations involved in the campaign.

To stimulate debate and discussion, each section of the dossier contains a select bibliography of books and articles which provide å more rigorous and extensive understanding of education and society. Each section also contains a brief introduction which touches on the areas covered by the particular section.

AZASO , 1983

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2. EDUCATION for Oppression

This section has as its focus the following two areas:

1. The role played by racist (Bantu, "gutter") education in maintaining Apartheid oppression and exploitation; and

2. the new state initiatives in response to the education crisis; initiatives which are designed to leave the basic foundations of racist education untouched.

Some of the papers attempt to provide a general theory of education under capitalism. Others look more specifically at the particular role and functions of Bantu education.

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- We have tasted repression, but I cannot help but get the feeling that the major wave could still be on its way.

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And so I would argue - and I would argue strongly - that the time is right now for us also to consolidate. The task facing us now is - as with the Democratic Movement as a whole -

to strengthen our base,

to further educate ourselves,

to tighten and discipline our organisation.

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That does not mean that the student movement must not play a public role or that we should not engage in exciting work - but it does mean that it is our responsibility to ensure that we have both the organisation and the strength to continue and take forward the struggle for a democratic education.

As a member of the AZASO executive said at their Congress two days ago:

> "We do not need orators. Students' emotions have already been appealed to in the 1970's. What is needed is creative organisers."

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At the end of the AZASO Congress, Black university students called on other democratic students to join them in launching a campaign to draw up an "Education Charter" for democratic South Africans.

By launching such a campaign, they have committed themselves to consolidating and building up the student movement by carefully and systematically ascertaining and then later formulating the true demands of the majority of South Africans for a democratic education in a future democratic South Africa.

And it is in the context of such a campaign - and the context of the consolidation and progress of the student movement - that we should view this festival.

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"Education : Weapon and Tool" provides us with the opportunity to get together - to discuss and clarify our ideas on both the type of education we would want and - most importantly - how we intend getting there.

The sphere of education is both an exciting and a particularly complex one. Let's use this opportunity to ensure that we will take the education struggle forward with the clarity and momentum with which it has progressed so far.

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The political economy of education: its place in democratic struggles

David Webster

WEBSTER.

South Africa today is in a state of crisis. The crisis lies deep and is far-reaching: it has its roots in the economy, but is equally manifested in all other spheres of life - the political, the social and, importantly, the ideological. In the current crisis, the state has been forced to recognise the profound and structural form of the problems facing it, and it has realised that a defective, low-keyed tinkering with various mechanisms will not be enough. The state has therefore responded actively, attempting to control and channel the changes through reform and, since reform of any kind opens up uncertainty, the state has simultaneously become more repressive. The issues are far from resolved: the choice that lies before South Africans is whether the present interest groups retain their power by means of piecemeal reform (and perhaps reaction), or whether the pace and force of change will bring about a deep and serious transformation; a restructuring which will alter all facets of our lives. In these times, there is no room for passive bystanders: the crisis affects everyone, and we can all play a part in the restructuring, especially in those areas in which we are best equipped. For those at universities, it is the arena of education.

In recent times, the state has responded to the crisis by appointing commissions of inquiry into labour relations (Wiehahn), urban blacks and labour migration (Riekert), education (de Lange), health (Reynders) and, of course, security (Rabie). It has put many of the recommendations into law already, easing restrictions in some cases, tightening others (such as the proposed 'Orderly Movement of Black Persons' which puts another nail into the coffin of migrant workers) Capital likewise has not been idle during this period: the vehicle of liberal capital, the Urban Foundation, is enthusiastically aiding the creation of a black middle-class, and preaching the ideology of free market enterprise. These same employees, perhaps not surprisingly, are simultaneously attempting to crush the trade union movement, through dismissals and retrenchments of their members. The government is beleagured : there is a right wing backlash against its reforms on the one side, and an increasing pressure from democratic movements on the other.

It is against this background that we have to view the education system, and particularly universities, and assess how

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to respond to the crisis of legitimacy and ideology that threatens the present structure. Education is a double-edged weapon: it can be used to fight for democracy and freedom; more commonly it is a weapon in the hands of capital and the state to oppress and control.

The Political Economy of Education

Education in general performs the role of reproducing the class system, and ensuring that the status-quo is not seriously challenged. Social control begins informally, in the family, with processes of socialization, whereby children are inculcated with the attitudes, values and beliefs of their parents. It becomes formal in the schooling system where, as Bowles and Gintis argue (1),

> "schooling has been at once something done for the poor and to the poor."

They agree that, "the politics of education should be understood in terms of the need for social control in an unequal and rapidly changing economic order", and it is clear that the education system is a method of disciplining young people, with a view to producing a dominated and quiescent adult population.

One of the main features of an education system is to allocate individuals to places in society, especially to produce and reproduce a class-stratified and divided labour force for capitalist production. Education, at its very roots therefore, is fundamentally unequal, and seeks to reproduce inequality. But the inequality is not restricted to the educational sphere; this is just a class-rehearsal for real life: the education system aims to reproduce economic inequality and, in South Africa, political inequality as well. In so doing, it distorts and stunts personal development.

The combination of formal and informal education - schools and universities, as well as socialization in the family, and the media, gives rise to the production of forms of consciousness which lead people into accepting their allocated roles as workers, managers or bureaucrats in a trouble-free, unquestioning way. The structure of education in South Africa reinforces the main divisions of our society: racial/ ethnic identities, sexual differentiation and oppression and, often overlaid and concealed by the previous two, class divisions.

But, education is not without its own contradictions. Again, in the words of Bowles and Gintis the education system, while it

> "served the interests of profit and political stability, it has hardly been a finely tuned instrument of manipulation in the hands of socially dominant groups. Schools and colleges do indeed help justify inequality, but they have also become arenas in which a highly political egalitarian consciousness has developed among some parents, teachers and students" (2).

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In short, there is room for manoeuvre in the educational sphere, in which progressive and democratic individuals and groups are able to struggle for their ideals. Education, and especially tertiary education, deals with the ideological terrain. The university, if it has a contribution to make, equips people with intellectual skills: how to work with one's head, and to be analytical. There is an important role for students and academics in this arena, to challenge the dominant myths, and to demystify the deeply-held assumptions and prejudices of our society. Importantly, too, it is not enough merely to dismantle the ideological barriers - there is a further duty to act upon the beliefs and insights gained in the privileged community of the university, for the university is a place for the elite, very few workers, or working-class people find themselves in the lecture halls.

However, it must be remembered that the roots of repression and inequality lie not in the educational system, but in the structure of the capitalist economy, and the social forms it gives rise to. In countries like Britain and America, there have been numerous attempts at educational reform, all of which have failed, because they failed to confront this basic truth; they have failed to challenge the real foundations of exploitation and oppression, which lie in the structure of property relations and power in the economy of a country.

This is a useful perspective therefore: most educational problems do not have their origins in the educational structure, but arise from the operations of a society based on a capitalist economy; the contradictions of capitalism are reflected in the educational sphere. A further concomitant is that attempts at reform of the educational system alone are never adequate. At best, it must be seen as a short-term goal, to be placed in proper perspective in the context of long-term demands as well, demands which will challenge the structure of power in South Africa.

For instance, the call for compulsory and free education for all people in South Africa opened up certain possibilities, but is not necessarily a progressive demand. Compulsory education is a positive menace if all it means is that Bantu education and gutter education is thrust down the throats of all the dominated population, but with more efficiency than before. Nor is it necessarily a progressive demand for equal education either. Education for whites in this country is far from ideal; it too is attempting to allocate people to positions in a racist, capitalist state. We need a entirely new education; but it can only be effective if it is linked to fundamental changes in the political, economic, social and cultural life of our society.

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From this, two lessons can be drawn. Firstly, democrats and progressives who wish to involve themselves in the sphere of education, have a responsibility to challenge the quality of that education, and should try to do so from a position of strength - by being well armed with knowledge and with successful organisation. Secondly, from this position of strength, they should forge alliances with democratic groups who are working for progressive change in South Africa, who question and challenge both the political and economic order: organisations such as the independent trade union movement and

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democratic community organisations.

The Bourgeois University

On a previous occasion (3), I have spoken about how South African universities have always reflected the dominant prejudices and contradictions of our society. How, for example, our universities have systematically discriminated on grounds of sex and race, despite high-sounding principles which deny it. More seriously, universities discriminate on grounds of class. It is extremely rare for working class people to enter the sphere of tertiary education rather, our places of higher learning are institutions for the training of the next generation of managers, bureaucrats, supervisors and exploiters - and the majority of them are drawn from the same middle classes which presently control and dominate.

Universities perpetuate the class division which separates mental from manual labour, and portrays intellectual work as being somehow more "valuable", giving such people the "right" and the ability to exploit working people. This separation creates a distortion in our development, for as intellectuals, people in universities tend to talk to businessmen, administrators and other academics. With a few notable exceptions, university courses seldom expose students to the problems of the working class - factories, ghettoes, squatter camps, unemployment, poverty, etc. We are left with a fragmented, elitist view - we are not encouraged to see society as a whole, and to analyse and understand the contradictory link between wealth and poverty.

Even the structure of the university tends to fragment vision and knowledge. The institution is highly structured, hierarchical, divided by disciplinary boundaries. New and groundbreaking interdisciplinary courses have to fight for their very survival against departments which feel threatened by encroachment, and which hold up academic "discipline" as their bankrupt call for purity. The pinnacle of achievement in the academic world - the PhD. - exemplifies the point: it is research in which the individual selects a topic, narrows it down, and becomes a specialist in it.

Most of the funding for universities comes from two sources: the state, and capital. Both make substantial contributions to the finances and, to varying degrees, both make demands and have expectations of the university and its graduates. To take a small example, my own department - Social Anthropology - began life at Wits in 1922 under the name of Bantu Studies, and it was set up by means of a generous grant from the Council of Education and, intriguingly, Wenela - the Witwatersrand Native Labour Recruiting Organisation. Within a year, the department was offering a diploma course in Bantu Administration, directly aimed at district offiers, magistrates, compound managers, etc; in other words, it was a course for those who administered and controlled the lives of black South Africans.

Struggles on the Campus

I remarked earlier that education (and universities) reflect the contradictions of the wider society. Much of the pre-

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ceeding account is about domination and control. But oppression gives rise to resistance and struggle, which takes place within the university, as elsewhere. The university is not monolithic, it is subject to conflicting demands from many sides, and these are contradictions which can be prised open and exploited. It is difficult to offer general observations about campus struggles. Each campus is located in a different centre, and local conditions influence issues on campus. Also, each campus has had a different historical experience, that sets a tone for campus politics. Issues that appear to be high priority at, say, Rhodes, may not arise in Cape Town. For instance, the "cricket tour" affair in Durban didn't touch other campuses, and the "Koornhof affair" at Wits was a local event.

The lessons of campus politics in recent years have been that, while a progressive leadership is vital, so too is the need to draw in a broad base of committed students, willing to work quietly but hard on the important subcommittees and groups, such as projects comms and ERC's. It is here that the real lessons of commitment, democracy and discipline are learnt, and they are an education which is seldom forgotten. The importance of these campus organisations cannot be overstressed, for they are self-educative. There are numerous skills to be learnt: how to work co-operatively, when to call a meeting, when to beat a tactical retreat, etc.

It is no coincidence that a considerable white left now exists off-campus, with real achievements to its credit. This broad category of people are mostly drawn from the mid-seventies group of graduates, people who learnt their politics and practices in the wages comms, etc., in other words, low-keyed student politics and organisation. These are important resources and allies to the present generation of students who, in turn, will swell the ranks of the off-campus left How different this is from the high-profile protest politics of the sixties, which generated a brief, enthusiastic, but superficial commitment, mostly founded in liberal attitudes.

The left on the campuses have often been portrayed as being out of touch and out of step with wider political opinion. Recent events have shown this view to be untrue. Student participation in the anti-Republic day events, and their assistance to workers and community struggles, shows them to be alert and in harmony with the aspirations of the majority of South Africa's people. There is a danger that progressive students may begin to believe the protestations of their detractors. The isolation of the university may give rise to a fear of change, but democrats need have no such fears, and should embrace change, and play a part in moving it in a progressive direction.

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Let us turn our attention to more specifically campus-related aspects of education. One of the most serious infringements of students' rights is in the control over the curriculum. It is especially the case in the sciences, engineering and medicine, that the curriculum is so tightly structured that the student has no free time. This has two effects: first, the student is completely controlled by the curriculum, and finds difficulty in exploring other areas of knowledge; second, there is either no time available to engage in campus

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politics and other activities, or the student has no energy at the end of an exhausting day of lectures and pracs. This is a particularly serious problem when one considers that what is learnt in the classroom is often only a fraction of the useful knowledge one gains at a university. As a teacher, I value most those students who have interests beyond the narrow confines of the classroom. they usually have a maturity that comes from experience and practice in the self-learnt areas of student politics, wages comms, or cultural groups.

Arising out of this, students have both the right and the obligation to demand that the university offers socially useful knowledge in its courses. You should question the structure and content of courses, such as:

Does your education equip you to analyse South African realities and events?

- Does it equip you to act upon your understanding?
- Is your education elitist and class based? If so, how can you redress the balance? How can you make your courses relevant to the mass of South Africa's people?
- The quality of the education : do you get your money's worth?
- Do you have any say in course structure and curriculum?
- Can you influence course direction?
- Are your lecturers well trained, well informed and accessible? You have the right to criticise both your lecturers and the courses.
- The social sciences often tackle subjects of social relevance; what about the so-called "hard" sciences?
- Can you challenge the facade of "scientific objectivity" behind which science, engineering and medicine tends to hide, when in fact they frequently serve the interests of the state, the military, or capital?

These are but a few of the questions which need to be asked and answered of the quality of university education. It must not be forgotten that South Africa is a complex industrial society. There are specialist skills that need to be obtained; they are required by democrats in order to confront the sophisticated working of an advanced capitalist state. As can be seen in Zimbabwe or Mozambique, these skills are also essential in a country undergoing reconstruction.

Education : Weapon and Tool

I have argued thus far that education usually serves the interests of dominant groups in society, and also that education reflects the major contradictions of society, which opens up possibilities for the arena to be used as a meaningful site of struggle. Given the privileged background from which most university students come, it is a duty and responsibility to attempt to redress the balance, and to put your education and skills at the disposal of the dominated and exploited population who have no access to the university. Juluis Nyerere put it succinctly:

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"The purpose of learning is the advancement of man. Knowledge which remains isolated from the people, or which is used by a few to exploit others is therefore a betrayal. It is a particularly vicious kind of theft by false pretences. Students eat the bread and butter of peasants because they have promised a service in the future. If they are unable to or unwilling to provide that service when the time comes, then the students have stolen from the peasants as surely as if they had carried off their sacks of wheat in the night" (4).

It is not enough, therefore, for universities to call for academic freedom and, as Wits and Cape Town do, to import a prominent speaker form overseas to make an annual incantation, like a mortuary ritual, over the corpse of academic freedom. The university must equally recognise its social responsibility, to the majority of South Africans, and we must put our knowledge at their service. Terence Ranger is one who recognises these academic responsibilities when he argues,

> "Any sort of notion of academic freedom in independent Africa had to be established and earned on the spot, by carrying out the combined duty and privilege of public proclamation of useful and sometimes dangerous truths. In this way one might set up a tradition of radical rather than bourgeois academic freedom" (5).

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Remaining Essentially Bantu.

RICHARD DE VILLIERS.

"When I have control of Native Education I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them..."

H.F. Verwoerd,
Minister of Native Affairs.

"The Bantu must be so educated that they do not want to become imitators, that they remain essentially Bantu."

W.A. Maree,
Minister of Bantu Education.

SECTION 1.

PRIOR TO 1948

Bantu education was introduced in 1955. M. Horrell has argued that prior to this :

> "arrangements for the administration of African education were highly complicated, control being divided between the State, the Provincial Adminstrations, missionary societies and the people themselves." (1)

Thus, under the United Party, 90% of schools for blacks were not started by the State at all, but were largely the result of missionary enterprise and were financed by overseas capital. (2) These mission schools were the major contributors to African education before the advent of Bantu education. The mission schools were largely over-crowded and inadequately equipped.

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1. Muriel Horrell : "Bantu Education to 1968" ; S.A.I.R.R.; 1968; p. 1.
2. Olive Walker : "Kaffirs are Lively"; Victor Gollancz; London; 1949; p. 183.

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> "During my travels, I visited dozens of 'bush' mission schools out in the back-blocks: Some were held under trees. Others were in mud-and-wattle huts. Desks were a rarity; partitions and school-books even more so. Children in different classes usually shared the same room, and squatted haunch to haunch on the floor. Three different lessons might be chanted aloud simultaneously in a cheerful chaos of young voices. Only a modicum of knowledge could thus be imparted, and that only parrot-fashion." (3)

It was not until 1922 that the central government had begun to share the cost of education for blacks. This was done mainly by paying the salaries of teachers in some missionary schools, (4) rather than by actually establishing schools. Mission schools had to be registered with the state before they were eligible for state support, and there were many schools, especially in the rural areas, which "waited in vain for years for registration and state aid." The official reason given for this was that there were not enough government school inspectors to cover all these mission schools, and there ore the number granted registration was kept at a minimum. (5)

The state contributed a fixed amount, from its general revenue account, to black education. This amount was held constant until 1945. Poll tax, which was levied on Africans, was used to make up the sum, up to 1945, when the state finally undertook to finance black education from the general revenue account directly.

The state involvement in black education prior to the Nationalist government was thus extremely limited and amounted to merely supporting existing educational institutions. The principle, which was later adopted by the Nationalists, that Africans share the financial burden for their education operated to minimise the state's contribution. Clearly, the

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3. Ibid. ; p. 183.
4. Ibid. ; p. 182.
5. Ibid. ; p. 182.

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universally accepted responsibility of government to educate its population had been ignored in the case of the black population by successive South African governments before the 1950's.

Another interesting contributor to black education, although smaller than the mission schools, was the African Night School Movement. Largely aimed at adult education, this development began in 1925 when

> "the Johannesburg communists founded their first night schools in a Ferreirastown slum. They taught by candle-light, without blackboards or desks. The pupils sat on benches and struggled with complicated political doctrines at the same time as they learnt their letters." (6)

The Communists Party also started a night school in Durban, although this one proved unsuccessful. In 1939, the African College was founded in Johannesburg, run largely by Wits University students, and the response to this school was very good. The Transvaal Teachers' Association also began a night school in Johannesburg during the war. Roux has argued that as a result of the good response to these schools, about twenty other night schools, of various sizes, soon came into existence.

> "One is especially worthy of notice : the African Night School run by the senior boys at King Edward VII School in a Johannesburg suburb. It had about 150 pupils." (7)

In 1944, the Federal Council for non-European Adult Education was established, which enabled the night school movement to pool its resources. Conditions in these schools were far from good despite the "pathetically anxious" desire to learn on the part of the pupils. The schools were hampered by lack of facilities, untrained teachers, and irregular attendance by both teachers and pupils. However, adult education for Africans flourished and by 1955, the Johannesburg Central Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes had 26 schools with 2 770 adult students and 142 teachers.

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6. Edward Roux : "Time Longer than Rope" ; University of Wisconsin Press; 1972: page 343. 7 bid p 345

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In Cape Town, the Cape Non-European Night Schools Association had 12 schools with 1 200 African and Coloured students. The Durban Group of Schools for Bantu Adults had 25 night schools with 3 500 people enrolled. There were also schools in places like Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, Welkom, Queenstown, Pietersburg and Cradock. (8a)

In the filed of higher education, in 1946 Fort Hare had only 238 students taking degree courses, the vast majority being Africans. There were 143 Black students at Wits, 107 at UCT and 239 in Natal, the majority of which were Indians. (8).

Thus, under the United Party, black education was sadly neglected. State expenditure on African education in 1944 was R4 111 596. This meant that R7-78 was being allocated per pupil, or 60c per head of the African population. (9) Roux has argued that in 1943, African education expenditure would have to be multiplied by thirty-six to place it on the same level as European expenditure. (10)

There were only 587 586 pupils at school in 1945, less than 3% of which were in post-primary classes. In 1941, only 5% of the African population could be said to be literate. (11)

Africans did not accept the system without some protests, and there were pleas for improvements. Even in the mission schools themselves, there were frequent examples of unrest. For example, in 1946 at the Lovedale Mission School, the oldest and biggest of all African mission schools, a revolt by some 400 pupils led to the school being closed and a commission of enquiry being established.

8a. M. Horrell : op. cit. ; p. 19.
8. E. Roux : op. cit. ; p. 344.
9. Ibid. ; p. 344.
10. Ibid. ; p. 344.
11. Ibid. ; p. 344.

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Towards the end of the war, the Smuts Government had begun to realise that the system of black education was inadequate and some new directions were proposed. These included a different system of finance which was immediately implemented, raising the amount spent by the state on black education to R10 083 820 by 1950-1. However, the majority of the new proposals were not carried out by the new government which emerged in the 1948 elections.

THE NATIONALISTS COME TO POWER

Upon assuming office the Nationalist government established a number of commissions of enquiry to examine, and make recommendations on, a number of issues. These included the Bantu Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. W. Eiselen with the following terms of reference :

> " a) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present , their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.
>
> b) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational education system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabuses in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare the Natives more effectively for their future occupations." (12)

One can discern three basic principles governing the education of Africans under the Nationalist government. These are that education of blacks must be different to that of whites and of a special kind, it must be adapted to the perceived distinctive characteristics of the black people; that it must be taught in the vernacular as far as possible; and that it must not be paid for entirely out of the state's general revenue account.

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12. Horrell, M : op. cit ; p. 4.

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These principles are contained in the report of the Eiselen Commission.

The commission tabled its report in 1951, and its recommendations subsequently formed the basis of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. It proposed that a separate educational system be established for blacks; which would be controlled by the central government and be under the Department of Native Affairs, rather than the Department of National Education. It also proposed greater emphasis on the use of 'Bantu' languages and that special emphasis be given to manual and vocational training, a trend which already existed in the mission schools. The particular cultural background of Africans was of central importance to the commission :

> " Educational practice must recognise that it has to deal with a Bantu child, that is, a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language, and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education." (13)

Speaking in the House of Parliament in 1953 the Native Affairs Minister, Verwoerd, said that :

> " Bantu Education must be controlled in conformity with the policy of the state: Good racial relations could not exist when education was given under the control of people who created the wrong expectations among the Bantu.
>
> Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. In terms of the government's plan for South Africa, there was no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within their own areas, however, all doors were open."
> (14)

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13. Quoted from Horrell, M : op. cit. ; p. 5.
14. Assembly, 1953-09-17; Hansard 10 cols. 3576 - 3585; quoted from Horrell.

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The Bantu Education Act of 1953, as amended in 1954, 1956, 1959 and 1961, and the Bantu Special Education Act of 1964, much like many government acts in other fields, deals only with the broad outlines of the system, and wide powers are conferred on the Minister of Native Affairs to make detailed regulations. Essentially the Act allows for three types of schools : those established and run by " Bantu " authorities, other state-aided schools (which included the missionary schools) and government schools, which were formerly under the various provincial administrations. (15) The Act also made it compulsory to register all schools with the department, and registration was to be done at the discretion of the Minister.

In 1954 the government moved against the mission schools. This was done by effectively reducing the amount of state aid, insisting on registration, and by curtailing the activities of independent teacher-training institutions. Schools were also brought under the jurisdiction of the Group Areas Act. Despite rejection of Bantu Education by the churches, the Dutch Reform Church being the only exception, it was decided that there was no alternative but to lease or sell the various schools to the government. The Vocational Education Act No. 70 of 1955 provided for state control of technical colleges and subsidised continuation classes. All part-time 'T' courses offered at certain technical colleges for Africans were thus stopped. In 1955 all African adult education came under the control of the state as well.

> " It was laid down that all classes ... must register annually with the Department of Bantu Education if they catered for ten or more pupils. They must operate during normal school terms only, and be open for inspection by officials. All teachers' appointments would be subject to Departmental approval. No pupil must be admitted unless ... over the age of 16 and lawfully resident in the area concerned.
>
> If classes were in white areas applications for registration must be accompanied by permits from the Group Areas Board. No subsidies would be paid to these schools ... Should classes

15. Horrell, M : op. cit. ; p. 8.

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> be in African urban townships or African rural areas, control of them must be handed over to the local African School Board ... Voluntary white teachers would not be allowed to work in these classes. (16)

Thus, whereas the education of South Africa's black population had originally been independent of (and neglected by) the state prior to the 1948 election, by the mid-1950's all control was completely in the hands of the central government. This opened the way for the Nationalist government to pursue their various 'ideological' concerns in the field of black education. For example, seven African languages were recognised for educational purposes, and schools segregated along 'ethnic' lines. Preference was also given to the development of schools in the "Bantu", ie. non-urban areas.

> " As far as the higher primary and post-primary schools are concerned, it is the intention to give preference to the Bantu areas because this is the first place where the Bantu development must be promoted generally ... (I)t is our policy to restrict higher primary, but not particularly post-primary, education in the urban locations, but not in the Native areas ... " (17)

The financing o Bantu Education was changed by the Act. The old United Party system, which had been abandoned in 1945, was reverted to, whereby expenditure on Bantu Education was partially related to the amount paid in taxes by the African population. A fixed amount was granted from the General Revenue Account (R13 000 000 in 1955) and then four-fifths of the general tax paid by Africans was added on. Thus the following table indicates the expenditure on Bantu Education for the years indicated :

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16. Ibid. ; p. 20.
17. Ibid.

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	1955/6	1960/1	1965/6	1968/9
	R	R	R	R
i)	13 000 000	13 000 000	13 000 000	13 000 000
ii)	-	-	1 000 000	1 500 000
iii)	3 932 566	5 459 033	7 774 989	10 500 000
iv)	121 278	665 508	885 876	1 100 000
TOTAL:	17 053 844	19 124 541	22 660 865	26 100 000

(18)

i) Statutory appropriation from the Consolidated Revenue Account.
ii) Appropriation from University colleges.
iii) African General Tax (four-fifths until 1963, thereafter five fifths and excluding Transkei in 1964).
iv) Miscellaneous receipts.

This system of financing has resulted in Bantu Education, more than any other issue, being singled out as the most significant index of injustice by opponents of the regime. There are few areas in which the validity of the 'separate but equal' claim is so starkly questionable, as the following table shows :

The table indicates the per capita expenditure for the years indicated.

YEAR	WHITE		INDIAN		COLOURED		AFRICAN	
	R		R		R		R	
1953	128	100	40	31	40	31	18	14
1960	145	100	?	-	59	41	12,5	8.6
1968	228	100	70	31	?	-	14,5	6,4
1975	644	100	190	28	150	22	42	6,5

Percentages in columns for Indian, Coloured and African pupils are calculated as 'percentages of spending on white pupils in the same year.' (19)

Government supporters have justified the system along similar lines to these presented by Prof. J.H. Bingle, Vice-Chairman of the National Education Advisory Council and former rector of the University of Potchefstroom :

18. Ibid. ; p. 35.
19. Auerbach, F : "discrimination in Education" ; S.A.I.R.R. unpublished memo; 1978; p. 15.

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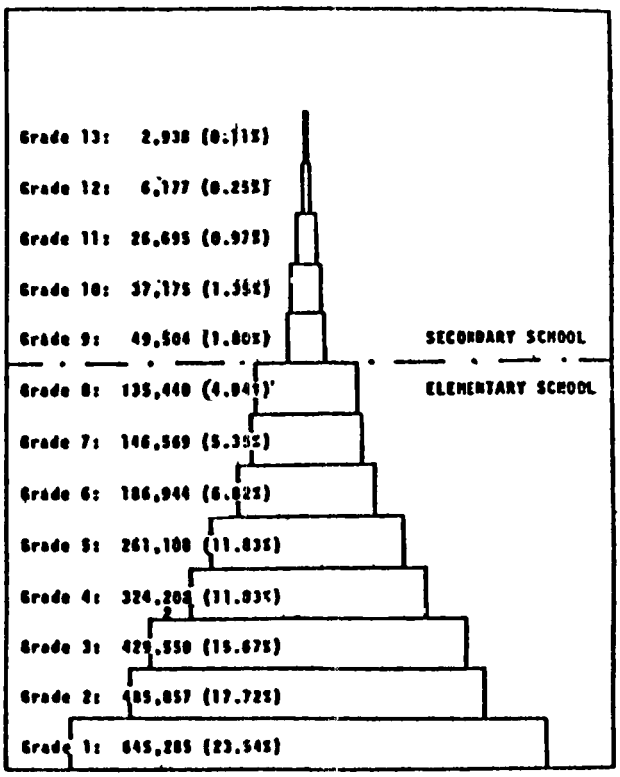
> " The Bantu has to pay directly for the education of his child, a privilege we Europeans do not share. All of us know the advantages of such a system." (20)

Indeed, the 'advantages' of the system are not quite so apparent. The statutory limitations imposed on Bantu Education expenditure has resulted in a system in which only a tiny fraction of those pupils originally entering school finally matriculate. In 1970, 95,4% of all black children at school were in primary school and only 4,5% at high school" (21) (See Figures I and II).

FIGURE I

Distribution of black schoolchildren by grade, 1970.
[Extracted from Bantu Education Journal, May 1970]



Black children begin school at age 7 and attend for 13 years if they proceed to matriculation. 95.39% are in elementary school, 4.48% are in secondary school, and 0.13% attend special schools (e.g. trade schools).

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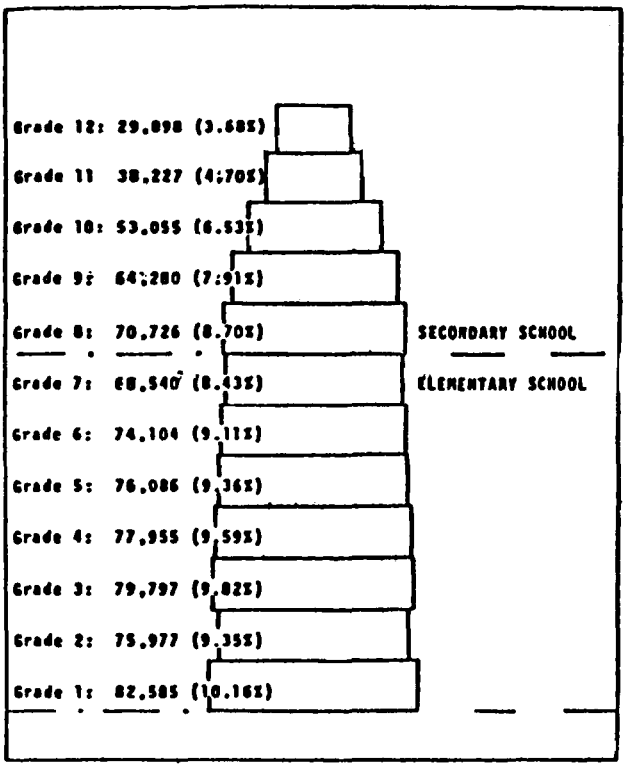
FIGURE II

Distribution of white schoolchildren by grade, 1968.
(Extracted from SAIRR Survey (1970), p. 232.)



White children begin school at age 6 and continue for 12 years if they proceed to matriculation 61.86% are in elementary school, 32.19% are in secondary school and 1.65% attend special schools (e.g. for the retarded).

This means that the majority of black children drop out of school after only four or even less years of schooling. If we look at the content of those first few years of schooling we see that it has consisted

> " largely of religious instruction, singing, crafts, gardening, the vernacular, elementary arithmetic and enough English and Afrikaans to understand simple commands." (24)

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For those very few who do achieve a matric certificate the Department claims, in its 1969 Report, that they have achieved :

> " Bantu pupils who have reached matriculation standard ... show proof of the following :
>
> 1. They use clear, neat, uniform and easily legible handwriting.
> 2. They write their mother-tongue fluently and correctly, and speak it faultlessly.
> 3. They have no need to be ashamed of their knowledge of both official languages in written or in spoken form.
> 4. Most of them are also able to converse freely in at least one other Bantu language.
> 5. When they work with figures they are neat and accurate to such an extent that they have gained recognition for the outstanding quality of the work they perform in this sphere.
>
> (25)

It has been pointed out that :

> " These are curious claims. To boast neat handwriting as the prime product of 13 years of schooling is somewhat remarkable. To assert that the pupils write their language correctly and speak it faultlessly is untrue, since the median mark in the matric examination in the vernacular is 52%. To claim they need not be ashamed of their command of English or Afrikaans is meaningless. To brag of their capacities to converse in other Bantu Languages is distinctly odd, since no Bantu language other than the vernacular is taught in any Bantu Education School; any facility the pupils have acquired has nothing to do with the schools. And to boast of the pupils' arithmetic capacity is entirely unjustified : the median mark gained in arithmetic examinations is 36,5%." (26)

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20. Quoted from Robertson, I : "Education in South Africa"; PhD dissertation Harvard University; p. 167.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid. ; p. 174.
23. Ibid. ; p. 175.
24. Ibid. ; p. 176.
25. Quoted from Robertson, I : op. cit. ; p. 176.
26. Ibid. ; p. 176.

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Thus it is obvious that black education in South Africa, whilst it has been centralised under, and controlled by, the South African state has not been able to provide anything like adequate facilities for black education. The majority of students fail to go beyond four years at school, which leaves them largely illiterate, and those that matriculate receive little more than a very basic education. It has been argued (27) that the ideological defence of modern capitalist society is that equality of opportunity, in the basically unequal capitalist market situation, is provided by the education system. Yet in no sense can this be said for Bantu Education. It is quite unusual, in that no attempt is made to justify the system through the usual equality of opportunity arguments, and in fact the form the system has taken is clearly designed to achieve the opposite. The second section of this paper will attempt to account for the form which black education has assumed in South Africa and why it emerged when it did.

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SECTION II

Black education in South Africa is fairly unique, and this section will briefly account for this uniqueness. This uniqueness in the form of black education, it is argued, is its indifferent attempt to provide anything more than token 'education' and the minimal allocation of resources, as well as the emphasis on the use of vernacular and maintenance of links with the reserves as "Homelands". This particular form can be derived from the capital relation, ie. the relation of exploitation (28) (viz. a largely migrant labour force which is also racially divided) which capitalism has assumed in South Africa. This section will briefly suggest the direction which such an account, ie. a derivation of the form of black education from the relation of exploitation, would follow. But first, we must suggest why it is that State-controlled black education emerged when it did.

In analysing the growth of mass schooling in the United States of America, Samuel Bowles (29) has argued that schools function, not as part of a

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27. Bowles, S : "Unequal education and the reproduction of the social division of labour" in Dale, R (ed) : Schooling and Capitalism; 1976.

28. See Holloway and Picciotto (eds) : "The State and Capital"; Edward Arnold; London; 1977.

29. Bowles, S : op. cit.

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pursuit of equality,

> " ... but rather to meet the needs of capitalist employers for the disciplined and skilled labour force, and to provide a mechanism for social control in the interests of political stability... " (30)

From these basic assumptions Bowles analyses the historical emergence of mass schooling. He is concerned to relate the modern phenomena of schooling to the emergence of capitalist production relations, and to the requirements of the capitalist class.

In most pre-capitalist societies, the family was not only the basic productive unit, but also played the major role in socialising children.

> " Transmitting the necessary production skills to the children as they grew up proved to be a simple task, ... because the ... skills required were virtually unchanging from generation to generation, and because the transition to the world of work did not require that the child adapt to a wholly new set of social relationships. The child learned the concrete skills and adapted to the social relations of production through learning by doing within the family." (31).

Those schools that existed, were entirely for wealthy classes and aimed at training these children for a career in the church or in the small State Bureaucracy. (32) Another socialising institution was the church, and a few children learnt craft skills outside the family; nevertheless the family was the major socialising unit. With the rise of the factory, in the period of the industrial revolution, this role of the family, as well as its role as the major unit of production, was undermined. (33) The industrial revolution, and the emergence of capitalism, meant the divorcing of peasants from their means of production and the destruction of the cottage industries. This resulted in the creation of a new class - the proletariat - who sold their labour-power to the owners of the means of production for wages.

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30. Ibid. ; p. 32.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid. ; p. 33.

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The rapid technological changes which accompanied the growth of industrial capitalism meant that there were :

> " frequent shifts in the occupational distribution of labour force, and constant changes in the skill requirements for jobs. The productive skills of the father were no longer adequate for the needs of the son during his lifetime. Skill training within the family became increasingly inappropriate." (34)

However, the socialisation process undertaken by the family was not merely the transmitting of skills. Under industrial capitalism

> " production was carried on in large organisations in which a small management group directed the activities of the entire labour force. The social relations of production - the authority structure, the prescribed types of behaviour and response characteristic of the work-place - became increasingly distinct from those of the family." (35)

It was thus that a new unit of socialisation emerged, to replace the family, namely the school. Following this account of the emergence of mass education by Bowles, it would seem useful to relate the emergence of State-controlled black education in South Africa to the development of capitalist manufacturing. Of course industrial capitalism in South Africa had existed as a powerful force since the discovery of diamonds and gold in the nineteenth century, but the labour requirements of this sector were that labour be cheap and unskilled. It has been argued that the gold-mines, through the exploitation of ultra-cheap migratory labour, have more than any other sector, played the major role in determining the conditions for the emergence of capitalism in South Africa (central aspects of the relation of exploitation in South Africa). The super-exploitation of partially proletarianised contract labour, as well as the racial

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34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.

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divisions in the working class (which were consolidated in 1922) are a direct consequence of the fact that the dominance of the capitalist mode of production in South Africa was established through the development of the gold-mines. However, as far as skill levels are concerned, it is only with the development of capital intensive production, which is largely impossible in the gold-mines, but the pervasive trend in manufacturing, that a modicum of skill (literacy and proficiency in a white language) is required of the work force. Whilst the foundations for secondary industrialisation had been laid long before World War II, and thus long before the emergence of State-controlled black education, it was not until the enforced protectionism of the War that South Africa's manufacturing really 'took-off' The Pact government had taken up the interests of South African manufacturing and provided some of the conditions necessary for its development, eg. tariff protection, ESCOM, ISCOR. But it was in the late 1930's and 1940's that peripheral South Africa broke free from the constraints of being closely linked to a metropolis, and that secondary manufacture began to emerge as a powerful factor on the domestic economic scene. (36)

As Legassick has argued :

> " A metropolis-linked mercantile or mining economy such as South Africa, even with 'national development' pressures exerted from the agricultural sector, does not inherently generate secondary industrial development. Yet, particularly from the Second World War, South Africa began to emerge as a state with significant industrial capability." (37)

Legassick is thus able to argue further that :

> " In terms of sectors, it is manufacturing industry whose percentage contribution to gross output overtook agriculture by 1930 and mining during the Second World War, which has been the spearhead (to the growth of South Africa's economy since World War II - R de V.) (38)

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36. See, for example, Wolpe, H : "From Segregation to Apartheid"; and Legassick, M : "Capital Accumulation and Violence."
37. Legassick, M : op. cit.
38. Ibid.

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But clearly this development was only possible because of the existence of the powerful gold-mining industry, which not only provided a domestic market for manufactured goods, but also generated large amounts of capital which were frequently re-invested locally.

This secondary industrial development meant that there was a massive increase in the demand for labour in the urban areas.

> " In the mid 1930's it would seem that the number of blacks employed in manufacturing was, at about 100 000, little more than the number of whites ... Even immediately after World War II, the number of blacks in manufacturing had increased to 250 000 over twice the number of whites."

Whilst there is a demand for unskilled labour in the early stages of capitalist development, the demand, in the longer term is for semi-skilled operatives, particularly in the light industries such as food processing, textiles and clothing. (40) Historically the State in South Africa has generally been concerned to regulate the supply of labour to the various sectors of the economy, namely mining, agriculture and manufacture. This has been achieved through the various influx control mechanisms, namely pass-laws and labour-bureaux. (41) However, the State has not only regulated the flow of labour to these sectors, ensuring that competition for labour between the highly cost-sensitive gold-mines and manufacture is eliminated, it has also regulated the conditions under which this labour is supplied. It can be argued that State-controlled education for blacks facilitated the emergence of a semi-skilled black work-force, for South Africa's post-second World War industrial development.

Thus, following Bowles, we can see that the emergence of State-run education for blacks can be related to developments in the South African economy. We can thus understand to some extent, why Bantu Education emerged when it

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39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. See, for example, the work of Mike Morris.

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did, as well as some of the characteristics of it. As capitalist industrial development emerged on the back of the gold-mining industry, which had developed a racially divided system of differential exploitation, and depended on exploitation of partially proletarianised Africans, so the form which education took partially reflects these fundamental characteristics of the way in which the relation of capitalist exploitation has emerged in South Africa.

Further, parallel to the development of secondary industry in the urban areas of South Africa, the pre-capitalist rural reserves were undergoing a period of decline. This was a result of over-crowding etc since the 1913 Land Act. Thus there was a large townward migration of Africans from the Reserves.

O'Meara has argued that :

> " The urban African population trebled in 1921-46. By 1946, almost one in four Africans were in the urban areas. A significant pointer to the permanence of urbanisation was the rapidly increasing ratio of African women to men in the city, from under 1:5 in 1921 to 1:3 in 1946 while the rational ratio remained constant." (42)

Thus, not only was there a demand for semi-skilled labour in the urban areas, but the pre-capitalist mode of production was being severely undermined. The socialisation processes within this pre-capitalist mode of production were thus being modified to meet the new demands of urbanisation and industrial employment. Clearly, the State would be concerned to move away from these ad hoc modifications and attempt to entrench a more controlled system of socialisation which would reflect the requirements of maintaining the form which capitalism has emerged in South Africa. (43) The inadequacy of these ad hoc modifications was clearly recognised by Verwoerd, a social anthropologist. Thus the architect of Bantu Education argued that :

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42. O'Meara, D : "The African Mine Workers Strike, 1946."
43. See, for example, Mokikwe Dilobe's novel, "The Morabi Dance".

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" there must be reform of the whole educational system and it must be based on the culture and background and the whole life of the native himself in his tribe." (44)

It could be argued that thus far, our account of Bantu Education has rested largely on developments in the economy and that, since the work of Althusser (45), it would be foolish to see the State as functioning solely in terms of the economic interests of capital. But unfortunately, Althusser and the State derivation theorists (whose theoretical work I am attempting to utilise in accounting for the form which Bantu Education has taken), approach analysis of the capitalist State and its activities from different angles and are not compatible. Althusser argues that to the extent that the State in capitalist society functions as the executive committee of the Bourgeoisie', it also covers political and ideological requirements as well. Thus education, as an activity of the State is not only aimed at imparting the necessary skills to individual workers, but on a more general level, it functions to maintain the cohesion of the social formation. (46) In doing this, it performs an ideological function by providing legitimacy to capitalist production relations, and the social inequality which they cause, as well as a disciplined work-force. But we can see that Althusser is looking at the functioning of the State, and his theory of the capitalist State has the State's functions as its starting point. This locating of its theory of the State in terms of its functions has lead Clarke to argue that he and Poulantzas are structural functionalists, which is clearly not correct. Althusser has a theory of contradiction which no Parsonian, not even Weston, has developed.

But the point for this paper is not whether Althusser is a structural functionalist ornnot, but rather that I am accepting that all education systems and State forms in capitalist societies have the same general function. This is what makes them capitalist States, the problem is why the capitalist state has assumed the many forms that it has, (eg. Bourgeois democracy, Fascist, etc.) and for us, why has education for blacks in South

4. Quoted from Robertson I : op. cit.
5. Althusser, L : "Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses"; In Lenin and Philosophy, New Left Books, London, 1972.
6. Althusser's formulation.

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Africa assumed the form it has. Bowles, unfortunately, also approaches education from the point of view of its functioning, and he is also concerned to look at the ideological functioning of the State apparatus.

Thus Bowles argues that :

> " While undermining the main institutions of socialisation, the development of the capitalist system created at the same time an environment - both social and intellectual - which would ultimately challenge the political order Workers were thrown together in oppressive factories, and the isolation which had helped to maintain quiescience in earlier, widely dispersed peasant populations was broken down ... inequalities of wealth became more apparent, and were less easily justified and less readily accepted. The simple legitimising ideologies of the earlier period - the divine right of kings and divine right of origin of social rank, for example - fell under the capitalist attack on royalty and the traditional landed interests ... (This) soon threatened to become a instrument of the working class. (Thus) having risen to political power the capitalist class sought a mechanism to ensure social control and political stability. An institutional crisis was at hand. The outcome, in virtually all the capitalist countries was the rise of mass education." (47)

A problem with this formulation of Bowles's, which is a consequence of his functionalist starting point, is that it fails to adequately account for class-struggle; a central factor in understanding the form which black education had taken under South African capitalism. The State is not a monolithic object which directly represents the ideological and economic interests of the bourgeoisie. It does not mechanically function to suppress the proletariat, in the interests of capital. In some advanced capitalist countries, the working-class has been able to win concessions from the

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47. Bowles, S : op. cit.

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bourgeoisie in the class-struggle, ie. Democratic Political institutions. The proleteriat has even been able to gain footholds within the State apparatuses, which have, according to Althusser, become the site of the class-struggle and whilst the frontier of that struggle continually swings to-and-fro, the overall trend is in favour of the working classes. Therefore, especially in advanced capitalist societies, the working class has been able to gain meaningful concessions. In education, whilst it still serves to reproduce particular relations of production, there is a general trend in the direction of genuinely equal opportunity, despite the fact that in the late 1960's, 97 out of 100 working class children in Britain left school before the age of seventeen. (49) Those theorists, like Bowles, who tend to dismiss these hard-won developments in education as merely a means whereby the working class is 'duped' by the State into accepting capitalism, are adopting an ultra-leftist position. They are seeing the State as an object functioning directly in the interests of the bourgeoisie, rather than as the site and stake of the class-struggle. The working-class in advanced capitalist societies, as it has won democratic political institutions from the bourgeoisie, so it has been able to influence educational policy along more egalitarian lines, and the trend is in that direction. State institutions do not merely function in the interests of capital in advanced countries, but their functioning is frequently fairly ambiguous.

On the other hand, in South Africa, unlike advanced capitalist societies, the working class has failed to achieve any concessions at all. The working class is exceptionally weak and capital has been able to rely on direct repression of the working class, and has been able to avoid making any concessions of any consequence to it. Thus, Bantu Education functions quite unambiguously to maintain the dominance of capitalism in South Africa. The inadequacy of black education to provide anything like equality of opportunity reflects the state of the class-struggle in South Africa. Until there is a shift in power relations, education for blacks, whether it is called 'Bantu Education' or not, will continue to ensure that blacks are "remaining essentially bantu".

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48. See Poulantzas, N : 'Reply to Laclau and Miliband"; New Left Review; No. 87.

49. Westergaard and Resler : "Class in Capitalist Society".

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16. Ibid. p. 140

17. Ibid. p. 7

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Black Schooling in South Africa:
Notes towards a reinterpretation of the schooling of the indigenous peoples in South Africa

Colin B. Collins

In a work distinguished by its one-sidedness, Harrison M. Wright attempts to set out the two major positions concerning the history of South Africa. (1) Until about 1970, virtually every publication on the Republic was written from the liberal viewpoint. (2) During the last decade, however, this interpretation has been increasingly challenged by a radical viewpoint. Both viewpoints are summarised by Wright. He asserts that for the liberals, the Afrikaners are the enemy of a liberal ideology; since their assumptions of complete political control in 1948, their doctrine of apartheid has constituted the countervailing ideological force to liberalism. For the liberal the historical reasons are clear:

> "The Afrikaners; from a variety of influences early in their history had developed by 1800 an unusual degree of cultural and social exclusiveness and a core of anti-progressive attitudes. In the Africans on the Eastern frontier, they had met a far larger population and a far more resistant culture than those of the first non-European societies they had met, the "Hottentot" (or Khoikhoi) and the "Bushmen" (or San). By 1800 the long series of frontier wars, that along with the trade and cultural interactions characterised 19th century European-African relations generally, had already begun. Britain arrived to stay in 1806 with a new and growing industrial society and with the new and dynamic economic, political and social ideas of a rapidly changing Europe." (3)

This interpretation explains the major events of the 19th century as a clash between the liberal ideas introduced by the British and the exclusiveness of the so-called frontier mentality of the Afrikaner. Despite the assistance given to the liberal forces by "the naturally integrative tendencies of economic growth and cultural interpretation", the illiberal and unconstructive racial policies were to win out and "the election of 1948 represented the political triumph of the most extreme right-wing Afrikaner ideology - the descendant of the old Afrikaner attitude - over economic and social realities."

Counterposing the interpretation is the radical viewpoint. During the last decade, a great number of articles, books and theses have been written about South Africa from within this paradigm. (4) Although it is not possible to outline this view in any detail, its main elements are simple. For radicals,

> "Capitalism everywhere seeks the cheapest labour possible. In South African circumstances labour cheap enough for capitalism's needs could in the past and even now be obtained only by coercion, by the application of various kinds of political, legal and economic pressure. The reason that the history of the last 100 years is not, as the liberals

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> would have it, a history of the struggle between economic and social integration on the one hand and racial oppression and political separation on the other, but is because in South Africa racial oppression and political separation have been the essential means for providing the cheap labour that the capitalists must have. The increasing racial and political oppression of the last 100 years has come about because of not in spite of capitalist economic growth."(5)

For radicals, the history of South Africa can be explained in terms of class analysis. For them, history is done best by examining the relationship of groups competing for ownership of the means of survival and the kinds of ideologies used to rationalise the situation of the predominant group.

This radical interpretation has not covered the entirety of South African history as has the liberal tradition.(6) This situation is even more pronounced in the sphere of the history of education or schooling in South Africa. With the exception of some Afrikaans work, all of the best known texts on South African education are written in the broad liberal paradigm.(7) This is especially true of the history of schooling among the African peoples of South Africa.(8) In its most succinct form, the liberal history of African schooling sees the main event in such schools as being the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. In that year, it is alleged, the Nationalist government introduced this apartheid measure whereby Africans would be forced backwards into the tribal entities and into menial vocational education for the purposes of control and oppression, thus contradicting the integrationist and liberal/academic tenure of the previous owners of the African schools namely the English-speaking missionaries.(9) Although there is almost nothing written in the radical paradigm on African schooling (10), the work done on the paradigm itself is voluminous.(11) In essence, the radicals maintain that the ruling classes, in the interest of maximising profits, need to reproduce the special kind of labour force needed at a particular period in history. One of the ways - by no means the only one - of reproducing such a labour force who will possess the appropriate skills and attitudes is by way of schools.

What follows is not an elaboration of the radical paradigm but the application of some of its more simple tenets to the pre-1953 history of indigenous schooling in South Africa. As will be seen from such an analysis, the Bantu Education Act will emerge not as a radical break with missionary schooling but as part of the ongoing saga of labour reproduction, although admittedly with different dramatis personae.

EARLY SCHOOLING

Because the general tone of schooling had been set before the Dutch colonizers met the African peoples in 1770, it is necessary to describe the early schooling instituted by the colonizers. During the first one and a half centuries of colonisation, the settlement of Dutch colonists at the Cape of Good Hope possessed certain very definite characteristics. Removed from its motherland by months of sea-voyage, it was somewhat austere in character, mainly agricultural in its economy and definitely religious in tone.(12)

In this period, the small colony bartered with the Khoi-Khoi (Hottentot) people, occasionally intermarried with them and, by spreading eastwards gradually took over their grazing lands. As they spread, their attitude towards the nomadic cattle-owning San (Bushmen) people was less ambivalent; at best Bushmen were to be avoided, at worst shot as vermin.(13)

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These two indigenous peoples were relatively small in numbers and presented little obstacle to the colonists taking their grazing lands from them. What they did not achieve in skirmishes and by resolute occupation (assisted, occasionally, by the usual offerings of beads) the white-introduced chicken-pox epidemics of 1713, 1755, 1767 did the rest. By 1770, when the spreading white farmers were coming into first contact with a much more numerous and better organised indigenous people, the Africans, the Khoi-Khoi people were either integrated, killed or had disappeared into the northern Cape; the San people had become the desert dwellers of the Kalahari.

Another group of non-colonists was much more important. By the end of the 18th century the Cape Colony had an equal number of slaves and white citizens.(14) Imported from such places as Madagascar and Malaya to work as unskilled labourers on white farms or, in rare instances, as artisans on farms or in the towns, they formed a highly significant group within the early colony. By 1658, a school had been established for slaves in Cape Town. That first school and others established to teach the early slaves already demonstrated many of the characteristics that were to predominate the school system for indigenous peoples in South Africa. The characteristics of the curricula of these schools were that they were religious in orientation rather than being industrial or vocational in style. Thirdly they were increasingly segregated in race. A fourth characteristic could be added namely that although most of the schools were run by missionaries during this period, the State had a keen interest in and control over them.

The religious character of the first school for slaves is evident from an entry in Van Riebeeck's diary for 17th April, 1658.

> "Began holding school for the young slaves ... to stimulate the slaves to attention while at school and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised each a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco ... "(15)

This first and the subsequent slave schools (as also those for settler children) were primarily for the purpose of teaching, by rote, the prayers and hymns needed to participate in the church services of the day. With slaves, however, a labour characteristic is also in evidence. In the same entry Van Riebeeck records

> "All this was done in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for some days to bring everything into order, and to bring these people into proper discipline in which at present they appear to promise well." (16)

This learning of hymns and psalms together with an understanding of the bible directioned the early slave schools into schooling with broadly academic as opposed to industrial bias. The colonists felt ambivalent about having the slaves in school. Some saw the value of the obedience and discipline engendered by school atmosphere, rote learning and the encouragement of such biblical attitudes as respect for superiors and authority. Others, however, saw the dangers, namely that a future generation would make demands beyond its place in society. There was thus some unease about the education of slaves in the early Cape Colony. This led to the situation in which most ignored the state injunction to send their slaves to school.

> "The Government made no attempt to enforce these regulations and the majority of the colonists saw no reason why slaves should be educated. Child labour was much used by owners." (17)

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By the beginning of the 19th century, the colonists, in main, needed unskilled labour. The early religiosity of the colonists which had led to the creation of slave schools to enable them to procure entry into the Christian reality was tempered by the more pragmatic considerations of labour reproduction. The result was that very few slaves went to school. By 1830, there were some 30 000 slaves in the colony. Yet,

> "it was estimated in 1823 that 1162 slave children were attending the free and mission schools in Cape Town and in 1825 that 73 were at school in Stellenbosch and not more than 320 in other country villages. Their attendance was most irregular." (18)

A second characteristic should also be noted. Despite the religious/academic quality of the early slave schools, a trend towards segregation had been felt very early in the schools at the Cape. Some of these schools were comprised of settler as well as slave children. Yet Professor Behr records that

> "the first rumbling of a policy of segregating the European and Non-European children into separate schools made itself felt in 1676 when the Church expressed the desirability of having a separate school for the slaves. The Political Council received the request sympathetically, but ruled that the best among the Non-European children were to continue attending the existing school until such time as suitable provision could be made for the Non-European children." (19)

Patterns in the schooling of slaves were thus set at a very early time in the Cape Colony. Religion, accompanied by the three R's to be given to the slaves if not exclusively, certainly predominantly to instil obedience and discipline; an increasing unease that the price for the induction of such attitudes would, in fact be contradictory and take the slaves, and especially the children, away from their unskilled labour. In addition, an early appearance of segregation to maintain the class distinction between slaves and owners. It should also be noted that very little attempt was made to teach the slaves trades except for minimal attempts in Cape Town where such artisan work was needed.

These patterns were also apparent in the early schools among the Khoi-Khoi people. A new feature is also in evidence - one which has characterised the education of indigenous people until the present time, namely that it was pursued by church organisations in the interests of proselytizing. As early as 1737 the Moravians or United Brethern with headquarters in Saxony, sent out a missionary to work among the Hottentot people. His purpose was to evangelise, to bring the people to recognise Christ as Saviour. As with all missionaries among indigenous people, this was not a simple process. It also meant abandoning their culture and their mode of subsistence. To put it in a most significant and enigmatic form,

> "The Moravians taught the Hottentots to forgo their nomadic way of life, to build cottages, to realize the dignity of labour and the need for discipline and regular habits and to grow corn." (18a)

What is evident from this description is that the missionaries included in their Christian package a set of western values and assumptions. What is equally clear once again is the early opposition to schooling by the farmers followed

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by limited approval. The Moravians restarted a particular mission station,

> "... in spite of opposition and hostility on the part of the colonists who resented the fact that they treated the Hottentots as friends and fellows and proposed giving them an education that was not available to the Burgher children. Antagonisms mounted when the Hottentots began leaving the farms (where they were employed as labourers) to go to Baviaans Kloof. Later, however, the attitudes of the farmers began to change as they discovered that the Hottentots who had been trained at the mission made better employees than the rest." (19a)

Other missionary societies followed the Moravians to work among the Khoi-Khoi people. Chief among them were the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society. Even well into the 19th century, almost all of the Hottentot children being educated were in missionary schools.

During this time, the state looked upon such endeavours with approval. Sites were granted to the missionary bodies and their work encouraged by the authorities. It was not, however until 1841 that the first State grants were given to mission schools. Grants of R60 a year were to be given to schools near Cape Town to augment teacher salaries. This also introduced a note of control. Such schools were to be inspected by the Department of Education, secular subjects had to be included in the curriculum besides the usual religious teaching and the English language had to be taught and, when possible to be used as a medium of instruction. These grants led to an increase of such mission schools.

> "In 1844, there were 21 State aided schools with an enrolment of 3329 pupils. By 1860, there were 123, with more than 141 000 pupils enrolled." (20)

This pattern of mission schools among the Khoi-Khoi people is important. The missionaries were part of the colonizing forces. As the whites moved eastwards, they took over the grazing lands of the indigenous peoples. Many of the Khoi-Khoi being so deprived had to find agricultural work on the white farms. They became part of the small settlements established as villages and farm units where they worked as unskilled labourers. It was the mission schools who tamed this labour force by providing an ideology of obedience, discipline and servitude. They helped the Khoi-Khoi into the colonist culture by enabling them to be more docile and effective unskilled workers within it. This is not to say that such a process was uppermost in the minds of the missionaries; it was obviously not. But the effects of what the missionaries did was certainly to produce such workers and the white farmers, as has been noted, were grateful to them. In turn, the state recognised this leavening effect, providing property and eventually state-aid to assist these schools. The need for such control became especially evident after the emancipation of the slaves in 1833.

> "Between 1834 and 1838, some 35 745 slaves were emancipated at the Cape. Some of them migrated from farms to towns and villages or to missionary institutions. Others became vagrants, squatting on government or private land, while numbers went to the outskirts or beyond the frontiers of the colony to start farming on their own. The need for more schools to instil social discipline became acute." (21)

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AFRICAN SCHOOLS

The Cape government introduced state-aid to mission schools in 1841. But, by then, the missionaries had turned their attention to the more numerous African people. By that time, too, the Cape Colony administration was concerned with the incorporation of African land and with the increased conflict that this brought about. Schooling was an important element in the incorporation. In 1854, for example, the Governor, Sir George Cathcart made the following statement to the British Colonial Secretary;

> "The plan I propose ... is to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes ... by employing them upon public works, which will tend to open up the country; by establishing institutions for the education of their children ..." (22)

And again;

> "... we should try to make them a part of ourselves, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short, a source of strength and wealth for this colony, such as Providence designed them to be." (23)

And so Cathcart's letters continued. The Africans must be drawn into the white economy. They must be calmed down by schooling, they must be changed from inveterate enemies fighting over the same land into our friends, servants, and consumers of our goods and producers for our markets. Schooling was viewed as a means to achieve these effects. When the Cape Colony was granted Representative Government in 1854, fairly substantial amounts of money were placed at the disposal of missionary institutions for schooling purposes.

There was not, however, complete coincidence between State and Church aim's concerning "native" schooling. A statement by the Cape Colony's Superintendent-General of Education, Langham Dale (1859 - 1892), in 1868 expresses this discontinuity :

> "The ministers of religion are apt to regard education from a narrow and exclusively religious point of view, so that the training of children for the occupations of practical life is made in many cases subordinate to that instruction in the catechism and the tenets and services of religious bodies which is likely to influence them in after life and keep them within the pale of the church." (24)

This difference between missionaries and State authorities concerning African education needs to be noted. The main intention of the missionary was to make the African people Christians in the particular mould of a special denomination. This schooling consisted of an acquisition of the three R's adequate enough to attain a meaningful participation in church services and in bible reading. Any furthering of schooling beyond a very elementary form was for the extension of the church as a structure; this was done by extending primary into secondary schooling needed to produce black missionary teachers and black clergymen. For these reasons, missionary schools had an academic bias, albeit of a very low level.

There are further side effects of missionary schooling, associated with moral training. In missionary schools, the Africans were taught to drop their "heathen" ways and to become the junior partners of white culture. They were also taught the value of such virtues as obedience, discipline, and industriousness. Physically, in attending schools, many of them were drawn off their pastoral land to become gardeners or servants around the mission station.

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Towards these [illegible] side-effects of missionary schooling, Dale and other administrators had no objections whatsoever; on the contrary these aspects are the main reason for State subsidies. But he and others were concerned at the fact that the curriculum content of missionary schooling did not in all cases fit the African into his place in that particular society. He was particularly concerned with the higher schooling being given to a select few.

> "To the educated Kaffir there is no opening; he may be qualified to fill the post of a clerk in a public office or mercantile house, but either there is no demand for such persons or prejudice operates against persons of colour being so employed. To give a higher education to Kaffir boys and then to leave them isolated from their own people in thoughts and habits and to some extent in language, and without any prospect of useful and settled occupation in another sphere of labour is only to increase the existing temptation of the so-called school Kaffir to fall into the vices of the low Europeans with whom they come into contact. We require native teachers without that over-refinement which elevates the individual too much above his fellows." (25)

The language used and sentiments expressed here are very similar to those used and expressed in the Eiselen Commission of 1949 some 80 years later. The needs of the state vis-a-vis the black popultion under the mercantile capitalism of this period were not that dissimilar from the early industrial capitalists who acquired power with the support of white mine-workers and semi-skilled Afrikaner workers in 1948. For the British ruling class of the 1860's and the Nationalist government of the 1950's, the educational objectives were roughly similar : a low three R's schooling for a increasing number of African scholars; a higher education only to reproduce the schooling systems by teacher training; a low level of manual training to enable Africans to take their lower-place in society and a generation of attitudes such as obedience and discipline in order that they should remain docile labourers (on the farm in the 1860's and in unskilled or semi-skilled labour in the towns in the 1950's). For both groups the most important schools were those in which Africans were trained to do work in keeping with their place in society. To that effect, Dale proposed a series of grants to schools which would encourage the teaching of neddlework to girls and carpentry, shoemaking printing to boys and which could also create blacksmiths, gardeners and domestic servants." (26)

On his retirement in 1891, Dale had some prophetic things to say on the topic of school curricula. For example, he wrote that

> "What the Department wants is to make all the principal day schools places of manual industry, as well of book instuction ..." (27)

It should be noted that at this point the great majority of African labourers were being trained outside the schooling system. These were the African labourers and peasants who were being forced off their land firstly by the intervention of the Poll and Hut Tax which forced them into a cash economy - and, secondarily by the progressive acquisition of more land by whites. This labour was rigidly controlled by the Masters and Servants Act of 1854. (28)

To some extent schooling goes counter to the interests of white farmers who needed unskilled blacks on their lands and, increasingly, servants in the small towns. Dale is concerned about this :

> "Labour, especially agricultural, is needed; but will the educated native leave his home and take service, especially in the western districts. If not, the crowding together of educated

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natives, living without a trade or regular habit of daily
loyment, must tend to mischief and social dist/ ‘es." (29)

In the last analysis, however, the interests of church and state should not and are not at very considerable variance as they tend to promote and reproduce the kind of labour needed by the mercantile capitalist social formation of the time.

> "The influences of Christian teaching ... must work together with the school instruction and the handcrafts; and, when the children leave the school and the workshop, the directive intelligence of the European clergyman is wanted to keep them in the way of temperance and industry." (30)

But, in a way reminiscent of all promoters of schooling under early mercantile capitalism, the doubts do remain :

> "Knowledge is power even to them, but it may be a power for ill." (31)

This period of colonisation under mercantile capitalism was brought to an end by the opening up of the diamond fields during the 1870's and the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, which initiated the share of industrial capitalism in Southern Africa. One obvious effect was the rapid urbanisation of all races and, more specifically the African people who were needed as cheap labour in the cities, firstly as mine-workers and, later, more especially from the 1930's onwards, as factory workers.

A first educational effect was that the African school system was rapidly expanded as the need for at least semi-literate workers grew. As South Africa was not yet a unified state at the beginning of this period, the expansion can be noted as they occurred in the four political entities of the Cape Colony, Natal and the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Of these States, The Cape, being the most economically advanced, had the greatest number of African pupils in schools. The figures are as follows

1865	-	2 827	
1885	-	15 568	
1891	-	25 000	
1921	-	110 519	(32)

In Natal, the other British colony, the Crown had initiated a form of segregation whereby Africans unwanted by white farmers were to be kept in their locations and reserves where they were to be ruled insofar as possible under native customs and laws. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was administrator of these reserves.

In general terms, white opinion in Natal was less favourable and more pessimistic towards Africans than in the Cape. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the report of the "Native Commission" of 1881. Inter alia, the fears of the whites concerning the ill-effect of schooling on the blacks in producing "cheeky Kaffirs", who are unwilling to work was far more emphasized.

For the rest, the pattern in Natal was much the same as the Cape. Early missionary penetration was assisted by increasing state aid. Despite this, a very small proportion of Africans were educated by the time of Union in 1910. In 1912, for example, there were 232 elementary schools and five industrial centres which between them had 18 000 pupils. Most of the pupils were in their first two years of schooling. (33)

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The pastoral Afrikaner people of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State did not view schooling as a means of reproducing cheap labour in those two states. For that reason, no financial aid was given to the rather meagre attempts on the part of missionary societies to set up schools in the two republics. In the Transvaal, despite the discovery of gold, there were only slightly more than 6 000 pupils being schooled in 1903. The Orange Free State had far fewer.

Within the two republics, black labour was recruited more directly. After the Difaqane wars, for example,

> "The Government required each location chief to pay taxes in cattle and to provide manpower on demand. Men thus conscripted would be alloted to farmers to work for not longer than a year at a time, at the wage of one heifer for a year's work; or they might be used as ancilaries in military campaigns ..." (34)

Although expansion of African schooling was recorded during the last two decades of the 19th and then in first two decades of the 20th century, growth in enrolments were still relatively small compared to the overall African population. The reasons became evident in the 1920's - increasing central control over African education and the establishment of the principle by the central South African Government that, in the main, Africans should finance their own schooling.

> "The two Acts (No 5 of 1922 and No 41 of 1925) need to be considered together for they created two principles : African taxation became a central and not a provincial government matter and any expansion of African education beyond the level reached in 1922 had to be financed out of taxation paid by Africans themselves. These principles remained in force for the following 20 years until 1945." (35)

The results of such a measure were devastating. The annual costs of education per pupil between 1930 and 1945 were as follows :

	Whites	Africans
1930	£ 22.12.10	£ 2.2.8
1935	£ 23.17.2	£ 1.18.6
1940	£ 25.14.2	£ 2.4.4
1945	£ 38.5.10	£ 3.17.10 (36)

And, althouth the method of subsidising African education was changed by Act No 29 of 1945, the inadequacies of financing of African education were still in evidence as the Bantu Education Bill was introduced :

1953	Per Pupil	Per Head of Population
Whites	£ 63.18.5	£ 13.9.5
Africans	£ 8.19.11	£ 0.17.10 (37)

The slow progress of African education as also the degree to which it was missionary controlled should also be noted :

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> "I 905, there were only 73 900 African children at ing school in South Africa or 2.1% of the total African population. None of these was in post-primary classes ...
> ... By 1925 there were 206 623 African pupils representing 4.1% of the population, 3 725 of them being in post-primary classes ... there were then 2 646 schools for Africans, 24 training schools for teachers and 24 industrial schools or departments." (38)

This position improved somewhat as can be seen from the following figures :

Year	African pupils	% of African Population Receiving Education
1930	284 250	4.9
1935	351 908	5.5
1940	464 024	6.6
1945	587 586	7.7 (39)

By 1945, however, 76% of African children were in the first four years of schooling and only 3.34% of pupils were in secondary classes.

In 1926, the distribution of schools was :

	Mission	Government
Cape	1 625	1
Natal	487	66
Transvaal	396	1
Orange Free State	194	-
	2 702	68 (40)

Except in Natal, this ratio between mission and government schools was to persist until the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

Thus the period of early industrial capitalism in South Africa engendered a slowing growing black schooling system. Increasingly the system became controlled by the central state which perceived no need to pursue educational objectives much beyond those that had emerged during the previous two centuries of colonisation. By the mid-thirties, South Africa was becoming an industrial country and manufacturing was gaining importance. Peasants were streaming into the towns. The whites among them were being protected by apprenticeship acts and the Africans had to take the least skilled work in the mines and factories. Comparatively few rural Africans and almost no African workers in the cities were schooled. Those who were being schooled received a very elementary and general education. The missionaries continued to propagate their own church structures by training African clergymen and teachers (a large proportion of those in secondary schools ended up in these two professions). In summary,

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> "It is clear that the growth of schooling, at any rate that for black people, was not initially stimulated by any need for skill training which might have arisen from capitalist production. Generally the level of skill required was low and both on the farms and in the mines, what skills the workers had to have, could most adequately be learned by training on the job. The manual training that even those who went to school received, tended to be manual labour rather than in any specific skills. Concerning trade and any such higher level skills, these were not to be developed by black people in terms of the operation of the colour-caste system " (41)

In 1936, the first national committee on "Native" education was set up. This "Welsh Committee" makes highly significant linkages between schooling and the labour process.

> "Just as elementary education for the masses in England was strenuously opposed by the ruling classes even as late as the nineteenth century because of the economic and social inconvenience it might cause, so we find in the history of South Africa a similar attitude on the part of the white man towards the education of the natives ... the introduction of elementary education on a wide scale amongst the 'masses of heathens' might cause 'social inconvenience' and might even be dangerous." (42)

In these words the Welsh Committee recalls the attitudes of many colonists during the last half of the 19th and early part of the 20th century. But the committee goes further and acknowledges that :

> " ... the two social orders for which education is preparing white and black are not identical and will for a long time to come remain essentially different. It is not that the aim is the same and that only the methods to be used are different. The ends themselves are different in the two cases." (43)

The Committee then acknowledges that schooling is only a small part of a given social formation, and that economic forces prevail.

> "Should education lead or follow the social order ? The school is only one of the agencies which impinge upon the native and is therefore distinctly limited in its influence ... They forget that there are other powerful agencies at work e.g. the white man's commercial systems and all the regulatory and punitive functions of the government in connection with native taxes, pass fees, cattle, crops and crimes. The Committee therefore feels it will not be quite honest to avoid stating clearly that a full liberal philosophy is not at present applicable to native education." (44)

In the Committees Report, the whole question of the state being concerned with the control and exploitation of the black people is quite clear. That two "orders" exist and cannot really be changed is acknowledged. That schooling cannot change the situation is also stated. That schooling should change the situation is not really acknowledged but is rather presumed in very general terms.

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The attitude of this Committee to the two orders is best described when the following argument is presented :

> "On the one hand ... any rational system of education should make provision for vocational training leading on to occupations which will give employment and a source of livelihood to a considerable proportion of the population. On the other hand any such policy ... would in the present structure of South African economic conditions, lead to competition of Native tradesmen with Europeans, which is at present prohibited ..., or to a dead-end of unemployment for the Native." (45)

There is no need to produce any further data to show that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was not a radical deviation from the enlightened liberal policies of the preceeding generations. The pattern, changing according to the particular character of the different ruling elites, in essence remains the same. Indigenous peoples are schooled to discipline them and make them better workers in the lower unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. A generalised academic schooling is given at a mainly rudimentary level; anything more would generate "cheeky Kaffirs" with rising expectations that go beyond their station in life and society. Vocational schooling is mainly manual labour but increasingly becomes more sophisticated as manpower needs increase but only insofar as these improvements do not conflict with the work possibilities of the white colonists. And although the missionaries did not always agree with these policies, the effects of what they did were largely consonant with the interests of the colonists. In content and style, Bantu Education did not significantly differ from much of the pre-1953 missionary endeavours. The differences that did occur such as the increasing emphasis on central control, on primary schools and on the rural sector need to be seen in terms of the new ruling classes attitude towards the constant thread of the schooling of the colonized, namely the reproduction of a docile and subservient labour force.

NOTES

1. Wright, Harrison M. The Burden of the Present: Liberal-Radical Controversy over Southern African history : David Philip (1977)
2. The last in this long series of comprehensive liberal analyses was the two volumes of :
   Wilson, Monica and Thompson, Leonard (editors) The Oxford History of South Africa.
   Vol 1 South Africa to 1870, Oxford University Press (1969)
   Vol 2 South Africa 1870 - 1966, Oxford University Press (1971)
3. Wright, H M op. cit. p. 8
4. Much of this material originally appeared in "The Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries." These series commenced in 1970 and were put out by the University of London Institute of Commonwealth Studies.
5. Harrison, H M op. cit. p. 20
6. A good deal of this literature has been summarised in :
   Hartwig, M and Sharp, R. The State and the Reproduction of Labour Power in South Africa. African Studies Association of Australia, Canberra Conference, November (1979).
7. Some of the best known texts would be :
   Pells, E G. Three Hundred Years of Education in South Africa. J L van Schaik (1966)
8. Surprisingly there have been almost no full length works published on indigenous or African education in South Africa. The exceptions have been some five theses written in the United States during the period 1970-1975. Within South Africa, the best known works (both monographs) would be the fact finding works of Murriel Horrell.
   Horrell, M. African Education : Some Origins and Development until 1953. Institute of Race Relations (1963)
   Horrell, M. A Decade of Bantu Education. Institute of Race Relations (1964)

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9. See Horrell as above.
10. Except for two unpublished articles :
Molteno, F. The Schooling of Black South Africans : An Historical Overview. March 31 (1980) University of Cape Town
The second is by A Kraak and was also written at the University of Cape Town.
11. See footnote 6 above.
12. There are many descriptions of the early colony. See, for example Volume 1 of the Oxford History of South Africa cited above. (Chapter 5).
13. See above.
14. In 1754 a census showed that there were 6 279 slaves and 5 510 Europeans in the colony. By 1834, there were 35 745 slaves in the Cape - excluding those who had been freed.
15. As quoted in Muriel Horrell; The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652 to 1970. Institute of Race Relations p. 3 (1970)
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As quoted in :
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28. By the middle of the 19th century, the white colonizers had already taken over many of the traditional African grazing lands. Many African farmers were thus forced to seek work on white farms. As the century progressed and especially after the discovery of diamonds and gold, an increasing number of Africans were needed as cheap labour in the mines. This process was assisted by taxing the African peasants on registration and on a number of huts they owned, thus forcing them into a cash economy. This flow of labour was controlled by the Masters and Servants Acts and then later, by a series of Apprenticeship Acts designed to protect white workers from black labourers.
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EDUCATION

Introducation: The Educational Crisis in South Africa

There is a growing crisis in the educational system in South Africa. Student uprisings in 1976/77 and the the school boycotts of 1980 have shown that black students are not prepared to accept the system of separate and unequal education and the values of our society. They have rejected "gutter education" and are no longer prepared to accept that they are fit only to do inferior work in society. Furthermore, they have come to understand the link between their own inferior education and the position in society of their parents as exploited wage earners.

The educational system has also failed to train people with sufficient skills to meet the manpower needs of big business. As a result there is a definite and growing shortage of skilled and professional labour. The manpower shortages are part of a general economic crisis, marked equally by growing unemployment (now over 3 million) and a limited consumer market, and heavy dependence of foreign investments.

Manpower shortages and South African Education

The introduction, since the 1960's, of an increasingly sophisticated technology into the production process has led to a relative reduction in the number of workers needed to operate it. Workers have had to acquire new skills to operate advanced machinery in the different industries. At the same time this has divided workers into semi-skilled operatives on the one hand and technical supevisory labour on the other. As a result, an increasing number of unskilled migrants have lost their jobs. In the past two years there have been several strikes in protest against the retrenchment of large numbers of workers. In April 1982, 5000 workers at the Volkswagen Uitenhage plant came out in strike in protest against the laying off of 316 workers.

To maintain an economic growth rate of 4,5%, 9500 technicians will have to be trained annually. However, at present the training rate is only 2000. And already in April 1977 Labour Minister Fanie Botha stated that there were 99 000 vacancies in industry, in the professional, semi-professional and technical grades. At present there is a massive shortage of qualified teachers in the black (Africans, Indian and Coloured) schools.

The second fact on which there is general agreement is that in terms of meeting manpower requirements, the white market is largely saturated. According to the de Lange report, in 1979, 99 per cent of engineers, 78 per cent of natural scientists, 91 per cent of technicians and 72 per cent of artisans and apprentices were white.

It is apparent therefore that blacks are going to have to be employed to meet present and future manpower shortages. And this is where the educational system becomes absolutely crucial, for the present system is incapable of even beginning to meet present shortages. An example from the de Lange Report indicates this failure. The progress of all pupils who started school in 1963 was traced and the percentage of each racial group who eventually finished matric was as follows:

Whites	:	58,4
Indians	:	22,3
Coloureds	:	4,4
Africans	:	1,96

In addition, after only 4 years of schooling 46 per cent of coloured and 58 per cent of African children have left school.

Struggles against Apartheid Education

The 1976 student uprisings, and the conflict which continued into 1978, had an incredibly politicising effect on the black youth of South Africa, instilling into them a new and heightened political consciousness. The uprising and the boycotts highlighted everyone to the discriminating nature of the Educational System and its connection with the specific demands in the labour market. The tragic effects of June 1976 and its significance in the struggle for a democratic society are still remembered today on June 16 when workers stay away from work, students from school, trades close their shops and services are held throughout the country.

In 1980 students showed a higher level of political understanding during the school boycott. Significant advances were made on the struggles of 1976-78. Students themselves operated in a far more organised and democratic fashion. The experience of 1976 had taught people that student action was limited in what it could achieve and that as such the objectives of students had to be realistically defined. Students in 1980 frequently made demands that could be met. These short term demands were linked to longer term demands for a changed education system in a changed society. Students realised that the education system cannot change alone while other injustices remain and that the struggle for a democratic education system is part of the total struggle for the liberation of South Africa. Thus students were more aware then ever of the limitations of acting alone, and of the necessity of forging close ties with other sectors of the community.

On other fronts too there has been a growth in the level of student organisation and of political consciousness in the schools and universities. Black students are now being organised on a national basis by (AZASO) Azanian Student Organisation (for university students) and (COSAS) Congress of S.A. Students (for school students).

States Response to the School Crisis

The crisis facing the educational system is part of a general crisis facing the ruling power in South Africa, a crisis reflected by an upsurge in guerilla activity, the growth of the progressive trade union movement and of progressive community organisations and of the growing militancy of students.

The states response to the general crisis has been to grant certain concessions, each one a direct response to the pressure put on the state by the oppressed people and their organisations. These concessions can be seen as being formative attempts aimed at restructuring the political, economic and social institutions involving the gradual co-option of a "black middle class'. But at the same time concessions have been granted in the context of increasing repression.

De Lange: Restructuring the Schools

In the face of the general education crisis and in particular the 1980 school boycott the de Lange committee undertook an investigation into "The Provision of Education in the RSA".

Even before the sittings began, however there were obvious limitations in the investigation. The commitee was

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dominated by conservative, white, Afrikaner professional educationists. The members were drawn directly from government supported educational institutions and private enterprise. Secondly the terms of reference were designed to ensure that the education policy be designed to "promote economic growth in the RSA". and that the education infrustructure be designed to "provide for the manpower requirements of the RSA".

Under the guise of objectivity, the committee worked from the assumption that the political and economic status quo should be maintained. The outcome was clearly narrowly defined at the outset and was therefore not unexpected that the commission should reach conclusions that are consisted within the interests of the government and big business rather than with the aspirations of majority of oppressed South Africans.

A system is recommended whereby there is compulsory education for 9 years. For 6 years attendance is compulsory and free. Thereafter the child can complete his/her compulsory education either on a part time basis in vocationally orientated courses within non formal education, or by continuing to attend school for 3 years. From the age of 12 onwards those students who choose formal education will be graded according to level of achievement into different streams. Consistent failure would mean leaving formal education and being slotted into the non formal structure i.e. a job with part time training.

Formal education would be paid by the individuals parents. Non formal education on the other hand will be subsidised by the business sector. What this means in effect is that an elite privileged group from the wealthier communities will be able to afford and therefore have access to academic education, while the poorer, working class children will be channelled into technical education.

The effect of these regulations, if they were implemented, would be that a large group of whites would continue to get an academic matric while the majority of black students would be streamlined into the necessary job sectors. Thus, far from abolishing apartheid education, the de Lange report will merely serve to modernise and streamline it, and by doing so will entrench the division and inequality of education in South Africa. The exclusion of the Homelands from the restructuring also reinforces this.

De lange proposes a 3 tier management system, consisting of a single ministry of education, regional and educational authorities and local school districts. While the single ministry will help streamline the operation of the system, separate education systems for separate apartheid communities will be retained under the guise of "separate but equal".

The management system proposed puts a lot of emphasis on decentralisation, placing a great deal of the organisation and financial responsibility for schooling on local level committees. In the context of vast disparities in wealth in SA they will serve to enforce inequality. The measures also reinforce the trend whereby the poorer sections of the community are increasingly having to cover the costs of their own services e.g. rents, pensions, hospital fees.

The most significant features of the de Lange report are its emphasis on non formal or career education (technical or vocational training) and its failure to move away from apartheid education.

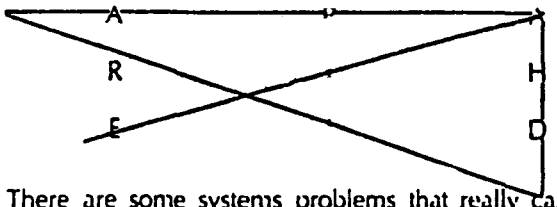
State Repression of Students

The states response to the educational crisis by the grahting of concessions and the introduction of new forms of control is an example of a co-option measure. But there is another side to the co-option — i.e the web of repressive measure introduced since 1976 with the intention of crushing student militancy.

In November 1977 the department of Bantu Education issued regulations controlling the admission, treatment, suspension and expulsion of African students. The principals and inspectors were given arbitary powers to expel students and to close schools if "students disrupted the education programme".

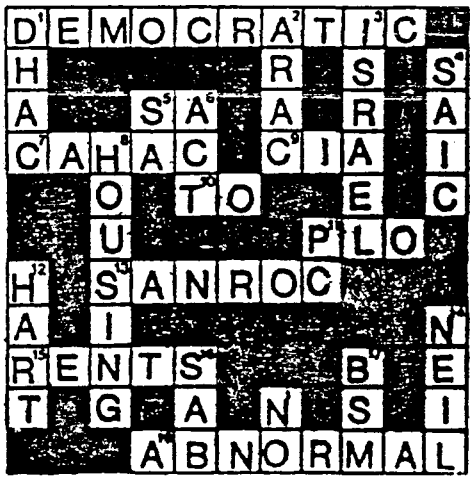
In 1981 the renamed Department of Education and Training introduced the age limit law. Basically, the law stipulates that no person over the age of 16 can enrol at primary school, no person over the age of 18 can enrol in standards 6, 7 and 8, and no person over 20 can enrol in standards 9 and 10. This would affect students who leave school temporarily out of financial necessity in order to work and students who fail as a result of poor home conditions, a lack of books etc. But there is a far more important political motive behind the law. For clearly it will be used against political activists who have either been detained for long periods, or who have boycotted for lengthy periods.

APARTHEID PROBLEM — THE SOLUTION



There are some systems problems that really cannot be solved from within the framework.

B.S.M. CROSSWORD



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3. EDUCATION and Resistance

This section focusses on the struggles that have been waged in response to racist education designed to maintain and facilitate racial oppression and economic class exploitation.

The various papers trace the process of resistance: the Bantu education struggles of the 1950's; the emergence of student organisations such as SASO and SASM; the nationwide revolt of 1976; the development of AZASO and COSAS; the schools boycott of 1980; and more recent developments.

Also included are papers which debate boycotts as a principle or tactic of struggle. Input here is made in the concrete context of the 1980 schools boycott.

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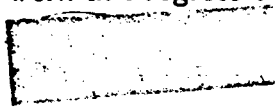

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OVERVIEW

This section takes a look at the history of resistance to an unjust and racist form of education, from the beginning of the century to the present day. It is hoped that through an examination of this resistance process, the huge impact of educational issues on the South African reality can be properly assessed and understood.

Beginning of century criticism

The inferior standard of education provided to black South Africans was challenged in 1903 by the South African Native Congress. In a statement addressed to Joseph Chamberlain at the British Colonial office the Congress protested strongly against the disparity in grants made to schools for white and for black students. The Congress also criticized the pathetically low salaries paid to black teachers and attacked the opinions of the Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, Dr Langham Dale. Langham Dale's feelings on the question of black education had been expressed in his statement that: "I do not consider it my business to enforce education on all the aborigines, it would ruin South Africa. If I could produce 6,000 educated Tembus or Fingoes tomorrow, what would you do with them. Their education must be gradual."

This kind of statement by government officials placed representatives of black opinion in a dilemma. The only way in which blacks could gain access to a free and compulsory education would be through a proper state schooling system. Blacks however had heard or read the many denigrating remarks made by officials of the education department and they resented the many statements on the futility of educating the African people. Nonetheless, when giving testimony before the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1904, Martin Luthuli of the Natal Native Congress asked that education be transferred from the missions to state control. "I would prefer", stated Luthuli, "that the government should build government schools to teach everything - to teach the knowledge in head and hands and everything ..."

In fact black opinion had clearly come out against the mission schools as viable institutions for black educational advancement. When G. Tengo Jabavu, editor of a black newspaper, addressed the 1912 South African Races Congress, he roundly condemned the mission schools where "such is the rivalry of sects that schools are placed with an utter disregard to efficiency". Jabavu was loudly cheered when he spoke of the low educational standards and of the "great failure of Native students at the Missionary Institutions."

Decades of Dissatisfaction

From 1920 through to the introduction of Bantu Education in 1954 there were frequent outbursts of resistance in the black schools. During this period constant protests, DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS OCCURRED. STUDENTS RESENTED

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the paternalism they were subject to, as well as the endless hours of manual labour they were expected to perform in the school orchards and gardens and on nearby farms. Many of the incidents of unrest revolved around the severity of punishment, assaults perpetrated by white staff on both pupils and servants and the quality and quantity of food. By the late 1940's the schools appeared to be in an almost continuous state of ferment and the sight of armed police within the schoolgrounds became commonplace.

The authorities used the threat of expulsion to control school unrest. The tiny minority of Africans who reached secondary schools constituted a privileged elite, and once expelled from one school, a pupil would stand little or no chance of being accepted at another. Only successful completion of secondary school could open the gates to the one existing University College for Africans, Fort Hare.

By the late 1940's however, politics had come to Fort Hare itself with the formation on campus of a branch of the Congress Youth League, the junior section of the African National Congress. The comments of a coloured student attending Fort Hare in 1949 gives some idea of the mood on the campus:-

"The African student is more poltically conscious at Fort Hare than any non-European student at any South African university ..... For the African, Fort Hare is a hive of political activity. He questions freely and openly every suggestion made by the European, whether lecturer or visitor. So tense is the atmosphere that politics is brought into every college activity whether it be a hostel meeting, a church service, a sports gathering, a college lecture or a social gathering."

In the aftermath of the Nationalist Party's victory at the polls in 1948, the students faced increasing restrictions and an all round hardening of attitudes. This however, led only to further militance on behalf of the students and a rise in popularity and influence of the Congress Youth League.

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The Resist Apartheid Campaign

The only campaign against the implementation of Bantu Education in the schools was initiated by the African National Congress. On May 8 1954, the ANC and its associated organisations of the Congress Alliance, (the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation and the white Congress of Democrats), launched the "Resist Apartheid" campaign. The measures earmarked for resistance by the Congress Alliance were: the Bantu Education Act the Native Resettlement Act; the pass laws; the Group Areas Act; and anti-trade union measures.

The ANC's annual conference held in Decmber 1954 adopted a resolution calling on parents to make preparations to withdraw their children from school indefinitely. A committee, under the chairmanship of Father Trevor Huddleston was established to provide independent educational facilities. Not everyone in Congress

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accepted the idea of "alternative education" however, as was evidenced by an editorial in the Congress journal, "Liberation":-

"The idea that a boycott should be made conditional on providing "alternative education" is, in fact, quite wrong in principle .... It is not the aim of a political boycott of this sort to relieve the State of its obligation to provide proper education, but rather to compel the State to fulfil that obligation honourably."

The actual organisation of the boycott was the responsibility of the Congress Youth League together with the Women's League. On 12th April action began on the East Rand (the line of towns east of Johannesburg) and in the Eastern Cape. On that day school entrances were picketed by members of the Youth League and in some instances schools were entered and classes dismissed. Women and children marched through the streets of Benoni, Brakpan and Germiston carrying ANC banners and posters rejecting Bantu Education. Large crowds congregated on street corners and clashed with the police. In several towns the election of parents' representatives to school committees was stopped by Youth Leaguers, and in six districts in the Eatern Cape an almost total withdrawal of children from the schools occurred.

The Minister of Bantu Affairs, then Dr Verwoerd, warned that any children still boycotting on 25th April would be permanently excluded from all schools. Momentum for the boycott diminished and only in Port Elizabeth was any thorough-going attempt made to extend the school stay-away. Dr Verwoerd stated that a single day of absence, if shown to be part of the boycott, would lead to immediate expulsion, and the schools boycott was finally crushed there as well.

Some 10 000 former school goers did not return to school. They, together with some 4,000 boys and girls not attending school, were catered for by the African Education Movement which had developed out of the Huddleston Committee. The AEM organized cultural clubs which were not legally allowed to provide formal education and had to resort to story-telling, quizzes, play-acting and similar activities. The parents hoped that their children would receive instruction in reading and writing and sent them along to the clubs with slates, exercise books and readers. These were invariably seized by the police and used as evidence in court when AEM organizers were prosecuted. The movement and the cultural clubs finally collapsed in 1960 when many of the club leaders were placed in detention during the post-Sharpeville state of emergency.

The University Movement

The government crackdown of the early 1960's and the outlawing of the ANC and the PAC left an organizational vacuum on the black campuses. In fact throughout the period 1960-67 black students campaigned for the right to affiliate to the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a predominantly white student union with its major support on the English-speaking campuses. In seeking affiliation to NUSAS the black students were demanding the right to associate with organizations of their own choice, and in a general atmosphere of

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repression, student-orientated politics was one of the few outlets for civil dissent.

The black students, however, wearying of white paternalism began moves to form their own student movement, the South African Students Organization, in 1967. By 1970 SASO was an established body of some strength, not only on the three black campuses, but also on the coloured campus of the University of the Western Cape and the Indian campus of Durban Westville.

By 1972 an atmosphere of confidence and militancy had grown up on the black campuses. A graduation speech by Onkgopotse Tiro, a Turfloop Students Representative Council president, strongly criticized white control of black universities, discrimination on the campus, and the entire Apartheid system. A few days later Tiro was expelled by an (all-white) disciplinary committee. Student action in support of Tiro soon led to the expulsion of every single student at Turfloop - a wave of militant student protest spread across the country. Tiro's speech had struck a deep chord and the fundamental dissatisfaction of blacks with the educational institutions allowed them was summed up in a students' manifesto drawn up at Fort Hare, which declared:-

> "We, the students of Fort Hare, believe that all Black institutions of higher learning are founded upon an unjust political ideology of a white racist regime bent on annihilating all intellectual maturity of Black people in South Africa."

Until its final banning October 19, 1977, SASO remained a focus of black opposition to government policy. Earlier in that same year Steven Biko, first president of SASO died violently in the hands of the security police. Some two years previously Onkgopotse Tiro had been killed by a parcel bomb while in exile in Botswana.

School Students Organisation

In 1970 senior pupils from schools in Soweto met to establish an organization for secondary school pupils. They were able to establish contact with schools in the Eastern Cape and Eastern Transvaal and together with them formed the South African Students Movement (SASM).

SASM concerned itself primarily with the problem of Bantu Education with it felt was designed "to domesticate, not to educate". SASM activities did a lot to open up a discussion of Bantu Education among the scholars themselves, and the organization played a leading role in the dramatic events surrounding the 1976 uprising. As with SASO, SASM was declared an illegal organization on October 19, 1977.

The 1976 Revolt

Instructions issued from the office of the Minister of Bantu Education that half of the subjects in standard five and six be taught in Afrikaans constituted the immediate reason for the June 16 DEMONSTRATION. From a strictly educational

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point of view a switch to Afrikaans would have been disasterous. Nearly all African teachers had received their own training in English and could not possibly have conducted a course of instruction in Afrikaans. English was moreover the main language of industry and commerce, an international language, and the medium through which contact could be maintained with the rest of Africa. The language issue provided a point of unity for the community and offered a clear theme around which an anti-Bantu Education campaign could be built. The reaction against this particular government decree however, reflected a general mood of resistance to an undemocratic and discriminatory education system.

On June 13; SASM decided to hold a mass demonstration against the imposition of Afrikaans and formed an action committee consisting of two delegates from each school in Soweto; this body was to become known as the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC). On June 16, 200 000 students converged on Orlando Stadium in what was intended as a peaceful demonstration. The police opened fire and Hector Peterson, a 13 year old student, became the first of many victims of the 1976 rebellion. Student response was violent and vehicles belonging to the West Rand Administration Board were burnt and its offices destroyed. Beerhalls, liquor stores, a bank and a hotel, as well as several post offices suffered a similar fate. Within 24 hours the seething unrest had spread throughout Soweto and Prime Minister Vorster announced in Parliament that the police had been instructed to maintain law and order at all costs.

During the following week, the violence spread throughout the townships of the Reef and Pretoria to Nelspruit, Klerksdorp, Bothaville, Kimberly, Langa and Nyanga in the Cape, as well as to the campuses of Turfloop and Ngoye. July witnessed a resurgence in the struggle as it was carried forward to the remainder of the Transvaal, Natal, Kwazulu, and the Orange Free State, under the aegis of SASM who threw all their efforts into realizing the country-wide nature of the crises.

In August the revolt assumed new dimensions as the Cape coloured' students came out in support of the African schools rebellion. What had started as a peaceful protest march against the enforced usage of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction had turned into a full blooded rebellion in which the police shot to kill. Most alarming from the point of view of state power was that student activists began to reach out toward worker and community groups and a series of huge stay-aways rocked the economy. Thousands of students poured out of South Africa as refugees, many of them finding their way into the guerilla training camps of the ANC.

From Student Struggle to Class Struggle

The student unrest begun in 1976 continued to simmer throughout 1977 and by October of that year boy-
COTTA OR CLOSURES had put 200000 out of school

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and over 500 teachers had resigned rather than teach Bantu Education. In an event which clearly showed the shape of things to come Soweto pupils waged a campaign against the Urban Bantu Council as a 'collaborationist institution' causing its collapse. October 19, 1977 saw a massive state crackdown as 17 black organizations were outlawed. Individual activists were banned, detained and harassed. By the beginning of 1979 the schools had again begun to function with some semblance of normality, but June and November saw the formation of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students Organization (AZASO): organizations at school and university level pledged to fight Bantu Education. Police intimidation of COSAS and AZASO was immediate but their membership continued to grow in leaps and bounds.

By 1980 student opposition to state power had reached a new level of sophistication. In April coloured' students began a campaign against racist education and poor educational facilities which spread rapidly throughout the country, incorporating both Indians and Africans. Black parents played a prominent role too amidst growing calls for a worker-student alliance - in the townships "parents-students" and "street" committees took up issues such as consumer boycotts, rent increases and bus fare increases. The national solidarity shown in the schools and universities dismayed the state but detention and police terror totally failed to stop the students' organizational thrust.

In 1981 the regime attempted to hold national celebrations commemorating 20 years of "Republic". The massive anti-Republic Day campaign waged by progressive groups across the country found the school and universities to be a sea of militancy and political energy. Unity among student groupings was unprecedented as black, 'coloured' Indian and even some white students rallied behind the demand for the final abolition of Bantu Education together with the entire Apartheid structure. On Republic day, May 31, the green, black and gold flag of the African National Congress flew at black schools and universities throughout the country.

A generation of students had completely rejected an educational modus operandi geared to producing semi-literate and docile labour units for incorporation within the industrial and agricultural work-force. Student struggle was able to become class-struggle at the point when the students realized the role played by Bantu education in perpetuating and developing the deep cleavages within the society. In reaching out organizationally towards the trade unions, the community groups, and the other institutions of the working class, the students penetrated the logic of their inferior educational facilities and struck a blow against the cycle of oppression and exploitation into which they have been placed.

FUTURE ALTERNATIVES

The Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955, states that 'the doors of learning and of culture shall be opened'. How could this deeply-held desire of the South African people be put into practice in a future fundamentally altered South Africa?

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Ending of Discrimination

The current system is racial, discriminatory and unequal. There are at present four departments (one for each 'racial group') involved in the administraion of education.

The Freedom Charter demands unambiguously a non-racial, non-discriminatory and equal education for all children. There would be only one education department. Education would be free and universal.

Relevance

A 1981 publication by the Black students Society (BSS) of the University of the Witwatersrand describes some of the prominent features of racial education as bureaucracy, authoritaianism and an inaccurate and irrelevant syllabus. Teachers and text-books are regarded as the only sources of knowledge and the mechanical learning of facts predominates.

The BSS publication suggests the implementation of a radically different educational method. A future system would involve the participation of teachers and pupils in a learning partnership. The syllabus would be dictated by the skills required by the society and students would be encouraged to draw upon their own vital and valuable experience of life. Pupils would be guided towards a critical understanding of the uses and applications of the knowledge they acquire.

Rational Goals

The Black Students Society goes on to show how the education system in South Africa is structured so as to produce a cheap and obedient labour force. Its functioning is premised on limited opportunities for blacks, high drop-out rates and massive unemployment. The aims, ideology and interests of the ruling group are furthered and one culture, i.e. European-cum-American, dominates all the rest.

The BSS suggest that in a rational system individuals would be exposed to a variety of opportunities for personal growth and would choose work suited to their skill, ability, temperament and sense of enjoyment. Education would foster the well being of the whole community and the learning process process would be seen as occurring throughout life. Education should be a cultural rendezvous; in South Africa for example there are rich possibilities for the absorption and mixing of African, Indian European and Coloured cultures.

Resource Organization

In a future South Africa the state would need to embark on a massive upgrading of the presently neglected educational facilities, including vast improvements in teacher-training facilities. This would involve a considerably higher percentage of GNP expended on education than the present 3.5 percent.

Democratic South Africans also insist that adult education should become a state priority. Every factory and farm should have a workers education program from basic literacy through to upgrading in their own skill, as well as training in other skills useful to the community. In a liberated South Africa educational facilities and opportunities would be extended to every person, whether black or white, urban or rural young or old.

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History of Black Organisations and the Socialist Movement

Joe Phaahla

First of all I wish to pay tribute to all our people who have paid enormous sacrifices for the liberation struggle in S.A. - since the arrival of colonial forces in 1652 - more especially those who have paid the highest sacrifice to our struggle which is life itself.

Discussion of any political history is a very difficult one because of the various factors which influence people s thinking at any particular time in history. This becomes more so when one attempts to discuss a history of political struggle because the people confronted by the task of dismantling the status quo at anytime are at a disadvantage to those of us who have the opportunity of analysing their activities in retrospect. Again, as much as one may attempt to be objective, it is very difficult for one not to be subjective because analysis itself is a subjective phenomenon. However I am going to try and do my best although I should concede on the onset that I'll also be subjective in one way or another.

In order to start a discussion on any process of political struggle it is important that one sets out a broad framework of analysis within which one can then try to place the topic under discussion into perspective. I want to say at the outset that whatever criticism I will make of any tendencies or actions by certain organisation is not meant to ridicule them but rather is an attempt at positive constructive criticism the same goes to individuals.

1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Capitalist exploitation is an international phenomenon which manifests itself in different political and social systems in various parts of the world - the common feature amongst these nations being exploitation of man by man. The political system in some countries is that of liberal democracies as is the case in Western Europe and North America. In parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa, the political system is that of monarchial dictatorship as in Morocco and Saudi Arabia or military dictatorship as in Argentina, El Salvador, Liberia - just to name a few. The rest of Africa, Asia and Latin America is today under the grip of post-colonial neo-colonialism which is characterised by an alliance between international monopoly capital and the indigenous petty bourgeoise class in the exploitation of the majority. A few of the post-colonial African, Latin American and Asian together with East-European countries are involved in struggle to build a socialist democracy in their countries. These type of

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countries are under continuing harrassment by the imperialist countries who wish to reverse the course of history.

South Africa remains the only country in Africa or even the whole world where the political and social system highly resembles that of colonialism except for the fact that there is no specific metropolitan state to which the dominant white group owes allegiance. Our analysis of the South African liberation struggle should therefore closely resemble the analysis of the struggle in colonial situations.

Colonialism as a form of capitalist exploitation and expansionism can be said to have four basic tenents:

1) Exploitation of the labour of the indigenous masses.
2) Expropriation of raw materials and profits of exchange.
3) Physical suppression of the masses through the army and police.
4) Ideological control through mainly religion, education and the mass media.

For effective control of the indigenous mass a petty bourgeois group must be allowed to grow to a certain extent. This can be drawn from the local traditional authorities in the form of chiefs and headmen and the emerging intellectual group, eg. priests, lawyers and doctors. However because of the need to maintain racism as a form of ideological control, the indigenous petty bourgeoisie cannot be completely assimilated in the ranks of the foreign petty bourgeosie who form the foundation of security of the interests of the small capitalist class. As a result, although the indigenous petty bourgeosie is allowed to develop, this can only be accommodated to a certain extent. They also still experience a great amount of suppression by way of political legislation.

The indigenous petty bourgeoisie therefore has two alternatives in their struggle for survival -

a) They can put themselves completely at the mercy of the colonial master and assist whole heartedly in the subjugation of the indigenous masses.
b) They can align themselves with the mass of the exploited and oppressed indigenous majority and join hands in the struggle to bring to an end colonial rule. The nature of the alliance with the masses is also very important, for it determines the type of society which will emerge after the colonisers have been removed from power. This can take two alternatives.
c) An alliance of convenience as a result of the realisation of the petit bourgeoisie that without the involvement of the masses the colonial powers cannot be removed. This is an opportunistic alliance where the petit bourgeoisie uses the masses as a ladder of climbing to the top. This is reflected very clearly during the course of struggle itself. The petit bourgeoisie agitates the masses into action through the use of vague political slogans which appeal emotionally. They build themselves into symbols of resistance who are followed fanatically by a confused mass. This can take the form of a pseudo religious or actually

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religious or cultural movement rallied around slogans. Economic contradictions and the primary economic motive of colonialism and racist oppression are not spoken about and the economic contradictions within the indigenous people are buried forever Within this we find slogans such as 'Africa for the Africans' from Marcus Garvey, 'drive the white man into the sea' from the PAC, 'Black man you are on your own' and 'Black is Beautiful' from BC organisations.

> The petit bourgeoisie can however forge a progressive alliance with the masses. Here the petit bourgeoisie take the initial leadership of the liberation movement while making sure that the masses learn through struggle to take their destiny into their own hands. The economic motive of political oppression is made to be understood by the masses to ensure that their needs take top priority in the aims of the movement. The contradictions between the indigenous people are made very clear so that the masses are not fooled around.

The South African liberation struggle is no exception to this broad generalisation.

At the turn of the century after the defeat of the Bambata rebellion in 1906 - the indigenous petty bourgeoisie in the form of chiefs and the educated elite realised the need to come together in order to challenge colonialism. In so doing the ANC was founded in 1912 - through the initiative of people like Pixley Seme, Rev John Dube, Dr D D T Jabavu, Sol Plaatjie and others amongst the intellectuals. The nature of their programmes indicate very clearly that these were people who although touched by the plight of the impoverished African masses, were more agitated by their frustration of being ignored by the colonial power structure. It is a result of this that we see them sending deputations to the queen persistently to protest against the lack of consultation by the local colonial powers. It was at this stage that the roots of what was to become known as B.C. in 1969 were sown.

The reasons why I say this is made clearer is if we look at how B.C. emerged. A central role was played by intellectuals in both instances who laid the basis for national unity.

For a long time the petty bourgeoisie attempted to fight the struggle alone without involving the masses. Even after trade union movements eg. ICU were established, there was very little relationship between the masses and the ANC the political movement had political power as its target and not the equitable distribution of wealth and creation of a workers or peasant state. The ANC was very anti communist, because the chiefs feared that an equitable distribution of the country's wealth would mean they will lose their land to the peasants. This crystallised with the expulsion of the President, Gumede, after his visit to the USSR.

Right up to the 1940's the relationship between the ANC and the workers movement was a very weak one. The work of organising the workers was mainly in the hands of the Communist Party. The ANC would occasionally join hands with the workers mainly on political issues and on issues which would affect the

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petit bourgeoisie as well, such as the anti-pass campaigns.

The leadership of the ANC realised that to be successful they needed the support of the workers but they were not prepared to build up the movement so that the workers could develop their own leadership and take over the direction of the political movement.

The formation of the ANC Youth League gave a greater momentum to the drive for political power. Here again we see the masses being concretely called upon to help the intellectuals get rid of their political frustrations. This is noted by the nature of the appeals made by the Youth League - as reflected by Anton Lembede the first president. "The African has a primary interest and an inalienable right to Africa which is his continent and motherland. The Africans have a divine destiny to make Africa free among the people of the earth. To achieve African freedom, Africans must build a national liberatory movement and adopt the creed of African nationalism led by Africans themselves." This was using rhetoric and emotional language to win over the masses.

Some of the members of the Youth League, however, moved from this position and accepted not only the central role of the masses but the need to train the masses to learn to take their future into their own hands. The masses were therefore mobilised on issues which affected them and therefore there was no need for racist slogans like "Drive the white man into the Sea." It was therefore possible to unite with other groups dedicated to the overthrow of exploitation.

Some of the African petit bourgeoisie feared that an alliance with other groups would jeopardize their leadership. Thus we see the PAC break-away in 1959. And in order to win the following of the masses they returned to emotional appeals to the masses. They feared that the masses would develop their own leadership and take the initiative of the struggle. While the PAC rejected alliances with organisations like the Congress of Democrats on the basis that they were white organisations we see a paradoxical type of situation where the PAC had a very effective alliance with the Liberal Party. Patrick Duncan played quite a crucial role in the future of the PAC. Thus white participation was not so much of an issue as was first made out. Rather with the type of petit bourgeois leadership which wants to maintain itself, such that with the success of the struggle they can be the ones who can climb the political ladder. They want the masses to remain docile and only be agitated to the extent that they can rally behind the leadership and not develop their own leadership.

The 1960's saw the crushing of both the ANC and the PAC by massive state power. The masses were demoralised and leaderless. In the long period following this, the government entrenched its politics in the form of bantustans, CRC s, SAIC's, etc. In this political vacuum, we see again young black intellectuals, not being able to tolerate the type of frustration of not being able to realise their ambitions. Thus it was again the students and not the masses who took the initiative.

To put into perspective why it was the students again and not

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the masses who took the initiative, I want to quote one of the people who is still today quite closely involved in the Black Consciousness Movement, Quarish Patel. He wrote in 1979: "The reason for the students taking the lead in the black struggle can be traced to the fact that they were outside the process of the means of production and distribution. Their resulting militant consciousness which filled the political vacuum after the Sharpeville watershed could not be conditioned or influenced by the stiffling influence of the productive/ consumptive relationship.

On this strength BC as an ideology set the pace of a new political era. But precisely because of the black students' position outside the means of production and distribution, there was an inbuilt limit to BC as it was then conceived.

A group of black students found themselves in a situation where their only outlet for political action was NUSAS, which they perceived as an organisation which was too liberal and which was not addressing itself to the problems confronting the majority of the oppressed people. And therefore realising the common political oppression of Africans, Coloureds and Indians, the students decided to come together and form an organisation called SASO.

Students are outside the process of production and therefore do not experience the contradictions which manifest themselves especially in the process of production. On the factory floor you see racial discrimination in operation, where Indians will, for example, automatically get a higher position of employment than an African person. This is a strategy adopted not only the Government but also by the capitalist bosses.

So due to the fact that students are removed from the process of production, we can come together simply on the basis that we are excluded from the political process. There is no material contradictions present among students and therefore it becomes very easy to form a common alliance.

There are similarities between the formation of BC and the ANC Youth League. A characteristic of both is the intellectual nature of the organisations.

When the ANC was formed in 1912, it was soon after the last armed rebellion (the Bambata Rebellion) had been crushed, where the mass resistance to colonialism had just been defeated. It was not possible for the masses at this stage to effectively take over the struggle because there had been demoralisation and reorganisation was needed. In 1960 the mass political movements had been crushed and the masses were demoralised. And again we see the intellectuals taking the initiative.

Another similarity between BC and the Youth League was the emphasis on psychological emancipation. Little attention was paid to the production process. In the years 1973 1974 SASO was at its peak with intensive activity such as the pro-Frelimo rallies and the expulsion of Tiro from Turfloop. 1973 was also the year when the workers movement started to take initiative especially in the form of the Durban strikes. Significantly the headquarters of SASO was in Durban and

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many leaders were based in Durban. Yet while there was intensive activity by the workers and students, there was no relationship or correlation between the activities of the two sectors.

This was true too for the BC organisation which developed such as Black Community Programmes. This was an attempt to form a more broad political movement. But due to the fact that it was mainly based on psychological liberation and was not addressing itself to the day-to-day issues which affect the majority of the people, there was not much which was achieved in the form of attracting workers. The masses of the oppressed people were not drawn into the political organisation.

They were not expecting the masses to take the leadership of the organisation. This was reflected in the SASO Constitution and Black Students Manifesto. Slogans like "Students are the vanguard of the struggle and the conscious of the community" were common.

There were attempts to form a workers section in the form of the Black Allied Workers Union. This was perceived as being the workers wing of the BC movement and people felt that they needed to organise workers through the philosophy of BC and not based on the day-to-day problems of the workers. Few workers were drawn into this type of trade union.

The economic plan of the Black Peoples Convention gives us a clear conception of the type of society which they foresaw. This economic plan was broadly called "Black Communalism".

If we look at this plan its outcome would be - if you remove the existing white government and replace it with a black, BPC government - almost the same type of relationship existing except that what at the present moment is beneficial only to whites, would then be beneficial to blacks only. The workers themselves are not able to determine how they are going to do their work and what they are going to produce, but rather the state will determine what is going to happen to the workers. Here we see an elite trying to ascend to the top by using the mass of the oppressed people as a ladder to get to the top.

It is useful to look at the concept of nationalism in this discussion of BC, for BC is one form of nationalism. It is necessary to look at the colonial situation in S.A. where capitalist exploitation has taken a racist form. Nationalism can take two directions. Anti-white slogans in themselves are primitive manifestations of political awareness. It is the duty of the advanced political activists to make sure that the primitive type of political awareness which develops should be translated into positive political action whereby the masses can ultimately identify the actual enemy, which is exploitation of man by man. But this depends on the type of leadership that develops, especially from the intellectual group. The type of political organisation which develops must be able to accommodate both the development of primitive political consciousness and create the necessary structure which will make it possible for the political understanding of the masses to develop.

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After the 1977 bannings of BC organisations, there was a feeling among some that this was a time of reassessment of the direction and gains that had been made. In August 1978, an organisation was launched in Johannesburg called AZAPO, the Azanian Peoples Organisation. It was clear right from the start that the direction of the organisation was going to change, there was going to be more emphasis on the involvement of workers. They felt that previous organisations had been led by students who were outside of the production process which made it impossible for them to attract the mass of the people.

They said that the workers were the vanguard of the struggle and went on to define all blacks as workers. This sounds very contradictory. They said that black workers were the vanguard of the struggle and since all blacks are workers, blacks must be a vanguard within a black movement, which in a way sounds a bit rhetorical. By confusing the situation in this way, the leadership is denying the fact that the leadership is petit bourgeois leadership and that for the organisation to take a correct direction it has to promote forums through which the workers can take the leadership of the organisation. But then by saying that all blacks are workers, in other words that there is no reason to promote any separate group such that it can ultimately take leadership of the struggle because we are all the same - we are all blacks and all workers.

Later on, we see a further development in AZAPO itself. A quote from the National Organiser of AZAPO in 1980, Leonard Mosala, illustrates this:

> "AZAPO's significance is for the black working class based on grassroots leadership and with a programme for society as a whole. This is completely different from the change envisaged by the integrationist which creates a middle-class black who feels protected by maintenance of capitalism. Integrationists of this type, means blacks accepting white institutions, norms and values with the implication of black inferiority . . . whites who appear sympathetic to the black cause more often than not want to form alliances on a leadership level, rather than joining at grassroots level. They thus want to fight our struggle for us, by giving us the lead...we in the black consciousness movement advocate an open, egalitarian society where skin pigmentation will not play a part. But we also believe the tactics to achieve liberation won't necessarily be the same with those required to reconstruct a new society."

Here we see the organisation denying a very important principle of any organisation involved in struggle - that the nature of the struggle is going to reflect the type of society that is going to come.

I think that the arguments he puts forward, although very contradictory, but especially for NUSAS, as a white student movement, it is very important that people understand clearly the type of involvement which they can get into.

40 We have to realise that because of the racist nature of exploitation in South Africa, it is inevitable that the people who are becoming politically conscious and wanting to bring

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to an end their political oppression, in the initial stages before the people can develop a higher political consciousness, it is inevitable that they will start by developing a nationalist hatred of the colonial situation. It is wrong for certain political leaders then to take advantage of this type of development and not want to make the masses develop a further political understanding, further than the basic nationalist contradictions.

The fact that people do have at some stage those type of conceptions does not necessarily mean that they are reactionary. It is just a stage in their political development. In a way, BC was just a form of political consciousness which reflected this situation and therefore in itself was not a reactionary move. Just as with the beginnings of the ANC and ANC Youth League in the 40's, people developed from a situation where they were rallied together on slogans such as Africa for Africans' but due to further political involvement people came to understand the political contradictions beyond this type of situation.

(16) 4/9/87

The student movement since 1977, has developed differently from AZAPO. In 1979, after a two year period of reassessment, black high school students came together to form the Congress of South African Students. Students were able to reflect back on the mistakes of the past and realised that during the uprisings not enough groundwork had been laid. So when students realised that students alone could not challenge the system and that there was a need to rally the workers as well, there was not any groundwork laid for this. Therefore the situation which developed was one of the most nasty confrontations in our history - the clashes between students and workers, especially between students and the workers of Mzimhlope Hostel. Students had to coerce workers not to go to work.

(16) 4/9/87

Later in 1979, AZASO was formed. Initially it was formed as a supposed university student wing of AZAPO. But the university students also took a new direction. There was the possibility then of going to the other extreme - of students emphasising more of a student-worker relationship and actually ignoring the important fact that as students we are still primarily needed to challenge the education system.

Therefore we see, especially after the 1980 boycotts, a steady emphasis of student movements, both COSAS and AZASO, and to a certain extent within NUSAS also, there was this type of emphasis on worker issues.

This type of emphasis can also be misleading. As much as all fronts of the struggle should work together, it is also important each front of struggle should know where its priorities lie and we being primarily a student movement, have got a responsibility therefore to challenge the education system. It is out of this realisation that at the recent congress of AZASO, it was decided that students should embark on a programme to launch an Education Charter, which COSAS has also endorsed.

By learning from past mistakes we as students will ultimately discover the correct role which we as students have to play in the struggle.

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29. Kane-Berman J., Black Revolt, White Reaction (Johannesburg 1978) p 2.
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32. Defence White Paper. 1977.
33. Cillie Commission Report on the Riots 1976. (Pretoria 1979) pp 556 - 557.
34. Cited by Kare-Berman (1978) p 24.
35. Cillie Commission p 604.
36. Cape Times 18.5.80.
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38 Pityana B., "Power and Social Change in South Africa" in H W van der Merwe and D Welsh (eds) Student Perspectives in South Africa (Cape Town 1971 p 180
39. Faron F , The Wretched of the Earth (Middlesex 1975) p 53.
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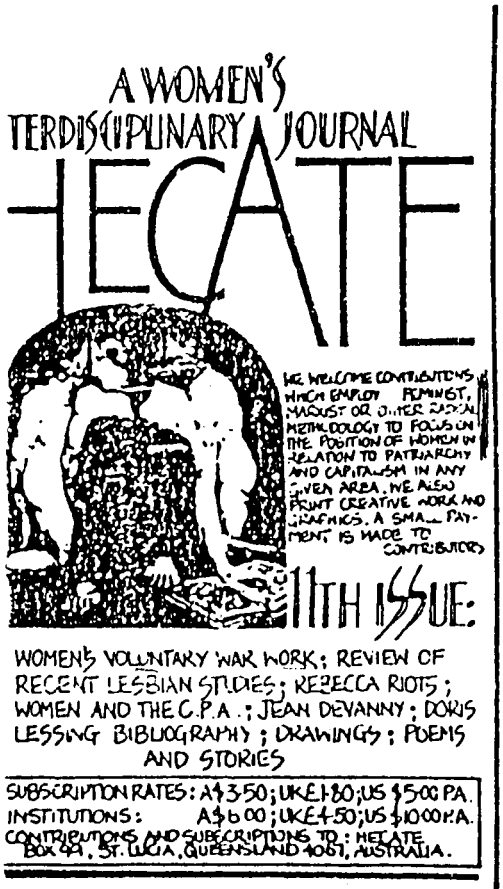

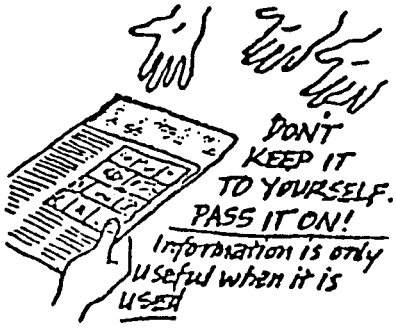

The above drawing is from "Critical Health" No 1, a new journal recently started by a group of students at the Wits medical School. "Critical Health" provides a critique of conventional curative medicine and is interested in looking at preventive and community-based medicine as playing a broader role in the numerous factors involved in health such as 'socio-economic, political, cultural, educational, and others'. "Critical Health" is particularly interested in health in the South African Context.

This journal sells for 40c and if you should wish to support this new journal send R1.60 (for 4 issues) to : Critical Health c/o Medical Students Council, Wits Medical School, Esselen Street, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 2001.

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The Parents' School Boycott: Eastern Cape and East Rand Townships, 1955

Tom Lodge

In 1955, the South African government assumed control over black education. The Bantu Education Act (1953) transferred administrative responsibility for black education from the provincial authorities to a Government Department. The content of the syllabus, the employment of teachers, the admission of pupils - all previously matters over which schools themselves had a degree of autonomy in decision-making - were now subject to central authority.

The Bantu Education Act was vigorously opposed in the South African press, various public forums and by some white and many black opposition politicians. The opposition was ineffective in altering government policy and in many areas did not succeed in arousing much popular participation. This paper will be looking at those instances in which opposition to Bantu education did transform itself into a popular movement. This was particularly the case in the East Rand townships as well as, to a lesser extent, the Eastern Cape urban centres and black rural communities. In tracing the local antecedents and history of this movement it is hoped the paper will provide some understanding of broader traditions of popular resistance in these places, as well as an appreciation of why these were stronger in some centres rather than in others. So, first of all, this paper is an essay on local history, with an especial concern for documenting some of the popular movements of the East Rand, a region hitherto unexplored by most researchers. Secondly, the intention is to situate education and popular desire to participate in it and have some control over it, as one of a range of issues which in the post-war period in South Africa struck a particular resonance with poor people; an issue, which together with such concerns as the cost of transport, the price of food, the availability of housing, and freedom of movement, lay at the heart of mass political responses in those years.

Before 1955 most African schooling was run by missionary societies. Schools could qualify for state financial aid if they registered with the Provincial Education Department. Registration required conforming to syllabuses laid down by the Department but the day-to-day administration of the school was in the hands of a superintendent employed by the province and advised by an elected parents' school committee. School syllabuses varied between provinces but were all specially written for African primary school children though secondary school pupils followed the same curriculum as their white peers (1).

Though the system included some justly prestigious schools, it had serious shortcomings. Being atrociously paid, teaching was not an attractive profession and many teachers were under-qualified. Mission control could be heavyhanded and paternalistic and resentment of it (especially at rural boarding institutions)

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would often boil over in fierce and destructive riots. (2) There was a vast imbalance in the number of primary and secondary schools. By 1945 the system was seriously underfinanced as expenditure depended on the level of African taxation revenues. Finally, wartime industrialisation and its corollary, urbanisation, had contributed to fresh pressures on the educational system. By 1953 African school enrollment had risen by 300 000 or 50 per cent since the war. Classrooms were crowded teachers overworked, and parents desperate to get their children into schools filled beyond capacity.

The need for some form of public intervention was beyond dispute. The African National Congress's (ANC) "African claims" in 1943 had called for free compulsory education provided by the state (3), and in the Transvaal by 1949, 800 of the 2 000 mission schools, in response to the feelings of African parents, had been placed under direct departmental control. (4) Black communities themselves were willing to make considerable sacrifices raising the money for extra teachers' salaries, classroom buildings and equipment as well as establishing their own independent schools. "Shanty" secondary schools existed in 1948 in Orlando, Western Native Township, Brakpan and Atteridgeville. (5) In Alexandra, an independent primary school, Haile Selaisse School, founded in 1950, was to play a significant role in the 1955 boycott (6)

The Nationalist Government accepted the need for intervention, though its first concern was not so much with meeting African educational needs, but rather in attempting to control the social consequences of educational expansion. Consequently its concern was to restructure rather than reform the system Increasing numbers of literate job-seekers with basic clerical skills were being thrown into an employment market increasingly reluctant to absorb them. Crude sociological considerations were foremost in the minds of the policymakers. In the words of Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs.

> ... good racial relations are spoilt when the correct education is not given. Above all, good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality if let me say, for example, a communist gives this training to Natives. (7)

It is doubtful that many missionaries had quite such egalitarian beliefs as Verwoerd was to attribute to them and certainly few were communists and the government was to considerably underestimate the difficulties of instilling an ideology of subordination Official thinking on African education was tendentious, naive, and brutally simple. In 1949 the Eiselen Commission was set up to produce a blueprint for "Education for Natives as a Separate Race Its report was published in 1951. Its "guiding principles" included the reconstruction and adaption to modern requirements of "Bantu Culture" the centralisation of control the harmony of schools and "Bantu Social Institutions", increased use of African languages and personnel, increased community involvement in education through parents' committees, efficient use of funds than increased expenditure on mass education. Black social expectations were to be orientated to the reserves ("there is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour"); (8). Community participation in partly elected committees and boards would serve to legitimise the system as well as giving neo-traditional "Bantu Authorities" tighter control. Central dictation of syllabuses would ensure the production of skills appropriate to a subordinate role in the economy

> A beginning (at the end of Standard 2) should be made with the teaching of at least one official language on a purely utilitarian basis, i.e. as a medium of oral expression of thought to be used in contracts with the European sector of the population. Manipulative skills should be developed and where possible an

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interest [illegible] the soil and in the observation of natural phenomena stimulated. (9)

Cost per pupil would be lowered and expansion facilitated by the use of shorter double daily sessions, the employment of underqualified female assistants, and the pegging of the state financial contribution (the balance to be drawn from African taxation). As much as possible, post-primary schools were to be sited "away from an urban environment" in the reserves.

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed transferring direct control of education from the provinces to the Native Affairs Department. All schools had to be registered, all state-aided schools had to be staffed by government-trained teachers, and all would have to use official syllabuses. Mission schools from 1957 could continue only if they registered - they would receive no subsidy. Syllabuses for primary schools outlined in 1954, though in operation only from 1956, stressed obedience, communal loyalty, ethnic and national diversity, the acceptance of allocated social roles; piety, and identification with rural culture. (10)

Superficially, the new order had some features which may have appeared attractive to some African parents. Access to education was to become a little easier and school boards and communities provided an illusion of local accountability. But to parents whose children were already at school (as opposed to those whose children were not) Bantu Education promised obvious disadvantages. These included the linguistic problem produced by the official insistance on primary school children learning the fundamentals of both official languages (making it less easy to acquire proficiency in one, English, which was a minimum requirement for most white-collar employment); and two issues which effectively made life more difficult for working mothers - the shortening of primary school hours and the closing down of many nursery schools. School boards and committees were at best only partially elected - nominated members were likely to be unpopular, and in rural areas were often compliant servants of the local authorities. Fierce competition for elected places on such committees (11) testifies probably more to parental anxiety than approval of the system.

The rural and "tribal" bias of the proposed syllabuses would have been especially objectionable to parents in long-established urban communities. The linking of education with "development" ensured its unpopularity with societies resisting government land "rehabilitation" and stabilisation schemes.

Less apparent at the scheme's inception was the fact that the system was going to impose increasing financial obligations on African communities. For example, a two shilling monthly education levy was implemented on urban households (12) teacher:pupil ratios would increase (13), per capita expenditure would decrease (14), school meals services would be shut down and the abolition of caretakers' posts would make pupils responsible for school cleaning. (15) For an underprivileged society in which access to education provided the most common means of social mobility, for one's children these were serious blows.

Popular involvement in educational issues considerably predates opposition to Bantu Education. In its most positive form there was the establishment on local African initiatives of schools entirely independent of external administration or finance. The shanty school movement of the Reef townships mentioned above is an example of this. Popular concern could take the form of resistance : for example in 1944 the Amalgamated Mission School in Brakpan was boycotted by the parents of some of its 900 African pupils. Mothers picketed the school's entrance and persuaded children to return home in protest against the dismissal by the Education Department of a politically active school teacher (see below)(16).

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[illegible] incident. In 1952 a parents' protest committee organised [illegible] High School after three teachers, who had publicly [illegible] recommendations, were sacked (see below). The parents established a 'people's school" for boycotters. The protest committee was headed by the Chairman of the local ANC branch, I M Maseko, and apparently gained wide local support. Less than a third of the pupils attended school in the two month boycott. Parental indignation in this case was intensified by the venality of the local superintendent (17). Political groups sometimes attempted to enhance their following through sharing popular educational concerns. The South African Communist Party's night school programme was a good example of this. Less well known was the ANC Youth League's establishment of a "shanty school" in Newclare to cater for children who had been refused admission at local schools through lack of accommodation (18) or the League's projected 1949 night school and literacy campaign (19). There is evidence that in urban African communities at least, education was an issue evoking common interest and, at times, anxiety.

Not surprisingly, the earliest concerted resistance to Bantu Education proposals came from that group most directly affected and most sensitive to their implications - the teachers. Bantu Education, because of the "Africanisation" of lower reaches of the inspectorate and the expansion of schools, did offer to teachers a slight improvement in promotion possibilities. However, in many other respects the profession was to be degraded. Teachers would have to work a double session day with larger classes employment qualifications would be lowered, salaries (it was made quite clear) would remain at their existing (and inadequate) levels, and teachers would be reduced to the level of State employees (20). They would also be directly subordinated to the sometimes uneducated members of school boards which had the power to recommend their dismissal (21). Verwoerd made little effort to conceal official hostility to the profession :

> The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu community. He must learn not to feel above his community, with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community. He becomes frustrated and rebellious when this does take place, and he tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such misdirected ambitions which are alien to his people. (22)

Teachers' opposition to Bantu Education came mainly from two sources . the Cape and Transvaal African Teachers' Associations (CATA and TATA) (23). Let us examine developments in the Cape first.

Of all the different teachers' organisations CATA was the earliest to become politicised. In the Cape the Non-European Unity Movement, founded in 1943 and drawn principally from coloured" teachers, from its inception took an interest in educational issues. It and a sister organisation the Teachers League of South Africa, were both affiliated to the All African Convention (AAC), an organisation which had been transformed in the early 1940s by the departure from it of the ANC and the infusion into its leadership of a number of Marxist intellectuals. The AAC had originally been founded as a response to the Herzogite 1936 franchise and land legislation and Marxists within its leadership differed from the more orthodox South African Communists in their preoccupation with agrarian issues. The AAC consequently attempted to build a following among peasants in the Transkei and Ciskei (areas then rather neglected by other national organisations) through its immediate constituency, the teachers in the dense network of mission schools long established in the region. CATA affiliated to the AAC in 1948 and helped organise peasant resistance to the rehabilitation scheme (24). The Transkeian teachers' faction of the AAC (W M Tsotsi, L H Sihlali, A K Manglu, M Mbalo, Z Mzimba, L Nkentane, N Honono et al) were later to break away from their more theoretically purist Cape Town colleagues because they favoured redistribution of land on an individual private basis to the peasantry (25).

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conflict between CATA and educational authorities was in 1950 when CATA, together with the ANC, attacked new provinc[ial] regulations aimed at easing over-crowding by imposing a quota system on schools effectively excluding 30 000 pupils in the Eastern Cape(26). In 1952 CATA's annual conference condemned the Eiselen regulations, calling on its members to "organise the people and explain to them the recommendations of the report", and the following year, in defiance of warnings from the authorities, 200 teachers met at Queenstown to discuss ways of resisting Bantu Education. This had been preceded by a well attended public meeting in Langa, Cape Town, called jointly by CATA and the Vigilance Association to protest against the proposed legislation (27). CATA's attempts to mobilise public opinion were unusual for an African professional body. They were obviously influential; the authorities' alarm at the teachers' agitation against land rehabilitation led to the closure of a school near East London in December, 1953 (28). The following year, spurred by the introduction of double sessions in the Cape, CATA's annual conference called upon "teachers and parents to do everything in their power to oppose the Herrenvolk schemes for their enslavement" (without being very explicit as to what exactly should be done).

The State responded to this opposition by withdrawing recognition from CATA and bestowing it on the newly established and supportive Cape African Teachers' Union (a similar process took place in the Transvaal) and having isolated the militants, ensuring their dismissal through the rural school boards (29) (which were largely composed of Bantu Authorities personnel and their supporters) as well as redundance through especially strict application of higher teacher/pupil ratios (30).

The militant stance of Cape teachers and the severity of departmental response should be understood in the context of the much wider struggle against land rehabilitation and the reorganisation of local government under Bantu authorities, which took an exceptionally intense form in the Transkei and Ciskei (31). Interestingly, teachers were not the only people to link Bantu Education with Bantu Authorities and rural "development" programmes. At Cildara, in the Ciskei, the local Masizakite (acceptance) Association arranged a school competition to popularise Bantu Authorities and promote the substitution of academic with manual subjects (32).

It should be noted that teachers in rural communities during the 1950s were potentially natural leaders of opposition to authority. First of all they were educated men in societies which placed a high premium on education (33). Secondly, they were men with no formal power who were being badly paid; there was little to set them apart from the rest of the community. Thirdly, the Bantu Authority and School Board systems with their elevation to greater power of traditionalist (and hence often illiterate) leaders confronted teachers with a direct threat to their security and status. When teachers were politically motivated, they could be a very important element in rural opposition movements and it is no coincidence that the Bantu Education boycott movement (see below) had its most significant rural impact in the Eastern Cape and adjoining reserves.

The Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) in contrast to CATA was a principally urban-based organisation. African teachers on the Witwatersrand had been especially sharply affected by wartime price rises (TATA's journal, The Good Shepherd, complained in 1942 that Johannesburg domestic servants could earn more than a female teacher) and in 1944 teachers had demonstrated for higher salaries in the streets of Johannesburg (34). Through its partly successful salaries campaign, TATA became a dominant, and in some cases a politicising, force among Transvaal African teachers.

By the end of the decade some of TATA's leaders were tending to identify with the militant assertion taking place in African politics at the time. A 1949 Good Shepherd editorial, taking its cue from Z K Matthews, called for the

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[illegible] One year later [illegible] by G M Pitje of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) who informed his audience that

> God placed Africans in Africa, Europeans in Europe, Asiatics in Asia. (36)

Pitje was in 1954 to become editor of The Good Shepherd. However, the ANC's Africanism was only one of several influences affecting the political outlook of Transvaal teachers. Eskia Mphahlele attributes to the ANC considerably more appeal at that time. Young intellectuals and junior teachers in the Orlando branch of TATA also tried to persuade their branch to take some stand in respect of the May Day strike the ANC and the Communist Party were organising in protest against the Suppression of Communism Act (37).

However, unlike its sister organisation in the Cape, TATA was never to link educational issues with broader concerns and was to resist calls by some of its members for a similar political affiliation to that of CATA (38). It was, however, forthright in its condemnation of Bantu Education, its journal summing up the purpose of the scheme quite succinctly.

> It (the Government commission) wants to find out how it can give the African the training necessary to make him an efficient worker, without giving him any real education, for the simple reason that it would be dangerous if the oppressed sector of the population were sufficiently advanced to fight for their freedom (39).

A group of Orlando teachers, who were elected in 1951 to leading positions on the TATA executive, began to campaign quite effectively along the Reef, organising meetings of teachers and parents to explain and condemn the findings of the Eiselen Commission. Matters came to a head when the Transvaal Chief Inspector of Education was heckled at a prize giving ceremony. The principal reported the teachers he suspected of organising the students to the Department, and they were later sacked. The success of the following boycott (mentioned above) is testimony to their effectiveness in arousing parental concern at the threatened changes (40). From 1952 TATA began organising anti-Bantu Education teachers' conferences in Johannesburg and the East Rand and attempted to set up or revitalise Parent Teachers Associations, so as to lend some popular weight to resistance to Bantu Education. However, progress was slow - by late 1954 there had been formed only in Johannesburg South West Townships, Lady Selbourn and the East Rand (41). At least one of the Parent/Teacher Associations demonstrated the trend of local feeling when, in February 1954, 500 people at a Moroka-Jabavu PTA meeting called for a boycott of schools in the near future (42).

Compared to Cape teachers, the opposition to the Act demonstrated by Transvaal teachers was less widespread. Relatively few Transvaal teachers suffered dismissal from their jobs as the consequence of criticism of the authorities. Unlike their Cape colleagues, Transvaal teachers were subjected from 1950 to a strict provincial prohibition on political activity. Nor did the ANC (unlike the Cape-based organisation) interest itself in the preoccupations of teachers in the early 1950s (43). Nevertheless in the links they did establish with parents through the Associations in Johannesburg and the East Rand, their activity forms an important part of the backdrop to the communal boycott of schools that took place in those areas and to which we now turn.

The conception and preparation of the ANC's campaign to resist Bantu Education has been the subject of one monograph as well as receiving a detailed treatment in Karis and Carter's documentary collection (44). The ANC's approach to the issue was to be characterised by uncertainty and disagreement between different sectors of the leadership and between leaders and rank and file. The decision

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to oppose Bantu Education was taken shortly after the passage of the [illegible] which included the Bantu Education Act amongst its six [illegible] plans for resistance and, agreed at the ANC annual conference held in December 1954 at Durban. Here the National Executive recommended the withdrawal of children from schools for a week. At the same time, the Executive noted in its report that "progress on Bantu Education was very slow in all provinces". However, the conference [illegible] rejected the Executive's proposal in favour of an indefinite boycott, timed to begin on April 1st (the date of the administrative transfer of schools). It was decided that local organisation for the boycott should be in the hands of the Women's and Youth Leagues.

Preparations in the Transvaal began quite buoyantly with the Youth League organising a meeting in early January in Sophiatown, which called for 1 000 volunteer teachers to provide alternative educational facilities. At the same time the Transvaal Youth League established a number of local "anti-Bantu Education committees" (47). However, by February, initial caution of national leaders was beginning to reassert itself. A National Executive Committee meeting held in Durban on March 5th at Chief Lutuli and Z K Matthews' instigation, agreed to postpone the boycott to an unspecified later date. Those who favoured this course were influenced by reports of the intimidation of teachers by the authorities, the announcement that the new syllabus would not be implemented until 1956 and the fact that April 1st was in any case during the Easter recess. They also felt preparations to be inadequate (48). Such apprehensions were not limited to the more conservative leaders; the left wing pro-Congress journal Fighting Talk pointed out in March [illegible] to imagine that the ANC has yet the power to bring about such a boycott in a few months would be totally unreal". Instead of beginning the school boycott in April, the National Executive decided that the ANC should take on the more modest task of mounting a boycott of school boards and committee elections.

This decision prompted open dissension. A special conference held again in Sophiatown the following week reaffirmed the December decision. The Transvaal Youth League enjoyed the support of the Johannesburg based members of the National Executive committee (including Oliver Tambo) and to prevent a serious breech from taking place yet another conference was arranged. This was held in Port Elizabeth on 9th and 10th April, the week-end before schools were due to open (49).

The 700 delegates from all four organisations of the Congress Alliance, as well as two delegates from the Liberal Party, eventually decided on a compromise. In principal, it was agreed government school should be boycotted indefinitely. The date for the initiation of this boycott should be left to the National Executive to decide. If any area had completed its preparations (including the provision of alternative facilities) before that date then with the permission of the National Executive, it could begin its local boycott. Meanwhile the ANC was to discourage participation in school committees and boards. The National Executive would establish a National Educational Council which would make provision for a network of cultural clubs providing informal education (50). The mood of a majority of the delegates was in favour of immediate action, a proposal to limit the boycott for a trial period to the Port Elizabeth area was decisively rejected (51).

The underlying tensions within Congress reflected in these hesitations and compromises are not a major theme in this paper. In brief, they were caused by isolation of some sectors of the leadership from more activist branches as a result of bureaucratic inefficiency; the presence on the National Executive of men who belonged to an older and less militant generation of African politicians; provincial and ideological rivalries; class considerations; and well-founded apprehension concerning Congress' organisational vigour (52). They have been discussed extensively elsewhere. In this paper our concern is to examine the local response to the ANC's boycott appeal and the reasons for its peculiar

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strength in certain areas. First, we will consider the area in which the boycott movement was to have its greatest impact: the townships along the Reef.

Reports of fairly energetic Youth League campaigning of the issue begin to occur several months before April, this being especially the case in the Western Areas (Sophiatown, Newclare, and Western native Townships) which were threatened by a government removal scheme (53). Despite regular rallies and street corner meetings, local politicians appeared to be a little disappointed by public response. One spokesman pointed out at a Sophia town meeting on January 2nd : "It is a pity that I see very little youth here, as they are the people directly affected (by Bantu Education)" (54). One month later there seems to have been little improvement : P Q Vundla, regional chairman, complained : "your organisation (the ANCYL) is very important indeed; but it should be much stronger in this area" (55). However lack of interest amongst many young people did not appear to dampen the confidence of the organisers in Western Native Township:

> "From 1st April is the time we must sit down and work and have our own schools. We have got well educated people like Dr Matthews, Mr Robert Resha, Mr P Q Vundla and Dr Conco to draft the syllabuses for the children. (56)".

Outside the Western Areas, the most active centre appeared to be Benoni and here there was indication from early on that the movement would receive substantial popular support. For example, in February Bantu World reported "growing feeling in Benoni against the Bantu Education Act". A teacher who approved the boycott was threatened at women's prayer meeting and people were contributing generously to the Branch Chairman's fund raising appeal (57). Another encouraging sign was the apparent popular antipathy to the new school committees which were being established under the Act : in early March noisy parents' meetings considered these in Roodepoort, Moroka, Jabavu and Sophiatown (58). In Alexandra too there seemed to be plenty of enthusiasm, though here the branch was divided between those who accepted the need for alliance with non-African political groupings and the Africanists. The latter were led by the soon to be expelled branch chairman, the flamboyant, bearded Josias Madzunya, who used to address his audience as "fellow slaves of Africa". On Bantu Education the Africanist leader proclaimed "they want to teach them that white people originated in Africa" (59). Among Madzunya's opponents on the branch executive was J J Hadebe, a former teacher, who was going to play an important role in the boycott movement later on (see below).

With all this activity it is not surprising that the National Executive decision in early March to postpone the boycott aroused considerable local discontent. On March 13th speakers at a meeting in Orlando proposed there should be established two ANC branches at Orlando - one in opposition to that which obeyed leadership directives. The former squatter leader, Schreiner Baduza (not a Congress member), said : "if I was a member of the Youth League I would say the leaders of the ANC are sellouts, and otherwise I would say 'let us do away with Congress'" Another speaker concluded : "Congress here is nothing. I am sure that the ANC members will do nothing about Bantu Education (60). In the case of Orlando he may have had a point - the branch was riddled by factional disputes and tended to be dominated by Africanists totally at odds with provincial and national leaders.

Elsewhere on the Rand branches ignored the National Executive's postponement decision. In Benoni the ANC resolved to boycott as had been originally decided though amending the date for the inception of the boycott to Tuesday April 12th, the first day of school after the Easter holidays (61). The meeting was addressed by both Robert Resha, national leader of the Youth League and its Transvaal president, H G Makgoethi. A week later a well attended

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gathering in Soweto pledged its support for the boycott (62). By the end of the week the Transvaal Youth League and even some of the older leaders were in open rebellion against the National Executive. A "Save our Children" conference in Orlando came out in favour of the boycott and several eminent individuals including P Q Vundla and Bob Hgwendu (Transvaal ANC executive member) promised to withdraw their own children from school (63).

As we have seen, this rank and file feeling forced the national leaders to reconsider and the Port Elizabeth conference gave a qualified assent to those areas which favoured an immediate withdrawal of school children, subject to National Executive approval in the case of each local movement. By this stage however, branches were acting autonomously of any higher authority. On Tuesday April 12th, children were withdrawn or stayed away from schools in Benoni, Germiston (and Katlehong), Brakpan and Alexandra. In Benoni Youth League volunteers and mothers visited the ten primary schools in the Old Location and ordered all children home (64). In Germiston, events were more dramatic with ANC Youth League volunteers marching through the location streets at 3.30 a.m., shouting slogans and calling on children not to go to school. All school children remained at home until the Congress branch announced that it had opened an "independent school"; rounded up the children and took them there (65). In Katlehong, the new Germiston township, five miles away, 22 women were arrested after police stopped them from taking children out of school. There the local effectiveness of the boycott was to be enhanced as the result of the location's superintendent advising people to keep their children from school the following morning (66). In Alexandra, the ANC branch canvassed houses through the night of the 11th - half the township's school children stayed at home. In the case of Alexandra the provincial ANC president, E P Moretsele, attributed the main responsibility for the boycott to parents rather than the ANC (67). The ANC was apparently anxious to dissassociate itself from some rough behaviour blaming intimidation of school children on "Tsotsis" (68).

In the days which followed the boycott movement was to widen considerably. By Wednesday 3 000 Brakpan children were out of school - the highest figure for any single location. Parents marched with children in a Germiston procession. All Benoni and Germiston schools were empty and in Katlehong Township only 70 out of 1 000 odd pupils at a community school attended (69). On Thursday the Minister of Native Affairs announced that any children not at school by April 25th would receive no further education. The same day a march by women and and children in Benoni was broken up by police. By the following Monday the boycott movement had penetrated Johannesburg with six primary schools in Western Native Township and Newclare abandoned by their 3 500 pupils after visits from Youth League youths and women (70).

The marches and processions continued more or less daily in the effective locations and became increasingly violent in nature. By the end of the week two unsuccessful attempts at arson had been staged against school buildings in Benoni and near Katlehong. On Friday the total number of children out of school exceeded 10 000 and the boycott, still strong in the original centres, had spread to Moroka/Jabavu schools in Soweto and to Sophiatown (though here disaffected parents sent their children, with apparent ANC approval, to the newly established unregistered church school run by Anglican missionaries). Over the weekend, however, threats by authority were having effect: in Western Native Township 3 000 parents resolved to return their children before Verwoerd's deadline. P Q Vundla, the most prominent local ANC leader, supported their decision - an action which was to earn him a beating up by youth leaders and, later expulsion from the ANC.

Notwithstanding Verwoerd's ultimatum, as well as conservative criticism from African politicians and the Bantu World, the third week of the boycott began with nearly 7 000 school children absent and hence banned from further schooling

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The most resiliant boycott centres were Johannesburg's Western Native Township and Brakpan, where loudspeaker vans successfully exhorted parents to keep their children at home and where a teacher's house was set alight (71). 1 300 children were expelled in Brakpan and 2 000 were reported to be still out of school by the beginning of June in the Western Areas (72). In several townships schools were closed down permanently and the 116 redundant teachers sacked (73).

The National Organisation's reaction to these events was somewhat sluggish. Transvaal based Working Committee congratulated the boycotters in a circular dated 23rd April and called for an intensification of the boycott for the next week (74). However, unanimity within the National Executive was achieved only a month later, on May 21st, when an ambitious three phase campaign was announced. The boycott could no longer depend on "haphazard and spasmodic efforts whose origin is unknown" Phase one would involve an educative campaign, phase two, withdrawal of children in areas of readiness where alternative facilities had been prepared, and finally total non-cooperation with all activities directly or indirectly connected with Bantu Education (75).

A serious effort was made to improve "alternative education facilities with the establishment of the African Educational Movement at a meeting in Johannesburg on May 23rd attended by churches, ANC and Congress of Democrat representatives. The AEM however only began operating from the end of June (see below) (76) and meanwhile local Congress organisers ran illegal independent schools" in some of the centres - two accommodating 300 children were broken up by police in Alexandra in June (77). Notwithstanding the courage and commitment of local activists, Congress branches were scarcely equipped to provide facilities for thousands of small children. Organisers would make brave promises about Congress running private schools (78) but some parents in other townships were beginning to consider other options. In some areas the position of anti-boycotters was strengthened by lack of solid support branches received from leadership. A Brakpan school committee member informed the press :

> "When the boycott started we called on the ANC members to tell us what the position was. We asked them what alternative plans there were for the children. They said there were none and they had no instructions from Head Office about that yet. In the meantime nothing would be done (79).

In most of the affected locations local parent organisations tried to establish schools independently of ANC/AEM initiatives. In the Western areas by August 1955 the Matlehomola Private School had 950 children (almost half the children affected by the bans). ANC Officials had sounded out the school's secretary on possibility of their serving on the school's committee. They had been told that before they could stand for election "they must confess to their followers that they have changed and that they support the present system" (80). AEM records mention independent schools in Orlando and Sophiatown, apparently not antagonistic to the ANC (81). In Brakpan a school was opened in September 1955 by the Brakpan Civic Protection Society (a group which grew out of the Brakpan School Committee mentioned above). There was stiff opposition from the ANC. The school was attended by only 230 (in contrast to the local ANC Cultural Club which attracted about 800 boycotters). Unsubsidised private schools could be very expensive (the Sophiatown Christ the King School charged 10/- per month per pupil) (82) and many parents would have been unable to afford high fees. In Germiston there is no evidence of hostility between the ANC branch and any parents. Perhaps this was because here the ANC had succeeded in establishing, despite police interference, a proper school. The 380 children were taught by trained teachers who were Congress members and perhaps because of this the school decided to legalise its status by applying for registration. Registration was refused on the grounds of a technicality but it was suspected that the

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Department regarded it as a "protest school". The school reopened as a cultural club - within the limits of the law so long as no formal education was provided (83). Similarly, there are no indications of a rift in Alexandra but here it was the dissident Africanists who were involved in a community school : the Haile Selaisse School which had existed over the previous 5 years increased its enrollment by nearly 1 000 children. The AEM organiser (probably Hadebe) mentioned in a report difficulties between him and the school because of the involvement of an H S Madzunya (? Josias) "reluctant to work with a committee which has on it Europeans, Coloureds and Indians" The report also mentions a "dissatisfied element" amongst Haile Selaisse's pupils and friction between parents and the school. This could not have been very large; the local cultural club formed partly from disenchanted Haile Selaisse children had only 200 members. Like the Germiston school, Haile Selaisse failed in its bid for registration (84).

How genuinely popular was the boycott movement in its local centres ? Were the Congress branches reflecting local feeling or trying to dictate parental response to Bantu Education ? This is difficult to assess as the available evidence is thin and patchy. The press (uniformly hostile to the boycott from its inception) reported the progress of various deputations from the affected locations which pleaded with the Department for the admission of the expelled children (this was granted over the two year period). But such groups need not have been very representative of the whole community. Apart from the reports concerning tsotsis in Alexandra and an allegation from an obviously partisan Brakpan School committee member there were few accusations of intimidation of parents. The tension which appears to have developed in certain areas between the ANC and boycotters' parents might not have existed at the inception of the boycott : it was probably a result of worries over the quality of alternative educational options offered by the ANC as well as the increasing isolation of the movement. It seems a little unlikely that branches on their own initiative, with no encouragement from higher authority, would have imposed an unpopular policy on their own local constituency. Most telling of all, there are no signs of any apparent decline in ANC support in the East Rand. For example, in Natalspruit and Benoni, in the 1956 elections, the ANC won control of the location advisory boards (85). In Brakpan, the Civic Protection Society, the main local critic of the school boycott, showed its true colours when in March 1956 it opposed a well supported bus boycott led by the ANC and the Vigilance Committee. Obviously the society's leaders were well insulated from the concerns of the former inhabitants of the location (86).

The other area in which the boycott had a certain impact was in the Eastern Cape, like the East Rand - an area in which the urban locations and townships, Congress had a strong following. Here again the boycott movement appeared to suffer from lack of central direction (the Cape-based members of the National Executive were in any case unenthusiastic) and in general was much weaker than in the East Rand. Reports of preparations are sparse : a March meeting in Korsten (Port Elizabeth's oldest location) attended by 3 000 parents called for action on April 1st in conformity with the December ANC resolution (87) and no less than six electoral meetings were held in Grahamstown by the authorities, all of which failed to persuade parents to choose a school committee. Their unwillingness was attributed to Congress influence (88). In the event, despite local rank and file feeling in favour of the boycott (evident at the Port Elizabeth conference in April) children all attended school on April 12th. The next reported activity was in May when Port Elizabeth's New Brighton branch called for a regional boycott of schools from the 23rd. East London's ANC denied any knowledge of this decision. Apparently there had been leadership difficulties which left the local branch in total disarray (89). In any case in East London some ANC members had accepted positions on the new school committees (90).

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Port Elizabeth boycott only slowly gathered impetus from the 23rd. There was a significant police presence that day and many parents escorted their children to school. Parental fears were probably aroused by Verwoerd's threat of instant dismissal of any school children who participated which precluded an even symbolic limited withdrawal. Despite a house-to-house canvass the day before there were no pickets outside schools (91).

Despite this unpromising start the movement was to slowly gather strength, particularly in the small rural towns and villages around Port Elizabeth (92). The Evening Post reported a fairly effective primary school boycott in Kirkwood, the centre of a closely settled citrus farming area (93). ANC influence in this area may have been linked to the local strength of the Food and Canning Workers Union but more research needs to bear this out.

In Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage a second boycott attempt was made in July despite considerable opposition from sections of the location community. Clashes between police and some parents on the one hand and pickets of young men on the other occurred in both centres on the 18th, but despite these difficulties at the end of the first week in August Congress claimed that 1 700 children were staying away from Port Elizabeth schools (94). Altogether the Eastern Cape boycott was to involve, according to the AEM, over 2 500 children from Uitenhage, New Brighton, Korsten, Kirkwood, Missionvale, Kleinvee, Kleinskool and Walmer location (95).

It was a surprisingly light response when one remembers that the Eastern Cape was the storm centre of black politics in the 1950s and an area in which the ANC and the Trade Union movement were comparatively strong and links between the two well developed. Part of the explanation lies in the deep cleavages between grass roots membership and a very cautious leadership still much more than that which prevailed in the Transvaal. T E Tshunungwa, the ANC's 'national organiser' in a revealing letter to Oliver Tambo wrote

> "Well my duty here (in the Eastern Cape) is to toe the line in the best interests of the organisation and to strictly confine the disputes and the differences to the officials and the organisation only and that masses should never know it was a mistake to carry out the boycott" (96).

Joe Matthews of the Youth League, writing to Walter Sisulu, later that year, accused the Cape leaders of "passivity", complaining that he was "really fed up with the whole leadership" (97).

The most sustained local reaction to Bantu Education in this area were to be encountered in the reserves, already, as we noted, the scene of some agitation by All African Convention affiliates. The AAC opposed the school boycott as "adventurist" (after all, had it been effective, many of the members would be without jobs) and confined its campaigning to opposing school committees and boards. Opposition to these institutions and to nominations to them are reported to have taken place in Tsolo and Butterworth in the Transkei in early 1955 and in the Ciskei villages at intervals between 1955 and 1958. The committees and boards were linked with the issue of increased taxation : at Butterworth officials were asked

> "Where are the monies to come from which the school committees are to handle ? Seeing that this is a government affair, why are the people going to be taxed". (98)

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[illegible] Gray, [illegible]
meeting in early 1955 between headmen and magistrate, [illegible]
not be established because of local opposition (99).

Besides widespread passive opposition and suspicion, there were a few instances of more active revolt. The Police Commissioner's report for 1955 mentions arson of school buildings in Peddie (100) and in September 1955, 50 men entered a school in Mgwalane, Peddie, dismissed the children, locked the building and removed the keys (101).

There are therefore indications of considerable anxiety and tension provoked by state intervention in Eastern Cape Schools which might have been more effectively exploited by determined political organisation. In rural areas more oppressive local government, increasingly taxation and increasingly generalised economic hardship were powerful and explosive factors. Had rural and urban movements been more closely articulated, the challenge to authority might have been formidable. But to exploit such currents a revolutionary movement would have had to have been present and neither Congress nor the Convention was this in the mid 1950s.

By the end of the decade local Congress leaders themselves were participating in in the new system, energetically contesting and winning school board elections despite official ANC disapproval. Boycotts often involve de facto concessions of power : the boards and committees had real if limited powers. Christopher Gell, reporting from Port Elizabeth in 1955, mentions African members of school boards influencing appointments in direction of relatives and friends (102). Men and women struggling to survive economically and provide a better world for their children are not necessarily revolutionaries. The pressures arising from every day life require inspired and powerful political leadership if they are to be disregarded.

What Congress did try and provide was some kind of alternative to Bantu Education and its efforts in this direction deserve consideration for their persistance alone. As we have seen in the wake of the boycott, affected branches tried to establish "independent schools". By June, the African Education Movement chaired by Trevor Huddleston and with energetic support from Johannesburg's Congress of Democrat activists, was beginning to assist these ventures. The formal aims of the AEM were three fold : the establishment of private schools; the assistance of cultural clubs for those boycotters whose parents could not afford private school fees, and a home education programme. In practice the cultural clubs became the AEM's main preoccupation. These, for legal reasons, were conducted on an informal basis. The children would be taught through a programme of songs, stories and games, the rudiments of mathematics, geography, history and general knowledge. Club leaders, supported financially by the modest fees that were charged, would be provided by the AEM with cyclostyled teaching material, encouragement, and a training programme.

Given the limitations of what could be achieved, the clubs were in some centres surprisingly well attended - Brakpan being the outstanding example where a year after the boycott began, the club still had over 700 members and leaders paid up to £16 a month from local resources (103). One of these was a fully qualified teacher, who had resigned his post to join the club, bringing his pupils with him (104). Problems mentioned in a memorandum by the AEM's full time organiser, J J Hadebe, included the full qualifications of club leaders - only a minority it seems were trained teachers (and in any case informal educational techniques require specialised expertise), shortage of leaders, insufficient money to pay them and a lack of facilities and equipment - clubs were often held in the open (105). The material provided by the AEM was well prepared and imaginative, emphasising a tactful and sensitive approach to certain areas :

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> The Freedom Charter - to be taught to the children understand it. Care to be taken not to offend parents, the Charter not to be imposed on the people. The importance is not the name but the ideas embodied in it. The Freedom Charter to be the basis for our education (106)

The AEM's approach involved a reversal of normal South African educational conventions; considerable demands were placed on future leaders :

> Trust the children - let them take responsibility for themselves (107).

Even in terms of formal criteria, the clubs could be successful. Some of their members wrote and passed Standard VI examinations, and Benoni and Brakpan as late as 1956 were even winning recruits from government schools (108). The AEM and the cultural clubs were a brave experiment but their significance became increasingly symbolic as numbers dwindled and children were re-absorbed into government schools. Their interest lies in their being the first sustained effort by Congress members to attempt to flesh out in educational terms an alternative world view : something that had been called for often in political rhetoric but seldom attempted before.

Opposition to Bantu Education though widespread only developed into open political rebellion in a few areas. In fact most of the opposition movements of the 1950s were geographically isolated and sporadic : amongst a fearfully poor and politically rightless population a peculiar combination of factors had to be present before anger could be translated into active defiance. The remainder of this essay will concentrate on isolating those factors which help to explain why this happened in the East Rand townships.

The driving force of South Africa's industrial revolution was located in the East Rand townships. Gold mining operations began in the 1680s, and the presence in the Transvaal of large coal and iron deposits lead to the establishment in Benoni of the first steel works in the Union. By the end of the First World War engineering was beginning to be the most important local industry and this trend was strengthened during the 1930s, with an influx of foreign firms, and in the 1940s when wartime import substitution policies gave rise to another spurt of industrialisation. By 1947 Benoni was the union's centre for heavy industry, it and its neighbouring town Boksburg, making up South Africa's most densely industrialised area. To the west, Germiston grew in importance, first as a mining centre, then as the main railway junction on the Reef and centre for lighter industries - 400 of which were established in the period 1917 to 1957 (109).

The relatively early establishment of secondary industry in this area had important social consequences. The towns became important employment centres for black workers and early centres of black urbanisation : with the exception of Nancefield (in what is today Soweto) Benoni's African location with its 9 600 inhabitants was by 1929 the biggest on the Rand (110). Secondary industry required a relatively skilled and permanent workforce - the men and women who lived in the locations of the East Rand were by the 1950s members of a long established proletariat. Nevertheless these were small towns and at a municipal level the major political force was not the industrialists and businessmen who predominated in the affairs of the nearby metropolis, Johannesburg, but rather white workers. Given their constituency, Labour and Nationalist town councils of the 1930s and the 1940s were reluctant to embark on ambitious programmes of public works and African locations on the East Rand were notoriously horrible. In some,

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squalid living [illegible]itions were exacerbated by the uneven application [illegible] the provisions of the Urban Areas Act. Areas of municipal neglect tended to coincide with inefficient or negligible control. Benoni's location was to develop into a refuge for people driven out of other Reef towns by the enforcement of the Act (111). These places were always the object of public indignation : a [illegible] inspector of Native labour reported in 1920 that "the conditions under which the Natives are living are vile" (112) and as recently as [illegible] a [illegible] report had [illegible] to say of Germiston's old location :

> Fetid rivers of liquid filth run down the side of each dirt road, collecting in noxious pools of swirling scum. Peeling and rusting corrugated iron plastered walls form shelters for humiliated families (113).

Nor was the disgust limited to external observers. In Benoni, for example, an African Housing and Rates Board existed from 1945 and squatter movements were to unilaterally occupy buildings and land kept empty by the council (114).

The chances of escape from the poverty-stricken despair of the locations through individual enterprise and initiative were just that much more limited in the East Rand than in, for example, Johannesburg. The small towns did not supply the same degree of administrative or commercial white collar employment : local lack of demand for well educated blacks was reflected in the lack of a single secondary school in the area until the 1960s (115). Despite the frequent employment of women in the food and textile industries (for which the East Rand was an important centre), household incomes were well below Johannesburg's (116).

The 1950s were an important transitionary phase for these communities. For in this decade the African population's of Germiston, Benoni and Brakpan were to be subjected to the full thrust of Afrikaner and Nationalist social engineering. Vast geometrically planned and tightly administered "model" townships were erected - in each case at a considerable distance from the city centre and slowly location inhabitants were screened and sorted and resettled according to the dictates of Verwoerdian dogma. Germiston, with its Katlehong township, and Benoni, with Daveyton, in 1949 and 1950 were among the first municipalities in the Union to comply with the Group Areas Act. In terms of living space, housing standards and sanitation, the new townships may have represented an improvement on the old locations - but to some groups within the community they would have appeared threatening (117) and the fashion in which these changes were implemented evoked widespread resentment (118). The removals tended to speed up a process of social differentiation within the local-communities. The new townships being isolated from city centres provided improved business opportunities for African traders and with their own administrations created a certain amount of clerical employment. This and their geographical features tended to make it less easy for political leaders to evoke a united communal response to a particular issue. The strength of political movements of the 1950s in the old locations of the East Rand was no accident. With the onset of the removals (a process which lasted more than a decade) the old locations became even more neglected (119) and their inhabitants increasingly insecure about their future.

The socio-economic history of the East Rand is, for an important part, the history of African working class communities. The communities are characterised by the depth of their proletarian experience, and a measure of poverty unusual even among urban black South African people. Because of their relative smallness and the importance of industrial employment among their male and female members, there is a high degree of social solidarity. With these points in mind, it is easier to understand the political radicalism which took root in the East Rand locations

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during the 1940s and the 1950s. The strength of the 1955 boycott is better understood if it is put in the context of political and trade union responses in the preceding years.

The most active and militant political force on the East Rand during the 1940s was the Communist Party of South Africa, which seems to have won considerable support with its involvement in small local disputes, usually arising out of day-to-day difficulties of economic survival. The issues could include municipal prohibition of female hawkers (Benoni, November 1943) (120); police violence against location inhabitants (Brakpan, December 1943) (121); intimidation of rent defaulters (Brakpan, March 1944) (122); location conditions and the behaviour of the location superintendent (Brakpan, August 1944) (123); dismissal of teachers (Boksburg and Brakpan, March to November 1944) (124); housing shortages (Benoni, June 1945 to September 1947) (125); brewing (Springs, July 1945) (126); bus services (Brakpan, April 1946) (127); food shortages (Brakpan, May 1946) (128); municipal extension of passes to women (Brakpan, July 1946) (129).

Let us look more closely at Communist Party involvement in local issues in the town where there seems to have been most activity, Brakpan. Though of the East Rand townships by no means the worst in terms of overcrowding or living conditions (130), the small location community (5 000 in 1939) (131) seems to have been in state of constant ferment in the 1940s. Brakpan was exceptional on the East Rand in the 1940s in having a Nationalist town council and provisions for control of its African population seem to have been distinguished by their rigour. The City of Johannesburg's 1939 Survey of Reef Locations makes special mention of recent increases in the size of the Brakpan municipal police force, erection of fencing and a clamp-down on illicit brewing.

During the 1940s, Brakpan's Native Affairs Department was headed by a Dr Language, whose other claim to fame was as the leading theoritician and "native expert" of the Ossewa Brandwag. (The OB appears to have had quite a following on the East Rand, doubtless enhanced by the blowing up of Benoni's post office in 1942 by some of its local enthusiasts (132). Even by the standards of his calling, Language seems to have been a formidably intolerant and unpleasant man. His term of office began with the re-organisation of local influx control into the location, raising of lodgers' fees, and harrassment of minor rent defaulters. Matters came to a head between the council and the location community when, on Language's initiative, the council successfully arranged the dismissal from his teaching post and Brakpan's Amalgamated Mission School of an important local politician, David Bopape.

Bopape was one of the most energetic and active of the grass roots Congress leaders of those years. Initially drawn into politics by his involvement in the TATA salary campaign of 1940-41, he became a founder member of the Youth League, and was by 1943, a forceful and effective spokesman for the Brakpan African community. He does not appear to have shared the normal Youth League antipathy to communists, perhaps because, unlike many young Congress intellectuals, he was himself involved in bread and butter political issues, and by 1946 is thought to have actually joined the South African Communist Party, while retaining an important position in the Transvaal ANC (134). Bopape's activities appeared to have gained him a large personal following, for his dismissal was to provoke a school boycott affecting 2 000 children and a one day stay-at-home of the location's 7 000 workers on August 10th 1944 (135). Bopape had apparently angered Language by his campaigning for better living conditions in the location and the issue of his dismissal was to fuse with a range of grievances, which included the housing shortage, inadequate and expensive transport, low pay for municipal workers, high municipal rents, no running water within the location and Language's racism (136).

The action of Brakpan's parents inspired a similar protest the following year in Boksburg after teachers' dismissals there. In this case parents organised under the slogan "African Education run by Africans" and their case was taken up by TATA, which had already begun to establish Parent/Teachers Associations in the East Rand.

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The existence of [illegible] have something to do with [illegible] these and later s[illegible]l boycotts (137).

The communal support for Bopape did not succeed in gaining his re-instatement (despite initial promises by the Brakpan Council) and discontent within the location continued to simmer. In May 1945 the Council announced that it was going to use beer hall profits for general street cleaning, refusing at the same time to grant the Advisory Board extensions to its powers which would have included some say in location revenue expenditure. Three months later a fresh permit system was introduced and a wave of arrests of illegal location residents took place. In all these local disputes, the Communist Party's local spokesman played a prominent part, and in their African language newspaper Inkululeko, reported these extensively. In its sensitive approach to local issues and its down playing of more remote and abstract political problems, it seems to have gained a real popularity. A former Youth leader and Brakpan resident remembers :

> The ANC missed out a great deal (in the 1940s T.L.) because it would not interest itself in the little things that bug the people ... the popularity of the Communist Party in places like Brakpan was because they took up such things (138).

The December 1945 Advisory Board elections illustrated the effectiveness of the approach. Communist candidates stood and were elected in Springs, Brakpan, Benoni and Nigel. The newly elected Brakpan Board went on to win a significant victory by organising a bus boycott which successfully reversed a Council decision to relocate the bus terminal further from the location boundary (139).

Brakpan's African community was administered with an unusually heavy hand. For example, the municipality was the first on the Reef to consider enforcing a registration system on African women (140). The role of an exceptional individual like Bopape was obviously important in consolidating the local representation of Communists. But the latter's performance here was not untypical of their activity on the East Rand as a whole; the Benoni squatters movement was given energetic leadership by the local Communist Party branch which held mass meetings, encouraged occupation of empty premises and organised the biggest political demonstration in Benoni's history when in 1945 several hundred people marched through the city centre bearing placards saying "We are homeless"; "We are starving"; "slums cause crime"; and "we sleep in tents this winter" (141).

The Communists established a tradition of involvement in local socio-economic issues that was taken up by later nationalist politicians. Communists were also important in the work place struggles that took during the 1940s on the East Rand. Their role in the 1946 African Mineworkers' strike is well known, though the effect on location residents of the brutal treatment of miners who marched out of their compounds into the East Rand towns had yet to be considered. Communists had a role in the organisation of the African Iron and Steelworkers, who with the left wing Food and Canning Workers' Union were to form the two strongest regional affiliates to, first, the Council for Non-European Trade Unions, and later the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The East Reef in the mid 1950s, then, was an area in which a tradition of radical politics had existed for a comparatively long time within its black communities, a tradition which was characterised by sensitivity to parochial concerns and successful intervention in them by African nationalist and socialist politicians. With this background, it becomes easier to understand why the parents within these communities responded in the way they did to the call for a boycott of schools in 1955. The boycott should be seen as flowing out of a well established momentum by poor people to retain some control over their lives.

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1. Horrell, M. African Education : Some Origins and Development until 1953, Johannesburg : SAIRR, 1963, pp 35-41
2. See Hirson, B. Year of Fire, Year of Ash, London : Zed, 1979,pp 20-34, for example.
3. Carter, G. & Karis, T. From Protest to Challenge, Stanford : Hoover, 1973, Volume 2, p 217.
4. Horrell, op cit, p 37.
5. The Good Shepherd, March 1948, p 27
6. Drum, June,1955.
7. Quoted in Murphy, E. Bantu Education in South Africa, doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1973, p 118.
8. Rose, B. & Tunmer, R. Documents in South African Education, Johannesburg Ad. Donker, 1975, p 266.
9. Ibid, p 254.
10. Murphy, op cit, p 199.
11. Brandel-Syrier, M. Reeftown Elite, London : RKP, 1971.
12. SAIRR Library, Box File 20A, Federal Council of African Teacher's Memorandum to Department of Native Affairs, April, 1956. A new school built in Tyutyu near King William's Town cost the location's inhabitants £411 - two thirds of the total. The Torch 11 11 1958.
13. Hunt Davis, Bantu Education and the Education of Africans, 1973, p 46.
14. Murphy, op cit, p 121.
15. Federal Council of African Teacher's memo to Department of Native Affairs.
16. Imvo Zabantusundu, 12 8 1944.
17. Reports of this boycott appear in The Torch, 26 8 1952 and 4 11 1952 and The Spark, 5 9 1952.
18. Report of Proceedings, ANCYL meeting, Newclare, 5 12 1948, Unsorted ANCYL papers, AD 1189, SAIRR Collection, University of the Witwatersrand.
19. Agenda, Bloemfontein Youth Conference, 1948, Unsorted ANCYL papers, AD 1189, SAIRR Collection.
20. Misconduct which could justify the dismissal of a teacher could include political activity and any public opposition to any state agency. Murphy, op cit, p 155. In fact the Transvaal Province had already made this a ruling in 1950. See The Voice of Orlando, May 1950.
21. Kuper, L. An African Bourgeoisie, New Haven : Yale, 1965, p 184.
22. Rose & Tunmer, op cit, p 262.
23. Organised opposition from Natal teachers developed later : perhaps partly because of the absence of political organisations prepared to involve themselves in educational issues and also, possibly, because in Natal direct state control of schools, in contrast to other provinces, was common before the passage of the Act. See Kuper, op cit, pp 37-190 and Horrell, op cit, p 36.
24. See for example : 'Tsolo people will not suffer oppression', The Torch, 29 1 1952, p 2.
25. The best history of the evolution of the AAC and associated bodies is a University of Cape Town sociology honours dissertation by Roy Gentle (no title available) from which many of these details are drawn. The Torch contains useful information as does the breakaway faction's Ikwezi Lomso.
26. The Torch, 26 12 1950
27. Leo Sihlali, 'Bantu Education and the African Teacher' in Africa South, Vol 1, No 1, October - December 1956. See also The Torch, 10 11 1953 and 22 12 1953.
28. Sihlali, op cit.

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57.

32. The Torch, 4 11 1953.
33. Ciskeian school attendance figures, for example, were the best in the country. See Ciskeian General Council Proceedings, 1954, p 18.
34. The Good Shepherd, March 1942 and November 1946.
35. Ibid, June 1949.
36. The Voice of Orlando, April 1950.
37. Ibid, May 1950.
38. The Good Shepherd, March - June 1950.
39. Ibid, January 1950.
40. Interview with Professor Es'kia Mphahlele, Johannesburg 1980. See also The Torch, 5 8 1952 and 26 8 1952.
41. The Torch, 3 8 1954.
42. Ibid, 2 3 1954.
43. Professor Mphahlele remembers approaching ANC activists in 1952 and attempting to discuss Bantu Education with them but failing to elicit much interest. The ANC, at the time, had all its energy caught up in the organisation of the Defiance Campaign. There were relatively few teachers in the higher echelons of the ANC and those teachers which remained in Congress after 1952 tended to be Africanist-inclined (e.g.s : Zenh Mothopeng, A.P. Mda, Godfrey Pitje, Peter Raboroko, Robert Sobukwe, Potlake Leballo, and Tsepo Letlaka).
44. Feit E., African Opposition in South Africa, Stanford : Hoover, 1967 and Karis T., Carter G. and Gerhart G., From Protest to Challenge, Volume 3, Stanford : Hoover, 1975.
45. Hirson, op cit, p 47.
46. Annual Report of the National Executive Committee to 42nd annual ANC conference, 16-19 12 1954, p 10, SAIRR papers (University of the Witwatersrand) AD 1189, ANC II. Brakpan must have been atypical : here energetic campaigning against Bantu Education began as early as June 1954, according to a report in Advance, 1 7 1954.
47. Feit, op cit, p 164.
48. See Karis, Carter & Gerhart, op cit, pp 31-33.
49. Ibid, pp 32-33.
50. Legal advise submitted to the conference by the Liberal Party lawyer J. Gibson made it clear that the law would not tolerate any formal education outside that provided by the schools registered with the new department.
51. Information on this conference drawn from : Karis, Carter & Gerhart, op cit, p 33; Ts. memo. by Congress of Democrat delegation in FS4W papers (University of the Witwatersrand), CIII (4) (IV) 15 10 55; Ts. memo by Liberal Party delegation in Ballinger Papers (University of the Witwatersrand) File B 2 14 1.
52. This has been exhaustively discussed in both Feit, op cit and Karis, Carter & Gerhart, op cit.
53. The earliest Congress campaigning appears to have been in Brakpan. See Footnote 46.
54. Treason Trial Record, South African Court Records Collection. (Henceforth : TTR) p 2265.
55. Ibid, p 7485.
56. Ibid, p 2266.
57. Bantu World, 26 2 1955.
58. Ibid, 12 3 1955.
59. TTR p 2472.
60. Ibid p 2430.
61. Ibid p 2450
62. Bantu World, 26 3 1955.
63. 'The Girl Who Will Not Go to School Again', Drum, April 1955.
64. Bantu World, 16 4 1955 and Cape Argus, 13 4 1955.
65. Bantu World, 16 4 1955.
66. The Torch 19 4 1955 and TTR p 2490.

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75. Feit op cit, p 183.
76. FSAW papers, CIII (2), cyclostyled letter on origins of AEM.
77. Bantu World, 25 6 1955.
78. Germiston meeting reported in Rand Daily Mail, 2 5 1955.
79. Bant orld, 7 5 1955.
80. Bantu World, 10 9 1955.
81. Pencilled memo. on cultural clubs, AD 1189, ANC IV, SAIRR collection.
82. Huddleston, T., Naught for your Comfort; London : Collins, 1956, p 174.
83. See Torch, 5 7 1955 and 5 6 1956 and AEM News: Vol I, June 1956.
84. See report in Drum, June 1955, pencilled memo on cultural clubs, AD 1189, ANC IV, SAIRR collection, Bantu World; 10 12 1955 and 17 12 1955.
85. Bantu World, 8 12 1956.
86. Bantu World, 25 6 1956.
87. Eastern Province Herald, 15 3 1955.
88. Ibid, 7 4 1955.
89. Daily Despatch, 18 5 1955.
90. The Torch, 24 4 1955.
91. Evening Post, 23 5 1955.
92. Helen Joseph (interviewed January 1981) recalls that local enthusiasm for the boycott was very evident in smaller centres when she visited them in June 1955.
93. Evening Post, 25 5 1955.
94. Evening Post, 19 7 1955 and The Torch, 26 7 1955.
95. AEM News, Vol I No I, June 1956.
96. Quoted in Feit, op cit, p 184.
97. Karis, Carter and Gerhart, op cit, p 34.
98. The Torch, 15 2 1955.
99. The Torch, 5 4 1955.
100. Annual Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police, 1955, UG 52 56, p 5.
101. Cape Times, 21 9 1955, and New Age, 10 11 1955.
102. Africa X-Ray Report, October 1955, p 12.
103. Pencilled memo on cultural clubs, AD 1189, ANC IV, SAIRR collection.
104. Counter Attack, no 2 11 3 1956.
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108. Counter Attack, no 2, 11 3 1956.
109. See Chapter VII of D Humphriss's Benoni, Son of my Sorrow, Benoni, 1968 and City of Germiston, Official Guide, 1957.
110. Humphriss, op cit, p 49.
111. Ibid, p 99.
112. Ibid, p 97.
113. The Star, 26 1 1981.
114. Humphriss, op cit, pp 113-116.
115. Muir and Tunmer, 'African desire for Education in South Africa' in Comparative Education, Vol 9, No 3, October 1965.
116. Ibid.
117. See Loges - my 'Destruction of Sophiatown', University of the Witwatersrand 1981 History Workshop.
118. Ethnic grouping policies for example were universally disliked. Both Humphriss and Brandel-Syrier (op cit, p 8) mention resistance to the removals but more research is needed to uncover the details.

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126. Inkululeko, 26 7 1945.
127. Ibid, 4 4 1946.
128. Ibid, 15 5 1946.
129. Ibid, 1 7 1946
130. That distinct belongs to Benoni. For a brief review of locatio housing statistics see City of Johannesburg, Non-European and Native Affai Department, Survey of Reef Locations, May 1939'
131. Ibid.
132. Humphriss, op cit, p 85.
133. Inkululeko, 4 3 1944 and 24 11 1944.
134. A brief biography appears in Karis, T., Carter G., and Gerhart G., From Protest to Challenge, Volume IV, Stanford : Hoover, 1977, p 10.
135. Inkululeko, 18 4 1944.
136. Ibid, 4 10 1945.
137. Ibid, 10 5 1945.
138. Interview with Dr Nthato Motlana, January 1981.
139. Inkululeko, 4 4 1946.
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4. EDUCATION for Liberation

Although education in South Africa, and in the majority of Western societies, serves to maintain class domination and exploitation, it can play the role of liberating humanity from the shackles of bondage.

However the form and content of a liberating education must, and will, of course be very different. This section tries to bring together a few papers which have as their pre-occupation the whole area of education and liberation - the theoretical issues that such a discussion raises, and the practice that must necessarily follow if liberation is our object.

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Ngugi wa Thiong'o

Education for a National Culture

In the first issue of Education with Production, *we published a contribution by the African National Congress of South Africa on the role of education and culture in the struggle for liberation from racism and colonialism. The following article by Ngugi wa Thiong'o takes up this theme again. Ngugi shows the interrelationship of education and culture and their role in class society. His main emphasis is on the function of education and culture in the strategy of neo-colonialism. He presents us with a definition of the educational and cultural policies necessary for the battle against this highest form of imperialism. Ngugi's contribution was written for the Seminar on* "Education in Zimbabwe – Past, Present and Future", *held in August-September 1981 under the auspices of the Zimbabwean Ministry of Education and Culture, with the assistance of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation and the Foundation for Education with Production. The article also appeared in the Medu Newsletter of the Medu Art Ensemble of Botswana.*

Ngugi wa Thiong'o of Limuru in Kenya, is one of Africa's best-known novelists. His books published by Heinemann included Weep not Child, The River Between, A Grain of Wheat *and* Petals of Blood. *Increasingly his focus has moved from the people's struggles against the colonialist destruction of their culture, to the theme of the rise of neo-colonialism in Kenya. For some years he was Professor and Chairman of the Department of Literature at the University of Nairobi. He was removed from this post and imprisoned for a year, after writing and performing a play on the dispossession and proletarization of Gikuyu peasants, together with the people involved. This experience has led him to the decision to do future creative writing in Gikuyu, rather than English, and to make his work part of the cultural struggle against neo-colonialism.*

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I feel it slightly presumptious on my part to stand here, in Zimbabwe, and talk about education and culture. For a people who have entered the highest phase of political struggle against foreign rule and oppression, have already laid firm educational foundations for a national patriotic culture. It is both an act of education and an educational process to struggle to seize back the right and the initiative to make one's own history and hence culture, which is a product and a reflection of that history. Cabral has rightly said that national liberation is necessarily an act of culture, and the liberation movement the organized political expression of the struggling people's culture".

So let me start by congratulating the heroic people of Zimbabwe for their successful armed struggle against the colonial stage of imperialism. I talk of the colonial stage because imperialism has in fact two stages: colonial and neo-colonial. The failure, or the deliberate refusal to recognize this and hence the pitfalls into which a successful anti-colonial struggle can fall is already costing many an African country dear in terms of economic misery — turning beggary and charity into national institutions; political subservience to the extent of ceding whole territories for foreign military use in exchange for yellow maize; and cultural depravity like raising prostitution to a national industry for consumption by American sailors and military personnel.

By organizing a conference imbued with the spirit and desire for a structural social transformation, the people of Zimbabwe, have already seen the possibilities and hence the dangers of neo colonialism which Kwame Nkrumah once described as the last stage of imperialism.

Education and culture can play a decisive role in the social transformation so vital and necessary for a victory over the neo-colonial stage of Imperialism.

But what education and what culture ? What is the relationship between the two ? And what have these concepts got to do with economic, political and social transformation of society ?

Education is the process of integrating the youth into the entire system of production, exchange and distribution of what we eat, wear and shelter under, the whole system of organizing the wealth of a given country. It does so firstly by imparting knowledge about the two basic relations on which the entire society including its culture is erected: i.e. the relations between man and nature and the relations between man and man, secondly, by imparting a certain outlook or

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litude to the two relations. Now the world outlook of a people is embodied in their moral, aesthetic and ethical values which are in turn embodied in their culture. Their culture is itself a product and a reflection of the history built on the two relations with nature and with other men. Thus education is part of culture and culture is part of education. They run into each other, and one way of looking at education is as a process of integrating a people into the dominant culture of that community. Let me illustrate this by going over a familiar ground.

Man like animal is part of nature. But unlike the animal he produces his means of life that which he shelters under, eats and wears. His labour power acting on nature produces his food, clothing, shelter, and other goods to meet other needs. Labour power acting on natural resources generates wealth. The latter is made more powerful by the use of tools, that is instruments of labour from a sharpened stone to the most complicated machinery; by his skills and ability to utilize these tools, i.e technology; and by his cooperation with other men in his struggle to wrest a living from nature.

But in struggling with nature man enters into relations with other men in two ways. He must cooperate with others, through division of labour, to face hostile nature. When we talk of human labour power over nature, we are talking of cooperative human labour. Thus the production of wealth is a social act, the result of many hands. Once he has wrestled with nature and has compelled it to yield, he must now share out the fruits, the products, the wealth resulting from that co-operative struggle with nature. The relations between man and man are characterized by both harmony and conflict: harmony or cooperation when he joins with others to face nature, and conflict when it comes to sharing that which their combined labour-power has wrested from nature. Struggle is the essence of man's relation with man, since even in production he will try to occupy a place that gives him an advantageous position in the exchange and distribution of their common wealth. For instance, those who, in the evolution of a society, come to own the means of production (the tools of labour, natural resources and even human labour power itself) control the share-out of the common or social wealth.

The relations that men enter with one another in the production of wealth are relations of production and constitute the economic structure of that community. Thus the two relations or rather the two struggles (with nature and with other men) are the foundation of any society and they are linked together by human labour power in production. It is first an economic community. (Not to be confused with

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the Euro n Economic Community).

But in the process of the economic evolution of that community, they work out rules that govern and regulate their economic life: i.e. their relations with nature and with one another over both production and the share out of the social product. They even evolve a machinery for enforcing the rules. Thus the economic community evolves into a political community with often a form of state (the military, the police, the judges with law courts and prisons) for enforcing the rules governing and regulating their economic life. So our community has also a political life; it is a political community. (Not to be confused with a community of politicians!)

In the process of their economic and political life, the community develops a way of life often seemingly unique to that society. They evolve language, song, dance, literature, religion, theatre, art, architecture, and an education system that transmits all those plus a knowledge of the history and the geography of their territory of habitation from one generation to the next. Thus our economic and political community evolves a cultural life expressed in their languages, art, architecture, dance, song, theatre, literature, and their educational system. It is a community of culture, linked together by a shared way of life.

A people's culture is the carrier of the values evolved by that community in the course of their economic and political life. By values I mean their conception of what's right and wrong (moral values); what's good and bad (ethical values), and what's ugly and beautiful (aesthetic values). The values they hold are the basis of that community's consciousness, the basis of their world outlook, the basis of their collective and individual image of self, that is the selfhood of that community, their identity as a people who look at themselves and their relationships to the universe in a certain way.

This is not a mechanical process, occurring in neat steps and springs with the economic structure giving rise to political and other institutions and these in turn giving rise to culture, values, consciousness and identity in that order. The processes are often evolving more or less simultaneously with one process generating several others at the same time. Nor is it all a one-way traffic with economic life flowing into political and cultural life. It's a dialectical process. How people look at themselves affects the way they look at their values which in turn affects the way they look at their culture, at their political and economic life and ultimately at their relations with nature. It's a complex process with things acting on each other to produce what we call

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society.

What's the role of [illegible]ducation in that scheme ? Ideally, education should give people the knowledge about the world in which they live: how the world shapes them and how they shape the world. Education should transmit a culture that inculcates in the people a consciousness that man through his labour power is the creator of his social environment and that in the same way that man acts on nature and changes it, he can also act on his social environment and change it and in the process change himself. Previously nature used to confront man as a hostile incomprehensible force until he was able to understand its hidden laws (e.g. gravity) and hence he overcame it and turned it into a servant. Today man's social environment confronts him as a hostile force. When he finally understands its hidden laws, he'll overcome it, transcend it, and so create a new world for a new man, where both the natural and the social envorinment are servants of man. Education should give people the confidence that they can in fact create a new heaven on this earth.

But what education are we talking about ? Depending on who is wielding the weapon, education far from being a means of illuminating reality can be used as a means of masking reality to mystify the realtions between man and nature and between man and man. In his novel, *Hard Times,* Dickens has very neatly demonstrated how education can be used to mystify and often obscure reality. The setting is in a school run by a Mr Thomas Gradgrind in an ndustrial town. In the school, people are to be taught nothing but facts so as to forever eliminate the habit of wondering about "human nature, human passions, human hopes and fears, and struggles, defeats, the cares and sorrows, the lives and deaths of common men and women!" In the school are two characters, Sissy Jupe, a girl who has lived among horses all her life because her father works in a circus. Then there's Blitzer, a boy, who has never once seen a horse in his life. In the class, Thomas Gradgrind suddenly asks Sissy Jupe, the girl, to give a definition of a horse, and the girl is thrown into the greatest alarm by this sudden demand and she cannot define a horse. Thomas Gradgrind, after announcing that the girl is unable to define a horse, "One of the commonest of animals", now turns to [illegible] the boy who has [illegible] among [illegible]

"Blitzer," says Thomas Gradgrind, "Your [illegible]" The boy stands up and with great bravado [illegible] out the definition of a horse learnt from books. "Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. [illegible] in the [illegible] countries, [illegible] Hoofs

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hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth." The teacher now turns to the girl and says: "Now . . . you know what a horse is!"

But in reality, in practice, it's the girl, Sissy Jupe, who knows all about horses, and it's the boy, Blitzer, who does not. Jupe, the girl, knows the reality of a horse for she has touched one, fed it, ridden on it, and has lived among them. Blitzer, the boy, only knows a "horse" as a word, as a mental abstraction. Here, education is being used to mystify the obscure reality.

Why is this ? If we go back to our hypothetical human community or society we shall find that the economic structure is at the same time a class structure with some people owning the means of production (human labour power, the instruments of labour, and the natural resources) while others do not own these means. In other words, in the process of people acting on nature to produce their means of life, they come to stand in different positions in the production process. The relations of production, the relations between man and man, and between man and the forces of production (labour plus tools of labour), is not one of equality, but o ten one of the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed. In a slave society, the slave-owner owns everything; in a feudal society, the nobility owns the land and the peasants rent it from them. In a capitalist society, the owner of capital owns all the means of production and the worker has only his labour power. Yet it's the slave, the peasant, the worker who does all the production, who creates the wealth of that society, but is not able to control the disposal of that which his sweat has generated. Since in such societies, the economic structure is at the same time a class structure, all the institutions, political and cultural, will bear the stamp of this or that class. Education and culture will reflect these class cleavages at the economic foundation of that society. Education and culture mean, in fact, *class education and culture.*

Thus in a class structured society, or in a situation where one nation or race or class is dominated by another, there can never be any neutral culture. For the oppressing class or nation or race, education becomes an instrument of suppression, that is an instrument for the conservation of the prevailing social order, and for the [illegible] race or nation, it becomes an instrument of liberation, that is, an instrument for the social transformation of the status quo. In such a society there are in fact two types of education in mortal struggle, transmitting two opposed types of culture and hence two opposed consciousnesses or world outlooks.

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Let me illustrate this. A is sitting on B. A is carried, fed and clothed by B. What kind of education will A want B to get. In other words, education for what kind of culture and consciousness. A will want to educate B to obscure the fact that it is B who is carrying, feeding and clothing A. A will want B to learn the philosophy which says the world does not change. A will want to teach B the religion which tells him that the present situation is divinely willed and nothing can be done about it, or that B is in the present position because he has sinned, or that B should endure his lot because in heaven he will get plenty. Religion, any religion, is very useful to A for it teaches that the situation in which A is sitting on B is not brought about by man; it is not historical: on the contrary, it's a natural law of the universe, sanctioned by God. A will want B to believe that he, B has no culture or his culture is inferior. A will then want B to imbibe a culture that inculcates in him values of self-doubt, self-denigration, in a word, a slave consciousness.

He will now look up to A's superior culture. In short, A will want B to have the education which on one hand will deny him real knowledge about the status quo of an A sitting on a B or the historical origins of a situation where A is sitting on B; and on the other, impart a culture embodying values of slavery, a slave consciousness or world outlook. This will make B subservient. For A wants B not only to be a slave but to accept that his fate or destiny is to be a slave.

B on the other hand will want that philosophy that teaches that everything changes, that change is inherent in nature and human society. He will embrace that religion which teaches that the system of some people sitting on others is against the will of God. B may want to re-evaluate his past and he will discover that he was not always a slave, carrying, feeding and clothing A. Thus he will embrace that education which shows him quite clearly that his present plight is historical and not natural, that it has been brought about by man and so can be changed by man. B will embrace that culture which inculcates in him values of self-confidence and pride in self, values which give him courage and faith that he can do something about his present plight, in short B will want that education which not only gives knowledge about his plight, but a liberated consciousness, a consciousness urging him to fight for freedom.

Now it is possible that A and B are not totally conscious of the type of education and culture and world outlook they want. But the fact remains that there is an education system which imparts a culture embodying a consciousness corresponding to the objective position of A and another corresponding to the objective position of B. The two

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types of education, culture and world outlook, are in mortal struggle, for A is trying to make B embrace a slave consciousness so that he, A, can rest in peace. But B is also struggling to evolve an education that imparts a culture that frees him from the intended slave consciousness so he can with confidence overturn A and be free to now carry, feed and clothe himself.

We can see the situation of A and B more concretely if we look at education and culture under imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial stages.

Colonialism broadly speaking is that situation in which the ruling class of one nation and country imposes its rule and hegemony over another nation and country, and subjugates and suppresses all the other classes of the colonized country. The aim is the control of the productive forces of the colonized country and hence the wealth produced by the colonized peoples. But colonialism finds that economic control is impossible without a political control, so after a successful military conquest and occupation of the country, colonialism imposes political control either directly through a white settler presence as in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Algeria, or through a white administration working indirectly through feudal elements and missionary products as in Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria.

Even then, colonialism finds that economic and political control are incomplete without cultural control. So colonialism imposes an education system wh[illegible] denies the colonized real knowledge about the wealth produced in the land while at the same time importing a culture embodying a slave-consciousness.

Thus the colonized are taught that [illegible] have no history, meaning they [illegible] nature [illegible] it. Their history, they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] darkness was [illegible] for history, [illegible] no history prior to colonial conquest. A land of [illegible] and perpetual childhood, cried Hegel. Where there was [illegible] of advanced civilizations as in Ethiopia and Egypt, then arguments were brought to show or prove that these people were [illegible]. Where there was evidence of very highly developed [illegible] culture with an architecture often superior to that of Europe of the same period as in Zim[illegible] and East Africa, then argument about a previous white or [illegible] are advanced to

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has one aim: to show that the colonized, like animals, had merely adapted themselves to nature and had made no attempt to put a human stamp on their natural environment. Hence they were really savages !

The colonial education system denies that the colonized have real human languages. These are described as vernaculars meaning the languages of slaves or merely barbaric tongues. So the children of the colonized are punished and ridiculed whenever they are caught speaking their mother's language, and rewarded when they speak the language of the master, French, English, Portuguese or Italian as the case may be. This had one aim: to make a child despise his lahguage, hence the values carried by that language, and by implication despise himself and the people who spoke a language which now was the cause of his daily humiliation and corporal punishment. By the same token he will admire the language of the conqueror, and hence the values carried by that language and the people who evolved the language of his daily reward and praise. Now take the English language for instance: what are the values attached to blackness in that language ? If a road is very dangerous, they put the picture of a grinning skull and a cross of bones, and write down: BLACK SPOT. If a child does not fit into the family, they say he is the BLACK SHEEP of the family. If one engages in business illegally, then he is operating a BLACK MARKET. If one does something offensive to the powers that be, then he is put on a BLACK LIST. *Black* spot; *Black* sheep; *Black* market; *Black* list; *Black* day: these are white lies of colonialist education.

But they are reinforced by Christianity, particularly the version brought by missionaries. To the European colonizer, the African has no religion, he knows not God. He is superstitious, and worships idols and several Gods. There is only one God, though he has a Son, begotten by the Holy spirit. This God is white; his angels are white; and when the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the African convert, [illegible] shall be whiter than snow? " Is it any wonder that African converts wear white robes of virgin purity during their white wedding? And is it any wonder that African women often buy red, blonde or brunette wigs (or straighten their hair) to hide their black hair? And is it any wonder that African women and men will apply *Ambi* and other skin-whitening creams to lighten their dark skins? Whiteness becomes a Christian virtue as in Smith's Rhodesia and Botha's South Africa.

Christianity even denies that the African has a right to his name. A

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name is a simple symbol of identity. The African convert will discard his African name and give himself such good christian names as Smith, Welensky, Verwoerd, Robert, James, Julius, Ironmonger, Winterbottom, Elizabeth, Mary, Margaret, Summer and Winter! He does not realize that this business of getting new names has roots in slavery where the slave dealer branded the slave with his own mark and gave him his name so that he would for ever be known as that master's property.

The same story is true in art dance, music, drama and literature. The good African in European fiction on Africa is he who collaborates with colonialism. The bad native is he who rejects colonial occupation and wants to assert himself and struggle to get back the stolen wealth. Thus in a book called *King Solomon's Mines* by Rider Haggard, the blacks like Gagool, who want to prevent the foreigners from exploiting the country's natural assets like gold and diamonds, are painted in most revolting terms. Such books are even translated into African languages like Kiswahili and Shona by colonial literature bureaus so the African can clearly understand the message of slavery. The reader's emotions are guided in such a way that he cannot possibly identify with the patriots. But the traitors are described in positive terms of courage, honesty, diligence and intelligence. But it's courage, honesty, diligence and intelligence in selling fellow Africans to colonialist Europeans. And even in books which do not delineate the African character in terms of animals and landscape, that is, in books of liberal Europeans, the African character held up for admiration and presented as worthy of emulation is the non-violent spineless type, the type who turns the other cheek, the right cheek once the left cheek has been hit by a racist colonialist whitey. Such for instance is Reverend Stephen Kumalo in Paton's poisonous novel, *Cry the Beloved Country* or Johnson in Joyce Cary's *Mr Johnson*. Incidentally even the most racist of white characters in *Cry the Beloved Country* would be quite happy to have a Bishop Stephen Kumalo for a Prime Minister!

In illustrated art books on Africa written by intellectuals of colonialism, the European colonizer occupies the central stage of action and drama with light radiating outwards from him. The African native is in the background and merges with darkness and natural scenery at the outer edges of the action. When the Makerere School of Fine Art was started in the sixties, the European lecturers used to import clay from Europe. Ugandan soil was not good enough for art, even though the students were all Africans!

The sum total of this type of education in the teaching of geography [illegible] history [illegible]

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discovered by Europe; Africa is a continuation of Europe), art, literature, theatre, is to socialize the African youth into a culture embodying values and hence a consciousness and world outlook which on the one hand is, in total harmony with the needs of imperialism and on the other, is in total antagonism to the struggle for liberation The aim of such colonial education is to bring up a partly developed native only fit for brute labour, a native who has internalized a consciousness that blinds him into not seeing the loot and the plunder going on around him.

But such a colonial education has another aim: to produce a native elite which has absorbed the culture of imperialism, and through whom imperialism, in its neo-colonial stages, can continue looting and plundering the wealth of the country.

Neo-colonialism is that process in which a country is nominally independent but its economy is still in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Nothing has, in substance, changed. The only change is that where before the imperialist bourgeoisie used to exploit through its settler or feudal representatives in the colonized territory, now it does so through a native bourgeoisie nurtured in the racial womb of colonialism but now eternally grateful for being allowed to raise a flag and to join Europeans in looting and plundering now that the racial barriers to property accumulation have been removed.

The native bourgeoisie which takes the flag at independence has been very well described by Franz Fanon in that brilliant chapter titled "Pitfalls of National Consciousness" in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*. It's a chapter which should be compulsory reading for all newly independent countries who want to opt for a different path of development. The chapter will serve as a warning of what not to be since the picture it draws correctly describes the situation in most independent African countries.

> The national middle class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regime is an underdeveloped class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is in no way commensurate with the bourgeoisie of the mother country whom it hopes to replace. In its wilful narcissism, the national middle class is easily convinced that it can advantageously replace the middle class of the mother country. But that same independence which literally drives it into a corner will give rise within its ranks to catastrophic reactions, and will oblige it to send out frenzied appeals for help to the former mother country. The university and merchant classes which make up the most enlightened section of the new state are in fact characterized by the smallness of their number and their being concentrated in the capital, and the type of activities in which they are engaged: business, agriculture and liberal professions. Neither financiers nor industrial magnates are to be found within this national middle class. The national bour-
> [illegible] is not engaged [illegible]

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tion, nor labour; it is completely canalized into activities of the intermediary type. Its innermost vocation seems to be to keep in the running and to be part of the racket. The psychology of the national bourgeoisie is that of the businessman, not that of a captain of industry ..../

Fanon goes on to describe the various characteristics of this class which wants to follow the Western bourgeoisie along its path of negation and decadence.

Because it is bereft of ideas, because it lives to itself and cuts itself off from the people, undermined by its hereditary incapacity to think in terms of all the problems of the nation as seen from the point of view of the whole nation, the national middle class will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of [illegible] for Western enterprise, and it will in practice set up its country as the [illegible]

This petit-bourgeoisie can play that role without seeing any contradictions because, in the colonial stage, they had completely imbibed the culture of slavery and hence a slave consciousness and world outlook

During the neo-colonial stage of imperialism, education and culture [illegible] important role in [illegible] domination and [illegible] European naming systems, European language, European theatre, European literature, European content in teaching materials – all these areas, so central to culture, are left intact. Since the petit-bourgeoisie grew up accepting the world-view of the imperialist bourgeoisie, it will drive the youth even more vigorously into educational factories producing the same world-view. More churches are built, religious programmes on radio or television are intensified. This class wants to prove to its Western mentors that it is civilized, that it is cultured, that it will not bring chaos into the country; it will try to prove that all the former accusations of inability to run the country were false. The moment this class accepts the imperialist bourgeois terms of evaluation of what constitutes progress, civilization, stability and so on, the imperialist bourgeoisie has won the battle and the war. For the Western imperialist bourgeoisie civilization, stability, progress, mean the continuation of the colonial state, the colonial economic structure, with, of course, a few cosmetic reforms (like allowing a few natives to own farms, businesses, and go to live and drink in places that were formerly for whites only) to deceive the populace.

A petit-bourgeoisie which refuses to negate its roots in Western Education and culture, develops into what Fanon describes as:

A little greedy caste, avid and voracious, with the mind of a huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that the former colonial power hands out to it. This get-rich-quick middle class shows itself incapable of great ideas or of inventive-

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ness. It remembers what it has read in European textbooks and imperceptibly it becomes, not even the replica of Europe, but its caricature.

Now the people who want total liberation must recognize imperialism under European, Japanese or American guise, as the main enemy. They must recognize that imperialism has two stages: colonial and neo-colonial and accept the full implications of that recognition. That means that the battle is not won with its flag and a national anthem. The aim of imperialism whether in its colonial or neo-colonial stage is to steal the wealth generated by the people: that is generated by the labour power of the workers and peasants of the colonial world. Imperialism aims at economic control, the control of the productive forces of that country. The political and cultural institutions it sets up are only to facilitate this theft and to safeguard it. Therefore for as long as the economy of the country is not liberated, that is for as long as the wealth of the land does not go back to feed, clothe and shelter those whose labour power produced it, those people cannot consider themselves free and liberated.

A people engaged in the struggle for liberation must then recognize that the contradiction is that liberation is the liberation of that economy from foreign and internal parasites. Any reform in education and culture must keep that objective clear in mind if such reforms are going to be useful and relevant. The aim is to devise an education system that not only gives people a true knowledge of their relations to nature and to other men, but one which imparts a culture that embodies a consciousness, a world outlook and value system that is a complete negation of imperialist culture and value systems.

If the colonial and neo-colonial education aimed at imparting a culture of the partly developed individual who only vaguely understands the forces at work in society, an individual who is weak in body, feeble in mind, cowardly and subservient in spirit in face of an exploiter and oppressor, then an education for liberation ought to aim at producing a fully developed individual who understands the forces at work in society, an individual imbued with great hatred of all parasitic relationships of exploitation and oppression, an individual imbued with great patriotic pride and courage, an individual desirous of a total control of his natural and social environment.

This can only be achieved by the kind of education described by Marx as polytechnic education. Such an education system would have three aims:

Firstly, provision of mental education. This would aim at developing

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the mental capacities of the people. People should be taught their history, their art, their literature, their theatre, their dances first before being taught other people's cultural achievements. Their history, art, literature, theatre, dances, should be interpreted from the point of view of the needs of the majority: the workers and peasants. In this context, political education is crucial. By this I do not mean education for conformity but a political education that raises people's awareness and particularly their awareness of the social forces at work. This education should endow a people with a scientific understanding of the laws governing nature and society, that is, endow them with a scientific

Secondly, provision of physical education. This would aim at producing healthy strong individuals. This would produce vigorous minds

[illegible] history. The whole people should be in a state of military preparedness to defend their revolution. A standing army should only be the highest concentrated expression of the military preparedness of the whole people.

Thirdly, economic and technological education through involvement in production. Everybody ought to be involved in productive labour. Every child should be taught some technological skill that would enable him or her to engage in direct productive labour. The aim should be to turn everybody into a producer, so that the nation eventually becomes an association of producers who are masters of their natural and social environment. The aim is to produce a producer, a thinker and a fighter all integrated in the same individual.

What, then, I am advocating is not just education and culture per se. I am calling for an education for a national patriotic culture to produce fully developed individuals with a consciousness that man must be the master of both natural nature and his social nature. Education and culture should not only explain the world but must prepare the recipients to change the world. Man is the creator of his destiny and we, as an African people, can only get the destiny we create for ourselves.

I would like to end this address with the closing words of Franz Fanon in his book *The Wretched of the Earth:*

> Comrades let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states institutions and societies which draw their inspiration from her. Humanity is waiting for something other from us than such imitations which would be almost an obscene caricature. If we want to turn Africa into a New Europe . . . then let us leave the des-

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tiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us. But if we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries. If we wish to live to our people's expectations, we must seek the response elsewhere, than in Europe. Moreover, if we wish to reply to the expectations of the people of Europe, it is no good sending them back a reflection, even an ideal reflection, of their society and their thoughts with which from time to time they feel immeasurably sickened. For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrade, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts and try to set foot a new man.

still try to explain away. Today, in the latter quarter of the twentieth century, there s no reason why Zimbabwé should not be the seat of a new beginning for the final home-coming of the new man of Africa.

but the New African will not be given us on a silver platter. He will be a product of intense revolutionary class struggle led by a revolutionary party of workers and peasants, on all levels: economic, political and cultural.

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REPORT FROM UDF (TVL) EDUCATION COMMITTEE

TO UDF (TVL) EXECUTIVE

PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT:

The committee is unclear about what role the executive expects it to play - especially in the light of recent changes in the structures of the UDF (TVL) We are submitting this report in or der to clarify our history of operation and how we see ourselves operating in future.

We are doing this in or der to get some kind of mandate from the executive. Do we continue to function or not? - What kind of work would the executive like us to do if we do continue?

Here are some of our ideas on the subject. We hope to hear from the executive as soon as possible.

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No (21)
7/10/87
27/10/87

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No 7: 8/4/87
No (21) 7/10/87

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While we are on this topic - let us explain the criteria we use in recruiting people onto the committee- (a) We decided that we must try and have a cross- section of comrades from different communities on the committee. This is for two reasons

(i) They know the community and can guide the committee on the needs of affiliates from that community

(ii) They know the languages spoken in that community and can run sessions in the people's own languages (This applies mainly to the African community)

(b) We need people with skills in the different areas required - or people who can aquire these skills

As you can see at the moment we have a majority of comrades from the white community. This is why we will attempt to recruit other comrades from the African and "colored" community.

HOW DO WE FIT INTO UDF STRUCTURES?

We have discussed this in the committee since the UDF General Council meeting where the new structures were announced.

We felt that the committee could not really fit under any of the 'secretariats' announced at the council meeting. We are not the same type of structure as a secretariat. The secretariats exist to aid the UDF Exec and Council in making policy and statements in the areas that they cover, We are a service committee that should be there to cater for the education / training needs as they arise within the UDF. We thus recommend that we operate on a different level to that of the secretariats. We exist to aid with education needs as they arise. We are not here to take on all the education/training needs of the UDF. This is impossible. Wherever possible the groups involved can, and will, plan their own training events. We on our part will try and cater for education/training needs that are not being catered for by anyone else.

We recommend that we be answerable directly to the exec / or secretariat. We will (2.1)

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(21)

submit

regular reports to one of the Transvaal secretaries - to be submitted to the exec or secretariat by him. We will also have a coordinator who will convene meetings / chair them etc and will communicate with one of the Transvaal secretaries who will act as the Exec. / secretariat liaison person. 7/10/87

CONCLUSION

These are our recommendations but we would like some kind of response from the executive. Do we continue on the lines sketched out or not? Do you agree with our conception of our relationship to the UDF structures ? etc

We await your response

The UDF Education Committee

Mike Roussos

Mohammed Bahm

Amos Masondo

Peter Harris

Benita Pavlicevic

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AB3

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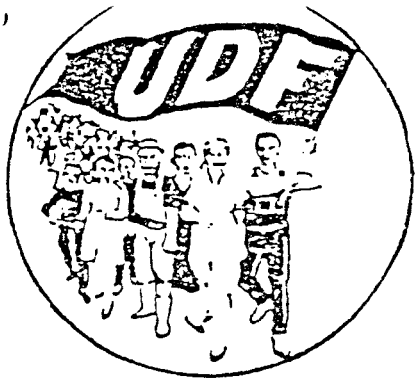

U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS.

FRIDAY	8.00pm	:Arrival and supper.
	9.00pm	:Introduction to weekend and get to know each other session.
SATURDAY	8.00am	:Breakfast.
	9.00am	:Introducing our Civic Organisations. - With whole group ; presentations on newsprint.
	10.00am	:Tea.
	10.30am	:Evaluation of Anti-Community Council campaign -Group discussion. -Report back. -Led discussion on methods of organising / mobilising.
	12.30am	:Black Local Authorities Act.
	1.00pm	:Lunch.
	2.00pm	:How does our struggle fit in with other struggles? -4 Speakers ; Leandra ; TIC ; FRA ; ECO. -Questions from the floor after each speaker. -Group discussion. -Report back. -Brief talk.
	4.00pm	:Tea.
	4.30pm	:What is the UDF and how do civic organisations fit in? -Talk and led discussion.
	7.00pm	:Supper.
	8.00pm	:Film.
SUNDAY	8.00am	:Breakfast.
	9.00am	:Where do we go from here? -Brainstorming session in groups. -Report back.

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10.30am :Tea.

11.00am :Skills session.
-How to set goals and plan.

12.30am :Evaluation.

1.00am :Lunch and departure.

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AB4

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REPORT FROM UDF (TVL) EDUCATION COMMITTEE

TO UDF (TVL) EXECUTIVE

Box 11 AB4

PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT:

The committee is unclear about what role the executive expects it to play - especially in the light of recent changes in the structures of the UDF (TVL) We are submitting this report in or der to clarify our history of operation and how we see ourselves operating in future.

We are doing this in or der to get some kind of mandate from the executive. Do we continue to function or not? - What kind of work would the executive like us to do if we do continue?

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AB5

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V (10)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

Box "ABS"

NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

30 January 1985

TO ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

Dear Comrades

Please pass on the enclosed Memorandum to Parents Committees, churches, prominent personalities, union, etc in your Region.

Your co-operation will be highly appreciated in this regard.

Yours in the struggle

E. Maleka.

ESTHER MALEKA

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin

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JNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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MEMORANDUM TO:

FROM: UDF & COSAS - P MOLEFE AND J KHUMALO

DATE: 21 JANUARY 1985

PROPOSALS FOR DISCUSSION ON EDUCATION CRISIS

On January 17, 1985 four representatives of the Congress of South African Students comprising two N.E.C and two R.E.C members, met with the National and Regional Secretaries of the UDF at the latter organisation's offices in Johannesburg to assess the state of Education.

The following observations were made:-

1. That there was general confusion as students did not know whether to go back to school or not.

2. That whilst some students had gone back to school, many were still out on boycott. e.g P.E., Fort Beaufort, Cradock, Lamontville, Uitenhage registering almost 100% boycott. The Vaal, Soweto and Pretoria have relatively higher numbers of students at school but not all students have gone back.

3. That the Congress of the S A Students has not been able to make a national call of any kind because of a variety of problems manifesting themselves differently in different regions and localities. Although the overall demands are as previously stated by COSAS, there are other problems such as unfair dismissal and/or suspension of teachers and students. We have here in mind the situation in Cradock and Lamontville where teachers have been arbitrarily dismissed. Here students and parents are determined that there will be no going back until the teachers are re-instated.

4. That although earlier on the D.E.T seemed willing to resolve the crisis, it seems like they are returning to their all time intransigence. This means that they may not resolve the crisis even in the short term.

2/.....

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5. That although some students have gone back to school the potential for another school boycott and violence at a larger scale will be a great one if D.E.T does not meet the demands of the students.

6. That the students are on the threashold of victory and that this should not be allowed to slip out of our hands.

7. That there is a need to expand the campaign by involving other forces such as the churches, unions, prominent personalities like Bishop Tutu, Allan Boesak, Arch-bishop Hurley, SACC, SACBC, etc. and to provide a clear direction in this regard.

8. That there is a need for an assessment of possible involvement in the Education Charter Campaign by the Parents Committees.

9. That there is need to a serious assessment of the attempts by the D.E.T to setup Parents Liaison Committees and the possibility of replacing same with democratic structures of parents.

The UDF and COSAS urge you to discuss the above questions and to come out with practical suggestions as soon as possible. The most concrete and crucial question facing us is, precisely How can we intensify the campaign in the event of the D.E.T refusing to meet the students' demands?

It shall be appreciated if the matter can receive your urgent attention.

Yours in the struggle,

POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

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AB6

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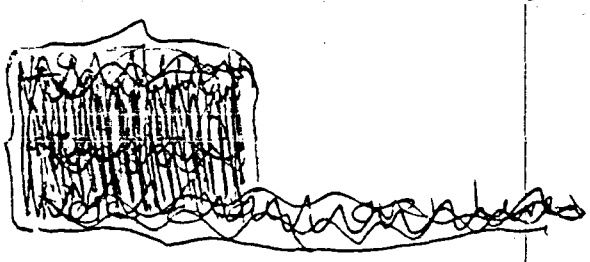

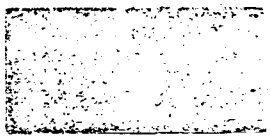

① Area Committee discussions.

② Education Commission: to provide common forum for discussions about education;

ii. UDF approached the Education Crisis committee.

iii. Workshops, seminars and group discussions.
Commission's Meeting: Saturday 23/2/85.
Venue: Gradock.

③ Anti-Militarisation Commission:
Workshop:
Campaign:
Meeting: Sunday 10.00 a.m.

4. Housing: Research and Investigate housing in areas: rentals, rent remission (pensioners), annual expenditure, services (should the post municipal finance (where does money goes to), profits (where are they going to?), forced removals (fact sheets) organisation

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5. Restructuring

6. a. Preparations for the AGM
i. REC: responsible. Venue to be announced.
ii. National office to be present
b. Finance. Fundraising committee meeting.
ii. Fundraising should be taken serious.
iii. a. FOUDF
b. Finance workshop -
c. Next meeting - 3/3/84

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AAS 5

AB7

No 10 : 4/2/87

16 : 3/9/87

(20) 29/9/87

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UNITED AFRICAN MOTOR & ALLIED WORKERS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. (1)

HEAD OFFICE
513/514 Willie Theron Building
Bosman Street
0002 PRETORIA
Tel: (012) 32-30838

Queens House
11 Queen Street
4001 DURBAN

Ben "AB 7"

P Camay (Cusa)

Mr. P Camay
CUSA
P.O. Box 10928
JOHANNESBURG
2000

Dear Coleague,

the above Union will like to get clarity on the following issues;

(1) We were shocked to see in your conference report that the CUSA unions agree todissolve it, when our members are not even clear of what the difference between CUSA and the unions is.

On behalf of our members we are taking this stand. Inspite of the ignorance of its members about the unity talks, the draft constitution has been circulated to all the affiliates, meaning that the new federation is about to be launched. Moreover our union is unable to respond positively to the constitution because the shop floor members do not understand the whole concept since themselves have never raised the issue.

Therefore until such time as the majority of the CUSA unions are mandated by their members to disband CUSA and be part of the Unity Talks the N.E.C. has resolved that the CUSA delegation including the general secretary stop attending these meetings forthwith until such time as a new mandate is issued by the majority of the affiliates.

(2) Two DAYS STAY AWAY

On behalf of the membership of the union the N.E.C. is shocked that the CUSA general secretary has called for a two days stay away without consulting the members of the unions affiliates to CUSA.

Since we are CUSA the general secretary has no right whatsoever to decide on behalf of CUSA without a mandate from the affiliates.

We condemn the action of the general secretary in the strongest terms. Disregard of these resolutions will call for strong disciplinary action to be taken.

N.B: Circulate this letter to all affiliates.

Yours faithfully

.....
Mrs D Notha
(General Secretary)

.....
Mr A S Padi
(President)

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UDF Gauteng (2)

COSAS

EACH ONE TEACH ONE

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

TVL REGIONAL COMMITTEE

TEL 339 2139

FREEWAY HOUSE
9 DE KORTE STREET
BRAAMFONTEIN 2001

We in Cosas have pledged for support from all the worker-Organisations in the TVL Trade Unions, Civics and Youth organisations to identify their role in support of the students demands in South Africa which are as follows:-

* Release of all detained students
* Scraping of all charges against them
* Decision as to when Examinations to be written and how (16) 3/9/87
* Issueing of textbooks to all students
* Recognition of our demands that is of having democratic SRCs with a drawn students constitution.

Letter of invitation to a meeting were sent to all different sectors of our country, unfortunately they did not reach their destinies in time. (16) 3/9

We in Cosas proposed a stay-away from work and school depending on how the workers will react to that.

We urge our parents/workers under their trade-unions to fully identify themselselves wiht our problems and therefore forge links and support us as their children suffering under Bantu Education and the racist, facist Regime of Pretoria.

We are requesting each Union, Civic and Youth organisations in the Transvaal to discuss this issue with their membership and have their own conclusion over this stay-away, as to how long should it take.

We would like each organisation to sent two delegates to a meeting that would be on the 27 October - Venue: Khotso House Time: 12 h.oo pm

Yursin the struggle
Chairperson TVL Region Cosas
Peter Makgoba

No 10 : 9/2/87
16. 3/9/87

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Cusa off file

(3)

Assessment of stay away

Before during After — other Committees

Good

Assessment:

1. Response was good
2. Demands not adequately covered
3.

(Other committees?)

CUSA

Members response: ER, WR, — Good
In Pretoria — Poor
Potchef: — "
Hostel areas: ...

Members feelings: Individual/org statements
Kransdorp.
Not adequate people
Time problem
Adequate mandate
Detentions
Dismissals —
Press statements
Structures to remain intact

Are structures adequate

Resources

FOSATU: Black Xmas
Regional Strike Stuff

NEC (1) Why CUSA did not attend: Time CUSA req'd. Between 5 - 10 days
(2) How much time does CUSA need Communication & Discussion Mahlathi
(3) Are any CUSA members killed or detained?

(4) Black Xmas: Does CUSA support?
(Non-Joiner)

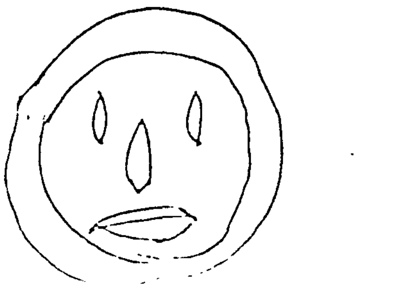
(5) Organise meetings to transcend individual organisations.

BUWA
— stayaway
— study leave
— striking ...

Press statement mandate

Ctee of Concern
Tvl. Stayaway Ctee

this is not a permanent Ctee
we are willing to support
COSAS
(—) Demand reinstatement of SASOL workers.
(—) Demand release of all detained
(—) Dismissed for staying away
(—) Consumer boycott for Xmas
(—) Removal of troops from Townships
(—) ~~Stayaway~~



DIESELFDE AS "AB 16" Cura 9/1/88 (4)

WORKERS, WORKERS, BUILD SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS STRUGGLE IN THE SCHOOLS

No 16 3/9/87

For many months 1000's and 1000's of us have struggled in the schools. We students united in massive boycotts to FIGHT FOR OUR DEMANDS:

* STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS (SRC) IN EVERY SCHOOL.
* AN END TO ALL AGE RESTRICTIONS.
* FOR THE REINSTATEMENT OF EVERY SINGLE EXPELLED STUDENT.
* FOR FREE BOOKS AND SCHOOLING. No 9 3.3.87
* FOR AN END TO ALL CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.
* IN PROTEST AGAINST THE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH EXCLUDES THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE, IS RACSIST AND ANTI-WORKER. (16) 3/9/87

- LIKE YOU WORKERS : we want democratic committees under our control(SRC's to fight for our needs.

LIKE YOU WORKERS : we students are prepared to fight all and every dismissal from our schools.

- LIKE YOU WORKERS : WE defend older students from being thrown out of our schools, just like you defend old workers from being thrown out of the factories.

- LIKE YOU WORKERS demand free overalls and boots so we students demand free books and schooling. And students don't pay for books and schools IT IS THE WORKERS WHO PAY.

JUST AS THE WORKERS fight assaults against the workers in the factory so we students fight against the beatings we gat at school.

From Cradock to Pietersburg, from Paarl and Capetown to Vereeniging, from Thembisa, Saulsville, Attridgeville, Alexandra, Wattville, Katlehong we have come out in our 1000's in mass boycott action. (16) 3/9/87

WORKERS, YOU ARE OUR FATHERS AND MOTHERS, YOU ARE OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS. OUR STRUGGLE IN THE SCHOOLS IS YOUR STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORIES. WE FIGHT THE SAME BOSSES GOVERNMENT, WE FIGHT THE SAME ENEMY.

Today the bosses government has closed many of our schools. OUR BOYCOTT WEAPON IS NOT STRONG ENEOGH AGAINST OUR COMMON ENEMY, THE BOSSES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

WORKERS, We NEED YOUR SUPPORT AND STRENGTH IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

WE STUDENTS WILL NEVER WIN OUR STRUGGLE WITHOUT THE STRENGTH AND SUPPORT FROM THE WORKERS MOVEMENT.

** PREPARE FOR A JOINT MEETING OF STUDENTS AND WORKERS TO DISCUSS CONCRETE SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS STRUGGLE. **

Workers, we students are ready to help your struggle against the bosses in any way we can. But today we need your support.

ISSUED BY COSAS TRANSVAAL REGION

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UDF Khotso Hse Jhb (5)

S T A T E M E N T

Some unions met last night

In supporting the democratic demands of the students, the following unions and federation :

FOSATU → PHIROSHAW CAMAY
CUSA ← ENOCH GODONGWANA (UMMAWOSA organiser)
SAAWU BANGILIZWE SOLO (NUTW)
CCAWUSA
UMMAWOSA
GAWU
MGWUSA
SASDA
NUPAWO

agreed :

To support the call for a regional stay-at-home on 5th. and 6th November and demand

1. Army and police to be withdrawn from the townships
2. Rent increases to be stopped
3. All Community Councillors to resign
4. Release of all detainees and political prisoners
   We record that our fellow unionists Jerry Kau (NNAWU) Zanemvula Mapela (PWAWU) Zolani Nduna (CWIU) Khetsi Lehoko (UMAWOSA) Duma Nkosi (CCAWUSA)

5. Reinstatement of all dismissed workers including Simba Quix workers

6. Bus fare increases to be halted

7. Withdrawal of unfair GST and taxation.

We recommend that our members stay indoors, that shops close that health workers be allowed to provide medical services. We call on all other unions & political and civic organisations to support the students' call.

31 October 1984

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Given by - Cameron (Cosas) (6)

PRESS STATEMENT

On the 10th October 1984, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), called on all the organisations to meet at Kgotso House, with an aim of discussing the following issues:-

1. Education Crisis
2. Civic problems
3. Labour Problems

No 10: 4/2/87
No 8 20/2/87
No 9. 3/3/87
No (19) 1/8/87
No (18) 3/9

All Cosas branches in the Transvaal were present, from Youth Congresses, Vaal Civic Association, Paper & Allied Workers Union, Gawu, Sasdu & Samwu.

A stay away from work decision was taken. A consultative Committee consisting of Cosas Regional Members was formed. The Task of the Committee was to consult with all the trade Unions, Civic Associations, Youth Groups and other organisations.

Another agreement was reached of holding a similar meeting with a broader representation for the 27th October 1984. Venue, Khotso House. Time: 1.00pm.

On the 27th October, the meeting took place and went through the same issues as outlined in the previous agenda. But this time a concrete action was to be taken. The organisation present are the following:-

No 20: 29/9/87

1. Cosas - TVL
2. RMC - TVL
3. Soyco - Soweto
4. Fedsaw - TVL
5. Fosatu - TVL
6. GAWU - TVL
7. SARHWU - TVL
8. Saspu - TVL
9. SAMU (SAWU) - TVL
10. SAYO - Pretoria
11. MAYO - Pretoria
12. AYCO - Alexandra
13. VAYCO - Vaal
14. Vaal Civic Association - Vaal
15. ERAPO - East Rand
16. Wattville Youth League - Wattville

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Dr Motlana 15/6/88 Cont...

17. Soweto Civic Association
8. Nusas
19. YCS
20. and many others.

Discussions circulated outrightly around the Stay-away. There was an agreement about the Stay-Away. This will be for the 5th and 6th November 1984. Monday & Tuesday. Nb 10 4/2/87

The regional Stay-Away call comes at a crucial period of our history. It comes at a period when our brothers and siters are dying like flies. It comes at a time when many are crowding South African prisons and Police Stations. It comes when over a 100 lives had been lost already. When tear-smoke, rubber bullets had caused an unpleasant situation in many families. It comes when the spirit of Bongani Khumalo and Michael Lephoto still haunts our hearts lke guilty wolfs.

Oh yes, only because of simple demands .
1. A demand for democratically elected SRC's
2. Abolition of Age Restriction Laws
3. Release of detained leaders.

We demand the resignation of Community Councillors . These ~~during~~ DUMMY (16) 3/9/87 institutions have been proved beyond any doubt that they do not serve the interest of the people. Their only interest is to fill their ockets . For example 97% of the bussinesses are owned by them. They allocate the biggest building sizes for them so that they can build their mansions, while almost the entire comminity is living in shacks and these so called squatter camps. ~~Teh~~ The school kids are being sjamboked, teargassed and shot by these bandits called police. Now we want to know what have these councillors done to put that to an end. The answer is obvious - Nothing that is why we demand their immediate resignation.

We the people of TVL also demand the withdrawal of these terrorists who terrosise our townships nicknamed police. Their presence disturbs the peaceful residents.

Dr Motlana 15/6/88

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First time I see this document

DR 19/9/87

We therefore say to Constable Louis Le Grange, Viljoen and their adopted babies by the name of councillors meet these demands or else, 19 18/8/87 We have been long voicing out these gieviences verbally now we are taking the first step practically.

To the people of Transvaal we request them to Unite in Action. Make this Stay-Away a success to show the Botha gang that enough is enough. 'We also request you to boycott all the businesses owned by the councillors. For Students, we say, forward with your fight we as your parents are backing you. We also appeal to Taxi-Owners not operate between towns and townships, but can operate only around the township. We further request you to work hand in hand with the people. So that we can fight together this ungodly R10-00 levy imposed upon you without consulting you, and this evil of abolishing Mini-buses only because the present governments company PUTCO can take them over. We also call upon our people to resist the intended PUTCO fare increases scheduled to start on the first of December (1-12-1984) This will still affect the TVL people. Regarding the present Education Crisis, various Parents Committees made attempts to meet Viljoen the Minister of Education but he has refused to meet them, but instead he chose to meet his puppet councillors, led by Tom Boya and Steve Kgame.

But the call still remains adapt or die. Meet our demands or face the wrath of the people. The ball is now rolling on the courts of the Authorities. The Powers that be the Government. For we are on the offensive, on the march towards a democratic future. 20 19/9/87

ISSUED BY THE TRANSVAAL AREA COMMITTEEE

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UNITED AFRICAN MOTOR & ALLIED WORKERS UNION OF S.A.

(7)

HEAD OFFICE
513/514 Willie Theron Building
Esman Street
0002 PRETORIA
Tel: (012) 32-30838

Queens House
11 Queen Street
4001 DURBAN

[redacted]

RECEIVED 7 NOV [redacted]

Mr P Camay
C U S A
P.O. Box 10928
J O H A N N E S B U R G
2000

Dear Coleague,

the above Union will like to get clarity on the following issues;

(1) We were shocked to see in your conference report that the CUSA unions agree todissolve it, when our members are not even clear of what the difference between CUSA and the unions is.

On behalf of our members we are taking this stand. Inspite of the ignorance of its members about the unity talks, the draft constitution has been circulated to all the affiliates, meaning that the new federation is about to be launched. Moreover our union is unable to respond positively to the constitution because the shop floor members do not understand the whole concept since themselves have never raised the issue.

Therefore until such time as the majority of the CUSA unions are mandated by their members to disband CUSA and be part of the Unity Talks the N.E.C. has resolved that the CUSA delegation including the general secretary stop attending these meetings forthwith until such time as a new mandate is issued by the majority of the affiliates.

(2) Two DAYS STAY AWAY
On behalf of the membership of the union the N.E.C. is shocked that the CUSA general secretary has called for a two days stay away without consulting the members of the unions affiliates to CUSA.

Since we are CUSA the general secretary has no right whatsoever to decide on behalf of CUSA without a mandate from the affiliates.

We condemn the action of the general secretary in the strongest terms. Disregard of these resolutions will call for strong disciplinary action to be taken.

N.B: Circulate this letter to all affiliates.

Yours faithfully

Mrwatha
.....
Mrs D Notha
(General Secretary)

.....
Mr A S Padi
(President)

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3

(8)

1984 11 14 OSHOO Found in the Alphabetical section at top of the filing cabinets in Flo Thinane's office at CUSA Offices 5 Wanderers St

TRANSVAAL STAY-AWAY COMMITTEE
42 De Villiers Street
JOHANNESBURG
2001

07/11/84

The Secretary
CUSA

Dear Comrades,

You are being invited to an evaluation meeting which will be held at Khotso House. We request you to send two (2) delegates. The discussion will be based on the Stay-Away of the 5th and 6th of November 1984.

DATE: 10-11-1984

TIME: 13H00

VENUE: Khotso House - 42 De Villiers Street J.H.B.

Your presence will be higly appreciated.

Yours in struggle,

Themba Nontlantane
(ORGANISER - T.V.L. STAY-AWAY COMMITTEE)

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AB8

WDF Ths

~~No (19) 1/9/87~~

No 9 3/3/87

(16) 4/9/87

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COSAS

EACH ONE TEACH ONE

TVL REGIONAL COMMITTEE

TEL 339 2139

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

FREEWAY HOUSE
9 DE KORTE STREET
BRAAMFONTEIN 2001

07 OCTOBER 1984

Ben "Abe"

THE SECRETARY

Dear Sir/Madam

The academic year of 1984 started with students of our country waging their educational struggle nationwide and showing their rejection of apartheid gutter education and dissatisfaction as a result of problems they encounter because of this colonial bantu education.

They made their demands clear to their parents and those responsible for them. ie. the apartheid Det in Pretoria. Their demands which are indeed genuine are, end to excessive corporal punishment, sexual harrasment of their female fellow students, scrapping of age-limit law, issuing of text books ta all of them and most important the srapping of puppet prefect system and its replacement by a democratically elected representation in a form of Students Representative Council(SRC)

The responce of apartheid Det was negative and was then followed by a series of detentions, intimidation, killing and harrasment of students. This made us be convinced that apartheid Det does not have our interest as students at heart as it claims. This was further proved by the responce of its minister who instead of looking into our demands as students, blamed instigators and agitators and finally said he will never give in to the demands of the students of our country and wanted to devide us oppressed and freedom living People of South Africa.

At such crucial time in our struggle for justice and better education we find it important to inform all our People that only in united action shall we be in a position to win our struggle for People's education and power and have the genuine demands the students of our country.

4/9/87

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AB8

It is in this regard that the above mentioned students organisation, COSAS Transvaal Regional Executive Committee calls upon your organisation to send two delegates to a meeting to discuss this crisis, the role your organisation can play in solving the problems of the students of our country.

Vanue: Khotso House
Time : 12H00
Date : 10 October 1984

Yours Faithful

Tshiki Mashimbye
Secretary(regional)

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(2)

No 9 3/3/87

STAY AWAY!!!

MONDAY AND TUESDAY THE 5TH AND 6TH NOVEMBER 1984

Your sweat and toil has brought guns and hippos. It has invited the police and the army to be in our houses, hostels and compounds. It has made masters to be proud and arrogant. It has made the Government undermine our integrity, dignity and respect as People of South Africa.

Your sweat, toil and energy has been abused for ages and centuries For decades and generations. Blood of your children has been shed in vain and shame

Rise, you the oppressed and the down-trodden. Wake-up, you the oppressed and the exploited. Stand up, you the deceived and the fooled.

- You students stand firm in the demands for SRC's, abolition of age limit laws, release of detained leaders, and an end to sexual abuse by teachers in schools.

- You Residents stand firm on your resistence against high rent, electricity and water bills.

- You Taxi-owners stand up to fight a ten Rand fee (R10) imposed on you by the Council.

- You in hostels and compounds, protest against high rentals in those terrible conditions.
- You workers, stand up to support your fellow colleagues dismissed from work.

- Lastly, you Business owners close your shops and join forces with people on the march to freedom.

The stay-away is nobody but you only. The call is not for organisations but for the people as a whole For thr sweat and Toil is ours as a people. It is ours as a nation. It is ours as the workers. It is ours as the students.

'Workers of the Country Unite for you have nothing to loose but your chains'

(5) **POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!**

SHAMS PRINTERS 54-1271

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AB9

w91

(16) 4/9/87

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COSAS NEC STATEMENT ON " DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING" S RESPONSE TO STUDENTS LEGITIMATE DEMENDS

Rew "AB 9"

The demands made by the students of our country, not out of outside ifluence but from
The demands made by us students of South Africa, not out of outside influence but from our own practical practical experiences, for democratically elected and run genuine representation in our schools, must not be seen in isolation from other demands in workplaces, community and everywhere our People are. All these led to the drawing of the Freedom Charter which today is 29 years old and which stands for the demands of the People's Democratic South Afruca.

It must be clear in the eyes of Department of Education and Training(Det) that the students of our country can never be fooled of bluffed any longer by such moves as imposing SRC's (Students Representative Council) constitution on them while when they stated a kind of representation they wanted they said " WE WANT FULL PARTICIPATION OF EVERY STUDENT IN THE DRAWING OF AN SRC CONSTITUTION".

Cosas sees the Det move of allowing its"SRC's" in our schools as part of reform campaign which is aimed at co-opting and caussing confusion within our People, because the requirements put in the DET "SRC" constitution are very much different with the democratic process of SRC elections. And that we believe, the elections must be conducted on the basis of merrit.

Also, what has become clear in the minds of many students is that, teachers' presence where students are discussing matters affecting them, turn to discomfort students. Therefore, when nominations take place teachers will be seen as a threat by the students because the clear point is that, students have grown up having no proper relationship with our teachers, (which is one of COSAS' aims, to create a spirit of understanding and co-operation between students and teachers)

As the DET constitution states that an SRC member must abide with the school rules. This is one other crucial issue, which students have been keep watch at, and it is to the interests of students too, and the entire community that this relationship between students, teachers &parents, be seen in practice when deciding on matters directly affecting students (e.g. school rules).

Therefore we, in COSAS note with concern that

- DET in strong alliance with Mr. Le Grange are forcing the SADF into our townships to "preserve peace and order".
- our fellow students and UDF activists are being kept under the detention orders by the same Minister of "Law and Order", Mr Le Grange.

DET is still aggravating the situtien by not bowing down to legitimate students demands of an end to corporal punishment, end to Age Limit restrictions and many

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other relevent education demands.

- DET is playing with our people by indefinately suspending classes in the Eastern Cape schools, and re-open schools in Pretoria.
- the students' struggles have(off late) gained many other enemies who have joined to openly say that SRC demand is a political one and that it can only be allowed Universities or Colleges.

And believing that:

- the crisisin South Africa today is a permanent one, only by the time arises that it explodes just as the case now.
- the so-called preventive Section 28 of the Internal Security Act will /have not solved the problems S.A. has presently, instead people showed quite clearly that they have the ability too.
- the DET "SRC" response hasn't answered all the demands students are having
- these "Community Councillors" are the main force behind the disturbances in Vaal, P.E. and other areas.
- further, the education which is forced to our people has long been proved to be a failure (ever since its inception in 1954), and that it will never take our forfathers's land, South Africa, to anywhere.

And therefore resolve that:

1. Det must meet all education demands of the students
2. All "Town/community Councillors" must resign immediately and unconditionally becaus they are responsible for the killing of students in Vaal and other areas
3. All detained students be released immediately and unconditionally and their charges withdrawn
4. Students and parents decide when examinations(final) can be written bec-use it is not them but Det which closed their schools
5. Those students be allowed back into schools without the harrasment as a result of "age limil law"
6. No student be harrased or intimidated by the police or school authority because he/ was spotted as part of the student struggle
7. No declaration must be signed by both parents and students on the return of student to school
8. All the people of our land must rally behind the move by AZASO and COSAS in campaig for an Education Charter, which will be a yard stick around the struggles in educat We further believe that the envisane character of the Education Charter will be one of a democratic nature as an alnertanative to the present racist and degrading educ

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APPENDIX

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS WITH WHOM CRIC WORKS

TRADE UNIONS

GAWU (General and Allied workers union)
SAAWU (South African Allied Workers Union)
CUSA (Consultative Unions of South Africa)
FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions)
MACWUSA (Motor and Components Workers Union of South Africa)
MGWUSA (Municipal and General Workers Union of South Africa)
SAMWU (South African Mine Workers union)

GENERAL

UDF (united Democratic Front - National)
UDF (Transvaal and Border)
RMC (Release Mandela Committee)
JODAC (Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee)

COMMUNITY GROUPS

Attredgeville and Saulsville residents association (Pretoria)

SOWETO civic association
Hhudi civic association
Vaal civic association
Tsekana civic association
Katlehong civic association
NORTHERN CAPE
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

YOUTH GROUPS

SOYCO (Soweto youth congress)
Ayco (Alexandra Youth Congress)
Mayo (Mamelodi Youth Organisation)
Sayo (Saulsville youth Organisation)
Thabong Youth Congress (Bloemfontein)
East London youth organisation
Kuruman Youth Congress
Hhudi Youth Unity
Soshanguve youth organisation (Pretoria)
Mayco (Mankweng Youth Congress)
Moya (Tembisa - East Rand)

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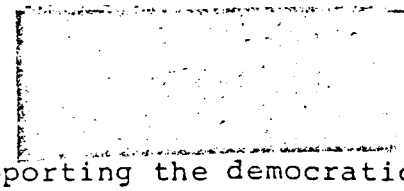
S T A T E M E N T



In supporting the democratic demands of the students, the following unions and federation: :

FOSATU
CUSA
SAAWU
CCAWUSA
UMMAWOSA
GAWU
MGWUSA
SASDA
NUPAWO

agreed :

To support the call for a regional stay-at-home on 5th and 6th November and demand

1. Army and police to be withdrawn from the townships
2. Rent increases to be stopped
3. All Community Councillors to resign
4. Release of all detainees and political prisoners
   We record that our fellow unionists Jerry Kau (NNAWU) Zanemvula Mapela (PWAWU) Zolani Nduna (CWIU) Khetsi Lehoko (UMAWOSA) Duma Nkosi (CCAWUSA)

5. Reinstatement of all dismissed workers including Simba Quix workers

6. Bus fare increases to be halted

7. Withdrawal of unfair GST and taxation.

We recommend that our members stay indoors, that shops close that health workers be allowed to provide medical services. We call on all political and civic organisations to support the students' call.

31 October 1984

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6th Floor
Khotso House
42 De Villiers
JOHANNESBURG
2000

The honourable Secretary/Chairman

The Transvaal Stay-way Committee formed by the Congress of South African Students (Coasas) together with all Youth Organisations, Civil Ass. Workers Organisations and Political Organisations, in the Transvaal, call on you and all yor affiliates to recognise the plea for a Regional Stay-way scheduled for the 5th and 6th November 1984.

The following organisations are represented in the committee:-

1. The Congress of South African Students. (Cosas)
2. The Release Mandela Committee (RMC)
3. The Vaal Civic Association
4. Fedsaw - Federation of South African Women
5. Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco)
6. Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo)
7. Saulsville Youth Organisation (SAYO)
8. Alexandra Youth Congress - (AYCO)
9. Vaal Youth Congress (Vayco)
10. Azanian Student Organisation
11. National Union of South African Student
12. Federation of South African Trade Unions. (Fosatu)
13. South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu)
14. General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu)
15. Municipal & General Union Workers of S.A. (MGWUSA)
16. South African Scooter Drivers Union (Sasdu)
17. South African Railway & Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU)
18. MOYA Youth Congress.
19. Mankweng Youth Congress
20. Seshego Youth Congress
21. East Rand Peoples Organisation (ERAPO)
22. Wattville Youth League
23. And all other Church Organisations in the Transvaal.

We therefore extend our invitation to Youth Association, not only to respond positively but be physically with the involved organisations.

Your support and positive response will be highly appreciated.

Yours in the Struggle

Oapa Monareng - (Secretary For Northern T.V.L)
Thami Mali - Convenor
Themba Montlantane (Organiser, West Rand, Pretoria)
Moses Mayekisa - Organiser - East Rand & Vaal.

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AB10

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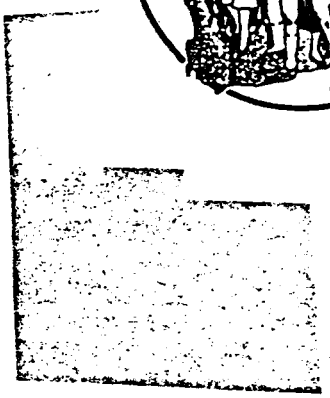
Bew "ABIO"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917



MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL SECRETARIES

FROM: HEAD OFFICE

DATE: 13 FEBRUARY 1985

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

Dear Comrades

On January 12 and 13, 1985 a number of Youth organisations, affiliates and non-affiliates of the UDF met in Durban to discuss the I.Y.Y and the structure of the National Youth organisations and plansto launch the two.

The National Office discussed the report (verbal) of the said meeting with the co-ordinators of both the N.Y.O and the I.Y.Y. viz Dan Montsitsi and Deacon Mathe. After this discussion the National Office was left with the impression that firstly there was no strong motivation as to why the campaign should not be conducted under the banner of the UDF. Secondly that there was no clarity as to how they proposed to prepare for the campaign between then and the formation of the N.Y.O. Thirdly that meeting did not seem to recognize the urgency of the I.Y.Y. To that extent did not give a deadline for co-ordinating structures to be set up and the unrolling of the I.Y.Y. programme.

It is the view of the National Office that the decision taken is incorrect abd may affect the effectiveness of the campaign. The UDF has already won a great amount of legitimacy both nationally and internationally. Many people and organisations on these planes will support anything that is associated with the Front. To give the I.Y.Y. campaign publicity and to win even greater support for it we need to encourage our affiliates to conduct it under the banner of the UDF. This will also provide a measure of protection from state harassment to activists for they will be projected as UDF activists in the event of detention and arrest. And the state does not want negative publicity at this stage. They may therefore avoid unnecessary arrests.

But important is the fact that we have already started building the UDF as a vehicle to advance our struggle. The youth organisations in their campaigns, especially the I.Y.Y must be seen to be part of this broad movement. The I.Y.Y provides the scenario.

2/.....

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete
National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

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Another factor which every Region must take into account is that it is the UDF which is ultimately responsible for everything done by our affiliates locally and abroad. There must therefore be a close co-operation and common discipline to our approach to issues. Now the UDF having gained experience during the past campaigns stands a better chance of assisting and ensuring that the campaign becomes a success.

We are not suggesting that the UDF will lead the campaign itself but simply saying that the youth must do so using the UDF name and guided by it. This suggestion does not conflict with the objective of strengthening affiliates in effect it achieves two goals; It simultaneously strengthens the youth organisations and project the UDF.

We would like to appeal to the R.E.C and R.G.C's to discuss this matter urgently with a view to persuading the youth affiliates to change the position taken in Natal as stated above.

Please forward your response to the H/O as soon as possible.

Yours in struggle

SIGNED E MALEKA
FOR POPO MOLEFE

POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

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AB11

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Rew "AB 11"

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD IN DURBAN ON THE 12th AND 13th JAN. 1985.

The report has been broken down into three parts:

a. Brief report of the various regions delivered at the conference.
b. Report of different group discussions held at the conference.
c. Report of decissions taken at conference, after group discussions.

GENERAL BACKGROUND.

UDF youth affiliates attended a national consultative meetng in Lenasia on the 10th and 11th November 1984, to discuss how the UDF youth affiliates could take up IYY for the year 1985, this opportunity was used to discuss the formation of a national youth organisation.

The regions which were represented were as follows:

1. The Transvaal region.
2. The Border region.
3. The Westrn Cape.
4. The Natal region.
5. The EAstern Cape (PE).

In January 1984, a national consultative youth conference was held in Welgespruit next to Johannesburg. About 30 youth organisations were represented from various parts of the country. Amongst some of the decisions taken at the conference, was that since time was not yet ripe to form a national youth organisation, then, organisations must consider seriously the feasibilty of coming up with the idea at later stage. The same concern was raised at the Lenasia conference. Each region appointed one person to begin the co-ordination of regions and to initiate discudions around the formation of a national youth organisation.

Some of the points raised were as follows:

*To look at the possibility of the NYS adopting the FC.
*The possibility of the NYS being based on non-racial and demcratic principles of the progressive movement.
*The nature of the structure and the constitution.
*Organising the South African youth under the banner of the UDF.
*That special attention be given to the rural youths.
*That colours, emblem etc. be looked into.

NB. This report was not sent to many regions, as a result only a few received it. The only attempt made was to phone certain regions to keep them informed.

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REGIONAL REPORTS OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCE

HELD IN DURBAN ON THE 12th AND 13th JAN. 1985.

This is an on the spot report of various regions delivered at the Durban conference. It briefly outlines the ground covered on the NYS and the position of the region with regards to the formation of the NYS, including the conditions in the regions pertaining to the strength and weaknesses of the youth organisations.

1. TRANSVAAL REGION.

a. That a workshop was organised to discuss the NYS.
b. That the region supported the idea of the NYS.
c. That the FEDERAL STRUCTURE was adopted by the Transvaal region.
d. That since organisations were requested to come with mandates or rather give mandates to their delegates, the decision on the form of structure adopted was therefore binding to all organisations.

2. NATAL REGION.

a. That after the Lenasia conference, a working committee was set up in Natal.
b. Its task was to fascilitate discusions around NYS and IYY.
c. That the working committee represents 25 youth groups in Natal ie. Durban, PMB, Newcastle.
d. That different youth organisations were visited and discusions held with those youth organisations.
e. That the COSAS and AZASO general student councils, were also used to discuss IYY.
f. That the Natal region did not receive a comprehensive report on NYS after the Lenasia conference. That they received a report on NYS a week before the conference in Durban.
g. As a result emphasis in the Natal region has been on the IYY rather than NYS.
h. That the region hels workshops, and that their delegates were mandated to take decisions at the conference.
i. That at this stage the Natal region saw need for a national co-ordinating structure, not a national youth organisation.
j. Recommendations made on NYS:
*That skilled and experienced personnel be at the leadership of the NYO.
*That they should be exposed to material and resources.
*That problems of co-ordination should be overcome.
*That there must be organisational capacity to carry out the requirements of the NYO.

That during the launch of the NYO, the position of the state with regards to the situation in the Vaal and reppression through the treason trial should be seriously considered.
l. That the structure and policy have not been discussed, that as soon as the region ready those aspects would attended to .
m. That the national youth structure should affiate to the UDF and take up IYY.

3. EASTERN CAPE.

a. That held discusions on formation of regional structure to take up IYY and draft a regional programme on IYY.
That E. CAPE organisations are, Payco, Gelvandale Youth Movement, Grayco, Peyco, Westville Youth Movement, Uyco, Kirkwood Youth Congress.
c. That the region was not consulted about the last conference held in Lenasia.
d. That other youth groups had problems financially in making it to the conference.

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WESTERN CAPE (CAYCO).

a. Agree in principle to the formaton of the NYO in1985.

Reasons.

*Thaere would be closer co-operation and co-ordination between various youth organisations.

*Importance of formulating and developing acoherent youth movement in the country.

*Unifying our youth organisations , both structurally and politically is far more advantageous for our liberation struggle.

*Its formation would ensure a disciplined and organised youth that can scientifically work out strutegies and tactics.

b. The following national and international issues are important when considering the NYS.

With regards to:

*International Youth Year 1985.

*30 years of the F. C.

*Education Charter.

c. That CAYCO is mindfull of particular weaknesses nationally. That however, these can be overcome.

d. That the organisation accepts the proposal on the NYS made in the Lenasia conference.

e. That it supports the move for the NYS to formed on the 6th April depending on the conditions.

5. BORDER REGION.

a. That they have been out of touch with the discusions around IYY andNYS though they tried to keep pace.

b. That they are in favour of the move to form a national youth organisation.

c. That they have problems with national co-ordinating committee.

NB. REGIONS WHICH WERE NOT REPRESENTED WERE THE OFS AND THE NORTHERN CAPE.

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AB12

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Bew "AB12"

DECISIONS TAKEN AFTER REPORTS ON GROUP DISCUSSIONS ON N.Y.S.

1. Formation of N.YOUTH STRUCTURE: The house agreed on the formation of the National youth organisation.
2. Date of launch; Initially,6th April was agreed upon to coincide with the execution of Solomon Kalushu Mahlangu.But however UDF is likely to have a National event on the same date.The tantative date 9th June was seen convinient because of it's importance- the execution of MOSOLOLI,Motaung, and Mogoerane.Alternatively 16th June 1985 should be used for the launching.
3. Place of launchThe conference saw place of launch important.The motivation was that the place of launch should have an amount of protest backround of youth/students, with international focus.That it must be in a position to capture strongly local and international eye.Therefore a strong motivation on townships like Sebokeng sharpville and Boipatong was advanced,however the initial venue suggestion was on Mamelodi.
4. That an interim co-ordinating committee be formed to:
   a)prepare for the launc of the National Youth organisation
   b)to co-ordinate activities of all regions aimed at the formation of NYO.
   C)to work closely with the two rps from each region through the national co-ordinating committee to finalise the emblem,colours,name of organisation etc and constitutions of different youth organisations affiliated to the UDF,ultimately towards the draft constitution.
5. Co-ordinator of NYS:Comrade Deacon was elected national co-ordinator of NYS
6. Nature of structure;Federal type of structure was adopted by the conference. Important points were noted on the Federal structure:
   a)that this is a Federation of Youth Congresses,not an amorphous or conglomeration of regions,social,cultural,sporting and political youth groups.An example of a congress was indicated through achievements of the federation of South African Women formed in 1954 and staged a historic march against passes in 1956.
   b)that this federation is a federation of disciplined youth congresses which abide by the code of conduct of the progressive movement.That all the these youth congresses have either adopted the Freedom Charter as their Political programme or well disposed to the Freedom Charter.

continued...../2

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Motivation for the formation of NYS:

a)That since the IYY campaigns have the potential to strengten our organisation.1985 should be the year on which we form the NYS.

b)That the IYY initiated by the U.N,provides us with a certain amount of protection from the security and that the roots of the new NYS be launched and anchored in the masses through the activities of the IYY.

c)That the formation of NYO can bring political unity,give ideological direction and can facilitate national co-ordination.

d)That there is a high level of youth development in the TVL,Cape and P.Elizabeth regions.

d)That the timing of the formatiom of NYO in 1985 is correct in terms of youth activity nationally and internationally,and that the opportunity not be missed by the progressive movement.

9.Motivation against:

a)That organisations nationally are not strong enough to come up with a national structure.

b)That there is no proper Regional co-ordination amongst youth groups in various regions.

c)That IYY cannot serve as a guarantee aganist state reprssion and harassment.

d)Lack of skilled personnel and youth facilities.

e)Poor communication amongst youth groups,particularly with the rural youth organisations.

10.All the motivations raised for and against the formation of the NYS,were noted seriously by the conference.It was resloved that musc as a decision has been reached to go ahead with the formation of the NYO points which motivated against should be taken seriously.

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AB13

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GROUP DISCUSSIONS ON I.Y.Y.

Rew "AB13"

The conference broke into ten groups to discuss:
(a) Campaigns
(b) Calendar
(c) Publicity
(d) Colours, logo
(e) Under whose banner is the I.Y.Y. to be taken.
(d) Structure of I.Y.Y. common points from the groups.

1. CALENDAR

- I.Y.Y. to be launched with two months from the conference. There has to be national launch firstly.
- 6th April to be observed as the International 1st Youth Day.
- 4th March UDF people's week.
- 16th - 26th June youth week
- 9th - 10th August National womens Day.
- 15th June International Children's Day.
- 20th August - UDF launch.
- 31st May - Anti Republic Campaign.
- 3 September - Vaal
- 10th December - Human Rights day.
- 15th - 16th December - National Youth Festival
- Before the I.Y.Y., there has to be a popularization programme.

2. CAMPAIGNS

* Anti-Conscription and militarization Campaigns.
* Education charter campaign.
* Unemployment campaign.
* Freedom Charter campaign.

3. PUBLICITY

- There should be public launches of I.Y.Y.
- The I.Y.Y. committee has TO PRODUCE leaflets, national newsletter posters and greeting cards. It was also agreed that T-shirts have to be printed.
- Rallies were suggested as possible ways of publicizing the I.Y.Y. campaign etc.

COLOURS /.....

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* It was generally agreed on four colours: 1) BLACK
2) GREEN
3) GOLD
4) RED

4. STRUCTURE

It was agreed that an I.Y.Y. Structure is needed to co-ordinate the activities of the campaign.

This structure will consist of Youth and student organisations. One co-ordinators was elected to lead the committee. Comrade Dan Montsitsi is responsible for that. Regions were mandated to send two representatives to the national committee. The committee will then initiate activities at national level.

5. RELATIONSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE TO THE UDF

Out of 10 groups, 6 groups were in favour of the I.Y.Y. campaign to be under the banner of the UDF. Other suggested that it should be under the banner of the National Youth organisation.

But, out of 5 regions, 3 were not in favour of that decision.

For the sake of correspondence, it was agreed that we have to use UDF until such time the National youth organisation is launched and have it's letter heads.

FINANCE

The conference agreed that the I.Y.Y. co-ordinating committee should be responsible for the finances. The committee has to draft a budget.

6. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The committee shall handle international relations. The committee has to send the I.Y.Y. programme of action to the U.N.

7. OFFICE

It was tentatively agreed on the fact that Johannesburg has to be the head office . The UDF has to assist in this regard, and other resources.

8. I.Y.Y. MATERIAL

The committee on I.Y.Y. has to appoint a resource officer to distribute I.Y.Y. material to the regions. This should be done through the head office.

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AB14

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Rev AB14 (1)

THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

The year 1985 has been declared the International Youth Year by the United Nations General Assembly. The proposal was first made in 1977 and officially adopted in 1979 by the U.N. Since then, almost all the countries affiliated to the U.N. have been preparing for this year.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES AS SEEN BY THE U.N.

The main aims of the IYY should be to disseminate among youth the ideals of peace, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, human solidarity and dedication to the objectives of ppogress and development. The IYY is intended to harness the energies, enthusiasms and creative abilities of youth to the task of nationbuilding and to the struggle for national independence and self-determination, as well as against foreign domination and occupation and for the economic, social and cultural advancement of people. The IYY will serve to mobilize efforts at local, national, regional and international levels in order to promote the best educational, proffessional and living conditions for young people, ensure their active participation in the overall development of society and encourage the preparation of new national and local policies and programs in accordance to each country's experience, conditions and priorities. The IYY must be orientated towards action and results that will improve the living conditions of youth, rather than being merely a year of ceremonies.
In accordance with this, they are demanding theat the IYY be aimed at achieving a substantial improvement of the educational, working and living conditions of young people. Specific attention has to be given to the illiteracy and unemployment of youth.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

An International Secretariate has been established to co-ordinate the IYY internationally. We in the UDF are fortunate in that we have a South African who is a UDF member on this Secretariate (not representing UDF but YWCA) The Secretariate has called for a national programme by August already, but due to lack of co-ordination we haven't done that and an international calendar was circulated without a S.A. programme. The programme is still wanted however. Up to this point, it seems as if UDF are to be invited to the General Assembly on youth as the official representatives of South Africa. We will be given a platform on that occasion. The S.A. government will also be going there, but will not be recognised. This meeting will take place in October 1985.
Another very interesting factor in the IYY is that internationally, they are going to focus on th conditions of youth in the Third World countries - Africa, Asia and Latin America. Common issues would be things like unemployment etc. So we in S.A. under the UDF would be part of these international developments.
Whilst the IYY is spearhead ed by the U.N. there are also another body of youth and students that would be participating independently. This is the World Federation of Youth

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and Students. Their theme for the Year is Anti-imperialist solidarity, Peace and Friendsh. The WFYS consists of socialist and communist youth organisations. Their 12th International Festival would have IYY as a theme and will take place in Moscow in June 1985. Among the African countries that would be represented are Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique etc. Swapo and the ANC student and youth sections are also going to be represented here.

BHE IYY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Being aware of the fact that the government has made moves to take up the IYY and present their side of the situation of youth to the interanational community, we should see the IYY as a challenge, both for opposing the moves of the state and also presenting the true facts abouth youth in our country. Knowing that internationally there will be a focus on the Third World countries, the IYY becomes an opportunity to highlight the conditions of youth in S.A. and to place our struggle on the international agenda.
Given the fact that we, the youth organisations make up a large component of the UDF and also given the massive support of youth to the UDF, the IYY becomes particularly important for us. We should use it as an opportunity to strengthen both our own organisations and the UDF. The responsibility rests on us to politiscize the youth, to draw them into our structures and thus the Democratic Movement. The demands placed on us as youth organisations is to be a catalysing, militant and fighting youth - organising young people arcund issues that affect them. Obviously this requires mass action and education as just two important factors.
The IYY also gives us the opportunity to develop links with other structures while at the same time giving us the necessary opportunty to create the structures that are needed nationally and regionally to co-ordinate the activities of youth organisations in the country. The IYY should be seen as an attempt to mobilise and organise the youth of S.A. and to draw them into our organisations.

CONTEXTUALISING THE IYY

The IYY cannot be taken up outside of a context. That would be meaningless and a fruitless exercise. When planning to take up the IYY, we need to look at the theme, Participation; Dvelopment and Peace in the context of the conditions in our country. The conditions in our country should influence our understanding of the themes.

PARTICIPATION

The concept of participation is realised on different levels:

1. Education
2. Workplaces
3. Government
4. People's organisations

Participation is particularly important in S.A. where a minority government and the puppets make every attempt to prevemt the people from participating in the running of their lives. For us, participation implies enhancing the different organisations existing.

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It also demands the creation of the necessary conditions that will permit young people to assume their responsibilities individually or collectively.

DEVELOPMENT

Real development must answer the fundamental needs of people collectively. It must not be in in the intersts of a minority, who through the accumalation of wealth, create situations of unemployment and startation. Taking into account that development is stunted through measures like Racial laws, gutter education and unemployment, our contribution to the IYY should be counter-measures and this implies our own methods of education through the teaching of skills to a broader group of people as opposed to the academics who often us skills as tools of oppression.

Development also implies the strengthening of people's organisations and a culture of the people, not influenced by Western imperialism, but born from the traditions and roots of t the people, to a culture of liberation.

PEACE

Peace in S.A. is not only threatened by wars and militarization, but by all types of violence that exist in our society. Apartheid, forced removals, pass laws and influx control are all measures of institutionalized violence which lead to the non-existence of peace. Peace cannot be realised through nogotiations, but through the destruction of laws that prevent peace. The recent peace intiatives are proof of the fact that peace can only come when the demands of the people are met. It cannot be built upon passive acceptance and co-operation, as the recent uprisings clearly pointed out, The SADF and SAP serve as forces which subject the people to accept a false peace, but peace can only be achieved when justice rules.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we can say that there are a number of questions facing us and issues that need to be clarified. For this purpose we need to discuss the following questions:-

1. What are the priorities of Democratic Organisations for 1985 ?
2. What are the priorities for youth organisations for 1985?
3. Taking into account thes e priorities, what campaigns are we going to take up under the IYY? Do we take up the IYY as a campaign or theme ?
4. What advantages are there to taking up these campaigns under the IYY?
5. What programme of action are we going to follow on a national level ? (Ideas for prog)
6. What structures (nationally and regionall) do we set up to facilitate the campaign?
7. What will our relation be to (1) UDF
   (2) non-Charterist forces
   (3) other established structures

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8. Do we develop a national theme separate to the theme of the U.N.

9. What suggestions are there for a national theme, clours and logo of the campaign ?

10. How is the campaign going to be financed ?

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DEEL VAN DUPLIKAAT, SIEN VERDER AAN

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