

EDUCATION AND CHANGE: QUALITY OR EQUALITY?

An analysis of the current (1985-1986) opposition among pupils, teachers and parent communities in the Western Cape to the existing educational dispensation, in institutions which fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives.

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## ABSTRACT

This study sets out to analyse the 1985-1986 upheaval in education in the Western Cape. However, in order to achieve perspective (historical and otherwise), reference will be made to the boycotts of 1976, 1980 and 1984, and to institutions which fall under the control of other education authorities.

Explicit in the prevailing turbulence in education is a rejection of what exists, and a clamouring for something better. Furthermore, there exists in the view of the disaffected a rank ordering of school systems or education authorities, where the top systems are characterised by what they have, and the lower order systems by what they lack. These inequities are directly related to education provision by the State. Implicit, and explicit, in the many cries for change is a call for equal education for all. This places the focus upon the concept of equality, which in some quarters is reducible to uniform provision. But strident calls have also gone out for education to be more meaningful and relevant, and to be reflective of a different life view. This raises the crucial question of whether the clamour is for an education equal in quality to the best currently on offer (where quality relates to standards and norms), or whether it is for an education of a different quality, where quality relates to underlying ideology and content. The question is not inconsequential, especially in view

of the government's oft-stated commitment to the principle of providing education of equal quality to all population groups i.e. equal standards and norms, whereas present indications are that the client or user-group aspires to an alternative, post-apartheid education within a substantially different social milieu.

The thrust of this study will be to demonstrate that the current upheaval in education, increasingly community-based and, therefore, political or ideological in nature, will not be redressed within the present socio-political (and economic?) milieu, by the provision of manpower, buildings, facilities, amenities and equipment.

The dissertation is presented in THREE sections. Section A attempts to define the current situation and has as its overriding aim the identification and characterisation of the core of what people reject - gutter education as it is presently labelled. To achieve this goal, an attempt is made to portray the spirit and essence of the present educational milieu and to situate it within its broader social context. Chapters are devoted, therefore, to the Social Milieu, the Educational Milieu and to Gutter Education as experienced by the participants in the present upheaval. Section B seeks to demarcate the schism and to plumb the depths separating the State and the People. It records events which were embarked upon by the wider community in general, and the more cohesive school community in particular, in their efforts to give

expression to their rejection of the prevailing dispensation. Such events are symptomatic of strain. Chapters are consequently assigned to Rallies and Marches, the Consumer Boycott and the bench-mark Examinations Boycott, all illustrating the critical role of collective behaviour. Secondly, a close examination is made of the State's responses to such manifestations of opposition and challenge. The reaction of the State, emanating from both civil or education authorities and from the security forces, was manifested in restrictive measures and physical violence, inter alia. These are recorded in chapters devoted to the unprecedented Schools Closure episode, the State of Emergency and other restrictive banning orders, and to actions taken by the South African Police in conjunction with the Defence Force. Finally, following on a scrutiny of the People's actions and the State's counter-actions, it is appropriate that Section B should conclude with an evaluation of the Boycott Strategy.

Section C assesses the prospects for a re-defined situation and seeks to establish the range of alternative educational models which give expression to the life view and aspirations of important sectors of the country's population. It presents chapters, therefore, on the Conservative, Liberal and Radical models, respectively. The selection is not all-encompassing, but includes a representative model of the Status Quo i.e. the race-based focus of the People's rejection; a model providing

for evolutionary change towards non-racialism while retaining tried-and-tested standards and norms; and a model synthesising the goals of those who seek a re-structured, non-racial education milieu within a reconstructed, non-racial social dispensation. The section concludes with a tentative prognosis of the unfolding scenario in education in the immediate and short-term future. The prognosis does not present a unique solution to the turmoil in education outside of national political rapprochement, and outside of the democratisation of the nation's economy.

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This project centres around people - actors in an unfolding page of history. The events described here have not occurred without cost. Despite the obvious pain, many participants were willing to share their experiences and accompanying emotions. They, and other interviewees, convinced me that the story was worth telling. I thank them for their confidence.

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I hope that this study will render adequate tribute to all of those mentioned above.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADPA	:	Athlone and District Principals' Association
ANC	:	African National Congress
ASSOCOM	:	Association of Chambers of Commerce
ATASA	:	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZAPO	:	Azanian Peoples' Organisation
AZASM	:	Azanian Students' Movement
AZASO	:	Azanian Students' Organisation
CAD	:	Coloured Affairs Department
CAL	:	Cape Action League
CNE	:	Christian National Education
COSAS	:	Congress of South African Students
C'TPA	:	Cape Teachers' Professional Association
DCA	:	Department of Coloured Affairs
DEC	:	Department of Education and Culture (House of Representatives)
DET	:	Department of Education and Training (Black Education)
DNE	:	Department of National Education (co-ordinating department for the many ethnically-based departments of education)
DPSC	:	Detainees' Parents Support Committee
ECC	:	Education Charter Campaign
HoA	:	House of Assembly
HoR	:	House of Representatives
HSRC	:	Human Sciences Research Council
IRF	:	Inter-Regional Forum
ISCC	:	Inter-Schools' Co-ordinating Committee

- JMB : Joint Matriculation Board
- LAGUNYA: Langa-Guguletu-Nyanga
- LOGRA : Lotus River-Grassy Park Residents' Association
- MJC : Muslim Judicial Council
- NECC : National Education Crisis Committee
- NEUM : Non-European Unity Movement (strongly non-collaborationist)
- NUM : New Unity Movement (successor to NEUM)
- NUSAS : National Union of South African Students
- NTISO : National Tertiary Institutions Students' Organisation
- PAC : Pan-Africanist Congress
- PENATA : Peninsula African Teachers' Association (also PATA)
- Pentech: Peninsula Technikon
- PEYCO : Port Elizabeth Youth Congress
- PFP : Progressive Federal Party (parliamentary opposition)
- PTSA : Parent-Teachers'-Students' Association
- SACC : South African Council of Churches
- SACOS : South African Council of Sport
- SADF : South African Defence Force
- SAOU : Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysunie (mainly White Afrikaans-speaking, Cape teachers' association)
- SAP : South African Police
- SATA : South African Teachers' Association (mainly White English-speaking - Cape)
- SC : Senior Certificate
- SOYA : Students of Young Azania

SPCC : Soweto Parents Crisis Committee  
SRC : Students' Representative Council  
TICC : Teachers' Interim Co-ordinating Committee (pre-  
cursor of WECTU)  
TLSA : Teachers' League of South Africa  
TRASCO : Transvaal Students' Congress  
UCT : University of Cape Town  
UDF : United Democratic Front  
UNISA : University of South Africa  
UTASA : Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa  
UWC : University of Western Cape  
UWO : United Women's Organisation  
WECSAC : Western Cape Students' Action Committee  
WECTU : Western Cape Teachers' Union  
WEPCOS : Western Province Council of Sport (provincial  
affiliate of SACOS)  
WPCC : Western Province Council of Churches  
(provincial affiliate of SACC)

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## INTRODUCTION

### A BRIEF STATEMENT OF AIMS

This study attempts the rather daunting task of analysing critically some of the decisive events of the 1985 education boycott as played out in the Western Cape. More particularly, the study attempts to examine and interpret such events in context. An interpretative study, therefore, must: view the Western Cape as a single geographical unit in the political entity RSA (Republic of South Africa); view the DEC (Department of Education and Culture, House of Representatives) as one department of education amongst fourteen other similar departments of education responsible for educating the young of the various racial or ethnic groups into which the nation is classified or categorised; view education as one of the socially institutionalised systems together with the economy, politics, sport and religion, which are all subject to internal and external stresses and strains. This consideration raises the need for an acceptable and appropriate theoretical model for the analysis of those critical events within education, which may be harbingers of social change.

## THE THEORETICAL MODEL

Musgrave (1970: 15-29) presents such a model, derived from the work of the American sociologist Talcott Parsons, which had previously been used for historical analyses elsewhere, but which Musgrave used to analyse the English educational system from 1860 onwards. Musgrave's model, outlined in summary form below, makes possible the identification and description of critical themes in a dialectical situation. It will be used in modified form to provide a context and an interpretative tool in the current study, which is essentially historiographical rather than sociological.

### A MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF CRITICAL EPISODES OR EVENTS IN THE CHANGING OF AN EDUCATION SYSTEM

Musgrave highlights three critical elements in his model and supplements these with two further considerations. It is appropriate to review his model, and its application to the analysis of the South African situation.

#### Element I The Definition of the Situation

The definition indicates in a general way the forces at work in an institutionalised system of education, and is derived from the value systems of the formulators, who also derive their goals from such value systems.

Normally, definitions of education are contained in various Acts of Parliament, Commission Reports, Parliamentary speeches and other official sources, and action which ensues from such definitions signifies implementation of policy. The definitions may therefore be regarded as manifestations of the ideology of the ruling class, i.e. the group holding political power, which suggests an imposed definition on other sectors of society espousing a different value system. However, the model allows for a bargaining process whereby proponents of conflicting ideologies reach consensus i.e. the definition in reality represents a truce situation which eventuates following a period of conflict. The definition contains within itself possibilities of further change as new tensions emerge in what is potentially a dynamic situation.

From the definition of the situation goals are formulated, positions created and norms evolved that determine the future roles of the incumbents of the new positions. The educational system is then (re)organised in such a way that goal- attainment, one of the four imperatives, becomes possible. Manpower (officials and teachers) and materials (capital and current physical resources) are then claimed to enable the system to adapt to the goals defined for it. Such adaptation represents the second imperative.

The system must ensure that pattern-maintenance, the

third imperative, is secured via the socialising of its members into the accepted norms; and it must also ensure that the products (graduates) meet and reflect the requirements implicit in the definition. This process is referred to as integration, the fourth imperative.

Although the summary presented above represents a stationary model, allowance is made for internal change by way of autonomous development within the system, or a change in definition brought about by a power struggle yielding different actors/formulators or different views on the utilisation of power.

#### Element II The Problem of Change

Social changes that influence an educational system can be measured on a continuum, according to criteria, with extreme pole positions represented as major/minor, sudden/gradual or general/particular. Whether change is generated internally or externally, strains will appear at an operational level. Thus changing value systems within society or the changing manpower needs of the economy will cause strain at an appropriate level within the educational system. If a 'tolerance-factor' is built into the system slight deviations from the norm can be accommodated. However, where groups emerge that have values at variance with the accepted definition of the situation, an 'anti-system' prevails.

### Element III Redefinition of the Situation

When strains become sufficiently intense, collective behaviour occurs. The system is not functioning adequately; new or different beliefs are brought to bear on the situation and ultimately a redefinition is made. It is important but difficult to determine the 'threshold' i.e. the stage beyond which equilibrium will break down e.g. a great change may be triggered off by a small change in one element. The end result is a new truce situation determined by the relative strengths of the contending parties either for or against change. The resulting definition will embody the value systems of the respective interest groups as filtered through the process of conflict. The new truce situation will generate a redeployment of manpower and resources to meet new goals, new norms and a new mode of integration to maintain the re-arranged system. The redefinition will probably result in a more differentiated system, accommodating all value-systems, but with minimum bureaucratic control since tight control will make the truce situation less durable.

Within his description of the problem and process of change in education, Musgrave suggests that the most effective safeguard against uncontrolled and accelerated change is the interlocking of education with other institutions of society, namely, religion, economy, class et al (Musgrave 1970: 15-29)

### Supplementary Consideration I

Musgrave warns that the assumption that 'goals influence the system' is not always valid since the very opposite may apply on occasion. Thus changes in value systems evolved outside of education can lead to a demand for a redefinition of the situation to meet a new value system or new power-structure e.g. changing social mores or moral values, demographic features, economic demands, life-patterns and so on.

### Supplementary Consideration II

Musgrave also stresses the need to know which power-groups are important either consistently or at certain stages in the establishment of truce situations; which strains are crucial in the process of development; and when the threshold has been reached or how much strain is required to trigger off a redefinition of the situation.

### APPLICABILITY OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL TO THIS STUDY

It can be argued that the Musgrave model has significant potential for use in the current study since it provides a theoretical framework against which the realities of present-day occurrences can be examined. It assesses the actions of man in a social context; it is partially descriptive but also diagnostic; and it permits the formulation of a tentative but rational prognosis. It is

pertinent therefore, to illustrate the usefulness and applicability of the model in an examination of the current upheaval in education in the RSA.

I Definition of the Situation: The Educational Ideology of the Afrikaner Nationalist ruling class.

Since 1948 South Africa has had a Nationalist Party (NP) government holding the reins of power. In 1948, and in all subsequent 'general' elections, the NP was returned to power by the mainly conservative White Afrikaner sector of the electorate concerned primarily with the preservation of own identity. The White (mainly English) sector has tended to support the parliamentary opposition reflecting more liberal values, while the Black groups (those classified as 'African', 'Coloured' or 'Indian') have been denied franchise rights and representation in the central parliament. A measure of parliamentary representation was granted to 'Coloureds' and 'Indians' in 1983 (it is not within the ambit of this study to examine this representation) but was still denied to those classified as 'African'.

The current definition of the situation in education has emanated from the NP and represents the value systems and concomitant goals of its adherents i.e. the prevailing ideology is that of the ruling class. It is enshrined in various Acts of Parliament e.g. Bantu Education Act, 1953 (governing the education of 'Blacks'); Extension of

Universities Act, 1959 (providing for racially segregated universities or 'tribal colleges'); Coloured Persons' Education Act, 1963; Indian Persons Education Act, 1965; National Education Policy Act, 1967 (governing the education of 'Whites') and various amending Acts to the above. In many instances, these Acts of Parliament, and others, were preceded by reports of Commissions of Enquiry e.g. Eiselen Report on Bantu Education, 1951.

These Acts generally define education as a function of race or ethnicity in terms of a belief and a policy, namely, self-determination - a policy not legitimised by the majority of the country's peoples. The definition is, therefore, an imposed one for significant segments of the population i.e. not arrived at by consensus and not containing elements of opposing ideologies which are held by significant segments of the population e.g.

Liberalism, Liberationism or Reconstructionism (See UCT Education Notes S 200, HDE Secondary, 1985: 2).

By definition, education must be Christian and national in character according to the tenets originating in Christian National Education (CNE); it demarcates pre-determined paths leading to pre-determined goals in adulthood. It is re-inforced by policy decisions such as mother-tongue instruction and Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools for 'Blacks'.

Within the 'White' sector of education, officialdom

(manpower) is drawn largely from the ranks of the Afrikaner 'ruling class' while the teacher-component will have been exposed to the tenets of CNE at school and at training institutions. Furthermore, key positions in planning and control within the various departments of education for groups other than 'White' have traditionally been held by incumbents drawn from the ranks of the Afrikaans 'ruling class'. It can be expected, therefore, that policy implementation, goal-achievement and pattern-maintenance will be of paramount importance to such bureaucratic ideologues.

When the allocation of resources is taken as criterion, and when particular account is taken of generous State allocations within 'White' education, then it is apparent that schools are well-appointed and well-serviced, and pupils are generously catered for. In stark contrast, however, for all other racial or ethnic groups, restricted monetary allocations have determined that education is characterised by severe shortages, or even a total lack of basic requirements, amenities and facilities. It may be argued that the provision, or withholding, of resources are two sides of the same coin, since both are directed towards goal-achievement.

There is a widely-held perception that curricula, syllabi, and pedagogical practice on the one hand, together with variable monetary allocations and the hierarchical structure in education on the other hand,

are all geared towards producing the CNE graduate with Christian and nationalist values and with a proper understanding of his path and role in life.

Thus the above perception illustrates the working-out in practice of Musgrave's four imperatives i.e. it shows how the curriculum, syllabi and pedagogical practice serve as instruments for ensuring the adaptation of the system to the outside social world; how monetary allocations and key personnel serve as tools for securing goal-achievement within the system; how the CNE product exemplifies the successful integration of acceptable norms and values and how implicit acceptance of a place and role in life ensures pattern-maintenance.

## II The Problem of Change

It is not a function of this study to examine in detail the whole spectrum of ideologies that have a bearing on education in South Africa. Suffice it to say that there are those ideologies which fall under the generic term conservative and which would wish to see, if not the maintenance of the status quo, then at most some relatively minor changes being effected gradually; there are also those ideologies termed liberal which propagate significant, albeit gradual, changes; and finally, those ideologies defined as liberationist which seek a fundamental and immediate re-ordering of society as a precursor to the re-structuring of education.

Added to these ideological pressures on education in relation to social change are significant internal economic pressures which show clearly that the school system is not producing the workforce, either in quantity or quality, needed by the economy. This holds true at most levels from unskilled through to managerial and entrepreneurial. Furthermore, the school system, which has long been considered as too bookish, academically-orientated and university-directed, falls short in the area of technological and vocational training - vital elements in the promotion of economic growth (HSRC Report: Onderwysvoorsiening in RSA, 1981: 31). And yet the system is not altogether successful in preparing candidates for university admission as evidenced by the high first-year failure rate, inter alia. There is also a perception that education and training are misdirected in striving for what are termed 'First World standards and norms' which are not entirely relevant to the needs, aspirations and beliefs of a significant component of the disenfranchised communities.

The model requires an assessment of the presence of a tolerance-factor within the South African education system i.e. a capacity to make internal, meaningful adaptations to the changing needs and goals brought about by the impact of ideological, economic and social pressures upon education. It will be argued that the system is characterised by uniformity, conformity and

rigidity within the racial or ethnic mould and is, therefore, not designed to absorb strain without great difficulty.

As a consequence, groups have emerged whose announced programmes are at total variance with the current definition of the situation e.g. groups within the African Nationalist, Black Consciousness or National Forum movements, inter alia. Their educational policies and programmes, flowing out of their respective political, social and economic agendas, will be viewed by the Establishment as anti-systems at this stage.

### III Redefinition of the Situation

It will be demonstrated that collective behaviour has emerged as a widespread source of pressure. The period under review witnessed recurring strikes, boycotts and stayaways. Various alliances emerged within the disaffected communities e.g. student-teacher-parent-worker alliances, which were seen to be operational on specific issues. Thus the frequency, intensity and duration of class boycotts and examination boycotts, or the attempted replacement of official syllabuses and time-tables with 'people's education' in localised areas (Eastern Cape and Transvaal) were of special significance as pointers to the growing irrelevance of the prevailing

arrangement. Concomitantly, the activities and composition of the Education Charter Campaign (ECC) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), with wide constituencies drawn from interest-groups outside of education, illustrated the interlocking of education with religion, trade-unionism, civic or local community affairs, sport and cultural activities and consumerism, among others. The desired effect of such linkage is legitimacy in the final outcome so that a durable truce situation will emerge.

• The model shows that a new truce situation, if achieved, will generate a redeployment of manpower and resources to meet new goals, new norms and a new mode of integration. This has special significance in view of recent government announcements of plans to wipe out backlogs and attain equality of provision across the racial and ethnic divide (see F W de Klerk's 10-year Plan, Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1998). It can be asserted that, in the absence of a truce situation, the allocation of astronomical amounts of money, materials and manpower cannot properly address/redress the current problems in education given the retention of old values, norms and goals, and especially given the unilateral determination of priorities by a bureaucracy whose legitimacy is questioned.

To conclude this section, a brief reference is made to the two supplementary considerations presented by

Musgrave, namely:

#### Supplementary Consideration I

Recent developments within the socio-political spheres for black South Africans e.g. the extension of citizenship rights; the abolition of influx control; planned urbanisation; freehold tenure; greater economic and therefore social mobility, will have significant impact on demographic features and life views, and consequently upon education and its goals. Such a development would provide an illustration of changes within the system influencing goals in education, which is the converse of the normal.

#### Supplementary Consideration II

On a macro-level i.e. national plane, it will be necessary to assess the input of participants from the broad ideological groups described earlier. On a micro-level i.e. Western Cape regional level, it will be necessary to evaluate the role of teachers' organisations, student/pupil organisations (action committees), civic associations, trade-union movements, women's movements, religious, sporting and cultural organisations, extra-parliamentary political groups i.e. local power-groups in their efforts to promote and effect change. Thereafter, the question will be posed: Has the threshold been reached or how much pressure can the system still absorb?

Because this is not a sociological dissertation no serious attempt will be made to analyse the Musgrave model and its strengths and weaknesses. Instead, it will be used as an illuminative device to shed light on, and promote understanding of, movements and events in education. The focus will be on the educational situation and upon prospects for its future development. Also, in keeping with an earlier reference to the diagnostic and prognostic qualities inherent in the theoretical model, the instrument will be used to perform two important tasks, namely:

1. diagnose our current malaise in the language of strain, collective behaviour, interlocking organisations, truce situation et al. In other words, the model will be employed to identify key themes in a dialectical situation;
2. provide a rational basis for forecasting that no provision of funds, facilities, amenities, opportunities (however providential) will cure the malady if effected within the existing framework of separate 'own affairs' education departments, however manned.

#### METHODS OF DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS

This study deals with how people feel or perceive at a particular time, and how they react or respond, both as individuals and as members of a community. The approach

is interpretative or ethnographic i.e. it concentrates on how individuals construe their social world and attempts to understand the actions which flow out of such perceptions (See Cohen and Manion, 1980: 28). The manifestations have already occurred, and are therefore not subject to manipulation or experimental control. There is also a marked degree of inter-play and inter-relatedness between the variables, thus minimising the possibility of isolating single variables for experimental study. Because the data for this study is non-replicable and non-quantifiable, the appropriate methodology is non-experimental in nature, using survey procedures and techniques for data-gathering and interpretation.

Initially, two basic methods of information gathering were envisaged, namely, interviewing and a study of documents. It was intended to augment these with a third method, i.e. the questionnaire, where necessary. Appropriate candidates for interviewing were to have been drawn from leadership or opinion-forming positions within the school and university communities, and from broader community organisations. It was decided, however, to curtail the process of interviewing and the circulation of questionnaires as a result of the declaration of a State of Emergency on 12 June 1986. Potential interviewees were willing to speak in a personal capacity but some were hesitant about being quoted as representatives of an organisation - an entirely

understandable response. In the event, where interviews were conducted, preference was given to the informal, unstructured interview allowing for greater flexibility in the content, wording and sequence of questions. The technique also allowed for open-ended responses which could be subjected to further probing. Responses were recorded during the interview, by agreement.

Throughout the period under review, by virtue of my professional duties, I was cast in the role of observer or active participant in some of the critical events e.g. the Schools Closure episode, the Examination Boycott, the Pollsmoor March, inter alia. Daily contact with students, teaching staff, parents, members of the Hewat College Advisory Council, colleagues within the Committee of Rectors, Departmental officials, security personnel, members of neighbouring school communities et al, provided an opportunity for active involvement useful to research, albeit unplanned at the time. Interpersonal conversations, routine discussions and interviews provided an extensive data-source. Similarly, the locale of our institution, namely Hewat College, placed us near to the epicentre of much activity. Thus opinions and beliefs which I formed were not conceived in isolation or nurtured in a vacuum, but were brought to refinement within the furnace of reality.

The study of documents encompassed both primary and secondary sources. For a record of events local

newspapers were scrutinised on a daily basis for the period 1 July 1985 to 31 March 1986. More than one daily newspaper was consulted to ensure full coverage of detail and to provide for cross-checking and cross-referencing. The data extracted covered both factual detail and quoted comments. While the former category was subjected to the terminal date of 31 March, the latter, which conceivably portrayed perceptions and beliefs and disclosed policy and ideology, was not limited to a culminating date. Supplementary data sources included weekly newspapers, pamphlets, hand-outs, journals of professional associations, published and unpublished conference and seminar papers and reference works. These were augmented by minutes of meetings, reports, memoranda, and press releases as primary sources.

The technique of scrutinising news reports for evidence of perceptions has several noteworthy limitations. These emanate from possible colouring of reports by the newspaper's own political slant or the reporter's affiliations; by governmental or security curbs upon reporting; by the absence of contextual background material in a report; by the use of emotive or extravagant language, inter alia. Thus precautionary measures were adopted as part of the validation process and included, inter alia, cross-referencing, confirmation of the authenticity of the quoted statement, establishment of the past history and representativeness of the organisation or the standing of the office-bearer

being quoted.

It is vital to note that statements were not dispensed with simply because they were emotion-charged, since these were considered to be legitimate indicators of perceptions, especially where controversial issues were at stake. People are known to react emotionally to contentious issues, and emotions are known to influence decisions and subsequent actions. It is imperative, therefore, that the emotions which are recognised in quotes, should be assessed in their contributory role to later actions.

The limitations and constraints described above, and their correlating precautionary measures were considered when analysing, interpreting and categorising data for inclusion in the chapters of this study.

Thus by evaluating the statements of actors within the oppositional ranks, and by gauging the intensity and effectiveness of actions taken to oppose and negate the official agenda, it is hoped to determine precisely what people reject about the present definition and its planned further refinements, what people aspire to in a re-defined situation and what prospects exist for a truce situation in education.

Postscript: As a consequence of the June 1986 declaration of a State of Emergency, and the detention-without-trial

of a family member, sensitive documents were removed for safety reasons and were rendered inaccessible for study purposes for a period of time. This provides further illustration of the impairment of academic freedom by the impact of security legislation and actions upon research.

#### DEFINITION OF TERMINOLOGY

From the outset it should be understood that the special emphasis placed upon events which took place within the domain of 'coloured' schooling and education in no way implies a differentiation in kind or degree between problems facing this segment of South Africa's population and the enormity of problems endemic to South African education at large. Secondly, this study is subject to the constraints of time (1985-1986), geographical area (Western Cape) and political organisations (ethnic political and education authorities). It is for these reasons, and in order to promote meaningful description and analysis, that some account appears to have been taken of the classification of people along lines of colour and ethnicity. This does not denote acceptance of the salience of such classification. Indeed the terms 'black', 'coloured', 'white' or 'Indian', and their antecedents, are used with the strongest reservations.

In like vein, present-day constitutional arrangements make provision for matters concerning 'own affairs' and

'general affairs'. The former concept is defined in the Preamble to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act (Act 110 of 1983) as 'matters which especially or differentially affect a population-group in relation to the maintenance of its identity and the upholding and furtherance of its way of life, culture, traditions and customs'. Schedule 1 item 2 defines education at all levels, including correspondence institutions, as an own affair. In contradistinction, 'general affairs' are defined as 'matters which are not own affairs' of a particular population group.

Finally, the text contains political concepts e.g. democracy, non-racialism and 'the people'. Such terminology needs to be defined in the context of popular usage. Thus democracy implies participatory involvement in decision-taking - the process resting upon consultation, and working progressively from the bottom upwards, with concomitant accountability of the leadership to rank-and-file members. Non-racialism, through the eyes of its proponents, views all South Africans as members of one nation, and denies the relevance and salience of colour and/or race. The concept is counterposed with multi-racialism or multi-nationalism which portrays South Africans as belonging to an array of cohesive and separate minority nations or nations-in-the-making, thereby denying the existence of a broad South Africanism. The 'people' as a concept in the text of this study, unites the victims of,

and participants in the struggle against, the discriminatory and exploitative socio-political and socio-economic order and the correlating educational dispensation.

## SECTION A

## THE DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION: WHAT DO PEOPLE REJECT?

## The Target of Opposition and Resistance in Education:

Western Cape, 1985

## ABSTRACT

The events which characterised what was commonly referred to as the 'crisis' or 'upheaval' in education in the Western Cape in the latter half of 1985 and extending into 1986, were expressive of deep sentiments of opposition and resistance to a prevailing order. Since the manifestations of rejection were in large measure school-based and education-directed, it is essential to examine the current educational dispensation as the target of such opposition. However, it must be accepted that the prevailing educational dispensation is in the first instance the outcome of an historical heritage and subsequent evolution, and secondly, is reflective of the broader social context in which it is located. Therefore, the aim of this section will be two-fold, namely, (i) to sketch the prevailing social-political-economic dispensation which has sustained the crisis-ridden educational milieu, and thereafter, to portray in some detail the education package currently being offered by the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives; and (ii) to draw out the prevailing value system and norms, and

identify the goals set for 'coloured' education by the political decision-makers within the Afrikaner ruling class.

The publication in 1948 of the CNO-Beleid (CNE-Policy Document), co-inciding with the coming-to-power of the Nationalist Party - the party which still governs the country after an uninterrupted period of thirty-eight years - are regarded as crucial events. For these reasons 1948 is taken as the starting-point for the current dispensation, while subsequent decisive factors e.g. the transfer of 'coloured' education to the State (1963) and the State's response to the De Lange Commission Report (White Paper on Education Provision in RSA, 1983) are analysed for their impact upon education for 'coloureds'. Both acts were indicative of the State's thinking and planning, whilst the 'Transfer Act' was implemented sufficiently recently to loom large within the memory of many of the actors in the events of 1985/86. These events will be analysed in their respective roles of providing foci around which opposition forces could be mobilised and counter-actions devised i.e. providing early evidence of strain within a period of remarkable historical change.

Finally, since the target of resistance has been 'gutter education', an attempt is made to define this phenomenon in terms of the experience of its victims.

## CHAPTER 1

**Social Milieu**

To look at education from the standpoint of what one sees in the classroom is to blind oneself to the root causes of educational poverty and starvation in the country.

Editorial (Educational Journal LIV, 3: Oct-Nov 1982)

Although the focus of this study rests mainly upon issues and behaviour patterns of the classroom or school, a cursory appraisal of such events leads to a realisation of the deep-rooted anchoring of the problems in the prevailing social milieu. Whilst the introductory quotation warns against a blinkered analysis of educational issues, and makes reference to 'educational poverty and starvation', a more extensive as well as intensive scanning of the educational spectrum for causes of the malady, yields evidence of poverty and starvation in a more literal sense. It will be the purpose of this section of the study to outline the social-economic-political bedrock upon which the educational milieu is set, and to seek to understand the assertion of Mawasha that the African has to contend with 'related issues of a political, economic, social and psychological nature which impinge on his educational effort ... (Lecturers' Conference, 1984: 13)'. The assertion is valid for any population group classified other than white, albeit in varying degrees.

At the root of the dilemma lies the officially-legislated and implemented policy of apartheid - a policy and philosophy based on white domination and privilege, and which has in the process robbed 'other than whites' in a material sense of their property and possessions, and in a non-material sense of their 'sense of well-being and stake in a country they love (Sonn, 1986: 14)'. One commentator, hardly guilty of harshness in his judgment, described South Africa as 'a society where an educated, wealthy, mainly white minority controls and rules over a largely uneducated, poor and mainly Black majority (Morobe, quoted in NUSAS, July 1983: 35)'. It has been correctly claimed that discrimination and oppression run through the whole fabric of South African society, dehumanising people in the process - oppression being a necessary corollary to discrimination, since it cannot be expected that an imposed and abhorrent system can be enforced without a myriad of prescriptive and punitive laws and practices. It is in the enforcement of the dictates of the policy of segregation (separation, differentiation are alternative euphemisms) that the coercive machinery of the State comes into play. Arrests on 'technical' crimes (pass laws, influx control - now lifted, July 1986); detentions and jailings; fines; deportations to 'homelands' and re-settlement camps lead to resentment and resistance. Ultimately, such policies 'cause bloodshed and violence (Cape Times 14:08:85, quoting UCT SRC vice-president)'. Sonn has expressed the view that it is the dehumanising aspect - the negation of

dignity and self-respect - which underlies the 'deep-rooted and uncompromising disdain we have for apartheid' and that 'Black South Africans hate white privilege more than they hate their own ghettos (Sonn, 1986: 15)'.

It will not be my aim to detail the many Acts of Parliament which were placed upon the statute book to effect an ordering of society along racial and ethnic lines. Nor will any attempt be made to analyse in depth the political and social implications of such Acts. On the other hand, a superficial analysis will run the risk of spawning trite generalities. For these reasons, certain key Acts of Parliament will be mentioned only in their role of providing the cornerstones for the prevailing social order. Thereafter, an overview will be presented of social conditions as they are experienced, and as they are perceived in relation to education by the victims of discriminatory legislation.

In this regard the Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950) which classifies people on a basis of race or ethnicity, and the Group Areas Act (Act 41 of 1950), which determines where people may own or occupy property, can be regarded as crucial. The latter Act has been responsible for massive population movements to areas of resettlement. It has been one of the government's main instruments for implementing forced removals. Since the Group Areas Act came into operation, 126 000 families had

been moved by 1986. Of these families 66% were classified as 'coloured', 32% as Indian and only 2% white (Argus 17:11:86, quoting F. Esterhuyse). In the case of the Peninsula's District Six an estimated 7 000 families comprising 65 000 people were removed (Educational Journal LII, 8 June 1981:3-6; see also Davenport, 1978: 304). In the process of implementation, the Act has destroyed 'communities, their cultural milestones and educational structures (M. Ajam in Educatio X, 3 2nd Qr 1986: 18)'. It has spawned the drab, soulless urban townships or commuter-dormitories, and by restricting the availability of housing and land-for-housing has been part-contributor to the growth of slums and squatter camps. It has forced people from affordable to unaffordable housing schemes in many instances (Argus 10:07:86). Crossroads in the Cape Peninsula owes its existence to a combination of measures e.g. influx control, coloured labour preference and restriction of housing in Black townships.

Socially, the country is neatly parcelled into group areas. Formal townships, erected either by the municipalities, the State or State-agencies e.g. former Development Boards, both urban and peri-urban, together with rural locations are desperately over-crowded. The CSIR, via its national Building Research Unit recently released statistics to highlight this problem: (see Table 1.1)

TABLE: 1.1 HOUSING BACKLOG, 1985

<u>RACE-CLASSIFICATION</u>	<u>NUMBERS</u>		<u>DENSITY</u>	<u>SURPLUS +</u>		<u>NUMBER OF HOUSES</u>
	<u>HOUSED</u>	<u>HOUSES</u>		<u>SHORTAGE -</u>	<u>BUILT: 1980-1985</u>	
Whites	4,9mil	1 200 000	4,08	37 000 +		172 000
Coloureds	2,9mil	394 000	7,36	52 000 -		62 000
Asians	871 000	141 000	6,18	44 000 -		37 000
Blacks	7,4mil	466 000	15,80	538 000 -		41 000

(Source: Argus 10:07:86 quoting J.Walsh, M.P.)

Of significance in the statistics, covering the national housing backlog, is the inordinately high density i.e. number of people per housing unit, especially for Blacks and to a lesser degree for 'coloureds'. This scenario was emphasised by a senior state official in the Western Cape who spoke of 'millions of people to provide accommodation for' and who cited cases of twenty-five people living in two-bedroomed houses in the Peninsula's Black townships. He pinpointed influx control measures and Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act as having made criminals of thousands who sought work to feed their families (Argus 25:06:86 quoting T.Bezuidenhoud, Regional Director - Dept. of Constitutional Development and Planning).

The 1953 Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act placed severe limitations upon the recognition and functioning of African trade unions, making strikes illegal and placing labour at the mercy of management. The 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act introduced the concept of job reservation, limiting certain tasks partly or wholly to persons of a specified race. Although it is often claimed that very little use was made of this machinery [only twenty-seven determinations in a fifteen year period from 1956-1971 and affecting only three percent of the total labour force (quoted in Rose and Tunmer, 1975: 276)] yet it reinforced a social climate in which private agreements could be reached between white trade unions and employers, and where unscrupulous

employers could implement the policy to the detriment of those whose race-classification was 'coloured', 'Indian' or 'Black'. The combined impact of weak unionism and labour-preferences has resulted in restricted career and job opportunities, wage-differentials on a racial basis, widely divergent service conditions, et al.

Unemployment is rife and increasing. The Central Statistical Service released figures to show that there were 2,9 million 'coloureds' in South Africa in June 1986 of whom 1 058 000 were economically active. Of the economically active sector, 113 574 or 10,73% were unemployed. In June 1985, the number of unemployed stood at 84 000, indicating a 34,5% increase in the number of unemployed over a twelve-month period. The unemployment rate for 'coloured' people in the Western Cape increased from 5,7% in June 1985 to 7,2% in June 1986 (Cape Times 14:10:86 quoting B.Streek), a fact which is emphasised by reports of monthly evictions for non-payment of rents from high-density townships such as Mitchell's Plain and Atlantis. High travel costs by public transport make the predicament of the jobless overwhelming.

A very revealing feature comes to the fore in any examination of employment statistics i.e. the age-profile of the unemployed. Thus Table 1.2 below shows clearly the stark reality of the issue of employment/unemployment to the young.

TABLE 1.2: UNEMPLOYED BY AGE-GROUP, WESTERN CAPE

<u>AGE-GROUP</u>	<u>NUMBER UNEMPLOYED</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
Under 20	24 466	21,54
20-24	33 458	29,46
25-29	19 255	16,46
over 30	36 395	32,05
TOTAL	113 574	

[Figures supplied in news report, Cape Times  
14:10:86]

The significance of these statistics in a survey of the current 'youth revolt' cannot be overemphasised, especially when read together with a shrinking national job-creation situation. Savage (Inaugural lecture, UCT, 1986) indicates that over the past five years only one-tenth of the required new jobs per year were created. 'Poverty has become endemic in most rural and many urban township areas, so that soup-kitchens proliferate and food-parcels are distributed by welfare groups e.g. in Atlantis, or by municipalities e.g. Cape Town City Council and Cape Divisional Council (Cape Times 29:10:86)'.

Many sensitive barometers are available to detect and to measure levels of social ills and evils. It is small wonder, given the hopelessness that is born out of joblessness and homelessness, that all the symptoms of social ill-health are present in the Western Cape,

namely:

- a high rate of tuberculosis;  
[Cape Town is in the grip of an epidemic with about 700 new cases reported each month. The situation has been deteriorating for 'coloureds' and Blacks over the past three years (Argus 08:07:86 quoting Dr L.Tibbitt - Medical Officer of Health, Cape Div. Council).]
- malnutrition;
- a high rate of infant mortality;  
[In some areas 'one in four children dies of malnutrition (Argus 21:05:86)'.]
- a high rate of illegitimate births and particularly teenage pregnancies (Sunday Times 09:11:86);  
[In 1980 in the Cape Town municipal area 63,4% of births to mothers classified as 'non-white' were illegitimate while 76% of illegitimate births were to teenage mothers. In the previous year 1 278 illegitimate births were registered to 'coloured' teenage mothers in the residential areas under Divisional Council control (M.Ajam, quoted in Educatio X,3 2nd Qr 1986: 21).]
- high rates of alcoholism and drug abuse (Argus 21:05:86);
- increasing levels of violence, including family violence e.g. child abuse;
- gang formation.  
[Scharf reports that of the approximate 10 000 children under the age of sixteen in the Western Cape

who drop out of school each year, many joined gangs and about 300 became drifters living by their wits (W.Scharf, quoted in Cape Times 15:05:86 and Argus 15:05:86).]

It is clear from the above examples that the home as a cultural institution and a primary educator is being stultified. Very few parents are able or willing to play the role of educator in its broadest connotation - indeed 'parental goals are often directed towards economic survival (R.Dudley, Lecturers' Conference, 1984)'. Ajam is rather blunt in his assessment that 'stereotypical parents, namely, father as a knowledgeable authority figure and mother as a devoted, caring individual are not typical of township life where life for the deprived can be nasty, brutish and short! (Educatio X,3: 21)'

If 'the system' is held to be accountable for the upheaval of 1985 then the perceptions of participants in the crisis-situation bear recounting. A young student correspondent of a community newspaper was quoted as saying: '... the dehumanising apartheid system ... tends to break us and rob us. Inferior education leads to inferior jobs ... black people with high qualifications are no competition for whites (Grassroots, September 1985)'. The theme of dispossession is repeated in the assertion that people resent the 'humiliations imposed on them by the apartheid system. People are desperate because their pride has been knocked out of them (Sunday

Times 01:09:85)'. The staff association of UWC identified the 'terrible injustice of apartheid' as the root cause of the unrest (Cape Times 02:09:85) while the staff and students of Hewat College stated that 'the cause of our situation is racial discrimination and economic exploitation...', inter alia (Private notes, September 1985). A newly-formed teachers' organisation i.e. WECTU, was forthright in laying the 'education crisis ... at the door of ... apartheid capitalism (Cape Times 17:10:85)' thereby placing themselves in tandem with 'the students' struggle against the abhorrent apartheid system ... (Cape Times 02:12:85 quoting a representative of 10 Students' Action Committees)'. WECTU again, posited the view that the country's 'key economic decisions were made ... for the profit of the wealthy few' and decried the stratified social and economic order which produced a stratified labour force for the capitalist system (Cape Times 15:10:85). Clearly, in any exploitative system, there must be beneficiaries as well as victims - 'whites' are perceived as the beneficiaries, a view used in justification of the consumer boycott of white-owned businesses (Cape Times 14:08:85). Vogelmann (quoted by J.Openshaw), in an address to a conference on mental health, supported this view, and referred to the feeling among blacks of 'wretchedness' - depression, passivity and powerlessness, in contrast to the sense of 'omnipotence, arrogance and superiority' flowing to the whites out of the possession of political power (Argus 21:05:86).

A question which sometimes comes to the fore needs to be addressed, namely: To what extent is the stratification perceived to be historical and planned, as opposed to being unintentional and coincidental? A youthful speaker at a workshop said: 'Education today prepares us for an unequal society ... schools prepare unequal workers ... (Grassroots, August 1985)'. Another critic saw the aim of the 'oppressors to turn our children into docile Indians, coloureds and Black baasboeties (Argus 21:08:85)'. Many similar examples can be quoted to illustrate the perception of conscious intent in the indivisible links between discrimination, education and economic exploitation.

A wide selection of educationists and commentators from a spectrum of interest-groups has concurred with such views. Thus 'apartheid education has been designed to ensure that different races ... are educated to fill different categories in the hierarchy of power and status in our society. The social proportions of those who reach university and those who work in the mines are far from simply historical coincidences, and unequal education is part of the process that keeps things that way (NUSAS pamphlet: 'The Darker Side of Apartheid Education', u.d.: 4)'. Another commentator was equally emphatic e.g. 'the level of training in South Africa pushes people into certain jobs and hence different positions in the hierarchy of power and privilege (NUSAS,

'Educating for Change', 1983: 3)'. If the premise of intentionality is accepted then it becomes clear that apartheid has an economic rationality to it, and that education subserves both politics and economics as an agency for coercion and control. How this is done is postulated in the assertion that pupils are 'taught values of individualism, competition, discipline and unquestioning acceptance of authority and rules; of superiority of academic above manual endeavours, of male over female ... (NUSAS, 'Educating for Change', 1983: 3)'.

The three clearly-defined links in the apartheid chain which have emerged are apartheid (separation) and discrimination, apartheid and the prevailing economic order, apartheid and education. It is to the cementing of the apartheid-education linkage that attention will be paid in the ensuing pages, since education is seen as both an expression of, and reproductive agency for, apartheid. All considerations revolve around a central theme, namely, political rights, which have been a natural legacy for the enfranchised white minority, and a denied-ideal for the unenfranchised Black majority. Tamperings with local councils and homeland independence for Blacks, or management committees and tri-cameral parliamentary chambers for 'coloureds' and Indians, have been perceived as gerrymandering to avoid the crucial issues of citizenship and political participation at central government level. It is via this route that alternatives will be found to the present social milieu

which permits 'denial of basic freedoms of speech, movement and assembly, of access to schooling and to technical skills, of protection of the law ... (Educational Journal, LII, 8 June 1981: 1-3)' to substantial sectors of the population.

## CHAPTER 2

**The Educational Milieu**

An unfortunate but clearly observable characteristic of the current oppositional ideology in education is the certainty with which a response will be elicited to the question: 'What do you find unacceptable about education as you experience it?' The response, in strong tones of rejection, will be either 'the whole system' or 'gutter education' or some other cryptic phrase. A probing for greater clarity on the components of the system or the content of gutter education which qualify for unequivocal rejection will invariably break down into generalities or clichés being proffered. It would appear then, that on a superficial level, 'the system' as experienced by the Black constituency, qualifies for acceptance as a definition of 'gutter education'. This interpretation was confirmed by an interviewee who when asked for a definition of gutter education replied 'State education' (Interviewee: 2). Since the State is a major shareholder in 'the system' which currently prevails, this interpretation makes an examination of the system imperative, together with the many decisive contributory factors in its immediate past historical evolution. Two of these influences will now be analysed in so far as they have relevance to the current resistance in education, namely, Christian National Education and the HSRC Report on Education Provision (De Lange Report, 1981).

### CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION (CNE)

In much the same way as the socio-political and socio-economic debate in South Africa has been (and is) dominated by the ideology and practice of apartheid, both from the perspective of the protagonists as well as the perspective of the victims, so has the educational debate in the second half of the twentieth century been dominated by the ideology and implementation of Christian National Education (CNE). This is not surprising - indeed, some analysts have perceived CNE to be both the starting-point and end-objective of apartheid (Rose and Tunmer, 1975: 140). That the very fabric of life in South Africa has been made subordinate to the racial dogma of apartheid, and the very ethos of education has been made the handmaiden of the doctrine of CNE, is indicative of the symbiotic relationship between the two ideologies. The literature on this subject is extensive and, perhaps, needs no detailed elaboration here. However, a few comments on the history and essence of the CNE life and world view may be appropriate to provide context and insight into present experiences in education.

CNE has its origins in 17th-century Holland, where the State, church and school were very closely identified. Indeed, these three social institutions, together with the home, were regarded as 'autonomous' institutions but

reposed in a very fine state of balance vis-à-vis each other (Muir, quoted in Funda, 14 May 1972: 10-14). Thus, while common purpose was a prerequisite for the successful implementation of education of a Christian-national character, yet each component retained its zone of influence and specified functions. The State-aided church-school, within the context of a State religion, could give effect to the wishes of parents as adherents of the faith i.e. Calvinism as practised in the Dutch Reformed Church.

Within the South African historical experience, in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War, and as an attempt to resist the anglicisation programmes of Lord Milner, the Afrikaner communities of the two former Boer republics (present-day Orange Free State and Transvaal), set up a number of CNE schools. Despite vigorous attempts to provide an alternative education in order to counter the secular, English-orientated education available in State schools, the CNE schools were short-lived and did not survive the moves towards English-Afrikaner rapprochement which preceded the 1910 Act of Union.

The blue-print for modern-day CNE was provided by a document issued in 1948 setting out contemporary Afrikaner thinking on the relationship of the school to the State and church. The document (Coetzee, 1968: 23-30), often referred to as CNO-Beleid (CNE-Policy), was intended as a policy guide for the Afrikaner-Calvinist

section of the South African population i.e. not those components of the population which did not subscribe to the particular life and world view inherent in the philosophy. It is the contention of this study, in common with other analysts, that regardless of the alleged original intention, in practice CNE has underpinned the structure of education in South Africa for the entire population. Thus, what might have been intended as an attempt to use the homogeneity of language, history and religion to secure the survival of the Afrikaner group as a group, became an imposed ideology for the majority who did not share such allegiance (Rose and Tunmer, 1975: 117).

•What in essence is CNE, and what are the elements which have evoked such vigorous opposition at present? The foundations upon which this ideology is based are set out in fifteen Articles or Clauses (See Appendix 2) which are explicit in many senses e.g.

- the document is directed towards Afrikaners and defines 'Christian' in terms of the creeds of the three Afrikaans churches (See Article 1) i.e. Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, Nederduits Hervormde Kerk and the smaller Gereformeerde Kerk, and requires a Christian flavour to permeate not only all teaching but also the very ethos of the school (See Article 2);
- it defines 'national' in terms of love of one's country, history, language and culture (See Article 3), and propagates the view that a love for one's own

- should be pervasive in teaching and all school activities (See Articles 1 and 3);
- it sees young children as being docile and capable of being moulded, and defines an essentially authoritarian relationship between teachers and parents on the one hand and the child on the other (See Article 4);
  - it stresses the critical role of the mother-tongue both as a medium of instruction and as a subject of study, complementing the role of such subjects as civics, history and geography in purveying the cultural heritage of the group (See Article 7);
  - it is categorical in denying any room for mixed schools (See Article 8).

Two crucial statements, of direct relevance to those classified as 'coloured' and 'Bantu' respectively, and therefore of cardinal importance in the present study, are forthright in the expression of intent. Thus the education and teaching for the group classified as coloured should be seen as a 'subordinate part of the task and vocation of the Afrikaner (See Article 4)'. This trusteeship lays upon the Afrikaner the obligation to ensure that the 'coloured man is educated according to the Christian and national principles'. Furthermore, the 'coloured' man should be made race-conscious by the rigid application of separation (apartheid) in education, and should be made proud of his separateness as a race-group. For him, mother-tongue as a medium of instruction was imperative (See Article 14).

Secondly, the teaching and education of the Bantu should take place on 'the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation' ... 'It must be grounded in the life and world view of the whites, particularly the Boer nation, as the senior white trustee of the native...' (See Article 15).

Furthermore, mother-tongue must form the basis of teaching, which in this case implies education through the vernacular, while the two official languages i.e. English and Afrikaans, were required to be taught as subjects.

Another categorical statement, heavily loaded with ideological content and far-reaching in its practical implications, required that in both cases education provision should not be 'at the cost of white education' (See Articles 14 and 15).

• It is unnecessary and inappropriate at this stage to revive the issues of whether the South African education system is based upon CNE or not, and whether the policy statement was of limited interest to Afrikaans-speaking adherents of the Dutch Reformed faith only. Essential to note, however, is the convergence of events in 1948 i.e. the publication of the 'CNO-Beleid' document by a research sub-group of a cultural federation (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge), and the coming to power of an Afrikaner nationalist government on an

apartheid election-ticket. The twin-events have made many analysts look for an expression of CNE dogma in national educational structures and policies. Thus Muir (Muir, 1972: 10-14) avers that although the 'theory of CNE is not carried out in practice in our school-system, ... many of the attitudes and much of the intention is carried over into educational policy'. Not all commentators are as cautious. Thus Sutton (Educational Journal LVII(4), Dec 1985: 8) claims that the 'CNO-Beleid' was adopted by the Nationalist Party as State policy in 1948 and asserts that it is responsible for the aggressive bureaucratic attitudes adopted by the present-day DEC (House of Representatives) and DET and their fore-runners [emphasis added]. It is appropriate then, to extract the salient features of CNE thinking prior to any search for evidence of 'attitudes and intentions' in the formulation and implementation of policy.

Sutton identifies the 'christian-national' characteristics of tribalised schooling, racism, cultural exclusivism, mother-tongue education, Calvinist authoritarianism (all authority emanates from God); the concepts of 'eiesoortigheid' (own-ness) and 'andersoortigheid' (different-ness), and of 'herrenvolk' (master-race). To these must be added the principle of moulding a child according to a pre-determined ideal e.g. the 'coloured' must be educated as a Christian-national (See Article 14); and the investment in inferiority

implicit in the stipulation that the 'financing of coloured education must ... not occur at the cost of white education (See Article 14)'.

The characteristics, which are the overt manifestations of the covert spirit of CNE, permeate the entire State educational apparatus and were buttressed, post-1948, by a 'vast apparatus of laws, regulations and bureaucracies' which were established to 're-inforce Afrikaner ethnic unity and promote Afrikaner interests (Leatt et al, 1986: 72)'. It is imperative, therefore, to identify and examine whatever vehicle was used for the implementation of CNE policy and/or attitudes-intentions, and to determine its contributory role in the present climate of resistance.

THE TRANSFER OF 'COLOURED' EDUCATION TO THE STATE  
COLOURED PERSONS EDUCATION ACT, 1963 (ACT 47 of 1963)

The National Party government, by no means the inventors or sole purveyors of racism and ethnicity, were positioned post-1948 to give legal status and structural order to their policy of apartheid. It may fairly be asked: to what extent was the government in a position to give expression to its policy direction for 'coloured' education? The greater percentage of schools, by far, were church-owned and controlled whilst those which were directly state-funded fell under the control of the four provincial education departments under which they had been placed by the South Africa Act of 1909 (See Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 below). The apparently long delay between coming-to-power in 1948 and the promulgation of the Coloured Persons Education Act, 1963, can be ascribed to the government's preoccupation with the assumption of control of black education via the Bantu Education Act, 1953, which effectively transferred control of black education from the missionaries and from the communities to the State. The resistance evoked by this Act, which included school-boycotts, alternative education in culture clubs, teacher-dismissals and resignations, schools-closure and re-registration (defied by pupils)... form part of the history of resistance in education, but must have had a retarding effect upon similar designs for those classified as 'coloured' or Indian. However, a commission of inquiry was set up to investigate and

report upon the transfer of the education of those designated as 'coloured' to the Department of Coloured Affairs. The education division of the said department was required to formulate an educational plan to fit in with the government's programme for the socio-economic advancement of the 'coloured' people (Acton quoted in Educational Journal, April 1963: 8-10). Their recommendations were subsequently embodied in the Coloured Persons Education Act, 1963 (Act 47 of 1963).

TABLE 2.1 NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND NUMBER OF PUPILS, 1962

	CAPE	OFS	TVL	NATAL	TOTAL
Number of Schools	1 530	39	65	45	1 679
Number of Pupils	298 000	4 600	26 100	13 500	342 200

[Source (Lantern, XIV(2) Dec 1964: 74-85)]

TABLE 2.2 NUMBER OF PUPILS IN STATE AND STATE-AIDED SCHOOLS, 1962

	STATE SCHOOLS		STATE-AIDED SCHOOLS		TOTAL	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
CAPE PROVINCE	213	96 000	1 317	202 000	1 530	298 000
ORANGE FREE STATE	39	4 600	-	-	39	4 600
TRANSVAAL	65	21 100	-	-	65	26 100
NATAL	32	10 100	13	3 400	45	13 500
DEPT OF COLOURED AFFAIRS	12	3 200	18	3 000	30	6 200
TOTAL	361	140 000	1 348	208 400	1 709	348 400

[Source: Lantern, Dec 1964: 74-85]

Note:

1. The heavy concentration of schools and pupils in the Cape Province (Table 2.1), namely, 91,12% of the schools and 87,08% of the pupils.
2. The dominance of State-aided schools in the Cape Province (Table 2.2) with 86,08% of the schools and 67,79% of the pupils; and the absence of state-aided schools in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.
3. The overall preponderance of State-aided schools - 78,88% of schools and 59,82% of pupils.

TABLE 2.3 NUMBERS OF PUPILS AND TEACHERS IN STATE-AIDED  
SCHOOLS, BY DENOMINATION

	Schools	Teachers	Pupils
Dutch Reformed Church	584	2 059	72 015
Anglican	177	1 038	34 432
Congregational	157	677	22 377
Roman Catholic	84	643	22 256
Methodist	85	400	13 176
Moravian	53	286	9 026
United	25	165	6 344
Muslim	15	154	5 409
Lutheran	31	123	4 217
A.M.E	15	111	4 098
Volkskerk	9	84	2 916
Rhenish Mission	13	75	2 612
Inter-Church	24	79	2 489
Other	36	146	4 553
TOTAL	1 308	6 040	205 922

[Source: Lantern, Dec 1964: 74-85]

Note:

1. The important role played by Dutch Reformed Churches with 44,65% of schools used by 34,97% of pupils and served by 34,09% of active teachers. This phenomenon may have inspired educational planners to expect a substantial amount of co-operation in the implementation of new policy directions.
2. Several denominations with schools serving an enrolment of fewer than 2 000 pupils have been combined under the term 'other' (see Table 2.3).
3. Churches not in the Dutch Reformed family, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, played a substantial role in providing education, and could be expected to resent the loss of this role.

To the government and to the CNE ideologues the enactment of the 1963 Coloured Persons Education Act was regarded as 'a great historical event, heralding a new dispensation in the education of the Coloured people', described as the 'most Christianised non-White group in Africa and the most assimilated to Western, particularly Afrikaner culture (Lantern, Dec 1964: 74)'. For the first time, all education for 'coloureds' was placed under the control of one central department of State, while the provinces and church missions had to relinquish their former roles. Transfer made possible the introduction of central control and a uniform system of education, which in turn permitted the introduction of differentiation into academic, commercial, technical and practical streams or the presentation of subjects at differentiated levels (Lantern, Dec 1964: 76-77). It is ironical, though, that by the confession of the initiators of 'coloured' education, pupils who were Christian, westernised, Afrikaans-orientated, were nevertheless denied access to provincial (Afrikaans-medium) schools - an indication of the overriding decisiveness of race as a factor.

What were the overt and covert aims behind transfer? When in 1957 the Cape Administrator asked the central government to take over the responsibility for providing education for those children classified as 'coloured', a Departmental Commission was set up to investigate the financial implications. The then Minister of Coloured

Affairs reported that 'it will be to the great relief of the provinces and particularly the Cape Province' if the State took over responsibility for education, via the Coloured Affairs Department, as part of the said Department's programme of social and economic upliftment (Educational Journal, April 1963: 8). Since the State provided substantial subsidies to the provinces for the provision of education, the validity of the argument regarding financial considerations is unacceptable. Increased financial subsidies to the provinces and churches could have eradicated any financial burden. In like manner, the stated aims of socio-economic upliftment and participation by the community in the education of its young, could as easily have been achieved within a framework of inclusion in the body politic, by affirmative State action to redress inequities experienced by its citizens regardless of race or colour. Thus Minister Botha's speech at Springbok (Educational Journal, April 1963: 12): 'I will start off by educating the coloured people to be prepared to work. Industrial institutions will be created and tuition in elementary agriculture will eventually serve the Coloureds better than their Standard X certificates with which they now roam the streets because they cannot find work' exposes hidden aims, namely, promotion of the concepts of race, separateness, white paternalism and trusteeship, black subservience to white interests, as confirmed in parliamentary debates and reported upon in Hansard. The Minister also regarded 'transfer' as an investment to

secure the safety of 'White South Africa', stressing that achievement and successes in 'coloured' education would also benefit the 'White section' of South Africa (Hansard 5/1963;1743).

It would be a fruitless exercise to search for a direct incorporation of CNE policy in the formulation of the 1963 Act (Act 47 of 1963). Far more productive in its yields would be a search for the spirit of CNE, as displayed by the attitudes and intentions of its proponents, in the Act, the regulations promulgated under the Act, and subsequent implementation of policy. To this end a limited sample of four extracts from parliamentary debates is presented below, together with the concomitant CNE objective and an illustration of its implementation by the relevant education department (1963-1964) and subsequent developments over an approximate twenty-year period.

Dr F.van Staden M.P. (N.P.), told the House of Assembly that transfer of 'coloured' education to the central government would remove the financial burden borne by the Cape Province and which prevented them giving the 'white child what is his due (Hansard 5/1963: 1756)'. The statement conformed closely to the CNE-Policy objective which required that education for 'coloureds' should not take place at the cost of White education (See Article 15, Appendix 1).

The immediate impact of this objective was typified by widely disparate annual expenditure on education in the separate (racial) education departments or sectors of departments e.g. in the 1963-64 financial year the Cape Education Department spent R16 756 624 on education for 'coloureds' and R34 489 042 on education for whites out of a total budget of R51 245 666. This represented a nett per capita expenditure, based on enrolment, of R62.06 per 'coloured' pupil per annum compared with R163.10 per white pupil per annum - a ratio of 1:2,63. Furthermore, to cater for an increased enrolment of 15 730 'coloured' pupils during 1963, additional expenditure amounting to R1 063 842 was incurred, as opposed to R3 151 106 spent on an additional 2 160 white pupils. The relative weighting of additional expenditure was thus R67.63 per 'coloured' pupil and R1 458.84 per white pupil - ascribed to the cost of furniture, books and materials.

Such severe cash constraints were readily identifiable in 'coloured' education as manifested in curtailed provision of physical amenities, teaching and learning materials, manpower resources and the lack of compulsory education. Thus, in respect of manpower resources, 212 168 white pupils/students were served by 9 654 teachers/lecturers while the comparable figures for 'coloured' education were 368 131 pupils/students served by 11 907 teachers/lecturers. A significant barometer of provision, namely, pupil-teacher ratios, emerged as 1:22

for white schools and 1:31 for 'coloured' schools (See Annual Reports: SGE Cape, 1964: 37-88 and Dept of Coloured Affairs, 1 April 1964 to March 1965: 25). In regard to compulsory education in the Cape, implemented for white pupils aged 7 to 16 years, this was applicable to 'coloured' pupils in duly designated and widely dispersed local areas only, and was binding on pupils living within a three-mile radius of the school.

In ensuing years (1964 - 1984) per capita expenditure on white pupils continued to increase while the comparable figure for 'coloured' pupils lagged e.g. in 1969-70 the per capita ratio stood at 1:3,86 ('coloured':white) and in 1975-76 at 1:4,22! In the 1982-83 financial year the per capita expenditure for the 'coloured' and white groups amounted to R498 and R1 211 respectively, a ratio of 1:2,43 (Christie, 1985: 98).

Monetary constraints and suspected over-zealous implementation of economy measures by State officials impeded progress and resulted in unutilised funds being returned to the Treasury, while schools under DEC control were confronted with severe shortages of:

- a) physical amenities e.g. (i) classroom-space (resulting in over-crowded classrooms, double-shift classes, make-shift classrooms in lobbies, change-rooms, staff-rooms); (ii) specialist facilities (libraries, laboratories, gymnasias, music and art studios); (iii) cultural-recreational facilities such as a school

- hall; (iv) sports facilities (grounds, courts, pitches); (v) hostel accommodation (See Table 2.4 below);
- b) teaching and learning aids e.g. books, visual aids, apparatus, instruments, consumables (though stationery was provided free, and text- and setwork books were made available on loan, in practice, because of shortages or late deliveries, parents were often required to provide both stationery and textbooks);
- c) manpower resources e.g. qualified teaching staff and support-staff as illustrated by the 1983 pupil-teacher ratio for 'coloureds' and whites of 1:27 and 1:18 respectively (Christie, 1985: 115);
- d) lack of compulsory education, as opposed to compulsory attendance now in operation in prescribed areas. The former, applicable in white schools, requires pupils to be enrolled at school up to a prescribed age or school standard (ages 7-16 or Standard VIII); the latter, applicable to 'coloured' education since 1980, requires pupils up to a prescribed age (7-16) or level of school attainment (Standard VIII), to remain at school and attend classes regularly for the full duration of the year in which they enrolled. In practice, therefore, a twelve-year-old may drop out at the end of a school year in which he passed the fourth standard. This provision does not apply in Natal, however, where compulsory schooling preceded the take-over of education by the Department of Coloured Affairs in 1964. (Annual Report: Dept of Internal

Affairs, 1 July 1981 to 30 June 1982: 28)

It is crucial to note that the 'coloured' population group has a substantial rural component, especially in the Cape Province. To extend and enforce the requirements of compulsion would necessitate the erection of school hostels and/or the provision of boarding and transport allowances. The paucity of provision is readily detectable in the numbers of boarding establishments provided, and the number of boarders accommodated. Thus by June 1984 there were seventy-six hostels at 2 073 institutions under DEC control i.e. only 3,67% of institutions provided for school boarders, while only 10 717 pupils/students out of a total enrolment of 785 324 (1,36%) were housed in State or State-aided hostels. At the same time hostels attached to white schools and colleges were not able to fill available places. As a corollary to the above, the DEC made available boarding allowances for indigent primary and secondary pupils up to R260 p.a. for boarders in private residence and R185 p.a. for boarders in State hostels. Transport allowances up to a maximum of R40 per pupil per annum were made available out of a 1983-84 boarding and transport budget of R4,8 million (Annual Report: Dept of Internal Affairs, 1983-1984). By comparison, the Cape Education Department provided a schools' conveyance service to 13 963 pupils at a cost of R3,8 million or approximately R273 per pupil (Annual Report: Cape Education Dept, 1984). It is clear, therefore, that the

TABLE 2.4 PROVISION OF HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION

(Primary and secondary schools, special secondary and vocational schools, teachers' colleges)

	CAPE EDUCATION DEPT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE			
	DEPARTMENT	STATE	STATE-AIDED	TOTAL
Number of Hostels	334	60*	16	76
Schools: Accommodation available for boarders	26 606	9 325	1 392	10 717**
Number accommodated	19 818			
Number of vacant places	6 788			
Colleges: Accommodation available for boarders	2 100			
Number accommodated	1 462			
Number of vacant places	638			

[Sources: Annual Reports: Director, Cape Education Dept, 1984: 16-17

Department of Internal Affairs, 1 July 1983 to 30 June 1984]

\* Includes 10 teachers' colleges and 2 technical colleges.

\*\* Includes primary and secondary schools, special schools, colleges.

extension of compulsory education has been retarded by insufficient provision of vital support services, namely, boarding and transport, mainly in rural areas.

It appears, therefore, that education for the white population registration group has advanced at the expense of other racially-classified groups. There can be no acceptable interpretation of placing children in deprived conditions other than that the 'coloured' pupil was intended to be socialised by the inferior school environment to internalise and accept second-best as his natural heritage (Fredericks, 1986: 6). In terms of Musgrave's four imperatives, we recognise the rulers' efforts to secure both the adaptation of education to the goals defined for it by the outside social dispensation, and pattern-maintenance in pupils via an acceptance of less-than-best norms. In 1976 and 1980, in the Western Cape schools' resistance, the physical and observable contrasts between provision for whites and that for other race-classification groups was often highlighted in students' demands and grievances (E.Maurice quoted in Argus 06:08:1980; see also Molteno, 19 November 1985: 17).

Another parliamentarian, Mr S.F.Kotze (N.P.), informed the House that the 'coloureds' were not receiving the opportunity to progress to the highest levels in every sphere of life in their own group areas or rural areas (emphasis added) (Hansard 5/1963: 1994). His thinking

was aligned with the crucial CNE-Policy objective which stated explicitly that the 'coloured' could be made race-conscious if the principle of separation (apartheid) was strictly applied in education (See Article 14). Legislation was enacted in 1963 (Act 47 of 1963) providing for the control of education for 'coloured' persons, a person so defined in terms of the Population Registration Act, 1950 (Act 30 of 1950).

The Regulations (See Govt. Notice R1898 of 21 November 1963 in Regulation Gazette 257 of 4 December 1963) promulgated under Act 47 of 1963, in dealing with admission, reads: 'No person other than a Coloured shall be admitted to a school: Provided that where circumstances deem it necessary, persons of other non-White races may be admitted with the approval of the Minister ... A child is admitted ... if the principal is satisfied that the child is a Coloured... The onus of proof of the child's race lies with the parent/guardian'.

Over the next two decades the Group Areas Act (Act 41 of 1950) caused individual families and whole communities to be dislocated from established, accessible and well-serviced areas and re-located on the periphery of urban areas or rural towns. In February 1973, the then Minister of Community Development announced that by 1972 44 885 'coloured' families had been moved nationally, compared with 27 694 Indian and 1 513 white families, while 27 448 'coloured' families still had to move,

compared with 10 641 Indian and 135 white families. The group classified as 'coloured' bore the brunt of the compulsory removals, and suffered the ultimate indignity of witnessing the declaration of the central city area of Cape Town as a white group area in 1965 (Davenport, 1978: 304). The direct impact upon education can scarcely be quantified, but manifested itself in:

- (i) The closure (either by edict or through dwindling enrolment) of long-established neighbourhood schools in the affected areas (Educational Journal LVII (8), June 1986: 11);
- (ii) The erection of new schools, often pre-fabricated buildings with unfenced and undeveloped grounds e.g. in the initial stages of development in Hanover Park;
- (iii) Empty schools in areas now proclaimed for 'white' occupation despite serious accommodation problems in proclaimed 'coloured' areas. School buildings have been demolished to make way for residential development; have been converted to accommodate flat-dwellers e.g. a Roman Catholic school in Main Road, Heathfield; have been requisitioned for military or civil defence purposes e.g. Stephen Reagon in Claremont or Diep River Central et al.

In addition to the observable and quantifiable effects of the Group Areas Act, there were and are less-quantifiable but nonetheless equally far-reaching effects upon education:

- (i) Re-settlement areas e.g. Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park

and Manenberg in the Peninsula, have been characterised by poor socio-economic conditions. The absence of a cohesive community infrastructure has contributed to abject poverty, overcrowding, unemployment, violent crime and gang-warfare as endemic features of life. Young children emerge from home backgrounds that are physically, emotionally and intellectually impoverished with concomitant retardation, into school environments that reflect the quality of life in the neighbourhood. It is not surprising, therefore, that the physical and mental growth and development of young children has been handicapped by poor primary (home) and secondary (school and community) socialisation of the child. The hidden curriculum of schooling has operated to the child's disadvantage.

- (ii) The belief that schools were being used by the State to achieve political goals took root and was accentuated by the perceived connivance between education authorities and the Department of Community Development in closing schools in 'affected' areas or erecting new schools in still-to-be-developed townships (Education Journal, LVII (8), June 1986: 4-11). The perception was given credence by the Cape Superintendent-General of Education's Report, namely, as the provisions of the Group Areas Act are implemented and progress is made by local authorities with the housing

development schemes for Coloureds, the need arises for school facilities for Coloured pupils in the areas to which they are transferred (Annual Report, SGE Cape, 1964: 34)'.

A third Nationalist MP, Dr J.C.Otto, argued that the 'object can best be achieved if education of Coloured children is provided by Coloureds to Coloureds, because the Coloured teacher is best able to reach the soul of the Coloured child (Hansard 5/1963: 1995)'. The object referred to is the CNE-Policy objective which postulates the belief 'that the welfare and happiness of the coloured lie in his grasping that he is a separate race-group... (See Article 14: concept of separateness, and Article 8: no mixed schools, respectively)'. It illustrates the manner in which 'coloured' education would be made subordinate to the Afrikaner value system.

In the period immediately after take-over in 1963-64 policy dictated that schools had to be staffed by teachers trained at separate 'coloured' colleges of education and university faculties of education, teaching the content of 'own' syllabuses leading to separate examinations and the issuing of separate 'own' certificates and diplomas by an 'own' education authority.

Subsequent developments over the next two decades illustrate starkly the effect of the policy, for example:

- (i) Despite shortages of qualified teachers generally (e.g. in 1985 of the 8 549 teachers active at the Standard 6 - Standard 10 level only 2 280 were certificated graduates and a further 498 were uncertificated graduates - thus only 26,6% can be regarded as fully qualified to operate at secondary level (Annual Report DEC, 1984-1985: 36)), and severe shortages in scarce subjects e.g. English, Mathematics and Science where 70-90% of teachers in 'coloured', Indian and black schools were underqualified (HSRC Report, 1981: para. 3.5.2.2), yet teachers who were not classified as 'coloured' qualified for temporary or limited-period employment only and not for promotion, regardless of qualifications and quality of service.
- (ii) The highly disparate salary scales, ethnically determined, could be justified where different employing authorities were involved. Thus a senior party politician could argue, in respect of Black teachers, that they could not be paid salaries above the average earning capacity of the parents of the pupils in their charge (Rose and Tunmer, 1975: 265, quoting Dr H.F.Verwoerd: Senate Speech, 7 June 1954).
- (iii) In the area of 'coloured' education, the interests of White teachers were protected and salaries paid by a separate department, namely, the Department of Coloured Relations as opposed to the Administration of Coloured Affairs which paid the differentiated

and discriminatory salaries of teachers classified as 'coloured'. (Salary parity was introduced in 1981 for all teachers classified into category (c) and above.)

- (iv) The policy-planners were obviously of the opinion that 'coloured' teachers, especially the sector which itself came through the system, would have internalised the structures and strictures of an apartheid-ordered system, and would thereafter be 'the best implementers of such a system of control (Braam, 1986: unpub.)'. Musgrave's fourth imperative, viz integration, would be satisfied by the conformation of the products of the system with the requirements implicit in the definition of the situation.

Finally, the parliamentary utterances of two government members are appropriate to consolidate the theme of convergence between Nationalist Party policy and CNE dogma. Mr P.S.Marais M.P., addressing the themes of socio-economic development and local government functions for 'coloureds', said that the 'new set-up demands of us now that we should also use this mighty weapon of education to take our Coloureds further along this road (Hansard 5/1963: 2005)'. His colleague, Mr J.J.van Zyl M.P., was emphatic that 'we must ensure that they are taught patriotism under their syllabus. Their character must be built, they must develop national pride and self-respect... They must know what is their own, and

they must know and realise that they are a group peculiar to itself. They should be given Christian national education... (Hansard 5/1963:2171)'

Could it be that both parliamentarians were influenced by the CNE-Policy objective i.e. '...he (the coloured) must correspondingly be educated as a Christian national... (See Article 14)' where national is equated with 'love for one's own (See Article 3)' which must become operative in the entire content of teaching and all activities of the school?

Article 14 is explicit in its expression of paternalism: 'This trusteeship lays upon the Afrikaner the sacred obligation to see to it that the Coloured man is educated according to Christian principles'.

In an overview of the instruments which were designed to breathe life into policy, Sutton asserts that 'methods for implementing and controlling CNE depend heavily upon homelands policy' as well as local and regional councils (Educational Journal LVII (4) Dec 1985: 8). Similarly, the effective implementation of CNE doctrine within institutions designated for 'coloured' pupils/students was heavily reliant upon political and educational structures at several levels - all based upon the concept of 'own but separate' identity with correlated 'own but separate' values, aspirations, needs and well-being.

Within the formal school system provision was made for School Committees and Advisory Councils, Regional Boards, Education Councils et al, with membership determined by classification as 'coloured', thereby providing for parental participation in the education of their 'own' young.

At tertiary level effect was given to the establishment of a separate university and technikon (University College of the Western Cape and Peninsula Technikon respectively, 1962). A significant aim in the establishment of the university college was 'to satisfy the urgent need of the coloured people for leaders in every field, leaders equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills and with the ideal of serving their own community (Lantern XIV (2) Dec 1964: 74-85)'.

It is critically important to note the inter-relatedness of apartheid and CNE in political-educational developments. Thus: 'Because ... Coloured communities will have their own municipalities, provision will be made in 1965 for a course in public administration [at UWC] to supply trained town clerks and town treasurers (Lantern, Dec 1964: 74-85)'.

It is revealing to detect how the policy permeated every facet and every level of activity e.g:

(i) At a local school level separation extended to the extra-mural plane to cover sporting, cultural and

religious activities. Thus in the (white) schools of the Cape Education Department permission had to be sought from the Department to play mixed sport. This ruling was ostensibly softened by a new provincial regulation removing the need for Departmental sanction, but stipulating nevertheless that 'white schools may not play sport against schools of other races until every member of the relevant authority agrees', while 'the wishes of individual parents must also be respected (Cape Times 15:08:85)'. .

Secondly, the cadet programmes in white schools were perceived by some as the preparation ground for later conscription - clearly a divisive factor within the country's citizenry (Argus 25:10:85). Furthermore, religious organisations, normally a binding agency, have not been unaffected by the primacy of separation as evidenced, for example, by parallel organisations of the Students' Christian Association for white and 'coloured' pupils.

(It is significant to note how school calendars for the respective ethnic education authorities have not coincided in respect of term dates, thus emphasising the concept of differentness. At the same time regional or national tournaments and festivals conceived on a non-racial basis were made that more difficult to organise where term-time holidays or mid-year vacations did not overlap.)

(ii) At a national political level separation was legitimised by the enactment in 1964 of the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act (Act 49 of 1964) empowering an executive committee to designate one member to 'exercise and perform the powers, functions and duties incidental to education'.

Much of what has been detailed in the preceding analysis is encapsulated in the aims of transfer as expressed in Parliament by the Minister responsible for piloting the Bill. Thus:

- the Department of Coloured Affairs was established for the 'social and economic upliftment of the Coloured community' hence it is 'essential that services such as welfare, land settlement and education ... should come under one administration...' or
- '... the government wished to give Coloured people a greater share in the education of their children. In this way Coloured people, if they wished to take the opportunity, would play a greater part in the framework of the race pattern of the country' [emphasis added]. 'We will supply our share of the means. It is for the Coloured people to apply these means in the interest of their community through responsible self-action and self-help (Digest of SA Affairs IX (13), 25 June 1962 quoting P.W.Botha)'

It is clear, then, that transfer of education was not in fact a response to the 'excuses' of mission and

provincial financial shortfalls, or socio-economic upliftment, or parental involvement, but was in every sense a vehicle for the infusion of the CNE philosophy and policy into the education system for 'coloureds'. It is commonly accepted that the values, objectives and goals with which an education system is infused are drawn from the prevalent socio-political and socio-economic definition. The current users of 'coloured' education subscribe to a different value system, informed by a different life and world view in which race and ethnicity are not critical factors, hence the crisis of legitimacy confronting education structures and practices. It is against this background that the resistance experienced in 'coloured' education should be viewed and assessed.

In the preceding paragraph resistance has been portrayed as being directed against an ideology and an irrelevant value system. This is at the upper and more decisive level. There is, however, a second and lower level, namely, the 'breaking-of-faith' or 'non-delivery' despite firm promises and undertakings made at the time of transfer. This calls for examination as a contributory cause of resistance amongst the school community of pupils, teachers and parents. Succeeding pages will, therefore, focus attention upon a selection of three such promises or undertakings made by officialdom or politicians, against the reality of the users' experience in later years. Several examples will be presented in support of the theme of broken faith, together with

commentary, where relevant.

### Promise/Undertaking/Assurance 1

In trying to allay the real fears of parents and teachers that the administration of education would be centralised in Cape Town once transfer had been effected, the Department of Coloured Affairs (DCA), predecessor of the Department of Education and Culture, affirmed its commitment to 'decentralised administration in all facets of their work, including education. The administration of education will not be centralised in Cape Town, but headquarters will be augmented by 12 regional offices (Alpha 1 (4), June 1963: 2-3)'.

In fact, twelve regional offices have been established to cover the country (See Map 1A for distribution: Appendix 1).

Because of limited authority exercised by regional offices, principals, teachers and school committees perceive these as mere links in the official channels of communication. Their function is perceived to be that of receiving submissions, making recommendations and forwarding to headquarters (Cape Town) for decisions.

Example: Formal applications for employment by teachers in respect of vacancies to be filled at a school are considered by the local school committee, comprising parents of pupils. The school committee makes its choice

from among the candidates and submits its recommendation to the regional office. A Regional Board, two-thirds of whose members are nominees of all school committees within the region, advises regional officials on staff selection. The regional office, after due consideration of the respective candidates and of the school committee's recommendation, submits its recommendation to Head Office where the appointment is made - not necessarily in accordance with the recommendations received.

Similarly, in respect of such administrative matters as the purchase of equipment, repairs to buildings et al, all correspondence is conducted with regional offices while authorisation is granted by Head Office.

Furthermore, Act 47 of 1963 vests all authority in the Minister to:

- (i) establish or disband school committees or advisory boards
- (ii) erect or close schools
- (iii) appoint or dismiss staff
- (iv) admit or expel students
- (v) introduce or withdraw courses
- (vi) determine the medium of instruction at a school, et al.

While provision is made for local and regional bodies and officials to advise the Minister, he is not legally bound

to accept and act upon such advice. Thus local preference is often perceived to be subordinated to Head-Office discretion i.e. either the minister or senior officials acting in terms of delegated authority. There is little evidence of a sensitive local administration arising out of a devolution of authority. On the contrary, the prevailing perception is that of an impersonal, centralised bureaucracy concerned only with policy implementation.

A possible area of 'freedom' (from final State control) was removed with the passage of the Coloured Persons Education Amendment Act (Act 53 of 1973) which required the registration of private schools and correspondence colleges engaged in the provision of education to 'coloured' persons, thus bringing non-state schooling under Departmental (DEC) supervision.

#### Promise/Undertaking/Assurance 2

In respect of primary schools the DCA foresaw no immediate and radical changes at this level except every effort administratively to ensure that pupils complete the primary course. In reality, many thousands of pupils still fail to complete a programme of primary schooling, as shown in the table below:

TABLE 2.5: A COMPARISON OF THE DROP-OUT RATE FROM PRIMARY SCHOOL IN 1971 AND 1981:

	1971	1981
Enrolment 1st term	470 789	611 513
Enrolment 4th term	451 911	594 887
Drop-out	18 878	16 626
Percentage drop-out	4,01	2,72

[Source: Behr, 1984: 245]

The data illustrates a gradual decrease in the percentage drop-out, namely, 1,29% over 10 years. An even more revealing pattern emerges when the statistics are broken down by standards in the primary school. The drop-out rate of pupils in primary standards in 1984, namely, twenty years after transfer, is given in Table 2.6.

TABLE 2.6: DROP-OUT FROM PRIMARY CLASSES DURING 1984

STD	1st TERM	4th TERM	INCREASE/ DECREASE	PERCENTAGE
Sub A	101 027	98 907	-2 120	2,10
Sub B	92 980	90 837	-2 143	2,30
1	90 409	87 998	-2 411	2,67
2	87 482	85 124	-2 358	2,70
3	84 670	81 656	-3 014	3,56
4	78 444	75 224	-3 220	4,10
5	69 483	66 211	-3 272	4,71
Adapt Classes	6 948	7 341	+ 393	+5,66
TOTAL	611 443	593 298	-18 145	2,97

[Source: Annual Report DEC, 1984-1985: 35]

It is untenable that even in the lowest standards of the primary school a minimum annual wastage of 2% of pupils occurs; whilst it is clear that schools are increasingly unable to retain pupils for the full duration of a school year with progress through the primary standards. The latter situation prevails despite the institution from January 1980 of compulsory school attendance upon pupils aged 7-16 years and the stipulation that 'any child who has enrolled as a pupil at any school must attend such school regularly until the end of the school year for which he is so enrolled (Annual Report DEC, 1984-1985: 5)'. There is a clear indication of a lack of attraction on the one hand to ensure retention, and a lack of enforcement of compulsion on the other hand. In this regard it is significant to note in the 1984-85 DEC report that at the end of 1985 there were thirteen posts of truancy officer, all of which were filled - an average of one truancy officer per school region. There is little likelihood of success in enforcing compulsory attendance with such gross understaffing.

Promises notwithstanding, twenty years after take-over the Department had still not succeeded in ensuring that all pupils of school-going age completed the basic primary phase of schooling. It is self-evident that a well-developed and highly-motivated support system consisting of, inter alia, school psychologists, school social workers, school health visitors, remedial teachers

and teachers of adaptation classes, is called for in a new education order aimed at pupil-retention during the period of compulsion.

Promise/Undertaking/Assurance 3

Mr P.W.Botha, Minister of Coloured Affairs, in announcing the introduction of legislation which would authorise the transfer of education under provincial control (education for 'coloureds') to the Department of Coloured Affairs, assured Parliament that after transfer there would be:

1. No diminution of services
2. No detrimental consequences
3. Departmental support for the efforts of teachers
4. No inferior educational and ancillary services
5. Decentralisation to give proper attention to all
6. Central control to facilitate uniform syllabi based upon existing ones (Digest of SA Affairs IX (13), 25 June 1962).

However sincerely these assurances were intended, the practical implementation often fell short of expectations and sometimes disclosed contradictory motives. In support of this proposition a series of examples or case histories will be outlined, illustrating the manner in which procedural and policy decisions served to negate possibilities of positive outcomes.

Examples in respect of diminution of services:

1. The Department of Coloured Affairs (and its

successors) is contractually bound to purchase its stock and equipment from the Provincial Stores (Cape Education Department). The long and often irksome delays in the delivery of items ordered in the main and supplementary requisitions (Educatio IX (3) 2nd Qr 1985) have given rise to innuendo, not surprisingly, that Department of Coloured Affairs' schools have their requisitions attended to only after all Cape provincial schools have been fully supplied.

2. The Department of Community Development and/or Public Works Department assumed responsibility for major repairs, renovations and extensions to DCA schools. Under this arrangement, schools were grouped together with post offices, police stations, some hospitals et al, and projects were undertaken according to a Public Works priority list, regardless of educational priorities, and always subject to funds being available. Day-to-day repairs of broken windowpanes, doorlocks and leaking taps required Regional Office approval based on tenders from at least three approved contractors, and, once more, subject to funds being available.

The net effect of these and other examples of prolonged delays in the provision of services, was confirmation of the perception of 'second class' status warranting diminished standards only.

Examples in respect of detrimental consequences:

1. In the years prior to and immediately after take-over many teachers resigned to take up private employment or to emigrate - a large percentage were graduate teachers in high school positions. Their absence from classrooms was severely felt, especially in the teaching of 'scarce subjects'. Their loss is still evident within the ranks of senior teaching personnel today.
2. The acquisition of recognition as 'examining authority' by the Department of Coloured Affairs paved the way for 'own examinations' and own certificates and diplomas. In the perceptions of many teachers, pupils and parents such certificates are debased (See later section on Examinations), and likely to bear a life-long stigma.
3. Many church schools in 'affected' or proclaimed group areas were closed by the new owners/tenants (i.e. the State) while State schools were opened in newly proclaimed 'coloured' group areas or townships.

Many more examples could be cited of the detrimental effects of the transfer of 'coloured' education to a State department.

Examples in respect of support for teachers:

1. One of the early actions of the Minister after

transfer, was to threaten teachers with invoking Act 47 of 1963 to 'discipline coloured teachers interfering in white politics'. The Minister conceded 'coloured' teachers the right to participate '... in their own political, as well as welfare and sporting organisations, within the communities which they must serve'... 'It is only natural and wise that coloured teachers should limit their activities to those coloured political organisations which, according to their convictions, would best serve their interests (Alpha III (11), Nov 1965: 2)'

2. The coercive methods and bureaucratic meddling of members of the inspectorate (and later subject advisory service as instituted in 1982), through panel inspections, individual inspections and 'guidance' sessions, examinations moderation and promotions have been perceived as harassment by teachers rather than Departmental support. One commentator reflected that the authoritarian system placed powers in the hands of individuals who, if they were 'insensitive bureaucrats or ambitious autocrats' could stultify the development of 'innovative thought and practice (Braam, 1986: 4)'

In effect, any systems of support for teachers would have had their chances of acceptance severely reduced by the all-pervasive climate of control.

Examples in respect of inferior ancillary services: The formal school system, commencing with substandard A, does not rest upon a well-developed pre-primary system. Thus during 1984/85 the Department subsidised 161 pre-primary schools with a total enrolment of 12 177. In addition, as from 1984, pre-primary classes were started at selected primary schools and during 1984/85 seventy-five classes were established with an enrolment of 1 875. There were thus 14 052 children in pre-primary classes while in the first term of 1984 there were 101 027 pupils in substandard A (Annual Report DEC, 1984-1985). At an estimate, therefore, 85% of pupils are entering primary school without the benefit of pre-primary experience; the fortunate 15% approximately (14 052 out of 101 027) proceed to sub A without being given any school-readiness test. Thus 'problems which could have been avoided are created. The composition of a sub A teacher's class is such that she has to cater in each lesson for pupils who are ready for school, pupils who are not school-ready yet, as well as pupils who are mentally retarded or have some learning problem' according to a primary school principal (Riffel, 1984: unpub.).

The issue of decentralisation: This has already been touched upon. Individual teachers, and the organised teaching profession, have on numerous occasions decried the inordinate delays in notifications of appointments, promotions, payments of monthly salaries et al. In recent months great consternation has been caused by the lack of

progress in making senior appointments at schools and colleges. Promotion posts for which nominations had been made in October 1984 were still not filled by June 1986. At the root of the problem lies the over-concentration of decision-taking and administrative functions at Head Office, and the withdrawal of delegated functions by the political head of the Department of Education and Culture (Weekend Argus 26:04:86 and Sunday Times 27:04:86).

Examples in respect of syllabus content:At primary level use is made in DEC schools of syllabuses compiled by the Cape Education Department (Standards 2 - 4). Syllabuses are therefore either identical or show minor modifications representing a shift in emphasis only.

Above the primary level, core syllabuses are compiled by or on behalf of the Committee of Education Heads and made available to the respective education authorities. Each department exercises its discretion to use the core syllabus without alteration or with additions, usually reflecting special 'cultural' features. Thus, for example, in the syllabus for History (Standards 5 to 7) the DEC makes provision for the following additional themes when compared with the core syllabus:

- (i) Section A. Standard 5: The rise of Islam
- (ii) Section B. Standard 5: Cape History: 1600 - 1652  
(N.B. Before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.) This entails a study of the Khoi-Khoi as agriculturists and the San as hunters (see Education Bulletin VII

JS 16/85, Jan 1985).

Any syllabus can be regarded as providing the skeletal framework of learning-content. The flesh is provided by the materials used to enhance classroom interaction, the knowledgeability, skill and enthusiasm of the teacher, the relevance of the learning-material to the child's own physical and intellectual environment and the social forces at work in the classroom environment (authoritarianism versus democracy, competition versus co-operation...), among others. It is in this context that the milieu-retardation suffered by a significant percentage of DEC pupils has manifested or will manifest itself.

It has been postulated above that equivalence of syllabus content does not ensure equivalence of learning content since the material aids to learning, in addition to the emotional and social environment, play an equally significant role. Thus themes for study in a specific subject may 'say' something i.e. convey one set of ideas to one group of learners, and convey a contrasting set of ideas to another group of learners. In the South African context, subjects such as History, Civics and Geography have shown themselves to be sensitive to a wide array of interpretations, connotations and nuances, while literature, particularly aspects of Afrikaans literature, have been viewed by non-Afrikaners in the light of offensive word usage and nomenclature e.g. hotnot,

kaffer, et al.

In a recent press article Giliomee (Cape Times 12:09:86) referred to a study by a Potchefstroom graduate in which an analysis was made of current secondary school textbooks, highlighting the recurrence of 'master symbols' e.g. legitimate authority is not questioned; whites are superior, blacks are inferior; the Afrikaner has a special relationship with God; South Africa rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner... (See J. du Preez, Afrikaner-Africana). In support of the underlying premise of the above study, reference is made by way of an example to a well-known and currently used textbook in Geography which makes, inter alia, the following statements of 'fact' (Swanevelder et al, 1984: 290-308): In a description of industry in the South Western Cape Swanevelder says: 'The Coloureds particularly are employed as unskilled and skilled workers ... Unlike the Southern Transvaal this is a region of Whites and Coloureds. Blacks are by far in the minority and, in general, industrialists have to do without the cheaper unskilled Black labour...'

On industry in the Durban area the book states: 'The nearby Black areas also provide a source of cheap unskilled labour ... The Indians ... serve as a pool of skilled labour...' On industry in Border Areas: 'These areas, inside or near Black territories, are so located that Black workers can live with their families in their

homelands, but still travel to their place of work with a minimum of inconvenience ... Financial and technical assistance is given to the industrialists for the provision of housing for key White personnel ... Because of the country's ... acute shortage of skilled workers technicians must, therefore, of necessity, be recruited from overseas'. (Whites-only immigration policy!)

And so the country's youth is socialised to the realities of pre-determined roles and status in life, based on race. Giliomee rightly refers to occasions where enraged pupils engaged in the exercise of burning textbooks.

A comparison of the syllabuses in History (Standards 2 - 4) used by the DEC and Cape Education Department respectively, shows very little deviation, if any, in content. However, the Cape syllabus makes no reference to evaluation, whereas the DEC syllabus stipulates the nature and number of assignments and work projects as well as the duration and format of examinations i.e. the number of questions to be answered, number of marks per question, weighting of marks per section, etc. This indicates a more prescriptive dispensation (Education Bulletin XVII Nr SP1/82, Jan 1982).

The first stage of this chapter sought the root-causes of the recurring crises in 'coloured' education within the parameters of Afrikaner nationalist dogma and policies. The latter stage of the chapter, by contrast, postulated

the premise that if there was initial latent support for the doctrine of 'own-ness' within the 'coloured' user-group, such support has been dissipated by a history of failure in practice, such failure emanating from neglect, indifference and non-commitment (possibly even antagonistic ideals) on the part of the bureaucracy. The 1960's and 1970's witnessed observable progress in the numbers of pupils being catered for, the numbers of teachers receiving training and the numbers of classrooms and schools being erected. The school communities, however, remained unconvinced vis-à-vis the quality of education content, education provisioning and education administration. It is for these reasons that an element of hope was engendered in the wake of the appointment of the HSRC Commission of Investigation into Education in the RSA (De Lange Commission), occasioned for some, by the diverse composition and wide-ranging terms of reference of the commission. The recommendations of the commission, and the government's response thereto, will be examined in succeeding pages.

REPORT OF THE HSRC INVESTIGATION INTO EDUCATION (DE LANGE REPORT), 1981

Recommendations and Government Responses

In the wake of the education upheavals of 1976 and 1980, the former predominantly Soweto-based but spreading throughout South Africa, including the Western Cape; and the latter predominantly Western Cape-based; and in the aftermath of the 1973 Natal labour unrest, and 1980 Eastern Cape labour unrest the government commissioned the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) to enquire into and report upon education in all its facets within the Republic - thereby acknowledging that social and political tensions, if not addressed, could become unmanageable. The commission, under the chairmanship of Professor J. P. de Lange, Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, was required to provide guidelines for an education policy that would

- realise the potential and enhance the quality of life of all the country's inhabitants
- promote economic growth and meet the nation's manpower demands
- achieve education of an equal quality for all of the land's inhabitants (Growth Analysis, Nov 1981: 12-14)

The commission accepted this brief as its first priority

- a second priority entailed the identification of the problem areas in education.

In 1981 the commission reported its findings (Education Provision in the RSA, 1981) crystallising in eleven basic principles the philosophy and guidelines which underpinned its recommendations (See Appendix 3). The Commission called for an acceptance of the eleven principles in their entirety and cautioned against the isolation of any one principle for special examination - a view endorsed by the State in its subsequent response to the report (White Paper on the Provision of Education in RSA, 1983: 3). However, four principles are of special relevance to this study:

Principle 1 significantly propagated the concept of equal opportunities and equal standards for all of South Africa's school population, regardless of race, colour, creed or sex.

This should be assessed in the context of the CNE-constraint that 'coloured' and Black education should not take place at the cost of White education.

Principle 2, by implication, negated the apparent colour-blindness of Principle 1 by conceding a recognition for 'what is common as well as what is diverse' in culture, religion and language.

The three elements of culture, religion and language, recognised collectively, provide a rationale for separation along ethnic and language lines.

Principle 3 acknowledged that freedom of choice rested rightfully with individuals, parents and organisations (e.g. churches).

Principle 4 stressed the responsibility which rested upon the education system to satisfy the needs of society and the manpower needs of the economy.

The government was prompt in issuing an interim memorandum accepting the eleven principles within the framework of State policy (Growth Analysis, 1981: 13) [emphasis added]. In the socio-political and educational parlance of the day that framework included self-determination of the country's communities and the principle of a Christian and broad national character to education as formulated, for example, in the National Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act 39 of 1967) as applied to White education, and as applied in practice and laid down in legislation in respect of the other population groups. Hence, equal opportunities, equal standards, parental choice, pupils' choice et al, were all eminently acceptable concepts and goals, but were to be achieved within the framework of reference of the State, namely, 'own' education authorities and separate schools.

The official response to the De Lange Report was confirmed later when the government, after further investigations and analysis of the Report's recommendations, issued a White Paper (White Paper on the Provision of Education in RSA, 1983) outlining its final stance. The following responses are relevant to this study:

- the government's principal aim was to concentrate on improving the quality of education further, and to provide education of equal quality to all population groups (White Paper: 1);
- the policy was to allow full scope for self-determination for each population group in regard to its education as an 'own affair' in terms of the new constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (Act 110 of 1983);

[The new constitution lays down in Section 14(2) that matters listed in Schedule 1 to the constitution, which include education at all levels, are own affairs of the White, Coloured and Indian population groups respectively. This means that all educational matters that relate solely to a particular group, are own affairs of the population group concerned. The education of each of these population groups will, therefore, as an own affair, take place within the context of the particular group's own culture and frame of reference.

Own affairs education will include education through correspondence (but correspondence institutions remain under White control); training at Adult Centres; training of school cadets and organised school sport.

This stipulation played a crucial role in contributing to the events surrounding the Western Cape schools' boycott during 1985.]

- the government remained committed to mother-tongue education for Whites, while conceding that the stipulation may pose a problem for some groups;

- the government accepted the need for a single ministry of education to formulate national policy on a macro-basis directed towards achieving equal opportunities and standards, basic service conditions for teachers, data collection for policy, planning and evaluation; international education relations et al;
- the government accepted a plethora of other recommendations always with the proviso 'but'.

Examples include, inter alia, a single advisory body (South African Council for Education, SACE) to advise on general affairs but each population group to decide on the need for its own advisory council; separate teachers' professional councils for each population group; a single Council for Standards, Evaluation and Certification with certificates issued in the name of this council but by the respective 'own' executive education departments; curriculum research programmes which lay down only basic core syllabuses in accordance with the world view and within the cultural framework of the population group it serves (White Paper: 11)'.

It is apparent that the old myth of 'separate but equal' so evident in the responses outlined above, has survived the microscopic scrutiny of 'the most comprehensive investigation in South African educational history' - an inquiry described as scientific by its membership, as technician by its critics and as modernist or reformist by both. And yet there was no change from the status quo - perhaps a shift in emphasis from unabridged ideology to

'goals of efficiency, management and control (P.Buckland in Apartheid and Education, 1984: 371)'

It is appropriate at this stage to highlight three critical responses by the government to explicit or implied recommendations in the Report - responses which have emerged as cardinal factors in the current education-upheaval in the Western Cape, namely:

1. In respect of a single ministry of education embracing the education of all 'population groups': the government responded that each population group should have its own Ministry of Education headed by a Minister of Education and Culture responsible for own educational affairs and not subordinate to the Minister responsible for general educational matters.  
1985 Implication: The class boycott culminated in closure of schools by DEC and a later partial boycott of examinations by thousands of pupils and students. Both events manifested evidence of strong resentment towards the own affairs Department of Education; of rejection of the own affairs Minister of Education and Culture; of alienation from the political dispensation exemplified by the tricameral system, and of disbelief at the government's sworn inability to prescribe to the own affairs Ministers' Council on how to conduct its business (Argus 12:11:85).
2. In respect of financially realistic norms for the provision of an adequate quality of education

regardless of race, colour, creed or sex: the government responded that the new constitution permitted each 'own authority' to supplement the financial resources available for 'own' education by means of levies (White Paper: 28).

Implication: If the government intends to introduce equivalent budgeting into a situation of glaring inequalities arising out of previous white-black privilege-penalty, then surely the inequities will never be removed, given the unequal start. If communities are to be called upon to provide the 'extras' out of their own resources then surely the white-black occupational differential and corresponding wage differential (managerial/entrepreneurial versus semi-skilled/unskilled labour) and the garden suburb-black township areal differential will be of some consequence. The proviso is in essence a device for maintaining the de facto disparities.

3. In respect of waiving the restrictions of the Group Areas Act to permit an unfettered siting of schools, and allowing for the use of under-utilised or excess space in some (white) areas where severe backlogs of accommodation exist for 'other race groups' the government responded that it was not in favour of circumventing the stipulations of the Group Areas Act since 'the various school systems are geared to the needs of the particular population groups, each of

which is resident in its own residential area (White Paper: 46)'.

In all of the above responses the central message is clear: education and its imperatives will at all times be subordinated to racial or ethnic exclusivity, while the concepts of 'own-ness' and 'different-ness' are paramount considerations in determining educational strategies and priorities. That is the government's message. For the 'affected communities' the interpretation of the message must be equally clear: there can be no solutions to educational problems while the socio-political issues remain unresolved. Education is defined as a political issue, and schools become zones of resistance and sites of struggle and liberation. This view is supported by Morobe in his assertion that '... the national democratic struggle and the educational struggle in South Africa cannot and should not be isolated from one another (quoted in NUSAS, July 1983: 36)' and by Sonn in his contention that the conflict in Black education '... is a power play which occurs in an environment where people have little to lose and much to gain by engaging in the struggle (Unpub. address, March 1986)'.

The governing party, in its brief to the HSRC investigation, and the Commission in the eleven principles undergirding its recommendations, set objectives which superseded education and touched upon the needs of society and the economy. Questions can be

asked about the extent to which these objectives are legitimate and achievable. Doubt is often cast on the efficacy of education as a direct channel for social and economic upliftment, a doubt not shared by Dr Viljoen, minister entrusted with education for 'Blacks', who described education as the 'starting point for tackling the situation'. Spending in education 'is the generator of a creative cycle of improved skills, higher incomes and the ability of a community to pay for its social and other services'. Such was Dr Viljoen's response to the Commission's highlighting of high unemployment rates; shortages of skilled and semi-skilled manpower; the low level of basic education (often not reaching the stage of literacy and numeracy); high influx rate from rural to urban areas. Education was also seen as an 'essential vehicle for persuading the Black man that free enterprise is not simply part of a discriminatory system that limits his opportunities - persuasion that is politically and socially imperative (Growth, Nov 1981: 12-14)'. In this regard Viljoen seems to have drawn sustenance from Professor L.Schlemmer who posited the view that 'in the long run, industrialisation or development requires a broad mobilisation and motivation of those participating in it, in order to secure legitimacy for its goals (Growth, Nov 1981: 12-14)'.

Critics have been swift in their condemnation of the Commission's recommendations (1981) and the government's response (White Paper, 1983). The plans have been

totally rejected as 'extensions and refinements of the existing plans - for maintaining the status quo and for winning the support of sections of the oppressed (Educational Journal LIV (3), Oct-Nov 1982)'. The latter accusation relates to the greater emphasis on technical and vocational training to meet the country's manpower needs. An editorial in a professional publication expands on the theme claiming that the De Lange Report 'has merely upgraded the level of skills to which the Black man may aspire to meet the country's manpower needs and create a Black middle class (Educational Journal LV (4): 1-4)'. It is interesting to note that Sonn, a member of the Head Committee and signatory to the Report, asserts that 'apartheid education has been revamped ... but more firmly established than before'. Reflecting on the implementation of the tricameral system he noted that 'where a white minister used to sit, a 'coloured' minister in a separate House now sits (Unpub. address, 1986: 12)'. Finally, it has been said that 'schools are not meant to educate; they are misused and abused to subserve the racist doctrines of the ruling class and maintain a system of politically helpless cheap labour (Educational Journal LVI (3), Oct-Nov 1984: 1-4)'. (For justification of the 'Black middle class' theory note must be taken of 'reform' policies for urban freehold tenure, relaxation of influx control measures, trade union rights for Blacks; and entry of 'coloureds' and Indians into the parliamentary system, tricameral-style).

In conclusion, it is essential to identify those characteristics of CNE-motivated education which have survived the onslaughts of the 1976 and 1980 upheavals and the wide-ranging, in-depth, scientific investigation of the De Lange Commission. Ideologically, schools remain racially separated, inextricably intertwined with the Group Areas determinants, subject to white dominance (DET and Dept of National Education) and/or white patronage (DEC - Houses of Representatives and Delegates), supportive of the nationalism-capitalism alliance, geared to the reproduction of the existing socio-political-economic milieu. Practically, schooling remains discriminatory, prescriptive (e.g. syllabus and curriculum content), congested (e.g. huge enrolments, overcrowded classrooms, high pupil-teacher ratios, double-shift classes), and wrought with inferior facilities and human resources (e.g. ill-qualified or inadequately trained teachers). Schooling remains perched upon the well-tried tripod of prescription-inspection-examination i.e. totally caught up in bureaucratic control, thereby spawning an autocratic, regimented, formal classroom order. For many, the perception exists that where education previously subserved narrow Afrikaner-nationalist and later white hegemonic interests, it is now geared towards legitimising the current goals of the prevailing economic order (See Section B).

## CHAPTER 3

**Towards a Definition of Gutter Education**

The purpose underlying the preceding analysis of the educational milieu was to extract those elements which could be regarded as contributory factors to, and also characteristic features of, what is commonly termed 'gutter education', thereby facilitating a definition of the phenomenon. Any such definition must be extricated from the users' experience of the prevailing dispensation as expressed in their statements, resolutions and writings. It is to be expected that the description of each feature would encompass a range of concepts, not all of which could be enumerated and validated here. For this reason, the proffered definition should be viewed as tentative in its ambit and characterisation, and as intended to provide a frame of reference against which the resistance in education can be evaluated. An insight into 'what people reject' promotes identification and crystallisation of the elements of 'what people strive for' in any future restructured order.

FOUR noteworthy elements of gutter education, sometimes overlapping, with exemplifying statements, are defined below. Gutter education can be characterised as:

1. An education which reflects, supports and which seeks to legitimise:
  - a) racial separation and discrimination

This was confirmed by teachers in their support of 'the stand taken by pupils in their struggle against separate and inferior education (Teachers' Intererim Co-ordinating Committee, progenitor of WECTU, Cape Times 26:08:85)'.

- b) symbols of master-servant, superior-inferior, senior-subordinate relationships

In 1980 boycotting children proclaimed that 'our education trains us to be slaves. White children are taught to be masters. These are two sides of apartheid education (See NUSAS pamphlet: 'The Darker Side of Apartheid Education', 1984: 4)'.

- c) political rightlessness

A pupil representative told an Athlone press conference that 'the students are thinking for themselves because we have come to realise that only we can set ourselves free. We can't wait for their education to set us free (Cape Times 26:11:85)'.

- d) social deprivation

A young correspondent of a community newspaper wrote: 'Education today prepares us for an unequal society. True learning should be in an equal society where people learn from each other and share their experiences ... (Grassroots, August 1985)'.

At the other end of the education spectrum, a teacher near to retirement averred that 'the social environment presents a greater challenge to the

education of the child than events which take place in the school (R.Dudley, Lecturers' Conference, 1984: 3)'.

e) economic exploitation

Newspaper correspondents articulated the perceptions of the readership in writing that 'schools prepare students to be obedient workers and to accept their situation without thinking (Living Roots, supplement to Grassroots, August 1985, p. 2)' or that pupils 'see the education system as yet another instrument of the apartheid-capitalist system (Weekly Mail 21:11:85)'.

f) cultural starvation

According to the assessment of Dr O.van den Berg, UWC Education Faculty member, 'our school curriculum is the most systematic exposure to a selection of the culture that our pupils will face throughout their lives, and the existing selection of the culture is one biased towards the ideologies of those who rule over us (Educatio X (1): 23).

g) physical, emotional and intellectual retardation

Writing in a teachers' journal a commentator was highly critical of a system in which 'the teacher has to wrestle with teaching pupils whose condition makes it almost impossible for them to concentrate inside the classroom or to study at home... But there has been no change to the intellectually stunting structures of "aparte" schooling that

sparked off the boycotts of 1976, 1980...(Jan Bingley in Educational Journal LVI (3), Oct 1984: 8)'.

A major sports controlling body decried a dispensation which ordained that 'facilities for sport are inadequate and suitable playing-fields almost non-existent. Few schools are willing to accept financial assistance from the authorities since this would imply acceptance of State authority... School sports bodies do not receive much financial aid and aid via coaching facilities...' For purely political reasons municipal and provincial authorities make facilities available subject to application via unacceptable management committees or with racial permits (See SACOS - Sport and Liberation, 1983: 2).

h) uncritical interaction

Many deeply-committed teachers would have concurred with the assertion that 'teachers and pupils work in sterile conditions devoid of all features necessary for intellectual stimulation' or that '... every attempt is made to reduce the teacher to a robot ... all teaching and learning is a grind towards a school-leaving certificate (Bingley in Educational Journal LVI (3), Oct 1984: 10)'.

A college educator/administrator was explicit in imputing mala fides into the order since the '... authorities need teachers who are docile,

controllable, uncritical collaborators ... who are ill-equipped to analyse and examine critically, to think and act independently, to experiment, to change ... (Hanmer, Lecturers' Conference, 1984: 3)'.

i) low personal self-esteem

In assessing the combined impact of the above factors, a newspaper interviewee proffered the advice: 'Don't blame the stone-throwing on skollies. Think about people who are desperate because their pride has been knocked out of them (Interviewee, Sunday Times 01:09:85)'.

j) State coercion

An imposed system flowing out of an imposed ideology pre-determines compulsion. Thus 'in schools for Indians and 'coloured' pupils teachers see 'more administrative control, more stringent prescriptions' with emphasis on the amount of work and not on the quality of work (Bingley in Educational Journal, Oct 1984: 10).

Hanmer supported the view, namely, authorities, through teachers, exercise control over what is taught, how it is taught, attitudes that are cultivated, knowledge and beliefs that are inculcated ... Special regulations impose controls and restrictions upon the behaviour of teachers (Lecturers' Conference, 1984: 8)'.

2. An education which seeks to socialise the young into

acceptance of the status quo, namely, a life of deprivation for the voteless majority and a life of privilege for the franchised majority.

In explaining the motivation for presenting alternative programmes in place of formal instruction, a UWC student leader said that 'students were made aware that apartheid's reproduction and maintenance was the object of the educational system (Cape Times 16:10:85)'.

3. An education which essentially is not people-orientated, but which serves the interests of bureaucrats and politicians.

This view was propagated by, inter alia, UCT's Students Action Committee in alleging that 'the present educational system is not serving the needs of our communities (Cape Times 26:10:85)' and supplemented by Bingley's assertion that 'teachers 'complain about petty and unnecessary administrative controls, frequent visits by [perceived] ill-informed and incompetent inspectors and subject-advisers (quoted in Educational Journal, Oct 1984: 10)'.

4. An education which dehumanises both its beneficiaries and its victims - albeit from different starting-points.

A delegate to the 1985 CTPA Conference described apartheid as the most hated policy in the world which 'seriously affected people's humanity (Cape Times

20:06:85)'. On the other hand, a prize-winning letter-writer to a community newspaper stated emphatically: 'We call it gutter education! Why? Because of the system, this dehumanising apartheid system which tends to break us and rob us of a decent education! (Learning Roots, supplement to Grassroots, September 1985)'

The cardinal aim of the description and analysis in Section A was to portray the current definition of the situation within the broader social and narrower education milieu, and to extract the specific values, norms, goals, policies and practices implemented by the dominant Afrikaner group for the aggrieved user groups. The data thus extracted, and encapsulated in the definition of gutter education, represented the nadir of the aspirations of the voteless and emerged as targets for oppositional strategies. These strategies spawned a selection of critical events which formed part of the education upheaval of 1985. Some occurrences were pivotal and were indicative of the emergent and increasingly important role of collective behaviour as a source of pressure upon the system. They also illustrated attempts to promote movement towards a re-definition of the situation. The oppositional strategies, and the State's efforts to maintain the prevailing dispensation, are examined in Section B.

## SECTION B

CURRENT OPPOSITION TO THE EXISTING EDUCATIONAL  
DISPENSATION IN THE WESTERN CAPE, 1985/86

## Steps Towards a Re-Definition of the Situation

## ABSTRACT

On 19 July 1985 a memorial service was held in Guguletu to commemorate the deaths, in unexplained circumstances, of four Cradock community leaders. The service was attended by hundreds of primary and high school pupils causing schools in the peninsula's Black townships to be deserted (Argus 19:07:85). By late afternoon violence erupted in Guguletu, leaving eleven injured, thus signifying the start of the upheaval in education in the Western Cape.

A week later a mass rally was called at UWC and attended by approximately 6 000 peninsula pupils and students protesting against the recently declared State of Emergency in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape (Cape Times 27:07:85). On 30 July, at a meeting held on UWC campus, it was decided to institute an indefinite boycott of classes. The boycott proceeded with fluctuating levels of apathy or enthusiasm, and on several occasions deliberate efforts were made by either WECSAC (Western Cape Students' Action Committee, comprising student

representatives of high schools, colleges, UWC and UCT) or the SRC of UWC to review, re-assess, suspend or terminate the boycott. However, once having started, the boycott generated a momentum of its own, sometimes running counter to the judgment and wishes of its leadership. At other times the boycott fire was fuelled by events and actions initiated within the movement or by the State in its responses to such initiatives, while events elsewhere in the country also provided an impetus to greater militancy. This infusion of new grievances, new issues and new participants not only kept the phenomenon going but also intensified the spiral of resistance and concomitant State counter-measures, so that 1985 witnessed dimensions not reached locally in 1976 and 1980. By the end of the academic year, after a gruelling five-month period of upheaval, the schools boycott had not been formally rescinded.

In its basic or skeletal structure, the boycott can be considered to have been built upon class and lecture stayaways, awareness and alternative programmes, rallies and marches, defiance of and confrontation with Education and State agencies, but also enmeshing with community and worker affairs and strategies.

In the event it is necessary to define the nature and scope of boycott features; the factors providing impetus and direction; the attempted responses; the recognisable implications and ramifications and finally, an evaluation

of the boycott-strategy. These aspects are not treated separately but are integrated with the description of the events. In like manner the participating organisations are identified and the events related to their respective ideologies - whether these are implied or stated.

This section does not attempt to chronicle the actions and events in sequential or even chronological order, but rather to examine such phenomena in a way which highlights the conflict between the (affected) People and the State. The educational boycott is thus evaluated in its social and political context. The gulf separating the contending parties, and which defines and demarcates the extent of cleavage, appears to be ever-widening and ever-deepening.

## CHAPTER 4

**Why Boycott?**

This year, 1985, has been bad. Educationists will remember it as the year in which the school system ground to a halt.

Weaver and Fakier (Cape Times 23:11:85)

There is obviously no unique reason or set of reasons for the institution of a large-scale schools boycott. There are occasions when a spark at a single institution causes a flare-up which spreads rapidly throughout the neighbouring school region e.g. the excessive use of corporal punishment at a particular school or the transfer or dismissal of a teacher for transparently political reasons. In 1985 the factors which were oft-cited as immediate or contributory causes included, inter alia, solidarity with other institutions (e.g. Eastern Cape schools), anger at the declaration of a State of Emergency in the Eastern Cape and Transvaal, security force actions, the banning of COSAS, and failure by the DEC to negotiate at critical times. (COSAS or Congress of South African Students, was formed in 1979 to organise black high school students. Together with NUSAS and AZASO it subscribed to the principle of non-racialism but recognised the need for separate organisations. COSAS shot to prominence in the 1980 schools' boycotts.) In schools for black pupils under DET control, factors such as the withholding of recognition from

democratically-elected SRC's, or age-level restrictions, provided a focus for short-term demands and a rallying-point for resistance (See Appendix 4: Demands/Grievances).

Notwithstanding the above, it is necessary to search for more deep-seated reasons. In describing pupils in DET schools, Wendy Fraenkel spoke of the 'political insight and awareness' displayed by pupils which resulted from their exposure to the 'hard realities of life (Evening Post 06:07:85)'. The same writer spoke of the greater militancy of high school pupils, compared with university students, and of their willingness to sacrifice a year of schooling, if necessary. Although not quantifiable, there certainly is a high level of awareness and political maturity on display within the ranks of DEC high school pupils in the Western Cape - a feature to which many parents and teachers testified after attendance at PTSA meetings in 1985. Thus Gerald Shaw, political commentator in a morning newspaper, could write of the 'coloured' community that 'their children, far better informed about national affairs than their white counterparts, are intensely politicised, have already been radicalised by the school-boycott movement ...' He saw today's youth as being 'less inclined to conciliatory, gradualist politics. (Cape Times 10:08:85)'. A PFP spokesman on education in the Cape Provincial Council, Mr J.van Eck MPC, referred to the 'depth of awareness and politicisation among black and

coloured pupils' as opposed to their generally 'uninformed and unaware white counterparts (Argus 23:09:85)'. All in all, school boycotts can be seen as both a cause and an effect of the politicisation and radicalisation of the young.

An examination of the 'hard realities of life' referred to above, discloses discrimination at two levels, namely, the great inequities and imbalances in the 'gutter education' provided via the schools - preparing pupils for unequal roles in society (See NUSAS pamphlet: 'The Darker Side of Apartheid Education': 1); and secondly, the lack of opportunities for personal and career advancement in what is perceived as a hostile society. Thus Morobe, Soweto student-leader of the mid 1970's, explained that the 'academic environment' with its adverse conditions, heightens the consciousness of students allowing them to 'draw out the political content' in their situation and 'linking it with the national democratic struggle (NUSAS, July 1983: 36)'. Boycotts, therefore, help draw attention to frustrations and grievances at both levels, whilst recruiting supporters for the cause of resistance. Under normal circumstances the young are encouraged and trained to identify with society, to honour and cherish its symbols and to protect and promote the common weal. In South Africa, within the ranks of the disaffected, there is an understandable lack of identification with, and alienation from the symbols of nation and society with

consequent feelings of resentment.

Several commentators have highlighted the intrinsic nature of education as a double-edged weapon. If the State feels justified in using education to suppress and control, can the oppressed not also use education to fight for democracy and freedom? (Webster, quoted in NUSAS, July 1982: 8). Morobe stated categorically that 'if it is in the interests of the ruling minority to have an ideological sway over people's minds ... through education ..., it becomes the peoples' interest to resist this (quoted in NUSAS, July 1983: 35)'. We are brought to the kernel of the matter, namely, boycott as an expression of resistance to an ideology. And since schools are used as the purveyors of the ideology, schools must, ipso facto, become sites of resistance. This is tantamount to saying that schools provide 'legitimate' locations for struggle and that progressive groups and individuals (pupils and teachers) should use such available space. A press statement issued by WECTU, the newly-formed organisation serving 'progressive' teachers, and with possible UDF-leanings, reminded teachers that they could not be neutral, and ended thus: 'As teachers, however, our primary site of struggle should be the school (Cape Times 15:10:85)'. Lesson and school boycotts thus become a tactic within the context of resisting an imposed ideology.

As an extension of the previous argument, it is clear

that schools are seen as the conduit for the ideology of the State. Alternatively, Bantu Education (and its parallels) is perceived as the channel via which the State wishes to achieve its goal of producing the "Eiselen man" - a docile, willing worker satisfied with his inferior station in life and bearing the stamp of Dr W.W.M. Eiselen, whose 1951 Commission Report breathed life into the Bantu Education Act (Act 47 of 1953). School boycotts highlight the 'crisis of legitimacy (Webster in NUSAS, July 1982: 8)' faced by this ideology which manifests its failure to socialise properly its products according to pre-determined goals and values. Boycotts are, in essence, a direct attack on 'Bantu', 'Coloured' and 'Indian' education as concepts, and pinpoint the lack of legitimacy of the authorities appointed to administer separate structures.

A member of staff at an affected institution in the Western Cape mused that 'protest and resistance are integral parts of South African society at present' therefore student protests, manifested by demonstrations and boycotts on school premises 'can be seen as an off-shoot of unstable conditions' (Educatio IX (3), 1985: 29). Perhaps school boycotts should be seen as something more integral to societal upheaval than a mere off-shoot. However, it has been recognised that students have become more sophisticated as leaders and now appreciate the relationship between 'organisation and leadership' on the one hand and 'spontaneity and consciousness' (NUSAS, July

1982: 21, quoting Evans) on the other. This represents growth from 1976 and 1980 and is reflected in the search for links with community organisations and trade unions thereby countering the drawbacks of a transient membership of student organisations. Whenever student leaders have identified strongly with 'radical' leaders in the adult world, then student politics and actions have become interlocked with community politics e.g. the active involvement of PTSA's in the issues of closure and final examinations.

An obvious question is raised by the previous thought: Is there some adult organisational input into schools boycotts? The government, in banning COSAS, accused the organisation of co-ordinating the schools boycott and unrest (Cape Times 29:08:85). The oft-repeated and simplistic explanation from the authorities is that 'trouble-makers', 'agitators' or 'intimidators' are responsible. Dr van der Ross, the then rector of UWC, in threatening to close the institution, felt constrained to warn that 'the majority of students wanted to work but were frightened and intimidated by a very small number (Cape Times 02:08:85)'. While this possibility cannot be negated entirely, it is revealing to note the students' response to the allegation of a pressure group besieging a compliant majority. According to PEYCO (Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, aligned to the Congress Movement) the decision to boycott is that of the pupils and not 'outside manipulators'. The spokesman admitted the

likelihood that older and more sophisticated pupils were 'motivators', but denied outside control. 'We are sufficiently aware of what is going on to grasp the issues at stake, and any decisions to boycott schools are our own', some pupils were quoted as saying (Evening Post 06:07:85). In similar vein, a local student-leader addressed a press conference at the end of November and said: 'They (the government) believe the students are incited by organisations like the UDF to boycott, but their system of education is not worth it. The students are thinking for themselves because we have come to realise that only we can set ourselves free. We can't wait for their education to set us free. (Cape Times 26:11:85)'. Behind the rhetoric lies a claim for student support for a student agenda.

A feature of the 1985 Western Cape boycotts which needs to be considered is the great number of institutions and the many thousands of pupils and students who participated. Pupils appeared to board buses voluntarily to attend rallies; they appeared to participate enthusiastically in marches; they appeared to be willing to place themselves in physical danger on - and off - school premises; many thousands appeared to be willing to make career sacrifices in continuing the class-boycott up to and beyond the examination period. The volume and intensity of participation seems to suggest a marked degree of voluntary association - whether for negative or positive reasons remains debatable. Having noted this,

it must be conceded that many students do belong to the youth wings of senior political organisations and must be expected to promote the objectives of the parent organisations; and secondly, that pamphlets in circulation and guest speakers at rallies often emanated from adult organisations.

Finally, as a contributory factor, note should be taken of the biological and emotional ages of student participants. Lazarus, a psychologist, says that the young have 'universal ambivalent feelings towards authority (Argus 28:09:85)'. There is a measure of adventure, bravado and heady excitement in class boycotts, rallies and marches executed to challenge authority, but these should dissipate in the presence of quirts, dogs or even live ammunition. In a way, boycotts are a demonstration of strength - strength of numbers and of unity as opposed to repressive decrees or fire-power - strength to thwart the plans of the opposing side. This was the message of 1985.

To the question: did the education boycott enjoy universal, immediate and continued support, the answer must be in the negative. The president of COSAS believed that 'a boycott itself cannot go on for as long as the education system is undemocratic and unequal. It must be used effectively and then be called off at the appropriate time, to be used at another time (Johnson quoted in SASPU Focus, Nov 1984: 27)'. As early as the

beginning of August, with the boycott still in its embryonic stage, UTASA, an umbrella teachers' organisation uniting regional 'coloured' teachers' associations, in its call for the trial or release of detainees - especially students and teachers - also warned that it could not accept 'that protracted schools boycotts were an effective way of conducting the struggle (Cape Times 01:08:85)'. Its affiliate body, the CTPA, in an editorial in its official publication, stated that 'apartheid must go. It can, however, not be expected of us to pay for its exit with the lives or careers of our children. That price is much too high to pay, especially when we know that immediate success is not guaranteed (Educatio X (1): 2)'. ADPA (Athlone and District Principals' Association) also encouraged pupils to return to classes as failure to return could only result in irreparable harm to their future careers (Cape Times 23:08:85)'. The principals were obviously concerned at the loss of schoolwork, but were also alarmed at the escalation of violence in the community. At student level, WECSAC deemed it necessary to call upon schools to obtain a mandate from pupils on whether to continue their boycott. It was reported then that at least ten schools had decided to resume classes (Cape Times 12:08:85).

Similar sentiments were expressed outside of the schools context. At an early stage, with their lecture-boycott two weeks old, a meeting of approximately 4 000 UWC students voted by overwhelming majority to return to

classes since to continue the 'ineffective boycott' would be 'academic suicide' and would present a 'threat to unity (Cape Times 13:08:85)'. At the same time black student groups at UCT decided to return to classes to 'consolidate gains', acknowledging that they lacked the resources to 'sustain a boycott of lectures (Argus 13:08:85)', and given the general weakness of organisation in the Western Cape. It is noteworthy that college of education students fulfilled their obligations in respect of block practice-teaching and the moderation of class teaching and oral work in the languages - all during the boycott period. An altogether different dimension was introduced by the Cape Action League (CAL) after detecting the possibility of cleavage between pupils, teachers and parents on the examinations issue. CAL, an anti-racist organisation campaigning for a socialist 'Azania', foresaw the boycott-instrument being blunted by disunity, and warned that a schools boycott, per se, could not 'on its own, solve the problem of poverty, hunger, ill-health, gutter education, and all the ills of the system of racial capitalism (Argus 17:10:85)'. Students should, therefore, view their interest in the wider context of the workers' struggle, and eschew disunity within the ranks at all costs.

In conclusion, the 1985 boycott yielded a number of rally-points around which ranks could be closed, new recruits gained, and energies and resources concentrated. However, it should not be seen as monolithic in nature or

development since it displayed the characteristic internal stresses and strains of any social movement.

#### DIRECTION AND IMPETUS

An episode such as the education boycott, extending over the period July - December 1985, cannot generate sufficient internal momentum to sustain itself, without infusions of fresh boosters to flagging spirits, especially in the face of substantial reasons for ending the boycott. Such fresh momentum may be premeditated and executed according to a plan devised within the movement for change, or it may be the result of external actions either consciously or unconsciously conceived and implemented. Either way, the student movement is given a new spur to action - new grievances emerge, new experiences are gained and new converts are won. More people become united around more pertinent issues much closer to home.

On several occasions during 1985 decisions were taken to return to classes but on as many occasions such decisions were either rescinded or just ignored e.g. the UWC decision by 4 000 students to resume lectures (Argus 13:08:85) or the later decision to write end-of-year examinations. In most cases an issue stood in the way of a return to normality or caused an immediate upset to such intentions. The 1985 boycott was characterised by

critical events such as the abortive Pollsmoor March, the consumer boycott, the closure of schools by edict of Mr C. Ebrahim, the Education Minister, and the Trojan Horse shootings. These critical events, according to Bundy (UCT Conference, July 1986), provided the students with 'new grievances, with first-hand experience of the state's repressive capacities and with heightened militancy'. Thus the event, and its aftermath, gave another twist to the spiral of 'anti'-sentiment and prepared the ground for a new level of action perhaps not previously thought possible.

The selection of critical events, described in Chapter 5, in greater or lesser detail, all yielded a significant impact upon the course and direction of the education boycott.

## CHAPTER 5

**Challenging the 'Old' and Constructing a 'New' Reality**

## RALLIES AND MARCHES (NON-SCHOOL BASED)

The month of August 1985 witnessed a growing resentment at the declaration of a state of emergency in thirty-six magisterial districts in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape particularly, but also at government policies and practices in general. A strong feeling prevailed that a mass voice was needed to articulate such resentment, and that practical steps should be taken to carry the message to the public and government alike. Thus several rallies were organised to muster support and to exploit whatever room was available for non-violent resistance. Such rallies were followed by, inter alia, poster-parades, picketing and street marches and were, inevitably, countered by police personnel using force to prevent 'illegal' gatherings or to disperse crowds.

Rondebosch Street Confrontation: The affluent suburb of Rondebosch, sedate and sequestered home to UCT, had a taste of township life when a running street battle erupted between protesting students and police early in August 1985. A mass meeting, planned by all student bodies and organisations on campus, and attended by approximately 2 000, voted overwhelmingly in support of a three-day boycott in protest against the State of

Emergency, and decided to hold alternative programmes during the lecture-boycott (Cape Times 07:08:85). On 8 August a memorial service for slain lawyer Mrs Mxenge, addressed by Dr Boesak, was held in Jameson Hall and attended by 2 000 UCT and UWC students. About 800 placard-bearing students embarked on a march from campus to the Groote Schuur residence of the State President. They were confronted by police near to the Baxter complex; sat down to signify peaceful resistance but were set upon by quirt-wielding police. The ensuing chase, arrests and injuries were not only recorded on film by a police video-unit, but were indelibly imprinted upon the minds of shocked onlookers. In the event, twenty-two students were arrested - including the president and three members of the UCT SRC - and several injured, including two with broken arms. The university authorities failed to secure the release of those arrested who were held overnight at Pollsmoor Prison pending later court appearances.

The vice-president of UCT's SRC commented wryly that students had marched in a spirit of peaceful resistance and while 'calling for an end to violence have been met by the violence of the State (Cape Times 09:08:85)', to which the divisional commissioner of police responded that the university authorities had been warned of an unruly element that needed to be controlled, failing which the police would 'enforce the law'. The UCT principal called upon students to 'act within the law at

all times' and upon the SAP to 'use maximum restraint in these difficult times (Cape Times 10:08:85)'.

The views of three observers/participants as outlined below, are indicative of the 'learning-content' of such public events. Dr Bertelsen, a UCT lecturer, in a letter to the editor of a morning newspaper, saw a message in the situation and referred to the 'consciousness-raising debate' which preceded the march as 'positively educative'. The lecturer described the forum as strictly non-racial and democratic - all positions being aired with equal respect and attention - a unique experience for students. It was a model of the type of national debate seen as the only solution to the country's problems (Cape Times 12:08:85)'. The SRC vice-president believed that police action was intended to 'teach a lesson' rather than to arrest and charge. 'However, an entirely different lesson was learnt than that intended. Students gained insight into why the ANC and PAC shifted to violence in the face of State violence to their passive resistance and defiance campaigns (Cape Times 14:08:85)'. [The ANC and PAC are senior organisations in the liberatory movement. Both previously espoused non-violent strategies, but are now banned within South Africa and operate from a position in exile. Each has a military wing i.e. Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo respectively.] The student-leader also highlighted the dilemma of young South Africans 'who are conscripted into an army to defend the poverty and injustice they so

detest', and also denied any input from an unruly element or left-wing radicals in the events. A resident from a local Black township, also in a letter to a morning newspaper, spotted the double-standards syndrome, and observed that not a single bird-shot, rubber bullet or teargas canister was fired in Rondebosch - a commonplace response when dispersing students in Black areas. He posed the question: 'could it be that in Rondebosch there are newly-born babies, sickly, chronic asthma sufferers, frail old aged?' or could it be that businesses would be 'disrupted by milling crowds seeking shelter?' The correspondent reminded readers: 'We also fall under the species homo sapiens (Cape Times 16:08:85)'.

It is interesting to note that a meeting was held on 9 August in Jameson Hall and attended by approximately 3 500 UCT and UWC students and high school pupils. Students leaving campus via the subway under Rhodes Drive, and students seeking shelter on the pathway alongside the rugby fields, were fired on with teargas canisters. A more serious clash was averted later in the day when the principal of UCT persuaded the police, armed with teargas, riot weapons, quirts, batons and dogs and supported by personnel carriers, not to advance on picketing students (Cape Times 10:08:85).

The Pollsmoor March: On 22 August Dr Boesak addressed a mass rally in Rylands, attended by approximately 3 000

pupils and students from the Cape Flats, Mitchell's Plain and Black townships, and spoke of a plan to mobilise students to engage in an act which would turn South Africa on its head. He appealed for discipline and loyalty to the cause. The next day he informed an Athlone press conference that several organisations would unite in a march upon Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of Nelson Mandela (Daily Dispatch 24:08:85). He emphasised that the march would be 'peaceful, non-violent and disciplined (Cape Times 24:08:85)', and appealed to the authorities not to provoke those who would participate. Two days later he confirmed that the march would take place because of community support and enthusiasm and in spite of a telephonic warning from the office of the Minister of Law and Order that the march was illegal and that the police would 'take stern action (Cape Times 26:08:85)'. The organisers were aware of the inherent dangers in the demonstration and of the State's probable response but went ahead for possibly three reasons, namely, the level of support from their own rank and file; the symbolic significance of the act within the tradition of resistance and defiance; the 'justness' of their cause in advancing an alternative value system.

On 27 August, Boesak, while en route from UCT to UWC, was detained and held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act which Dr van Zyl Slabbert, then leader of the official parliamentary opposition, described as 'part of the problem and not part of the solution (Cape Times

23:08:85)'. The authorities placed a ban on the march, on Athlone stadium as starting venue and on any other open ground within a five kilometre radius of the stadium (See Appendix 1, map 1B). From the early hours of the morning on 23 August police sealed off the stadium and blocked access routes. Students from UWC, wishing to travel to Athlone to link up with the march, were prevented by police from leaving the campus. Groups of people who gathered outside the stadium were dispersed by baton-wielding security forces and began to re-group in the grounds of Hewat College. A mid-morning crowd of approximately 300 grew to 4 000 by midday. Senior college staff kept a buffer strip between chanting, placard-bearing protesters and the police deployed in neighbouring Belgravia Road. Leaders reminded the crowd of the 'illegality' of the march and of the strong likelihood of a violent police response, but many in the crowd re-affirmed their determination to proceed as planned since they had taken leave from work in response to the leadership's call. A lady, in trying to introduce a note of rationality, referred to the inevitability of confrontation, and was given the chilling reminder that the 'the revolution goes forward on the blood of its martyrs' (personal observation). A group of clerics volunteered to lead the procession, not as an act of usurpation of leadership, but to demonstrate the peaceful nature of the march. Speakers advised the crowd to elect marshals to maintain discipline and avoid bloodshed, and suggested 'sitting-down peacefully' in the face of any

police action. Throughout, a police helicopter hovered overhead, even as the phalanx assembled four to five abreast. The snake-like procession, holding aloft enlarged photographs of Mandela, then wound its way out of the college grounds - young and old, men and women, black and white, rude and educated, boisterous and dignified - all resolute in their determination to face up to whatever lurked ahead. The atmosphere was charged!

But not for long. The rearguard had just turned into Kromboom Road when the vanguard was confronted by police at the foot of the road-over-rail bridge near Crawford station. The marchers, led by clerics and nuns, knelt to pray. The police order was given to attack with quirts. Stones started landing amongst the police who retaliated with tearsmoke. Very soon the marchers converged on the college grounds again, pursued by quirt-wielding police. A number of arrests were made including priests and nuns and nine pressmen covering the event, while several were injured. A priest was taken to hospital with a serious eye-injury. A hit-and-run exercise followed throughout the afternoon with police baton-charging protestors or firing rubber bullets and teargas canisters at demonstrators who sought shelter in the college grounds and buildings. The main college hall resembled an emergency clinic as staff and volunteer helpers washed welts and open wounds, or doused faces with fresh water to counter the effects of teargas inhalation. Amidst the bustle came repeated and harrowing cries for 'a pump, a

pump' - no doubt from asthmatics. Safe passage had to be negotiated with the police for those entrapped on college premises, while 'passing traffic' assisted in conveying the injured and hysterical to homes or hospital. It was not until after 5 p.m. that the day's events subsided. Earlier in the afternoon a similar march by UCT students and staff to demand the release of Mandela was broken up by police in Rondebosch.

Superficially, it appeared as though the security forces had succeeded in containing the situation by preventing the march. However, the level of anger and frustration unleashed by the brutal repression of a peaceful demonstration was unbounded. In widespread areas people took to the streets in hundreds, while stone-throwing, arson and looting took hold. By the end of the day twelve were reported dead; after the second day seventeen were reported dead and by Friday 30 August 'the death-toll had risen to at least 28 (including 4 school pupils), with a further 150 reported sufficiently seriously injured to be hospitalised' according to Hall (UCT Conference, July 1986). Essential services were disrupted as the local authorities found it necessary to close libraries, day-care centres, clinics, welfare and housing estate offices in many townships (Daily Dispatch 30:08:85). Security forces sealed off Guguletu, Manenberg and Mitchell's Plain but the uprising spread during the weekend and ensuing week (Argus 30:08:85). Armoured patrols became commonplace in the glass-littered

streets of the troubled townships. By the end of August police confirmed sixty-six arrests on various charges including arson and public violence, 130 vehicles and five buildings damaged in stone-throwing incidents, seven vehicles burnt-out and eleven cases of arson reported (Argus 30:08:85). Fire-engines could not gain access to troubled areas unescorted. The security forces reported several of their own number injured, mainly by stone-throwers. By the end of the following week, namely, 6 September, the DEC closed 464 schools and colleges because, amongst other reasons, it could no longer guarantee the safety of pupils.

This section has described two events, similar in some respects but very different in others, in order to establish the profile of a typical rally-cum-march. The aim has not been to chronicle all happenings, but to provide a basis for highlighting the implications and ramifications both socially and educationally. In this regard it is profitable to consider the cycle of violence described by Jacobs, consisting of the four elements: confrontation, provocation and over-reaction fed by thuggery (See Kevin Jacobs, 'Anatomy of Unrest', Argus Spectrum 06:09:85).

(An attempt has been made to interpret Jacobs' description and to illustrate the interacting elements diagrammatically. (See below.) No attempt has been made to introduce the contending parties into the

configuration, or to indicate the direction of flow of the arrows.)

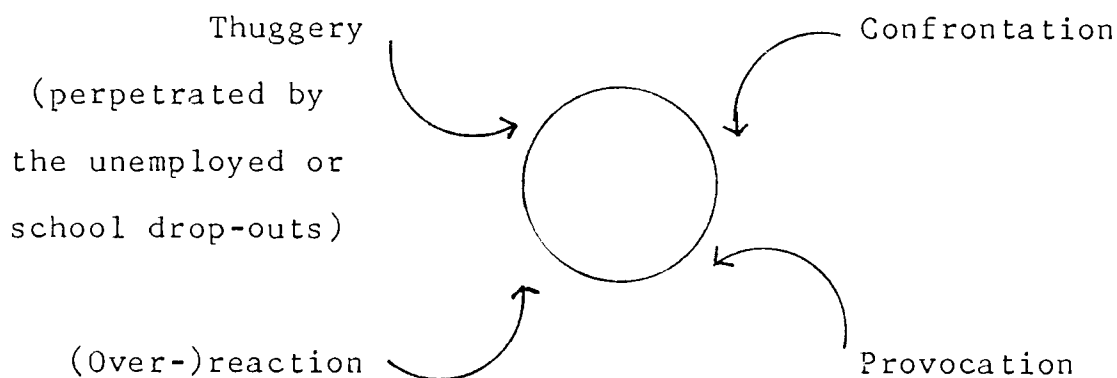


Diagram: Vicious cycle of confrontation, provocation and over-reaction fed by thuggery.

The immediate consequences of such events are self-evident, namely, fear and anger, destruction, injury and death. Other consequences, many ineradicable, have more far-reaching implications. Thus as civil disorder spills over from the hidden townships into the immediate world of more people, so bystanders or onlookers witness events, become outraged and thereby conscientised (See Jacobsohn, Business Day 25:10:85). House-holders whose suburbs are blockaded, or homes, churches or mosques invaded, whose houses and offices are permeated by teargas - even though unable or unwilling to articulate a political position - nevertheless query the authorities' denial of rights to peaceful protest, or the use of

excessive force. Some will become more politicised thereafter. On the other hand, the participants in such demonstrations - pupils, students and adults - perhaps already politicised, become radicalised and turned into activists with quirt-weals as badges of honour. Perhaps for many people issues become more clearly focussed as they despair of possibilities for peaceful change. A lecturer at UWC, who witnessed the police rebuttal of student efforts to leave the campus, opined: 'Brutal police action has united people in a common hatred of the coercive forces of the state (Argus 29:08:85)'. And what of the consequences for law-enforcement officers? They must surely become brutalised, and as people's attitudes harden towards them, must feel isolated and alienated. What then are the chances of bringing insight, tact and empathy to bear in sensitive situations, rather than a quick-fix vengeance?

The Cape Town City Council, via its mayor, spoke of a 'dark shadow hanging over the country and our city' and made an urgent appeal to the government to refrain from 'violent and provocative action' and to work towards a 'climate of reconciliation (Argus 29:08:85)'.

## THE CONSUMER BOYCOTT

## ATTACKING THE INFRA-STRUCTURES THAT UNDERGIRD APARTHEID

A consumer boycott of White-owned businesses was called for and implemented during August and extended through to December with a fluctuating, albeit arguable, degree of success. Of what interest and significance is such an event in an examination of an education boycott? A contributor to the Educational Journal, official organ of the non-collaborationist Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA), expressed himself thus, (although not referring specifically to a consumer boycott):

A very positive development today is that the limited-issue approach is no longer adhered to in sports bodies, civic bodies and labour organisations. In all these, the oppressed acknowledge the importance of a wider view of their task. They acknowledge limitations of achievement in their particular spheres of activity and see the need to participate in or encourage endeavour in parallel organisations. This outlook has to be transferred to the student layers so that their role may be transformed from one of reacting to events, to one of playing a continuous and constructive role in the mass movement towards freedom...  
... They (the students) must equip themselves with the ideas, ideology and strategies that will enable them to oppose, together with the adult oppressed in the organisations to which they belong those activities of the ruling class that seek to retard the liberatory struggle (Educational Journal LIV (4), Dec 1982: 4-10).

What are the reasons for instituting a consumer boycott and what aims are held in view by those propagating such action, especially during a time of economic recession as evidenced by retrenchment, unemployment, insolvencies;

and during a time of social and educational upheaval? Michael Acott, in dismissing economic sabotage as an objective, details one aim as a desire to concentrate the minds of white businessmen on the social, political and economic plight of their customers i.e. to constrain them to think of the impact of the State of Emergency upon the lives of those most directly affected; of the daily teargassing, whipping and even killing that is endemic in the townships; of the disrupted schooling of the young - all foreign features in the businessman's life and world which revolves 'normally' and without interruption. Whites in general, and businessmen in particular, are seen as beneficiaries of government policy, and perhaps even supporters (See Cape Times 14:08:85). Indeed, Dr Boesak, in addressing a Wynberg meeting attended by 1 000 supporters, accused 'white business' of 'keeping the apartheid machinery going (Cape Times 16:08:85)'. He believed that a consumer boycott of white businesses would help destroy apartheid. A few days later, at a similar-sized rally in Worcester, he accused the white business community of providing overwhelming support for the State, which in turn used revenue from the business sector to finance State action. He therefore favoured economic measures as a non-violent means of protest (Cape Times 19:08:85). Dr Boesak responded to the charge that a boycott of white business was essentially racist in character by accusing the English community of giving more support to the current head of government than to any of his predecessors. He denied their (English

business) claims to having always 'been in the forefront of the struggle for change (Cape Times 27:08:85)'. This theme was continued at a Rocklands (Mitchell's Plain) meeting, attended by 4 000, where Boesak emphasised that a consumer boycott would entail difficulties for the participants, but would show the government what the 'real power of the people was (Cape Times 21:08:85)'. He saw it as a powerful way to 'build unity in action'... and to show the government 'our determination to end apartheid (Argus 21:08:85)'. His colleague, Imam Solomon, addressing 1 000 anti-apartheid supporters at a residents' association (LOGRA) meeting in Grassy Park on the same night, warned parents that it was 'not enough to be anti-apartheid in attitude only' but to be active in supporting the boycott (Argus 21:08:85).

The Rocklands meeting adopted a resolution expressing support for current student action and the consumer boycott, but also demanding an end to the State of Emergency, the withdrawal of the SAP and SADF from the townships, and the release of Mandela and other detainees. The resolution thus provided a classic example of how student action was interwoven with community affairs and national political issues. A consumer boycott was perceived, therefore, to have two critical features in its favour:

- its function as an interlocking mechanism drawing in a wide spectrum of interest-groups and concentrating on a single line of action. In particular, it could

promote the assimilation of students into a community-based effort and make them aware of other sites of struggle and other (non-school) agencies for change;

- its ability to address three disparate audiences concurrently, namely, the victims of apartheid as the participants in the boycott; the beneficiaries of apartheid as the captains of commerce and industry and as influential forces within the electorate; the government, at all three tiers as ultimate custodians of the micro- and macro-economy.

### Taking up The Call

At the end of July, and at the beginning of their lecture-boycott, 4 000 UWC students decided to approach community organisations to institute a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in the Western Cape. Dr Boesak later addressed a meeting confirming the willingness of the WPCC (Western Province Council of Churches, an affiliate of the SACC) to consult with students and with community organisations to promote the project (Cape Times 31:07:85) which he considered to be far more meaningful than the peripheral demand for the dismissal of right-wing lecturers (Argus 31:07:85). A few days later AZASO, a UDF affiliate and sister organisation to COSAS, but representing black university students, called a meeting on UWC campus to which student and civic

organisations were invited to discuss, inter alia, a consumer boycott (Sunday Times 04:08:85).

The Mxenge memorial service at UCT was addressed by Boesak who urged students to organise themselves for meaningful non-violent opposition to apartheid, and informed them that the community had accepted with enthusiasm the idea of a consumer boycott (Cape Times 09:08:85). In the same week a statement issued jointly by fourteen organisations announced the start of a boycott on Wednesday 14 August of 'all shops owned by whites and government collaborators' - the latter group including community councillors, management committee members and MP's in the tricameral parliament (Cape Times 12:08:85). At the same time traders not affected by the boycott were requested to reduce prices and generally not to exploit shoppers - a plea endorsed by the Western Cape Traders Association (Cape Times 13:08:85). The signatories to the call included quasi-political, civic, religious, worker, youth and sporting organisations, thus securing a wide base at ground level. (See Appendix 5 for the list of signatories.)

When UWC students decided to terminate their lecture-boycott and return to classes their stated intention, according to the SRC vice-president, was to discuss strategies for the consumer boycott of white businesses (Cape Times 13:08:85). Running parallel to such calls, but at school level, were frequent summonses to high

school pupils to take up the cudgels. Thus on 7 August police confronted about 200 pupils from Bonteheuwel High en route to the local Civic Centre to discuss 'consumer boycotts of white businesses (Cape Times 08:08:85)'. The police used sjamboks in dispersing the pupils and arrested five who were to be charged with attending an illegal gathering. A week later a rally, involving several hundred pupils from seven schools in Mitchell's Plain met at Woodlands Senior Secondary to 'mobilise support for a consumer boycott (Argus 15:08:85)'. When Dr Boesak addressed a WECSAC rally of 2 000 students in Hanover Park he announced the radical decision of teachers and lecturers who would 'down tools' for two days in support of the students and the consumer boycott (Cape Times 17:08:85). With a segment of teacher support the issue became more firmly based as a schools issue as well. Momentum gathered and on 19 August about 1 000 pupils, supported by some teachers, gathered at Westridge (Mitchell's Plain) to discuss the consumer boycott, while as far afield as Worcester pupils took to the streets to 'persuade the community to support the boycott of white shops (Argus 22:08:85)'. The police used teargas and rubber bullets to persuade the pupils otherwise. Door-to-door canvassing, visiting homes to talk to housewives and to distribute pamphlets, became an effective means of soliciting support and making students active participants in the struggle.

Since official responses, even when correct and

appropriate, tended to feed fuel into the fire, it is necessary to examine some of these. The local (divisional) commissioner of police threatened 'intimidators' with 'firm action'. He conceded that a business boycott, per se, did not constitute a crime, but stressed that it was a serious offence to 'threaten, assault or even put fear' into the mind of any other person to induce them to support a consumer boycott (Cape Times 08:08:85).

Organised commerce, via the president of the local Chamber of Commerce, predicted the failure of the venture since the people to whom the calls were directed knew 'that the business community had been in the forefront of movements to eradicate apartheid in South Africa'. He cited some of the efforts made by the Chamber during the previous week (Cape Times 13:08:85; Argus 13:08:85). A week later he denied any signs of a boycott (Argus 20:08:85) but warned that in the event of a successful consumer boycott 'people will lose their jobs and families their income (Cape Times 20:08:85)'. His counterpart in the Tygerberg area warned that 'both consumer and retailer can ill afford this political exercise in the present economic climate (Argus 20:08:85)'.

This study is not required to appraise the success of the venture in economic terms, but to show only its relevance and significance in both the educational and social

upheaval experienced in the Western Cape in the latter half of 1985. The criteria for measuring success, therefore, have nothing to do with turnover, profits, losses and the like, but everything to do with the mobilisation of support and the raising of the level of awareness. Some success was achieved, even in unexpected quarters, with families making alternative shopping arrangements at considerable inconvenience.

Having considered non-school-based occurrences which drew in the support and involvement of sectors of the school community, it is now appropriate to describe and analyse a crucial, largely schools-based episode which eventually took on wider-ranging proportions, plunging the community into confrontation with the Education and other State authorities. The 1985 final examination, which unleashed a host of issues and confronted participants with an array of personal and career choices, commanded attention during the last quarter of 1985. It is appropriate to evaluate in detail the partial examination-boycott as a milestone event in the upheavals of 1985-1986.

## THE EXAMINATION: A CLUTCH OF DILEMMAS

## ATTACKING EDUCATION STRUCTURES AND AUTHORITY

'The boycott encroachment on examinations is giving a new dimension to the crisis.'

A school SRC representative (Cape Times  
16:10:85)

In general, events and episodes which extend over a protracted period are characterised by single milestone events which so dominate preceding and succeeding events that they can be regarded as turning-points or departure-points. These milestone events encapsulate the arguments and emotions consistent with the overall issues, and provide both impetus and direction to subsequent happenings. And so it is that the final examination, to end the 1985 academic year, became a milestone event in the four-month old education boycott. It is remarkable that a school pupil, quoted above, could foresee the added dimension presented by the examination crisis.

For those who were most directly affected by the class boycotts, i.e. pupils, teachers and parents, dilemmas or 'no-win situations' had become the order of the day. Each day thrust forth its own questions and choices, which had to be confronted, but for which no immediate and uniquely correct response was available. Thus a school mass meeting, needing to address a particular issue, would have to take decisions in respect of: should we react; what is the nature of an appropriate

reaction; what is the best tactical response...? Each pupil would have to accommodate himself/herself within these overall choices. And yet no amount of run-up experience could have prepared the participants for the enormous trauma born out of the examination issue. 'Catch-22' is perhaps too hackneyed a phrase and, therefore, wanting in impact. Suffice it to say that, regardless of the level at which previous decision-making took place, there was no uniquely correct response, valid for all, in these unprecedented circumstances.

Within this section, the dilemma confronting four categories of participants, i.e. pupils, teachers, parents and the education authorities, will be analysed. However, it is necessary to start with a brief summary of the reasons for the holding of examinations and the normal responses evoked by examinations. In this way the responses to the dilemma of the four categories listed above will be given a proper context.

### The Functions of Examinations

Robert Montgomery(1978: 10) states that examinations have qualities of versatility and frequently serve several purposes, but warns that in real life examinations have been viewed differently by different groups of people. The main purposes can be summarised as:

- providing an assessment of the work covered in school courses, which may also reflect the teachers' and the

schools' success;

- providing an assessment of pupils' capacity to do well in the future;
- providing a basis for the awarding of certificates and subsequent job selection;
- differentiating between people on the basis of performance;
- providing the student with an incentive to work (not easy to quantify);
- providing teachers with direction, since examinations tend to dominate the curriculum, and determine much of what is taught.

Pam Christie in The Right to Learn (1985: 144) says that examinations, like syllabuses, tell us a lot about the hidden curriculum of schools. So while DET avers that syllabus content, the examination system and hence certificates are equal for all population groups, these are the very areas of 'power and social control' (Christie, 1985: 145). The questions may rightly be asked: who determines the content of education; who administers and controls examinations; who issues certificates? The answers to these questions explain why perceptions are widely-held that examinations are used administratively for social and political control. Montgomery concedes that historically in England, State involvement in education led to examinations being used for administrative purposes, e.g. selection and training of staff for governmental service in the far-flung Empire

(Montgomery, 1965: 21).

A pupil, attending a mass rally at a Cape Flats school, questioned the likelihood of there being university places or job opportunities for examination-writers. 'The reality is that there are no jobs for us; white pupils with Std 8 certificates get jobs before those of us with matric certificates (Cape Times 09:10:85)'. This perception is traceable to political reality (job reservation on racial grounds) and to social practice in the post-job reservation era. The same view is stated as follows:

Inferior Education leads to inferior jobs. Because of job reservation, black people, although they have university or even high qualifications, they are no competition for whites.  
(Learning Roots, supplement to Grassroots, Sept 1985: 4, quoting a young letter-writer.)

Still perceiving examinations to be a State manipulative device, WECTU asserts that: 'The gross inequalities in our education system and such alarming failure rates are not the result of some unfortunate historical accident but are there, and remain there, by design. (Cape Times 15:10:85, quoting a WECTU paper entitled "The Political Economy of Education in South Africa".)' Again the questions: by whose design, and who holds the power to give effect to such designs? A committee of students and parents from the Peninsula townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu compiled a list of grievances and demands for submission to DET which stated, inter alia: 'The quota

system should be abolished (Cape Times: 22:10:85, Demand No 9)'. The quota system referred to here reflects the belief that only a predetermined number of students are passed each year. Finally: 'These examinations are not part of an educational process, but part of a political power game (Cape Times 23:11:85, quoting a teacher at an affected school)'

Thus, in keeping with the view of Montgomery that different groups of people perceive examinations differently, Pam Christie's reference to a hidden curriculum subject to administrative manipulation, and to the perceptions of pupils, teachers and parents in the affected community, another purpose for examinations should be added, namely:

- assisting governmental planning and control. Taking tertiary admissions as an example, control is effected through permits, a quota system, financial allocations and subsidies, and State bursaries.

#### Early Warnings of Potential Difficulties

A very early pointer to potential problems arising out of the year-end examinations was provided by the action of UWC's Rector in calling a special Senate meeting in late August to decide whether, inter alia, the end-of-year examinations would start as planned in mid-October (Argus 26:08:85). Dr van der Ross was

concerned about the 'emotional stress and anxiety' caused by the uncertainty in the situation. He expressed the hope that a way would be found for students to 'express their anger' yet continue their studies. His action re-inforces the belief that the year-end examination provides an incentive to students and a focus for their academic endeavours.

Another pointer was provided in Atlantis where pupil-action emerged at one local high school over an internal issue, i.e. the election and recognition of an SRC. When pupils at their neighbouring high school became aware of what was happening, even though they were in the midst of the September examination, they abandoned further writing of examinations in order to 'express solidarity with other students in the Western Cape' and to show 'support for the struggle (Dispatch 04:09:85)'.

On 6 September 1985, by ministerial edict (Minister of Education and Culture, House of Representatives), schools and colleges were closed throughout the Western Cape. This unprecedented act roused the immediate anger of the school community and community at large. The act was seen as punitive, and not curative, and therefore likely to induce a negative response, which could only be anti-authority. Significantly, the Minister, in announcing closure, also invited 'parents and teachers concerned about final examinations to

discuss the issue with him (Cape Times 07:09:85)'. He thereby clearly linked closure with the final examination. If the intention was to intimidate (or encourage) pupils on the one hand, while soliciting the support of elders (teachers and parents) on the other hand, it represented a complete misreading of the implications of closure for the community.

By the end of September pupils and students at the affected schools and colleges had been receiving little or no instruction for close on ten weeks. Yet there was still great concern about a return to classes in the new quarter, commencing on 1 October, and a concerted drive emerged to make up lost time. Pupils and teachers spoke freely of instituting extra lessons, lengthening the school day, utilising additional study aids, and using church halls and private homes for study groups in order to prepare adequately for the final examination. So when the Minister announced the re-opening of schools on 21 September, the principal of a city high school said that 'principals and teachers have made arrangements for extra lessons at alternative venues (Cape Times 21:09:85)'. Most of the special arrangements were geared towards matriculation candidates, encouraged no doubt by anxious parents who had important decisions to take in respect of applications for admission to tertiary institutions, for private and State bursaries, or for employment in 1986. But hope was replaced by despair when the

Minister announced a comprehensive ban on meetings of 'unrecognised teacher and student bodies' on school and college premises. A high school principal from Mitchell's Plain, assessing the effect of the ban correctly, and simultaneously expressing the consternation of many others, said that all examination preparation was 'put in jeopardy' by the ban (Argus 02:10:85).

The collective weight of these pointers caused many to realise that the schools were faced with an impending crisis, and voices of warning and appeal were raised. Thus the executive of the CTPA, a moderate, Cape-based teachers' organisation which favoured negotiations with the authorities, made a 'serious appeal to pupils to end the boycott, resume classes and write the final examinations', averring that boycotting pupils had made their point (Cape Times 11:10:85). This was followed by an appeal from Dr van der Ross who warned that young people faced 'incalculable harm' to their lives and careers if they did not write examinations (Argus 15:10:85). Both Dr van der Ross and the CTPA executive based their advice on future community needs for a responsible, educated and qualified leadership. In like vein, a civic association in Kuils River requested pupils to return to classes and to write final examinations, pledging at the same time to continue the struggle for a 'non-racial democratic South Africa (Cape Times 19:10:85)'. This was a timely reminder to

the young that they were not the sole agents for change, nor was liberation around the corner.

Contradictory voices were not mute. As early as the first week in October, and no doubt flowing out of closure and the ban on meetings which effectively neutralised SRC's, a meeting of schools' representatives reported that some schools had already decided not to write examinations (Cape Times 07:10:85). At this time too, the slogan 'Liberation now, Education later' or its variants, began to be heard at rallies and seen on placards, e.g. Groenvlei rally (Argus 08:09:85 and Cape Times 09:10:85). The slogan 'An injury to one is an injury to all' was as effective in mustering support for the non-writing constituency. However, a measure of uncertainty could still be detected. At a Belhar high school (No 2) where policemen had interrupted a school assembly to arrest eight pupils (Cape Times 04:10:85), a gathering of about 250 pupils and parents decided to form a PTSA and to discuss, inter alia, 'whether pupils should write end-of-year examinations (Cape Times 08:10:85)'. This pattern repeated itself in a wide variety of areas where meetings evinced clashes of interest. On the one hand, parents desired that children should write examinations while, on the other hand, regular police action in and around schools produced an inhibiting effect.

Matters were crystallised for many waverers by the 'Trojan Horse' incident where SATS Reaction unit members had shot and killed, ambush-style, three young pupils in Thornton Road, Crawford. The impact of this incident was immediate and conclusive, and sounded the death-knell for a trouble-free examination. WECTU reacted by stating that it was impossible for any pupil to prepare for an examination in the prevailing climate where 'innocent parents, students and teachers are being detained, arrested, killed and assaulted by brutal security forces (Cape Times 17:10:85)'. A spokesman for the Inter-regional Forum (IRF), formed in the wake of the dissolution and re-structuring of WECSAC, confirmed the assertion and said that the effect of the shooting was to develop an 'anti-authority' mood amongst pupils. The shooting, coupled with the intransigence of the unresponsive DEC, ensured that 'now more than ever before people are thinking of not writing examinations (Cape Times 17:10:85)'. It is clear then, that part of the anti-authority sentiment would be directed against the examining and certificating authority.

It needs to be stressed that nowhere was there evidence of opposition to an examination per se. Arguments ranged around the lack of academic preparedness in pupil ranks; the prevailing climate of teargassing and whipping, detention and shooting which was not conducive to mental and emotional preparedness; the

negative and provocative responses of a perceptibly hostile authority. Given these circumstances, it is not unreasonable to assert that postponement of the examinations to a negotiated date would have gone a long way towards avoiding the decision taken by ASAC that fourteen of its member- schools in the Athlone area, with Valhalla High in the Elsie's River area, would not write final examinations (Cape Times 22:10:85). This was followed shortly by twelve Mitchell's Plain high schools and subsequently schools in Cape Town central and other areas (Argus 22:10:85). Postponement would have acknowledged the place of examinations in the educational system, but would also have taken cognisance of the highly unfavourable circumstances then prevailing.

It will be profitable, and possibly revealing, to evaluate the words used to describe the impending examination by those pupils, teachers, parents and organisations who were opposed to the writing of examinations under the prevailing conditions. The descriptive terms are tabulated and analysed below (See Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1

CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION OF EXAMINATIONS	ORGANISATION/SPOKESMAN	SOURCE
1.	bizarre	WECTU	<u>Cape Times</u> 03:12:85
	charade	Pres: CTPA	<u>Argus</u> 16:11:85
	facade	Teacher	<u>Cape Times</u> 23:11:85
	farce/farcical	WECTU	<u>Cape Times</u> 26:11:85
		10 Students' Action Comm.	<u>Cape Times</u> 02:02:85
2.	mockery	Belhar teacher	<u>Cape Times</u> 03:12:85
		8 principals	<u>Argus</u> 19:11:85
	corrupt	155 community organisations	<u>Cape Times</u> 29:11:85
	fraud/fraudulent	WECTU	<u>Cape Times</u> 11:11:85
	immoral	20 community organisations	<u>Argus</u> 18:11:85
3.		155 community organisations	<u>Cape Times</u> 29:11:85
	anti-educational	WECTU	<u>Cape Times</u> 17:10:85
			<u>Cape Times</u> 11:11:85



It is neither the function nor the purpose of this study to impute motive to any or all of the participators, but merely to examine the likely impact of factors upon the perceptions and decisions of the actors. It is in this light that an interpretation is placed upon the descriptive categories listed above.

Category 1 suggests a pretence at, or non-portrayal of the real thing and, therefore, possibly a futile exercise.

Category 2 suggests a dishonest trick with intent to deceive; an act based upon impure motives.

Category 3 suggests a negation or diminution of universally accepted principles or objectives in education.

Category 4 questions the very legality of the examinations.

Categories 1 to 4 are arranged in ascending order of gravity with regard to implications for the contending parties.

Category 5 relates simply to the physical ordering of the examination, namely, the organisation which is so vital to the successful and meaningful completion of the exercise.

Category 6 in unassorted form, details the descriptive terms used in relation to the DEC's decision to proceed with the examination.

It must be assumed that the descriptive terms were chosen and used advisedly; that they reflect accurately the sentiments of the person or organisation, not all of whom can be regarded as 'radical' or 'antagonistic'.

It is imperative then, when considering the dilemmas with which participants were confronted, that the examination per se should be temporarily separated from influencing factors such as emotional and psychological stress, family tension and conflict, physical danger and career implications. It should then be viewed in terms of the perceptions categorised above.

The Students' Dilemma: To write or not to write examinations

To exemplify the quandary of pupils, the respective assessments of an educationist, an educational psychologist and a psychologist are quoted below:

'The students are caught in a paradoxical situation. They wish to continue to attend classes and to write and pass their examinations, but they also long to support political action, in the hope that such action will bring about the liberation of the Black people. It is an agonising dilemma.'  
(Educatio X (1) 3rd Qr 1985: 20, quoting R.Peteni, President of ATASA)

'There can be no question that they are going through extreme emotional distress. And while what they are addressing are very real issues of equal education and political rights it disturbs me as a psychologist that children are having to take on this adult responsibility. Adolescence according to western norms is a time of finding and groping for identity, not a time to be forced into one'

(Weekend Argus 28:09:1985 quoting Dr David Donald, UCT Dept of Education)

'The children are in a situation of extraordinary conflict and having to make a decision with responsibility far beyond their years and with no decision being clearly the right or wrong one.'

(Weekend Argus 23:11:1985 quoting Ann Levett, UCT Psychology lecturer)

Although Peteni, as president of ATASA, was thinking particularly of children in DET schools, yet he was addressing a CTPA audience so that his words can be taken to have relevance within DEC schools as well.

#### In support of writing examinations

It can be accepted that any pupil wishes to proceed from one standard to the next in successive years. The prospect of failure and consequent repetition of a year has little attraction for almost all pupils. For pupils in their final school year in 1985 the prospect of success meant the culmination of a ten-year or twelve-year period in primary and secondary schools. Joining the adult world was imminent and appealing. Thus the promotion and school-leaving aspects would have provided strong motivation for writing. Conversely, for many students the prospect of failure was coupled with enforced school-leaving, a concomitant of poor domestic and financial circumstances, thereby swelling the drop-out rate of unqualified or uncertificated job-seekers.

The Senior Certificate examination performs several

functions, one of which is to accord 'matriculation exemption' status for university entrance. It is also used as a basis for selection of candidates seeking admission to technikons and colleges of education. For those students seeking entrance to institutions offering education and training beyond the school phase, writing was of paramount importance. In many cases, post-school educational careers could be advanced only where substantial bursaries and grants were available, which implied writing and performing creditably. This was especially true for school-leavers who wished to enter the service professions e.g. teaching and social work, where State bursaries are almost universally available.

Commerce and industry pay close attention to school qualifications. For certain types of employment a Junior Certificate or Senior Certificate with specific subject combinations is required, e.g. apprenticeships, draughtsmanship and secretarial work. Level of schooling can determine wage and salary structures both on the beginners' rung and subsequent levels. Thus passing or failing a school examination can determine job-accessibility and level of earnings - both vital considerations in a depressed economy characterised by retrenchment and unemployment.

It is possible to read all of these considerations into the words of a group of students writing the Senior Certificate examination at Goodwood Showgrounds, namely,

they had decided to write the examinations because their 'future was at stake (Argus 06:11:85)'. There were also those who believed that within the realm of personal freedoms they had the right to choose the option best suited to their circumstances or in keeping with their beliefs and principles.

It would be repetitive to highlight the coercive role of parents since parental concern would have centred on the considerations set out above.

It is necessary, however, to examine the coercive effect of departmental announcements, illustrating the power of the 'stick-and-carrot' approach. Thus the very insistence of the DEC that examinations could not be postponed would have persuaded some wavering candidates to write. Similarly, the respective announcements by the Executive Director that examinations had to be completed within the 1985 school year or pupils would not be promoted (Argus 19:10:85); by the Ministers' Council chairman that only pupils who wrote and failed matriculation would be allowed to write supplementaries in February 1986 (Cape Times 21:10:85); that non-writers would not be allowed to return to school and that State bursary recipients would be required to repay the full amounts of such bursaries (Cape Times 23:10:85); or that the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) would be asked to relax exemption requirements for writers (Argus 12:11:85), all focussed on re-admission, supplementaries

and money as motivating factors, and would have convinced some doubters.

In support of not writing examinations

Foremost among causative factors here was the issue of lack of preparation on academic grounds. In support of this contention it should be noted that at certain schools, where the class boycott had begun in late July, teachers had covered work projected for the first half-year only and had scant opportunity for formal instruction in the second half-year. This period was characterised by class boycotts, awareness programmes, demonstrations, poster parades, pickets, marches, rallies and sallies into the community to inform parents of, and solicit support for, a consumer boycott. Teaching time was further curtailed by departmental closure of schools on 6 September. The period of closure - a full fortnight - became critical in the demand for postponement of examinations.

The issue of lack of preparation also revolved around the absence of an atmosphere conducive to proper study and preparation. Twenty community, professional, business and sports bodies emphasised this point in a joint statement which said, inter alia: 'Very little preparation for the examinations has taken place. An atmosphere not conducive to academic work prevails... (Argus 18:11:85)'. The unfavourable climate referred to here prevailed within a school context and within a

broader community or social context where a State of Emergency, declared on 26 October 1985, gave testimony to unsettled and unstable conditions. The Cape Times said that 'students cannot concentrate because every day something happens - arrests, door-to-door searches in their areas...(Cape Times 23:11:85)' coupled with teargassing, beatings, detentions (including pupils and teachers) and killings. Each day's published death-toll showed an increase, while 'community funerals' - including the three victims of the 'Trojan Horse' killings - accentuated the distraction and diversion of students' energies from examination preparation.

Contiguous with academic preparation is the concept of psychological preparation whereby mental and emotional faculties are activated in a mutually supportive role. Under normal circumstances many candidates find examinations to be a stressful experience and show under-achievement in terms of academic potential. Ideally then, an examination should be held in an atmosphere free from extraneous stress-producing factors - a requirement not fulfilled in the conditions of 1985.

Individual pupils were faced with internal or personal conflict (career interest versus political liberation); peer-group conflict (writers versus non-writers, some of the latter having been detained, arrested, injured and even shot, as in the Trojan Horse incident); family-conflict when the wishes of the child were not in

accord with the parents' wishes) et al. In the last instance, much distress was evident in homes where normally obedient and respectful children rebelled against parental advice on the examination issues, or they yielded sullenly and suffered concomitant stress. In addition to such feelings of guilt, were feelings of fear and anxiety concerning personal safety, family safety and security of property - all of which were perceived to be at risk especially since there were verbal and written threats or 'warnings of likely consequences'. There was also tension born out of uncertainty as to whether the examination would be held or not; frustration and despair at the twin prospects of failure and unemployment or rejection at tertiary institutions. Thus pupils experienced great difficulty in mustering sufficient resources of energy, stamina and will-power to spend long hours in preparation for an examination which they opposed and hoped or foresaw would be postponed.

Teachers, headmasters and psychologists testified to the manifestation of symptoms of disturbed emotions (Levett in Argus 23:11:1985), namely, lack of concentration, confusion, inconsistency, tearfulness, hysteria, depression and, ominously, aggressive behaviour. 'As an outlet for political anger you see a lot of violence in the classroom. There has been systematic wrecking of classrooms, the kids fight each other at break ... Blackboards are ripped down, there are no light fittings

left, doors are kicked in, desks are wrecked, fire hoses get dragged into the classes and the floors flooded ...(Cape Times 23:11:85, quoting a teacher)'. While it is not claimed that the quote reflects a generalised situation, it does, nevertheless, illustrate the symptoms of emotional disorder at some of the affected schools, and confirms the assertion that pupils were emotionally and psychologically ill-prepared for a major examination.

The presence of the police and the army on school premises, or at examination venues, presented a major stumbling-block to many pupils who would otherwise have written, but who feared physical violence or objected on a matter of political principle. At a time when one of the oft-stated demands of pupils and community organisations was for police and troops to be removed from the townships, it was incredibly difficult for pupils to feel morally justified in writing under the protection of the forces. Thus MPSAC (Mitchell's Plain Students' Action Committee), representing about 560 matriculants resolved, with the concurrence of parents, not to write final examinations at military bases and not while the police and army 'harass teachers, parents, students, pupils and community leaders (Argus 25:10:85)'. The question of safety from the law, and not under the law, as is customary, became crucial. Pupils' and parents' perceptions of the role of the police and army were shaped by incidents of forced entry into school grounds and premises; questioning and detention of pupils

and teachers - sometimes taken out of classrooms; searching of classrooms and storerooms; patrols by armoured vehicles such as Casspirs and army Buffels in and around school grounds. A critical point was reached when police arrived at a school before the commencement of an examination and ordered all the pupils into their classrooms. Some pupils objected to writing under surveillance, although 'the majority wished to write (Mercury 08:11:85, quoting an acting-principal)'. Police then surrounded the school; there were acts of stone-throwing and vandalism, and the entire school population was arrested and taken to the nearest police station. After questioning all were released except eighteen, who were held under the Emergency Regulations. The impact of this incident was decisive for many pupils and parents, some of whom vowed not to send their children back to school. There was a wider rippling effect throughout the community.

It is a truism that in the analysis of human behaviour no act can be viewed in isolation but must be seen in relation to other impacting events. It can be accepted, therefore, that many non-writers were persuaded in their thinking by decisions taken at other institutions and departments of education. Locally, UCT granted deferment on application to approximately 500 'township' students; UWC postponed the entire 1985 end-of-year examination to January 1986 with Peninsula Technikon following suit. Nationally, and therefore applicable in the Western Cape.

DET announced that black matriculation candidates could choose to write in May 1986 in lieu of the November 1985 examinations. The combined impact of these separate decisions gave weight to the argument of precedent and the sympathetic handling of sensitive issues. The determination to press for postponement was thereby reinforced.

Finally, a significant number of individuals wished to make a political response to the 'politics' inherent in the whole situation. Thus one pupil, reportedly echoing the sentiments of thousands of others said: 'It's worth giving up education and taking a stand for change'. His father was reported as saying: 'I'd rather my child graduate from slavery to liberation than from one grade to another(Cape Times 12:11:85)'. Also, a pupil representative, addressing a press conference, said that 'their system of education is not worth it ... we realise that only we can set ourselves free. We can't wait for their education to set us free (Cape Times 26:11:85)'. These sentiments, re-echoed those voiced by a UWC gathering, at which it was decided not to write final examinations because the 'political and educational crisis bound us to stand together as one and pay whatever price (Argus 24:10:85)'. Thus the long line of controversial decisions and actions by the education authorities e.g. closure of schools and colleges, banning of meetings of SRC's and certain teachers' organisations, refusal to grant postponement of examinations, were

perceived as political in origin and nature, and engendered a political response regardless of consequences.

Such then were the proportions of the dilemma confronting young adolescents who were not necessarily equipped mentally and emotionally to handle the situation.

The Teachers' Dilemma - to administer or not to administer examinations

'We have a duty to the department, but we have a greater duty to the children, because without them we would not be teachers.' (Cape Times 23:11:85)

The statement containing the words quoted above, emanated from a school where teachers had refused to administer examinations, and sums up cryptically the dilemma which faced teachers at secondary schools affected by the boycotts.

Four factors need to be highlighted here, one of which describes a shift in emphasis while the remaining three come to the core of the teachers' dilemma.

Firstly, the Senior Certificate (or Standard Ten) examination is a culminating event in a twelve-year school system. Traditionally the examination is wholly external (with minor exceptions in practical subjects) i.e. question papers are externally set and moderated;

examination sessions are supervised by external invigilators (e.g. ministers of religion, retired teachers, housewives); scripts are marked by external examiners and sub-examiners and results are processed externally. Teachers have no role to play in the examination per se beyond the stage of preparation of candidates, so that teachers had no personal decision to take in respect of the 1985 SC examination. Also, where normally use is made of classrooms or school halls as examination venues, in 1985 the DEC secured 'inaccessible venues' off school premises for external examinations only.

In contrast with the above, examinations at the standard six to nine level are wholly internal with class or subject teachers being responsible for the setting of papers and marking of scripts and supervising or invigilating examination sessions. This is followed by the compilation of mark schedules in preparation for promotions which are decided upon by the principal and circuit inspector; thereafter teachers prepare reports for transmission to parents. Teachers thus play a central role, and it is this crucial role which in 1985 raised questions of loyalty. Can loyalty be meted out in such a way that equilibrium is maintained? If not, are there 'greater' and 'lesser' loyalties or is there one loyalty, first and foremost? Is this loyalty towards one's charges?

The teacher's duty to the children stands uncontested but raises the difficulty of determining how best to serve the interests of those young charges. In 1985 many teachers felt the call to be protective of the pupils' immediate and future interests, knowing intimately the circumstances of the home environment. Thus in responding to the DEC's refusal to postpone examinations WECTU warned that 'thousands of students from working-class families' would be forced 'on to the streets and the cheap labour market (Cape Town 17:10:85)'. All in all, the pointers which were presented as pragmatic but pivotal to the students' dilemma would have been critical in the teachers' thinking as well.

It can be expected that some teachers would have sought guidance from a more generalised student voice e.g. a stance taken by a representative body. The resolution adopted by the Inter-regional Forum (IRF, claiming to represent eighty schools in the Peninsula, Paarl, Worcester and outlying areas) could be seen as decisive, namely, 'We have democratically decided, and have been mandated by thousands of students that, as students of the oppressed and exploited community, we will not write any examinations (Cape Times 28:10:85)'. Teachers who viewed themselves as being progressive, would have balked at the prospect of being accused of reneging or 'scabbing' on such a decision. Conversely, a segment of teachers saw the decision to boycott classes as a pupil-decision. Therefore, if pupils elected to write the

examination it was incumbent upon teachers to allow them to exercise this option.

The second duty, also uncontested, is in relation to the Department. This is underscored by the CTPA in its call upon teachers to continue as 'professional educators (Cape Times 11:10:85)'. Significant in the context of this study is that the teacher is an employee of the State through the Department of Education and Culture (House of Representatives) - one chamber of the tri-cameral parliament, at present dominated by the Labour Party. In a sense some teachers perceived or construed 'duty to the department' as allegiance to a political party. The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr C. Ebrahim, seemed to have grasped this point hence his assertion: 'I am satisfied that any teacher conscious of his or her calling will not allow any personal political considerations to interfere with the task ... to prepare the children ... for the final examination (Cape Times 10:10:85)'.  
)

Regulations governing the duties and functions of teachers have been promulgated under Act No 47 of 1963 and subsequent amendments. The same Act specifies failure to comply as misconduct and enumerates various kinds of disciplinary action which can be meted out to errant teachers. These considerations were uppermost in the minds of teachers. A principal was quoted as saying: 'If we delay the examinations in defiance of the

department we face suspension or possible dismissal (Argus 19:10:85)'. To this list could have been added: transfer, docking of salary and other dire consequences. In an atmosphere heavy with rumour, there were whispered threats of withdrawal of housing subsidies or loans, and cancellation of bursaries for extra-mural studies.

The third consideration of loyalty hinges on the teacher's membership of a community. On the same day as the IRF decision was published, two other statements were issued by teachers' bodies. The Peninsula African Teachers' Association PENATA, in supporting the decision of Black students not to write examinations said that it (PENATA) was 'part and parcel' of the Black community and that members were compelled by their consciences to 'work and suffer' with the community they served (Cape Times 28:10:85). If the community believed that examinations were inappropriate since pupils were not given a fair chance to excel, then teachers would have to align themselves with this decision. PENATA felt justified in taking this stance as the grievances and demands of the pupils, carrying the support of parents, had not been met. Simultaneously, WECTU, in condemning 'military-style' operations by the police and army on school premises, called upon teachers not to administer the standards six to nine examinations. 'We believe that the date for the examinations should be determined in consultation with the broader community of parents, teachers and pupils (Cape Times 28:10:85).' The same

body, in condemning the visit to the State President by the heads of three local tertiary institutions, said that the State should respond to the voice of 'democratic student, parent and teacher organisations' and not to people who had not been 'mandated by the community at all (Cape Times 11:11:85)'.

Such then was the quandary of teachers, faced with teacher-pupil obligations, personal-professional considerations and adult-community loyalties. Compounding the dilemma even more was the constant doubt about the validity of the examination as an authentic educational instrument. The enforcement of the examination by what was perceived as an unresponsive department, aided by law-enforcement agencies, assailed the professional integrity of teachers (Lautenbach, quoted in Argus 23:11:85).

The UDF, an umbrella-body incorporating a wide range of anti-apartheid community organisations, and active in extra-parliamentary politics, described teachers who refused to administer examinations as 'responsible educators' deserving of unconditional support. It saw the teachers' stand as indicative of their concern for the 'type and quality' of education pupils were receiving. It predicted that 'people in our community will appreciate the actions of such teachers (Argus 28:11:85)'.

The Parents' Dilemma - to coerce or not to coerce pupils

It is essential to examine the parents' dilemma since parents as a bloc form one element in the pupil-teacher-parent triune. However, parents and school-going children form a close entity within the family context so that the considerations which were of paramount importance to pupils would obviously have weighed equally heavily upon parents. Such considerations need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that all parents want advancement for their children and that many parents were shaken by the slogan 'Liberation before Education' or 'Liberation now, Education later'. With the experience of approximately forty years of entrenched apartheid-rule, and with constant reminders that the present government had not yet begun to use the powers at its disposal, parents were alarmed at the prospect of children abandoning schooling and education altogether. With what end in view? Regrettably, elders were not in a position to use experience or patience as persuasive arguments - these merely invited the retort that 'if you had resisted when you were young we would be free today'. Reference has already been made to the deep hurt experienced by some parents at the 'defiance' of otherwise acquiescent children who saw themselves as first-generation participants in the struggle.

Aside from the overriding desire of parents to secure

their children's advancement, two other decisive factors need to be aired - both based upon a sense of grievance, denial and deep outrage. Thus the role played by the police and army in and around school premises and in the community at large - with detentions, arrests, beatings, whippings, shootings, teargassing as common knowledge within the affected communities or reported upon in the daily press - was crucial, together with the unresponsiveness and apparent intransigence of the DEC. The Department was seen as being governed not by matters of educational concern, but by 'political gamesmanship', 'face-saving' and point-scoring - all at the expense of thousands of young lives. To many parents then, this sense of outrage evoked a strong desire to make a political statement and to possibly hasten the demise of an unwanted system (See Appendix 6). Could an examination boycott perform this task?

It is often necessary to trace a problem or a response back to its roots. Traditionally and historically the Western Cape has embraced, both as a principle and a policy, the concept of non-collaboration whereby the 'oppressed' eschewed any contact with the 'oppressors' and their machinery for oppression. Several organisations, whose message antedated the arrival of the Nationalist party in 1948, carried this concept and practice into the community, and included the TLSA and NEUM (Non-European Unity Movement, comprising mainly intellectual radicals committed to forging a black united

front against segregatory measures), among others. The well-known anti-CAD campaign opposed vigorously the introduction of a separate department of state to oversee 'coloured affairs' of which education was but one aspect. The present 'Own Affairs' Department of Education and Culture draws its lineage from the excision of 'coloureds' from the body politic in South Africa, and the establishment of a separate directorate of education in the 1960's. It is a natural heir to the spirit of resistance since it is perceived as an agency of the oppressive regime. It was not unexpected, therefore, that the politicisation of the examinations issue should evoke a non-collaborative response. Withholding of candidacy and withholding of services (including members of the community at large who withdrew as external invigilators) can be viewed in the mould of non-collaboration and boycott.

Finally, a noteworthy feature was the resurrection of long-held suspicions and resentments. The anti-ethos, characterised by misgivings, mistrust and antagonism, which preceded the establishment of a separate Coloured Affairs Department in the early 1960's, has continued throughout this decade. When in 1970 the CAD became a separate examining authority, replacing the provincial education departments, there was vehement opposition within the community. There were strong suspicions that ideologically conceived separate examinations represented another device for educational debasement since separate

examinations could only mean different certificates with unequal status and worth. Suspicions were not allayed by the supervisory or co-ordinating role of the JMB; from the outset the 'legitimacy, validity and standards of the examination were regarded as suspect (Herman, quoted in Educatio IX (3) 2nd Qr 1985: 23-25)'. Matters were not helped by constant rumours of examination leakages, culminating in the events of 1981 when no fewer than seven papers had to be re-written because of confirmed leakages emanating from within the Department (three each in Afrikaans Higher and English Lower respectively, and one in Biology Higher Grade). Then too, the annual media-coverage of SC results over the Christmas-New Year holiday period did little to bring good cheer, but re-inforced suspicions and evoked strong emotional reactions. The stark reality of the inequities in education were crystallised in statistical language: numbers of candidates, passes/failures, university exemptions, A-aggregate, et al, as applied to the respective education departments. (See Appendix 7, Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4.) It was this package then, that was being forced upon unwilling recipients.

Whose wishes should prevail then: the parent as the guardian of the child's welfare or the child as the recipient of 'gutter education (Cape Times:09:10:85)'?

### Calls for Postponement

In view of the extreme anguish experienced by all parties to the examination crisis, and in view of the proportions and insoluble nature of the dilemma confronting such parties, it was not surprising that calls for postponement emanated from a wide variety of individuals and organisations. Some of these calls were made publicly, while others were transmitted via petitions, written applications, delegations and deputations. The calls were generally well motivated and based on sound educational grounds e.g. the curtailed school year, restricted opportunity to complete syllabuses and to conduct effective revision programmes, failure to produce a meaningful cumulative year-mark, as well as focussed on the generally hostile social environment. This was characterised by unremitting and escalating violence in the residential and school areas, and a partial State of Emergency in specified magisterial districts. Appropriately strong emphasis was placed on the ineradicable scarring influence which an unsympathetic response would have on the lives and careers of young people, on the educational system as such, and on the future progress of the community as an entity.

The IRF, which replaced the disbanded WECSAC as a co-ordinating and decision-making body for student affairs (See Argus 14:11:85) made a call for, inter-alia, examinations to be postponed as a pre-condition for any

return to classes (Cape Times 12:10:85). School pupils were thus acting in concert with tertiary students e.g. college students via their newly-established representative body NTISO, or UWC and UCT students from the townships who had made representations to their respective authorities for postponement or deferment of examinations (Cape Times 23:10:85).

Similar requests were directed to the education authorities by the CTPA (Argus 04:11:85), WECTU (Argus 18:11:85), UTASA (Argus 18:11:85) while a group of concerned principals presented a plan for the completion of the 1985 school year and the writing of final examinations in March 1986. These steps followed on an earlier deputation to the Executive Director by forty-four principals who had sought a two-week postponement from DEC (Argus 16:10:85). The representations of the organised teaching profession and other concerned practitioners were to no avail.

As a last-ditch rescue act, the heads of UCT, UWC and Peninsula Technikon sought an audience with the State President, possibly to avert a crisis with first-year admissions in 1986, but probably also out of concern for the observable breakdown in education. The delegation of three met with the State President in Pretoria on 11 November. He was attended by the Ministers of National Education and Law and Order respectively, and the Chairman of the Ministers' Council and Minister of

Education and Culture in the House of Representatives. The delegation's mission was fruitless, and they were reminded that the State President 'did not prescribe to the Ministers' Council - Own Affairs (Argus 12:11:85)'. Politics appeared to have triumphed over education and public order.

Appeals also went out from community bodies. A spokesman for the revived NUM (New Unity Movement, successor to the NEUM) spoke of a need for co-operation between parents, pupils and teachers 'to compel the authorities to postpone examinations (Argus 23:11:85)' which they said had already become an 'awesome reality' and 'academic fraud'. Already, a few days earlier, a statement issued by twenty community, professional, religious, business and sports bodies spoke of agreement between pupils, parents and teachers on the need for postponement of examinations to March 1986. It said: 'The present crisis in education affects the whole community ... There is agreement among all parents, pupils and teachers in the Western Cape that it is educationally fraudulent to expect students to write examinations in the present circumstances (Argus 18:11:85)'. In similar vein, a joint statement by 155 signatory bodies reiterated the call on the authorities 'to accede immediately to the demand for examinations to be held in March 1986 (Cape Times 29:11:85)'.

Voices which were raised by individuals and organisations

outside of education and outside of the affected community included newspapers, political parties and religious groupings e.g. the Cape Council of the Jewish Board of Deputies (JBD) strongly urged the authorities to allow pupils to write re-scheduled examinations, saying that there were 'sound educational, financial and humanitarian reasons for allowing pupils to write (Cape Times 29:11:85)'. The calls proved barren.

The year ended with a threatened appeal to the Courts to intervene 'in the interests of the pupils and in the interest of education (Argus 02:12:85, quoting F.Sonn)'. The CTPA, in alliance with other parties, issued a seven-day ultimatum to DEC to grant permission for examinations to be held in March 1986, failing which a Court injunction would be sought compelling DEC to comply. The CTPA proposed that all pupils in standards six to nine be allowed to write or re-write in March, and that all matriculants, i.e. those who did not write as well as those who failed, should be granted supplementaries. It correctly emphasised that examinations had taken place under extremely adverse conditions; were based upon uncompleted syllabuses, and that mark-adjustments would not obliterate the gap in pupils' grounding which would lead to floundering in the next standard.

In conclusion, it is noteworthy that pressure for postponement was not influenced by the enforced

commencement of examinations i.e. pressure did not abate during the examination period nor did it cease after the completion of the programme. This is indicative of the intense emotions evoked by the whole issue. In effect then, the sustained demand for postponement became a demand for re-scheduling and eventually for a second-round of examinations to accommodate all categories of students, namely, non-writers and writers whose performance fell far below par.

#### The DEC Decision on Examinations, 1985

Three clearly distinguishable elements were contained in this decision:

1. No postponement would be allowed. Examinations had to be written and there would be no promotion of pupils except on the basis of final-examination results (Argus 19:10:85, quoting the Executive Director of Education). This stipulation answered unambiguously the ripple of suggestions that year-marks could serve as an alternative criterion for promotions. It also reflected official thinking that there was no guarantee of postponed examination dates being honoured by students.
2. External and internal examinations would be approached separately. External (or Senior Certificate) examinations would be held at 'inaccessible venues

(Rapport 20:10:85)' e.g. Cape Showgrounds and the SA Cape Corps military base at Faure. Armed guards would patrol the gates and grounds and Departmental personnel control the conduct of examinations. Transport would be provided between the examination venues and the allotted schools. In this way venues would be made inaccessible to potential disruptors and candidates could be assured of physical safety for the duration of each session. By contrast, internal examinations, i.e. standards six to nine, remained the sole responsibility of the principal and staff and would be held on school premises.

3. Examinations would be based on the full-year's work as prescribed in the syllabuses for each standard i.e. all aspects of each subject would be examined regardless of whether the work had been covered or not. Thus pupils would be tested not necessarily on work completed during the year, but on work projected for the year.

A clear cleavage emerged, detectable in the announcements of the educational heads and the political heads of the Department. Some of the latter announcements were made from platforms at party political congresses and caused consternation amongst pupils, teachers and parents e.g. the Chairman of the Ministers' Council announced that matriculation candidates who wrote and failed would automatically be allowed to write supplementary

examinations (Cape Times 21:10:85, reporting on the South Cape Regional Congress of the Labour Party, held at Knysna); or warned that those pupils who refused to sit for examinations would not be allowed to return to school (Cape Times 28:10:85, reporting on the Natal Congress of the Labour Party held at Durban). In condemning the seeming imperviousness of DEC to all requests for a postponement, regardless of the source and motivation of such requests, the CTPA averred that the Executive Director, as educational head, was initially sympathetic to their representations but conveyed a negative response after deliberations with authorities 'higher up' (Cape Times:01:11:85). Inflexibility was therefore interpreted as a political response.

Direct access to documentation on such deliberations is not possible, but public statements made by party members or parliamentary representatives at the time, provide some inkling of official thinking. A party member, Mr W. Dietrich, MP for Bethelsdorp, with considerable experience in education and presently the party's Chief Whip in the House of Representatives said of the non-writers: 'They have boycotted classes up to the final examination. Now that exams are due to begin they request study time, and the rest of the country must dance to their tune (Rapport Ekstra 20:10:85, free translation)'. He regarded this as a case of the tail wagging the dog and in support of his attitude said it would be unjust towards those teachers and pupils

(estimated 60 - 70% of the total) in the rest of the country who had prepared faithfully for the examinations. This stance was supported by the office of the Minister of Education and Culture (Rapport Ekstra 20:10:85) and re-iterated by the Labour Party leader to the Western Cape delegation to the State President on 11 November. It was hinted that in the rest of the country i.e. outside of the Western Cape, the Labour Party enjoyed wide support for its unyielding stand.

The Department's dilemma was therefore not primarily educational in character but was influenced by the calls of two opposing constituencies, namely, the Western Cape in which the 'ruling' party enjoyed little political support (See Appendix 6 reflecting voter participation in twenty Peninsula constituencies) but where the examination crisis was concentrated (See Table 5.2 below); and the rest of the country, relatively crisis-free, and in which the 'ruling' party claimed marginally more voter support.

TABLE 5.2 SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1985  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE (HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

	Number of Candidates	% of Total	Number of Secondary Schools	% of Total
Peninsula	6 214	38	60	58
Rest of SA	10 102	62	43	42
TOTAL	16 316	100	103	100

[Source: Rapport Ekstra 20:10:85]

Finally, it is imperative to note that a positive response to requests for postponement would not necessarily have inconvenienced the rest of the country. Internal examinations at the standards six to nine level are entirely school-based, allowing each school to respond to its unique circumstances. In the case of the external Senior Certificate examination, postponement for Western Cape students would have permitted local candidates to write the February-March supplementaries for which an infrastructure already existed. The legal implications of such a step could in all probability have been resolved administratively in negotiations with the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB).

#### Limited Concessions, 1985

The education authorities, in an attempt to salvage what was salvable, made announcements of limited concessions covering practical considerations, writers who failed and non-writers or writers of only one or two subjects.

Practical considerations: In the discussions previously referred to between the delegation of three Cape educationists and the State President-in-committee, Rev Hendrickse undertook to hold early supplementary examinations to assist with university admissions and to petition the JMB to relax the normal exemption

requirements. It is possible to speculate that this applied to the overall aggregate of marks scored in the examination, or the minimum number of subjects written and passed at one sitting. In a later announcement it became clear that the supplementary examination had been brought forward by two weeks to begin on 3 February (Cape Times 20:12:85).

Writers of three and more subjects: The Department's existing requirements stated that candidates would be required to pass at least three subjects to qualify for supplementary examinations. The amended requirement was later clarified by the Executive Director to read 'a minimum of 3 subjects written and 1 passed in the November examination (Cape Times 05:12:85)'. Such candidates would be allowed to write supplementaries in subjects which they did not write and in those which they wrote and failed - up to a maximum of five.

Non-writers or writers of one or two subjects only: In early December all matriculation candidates were circularised by DEC notifying them that non-writers could be granted supplementaries in 1986 on personal written applications accompanied by affidavits setting out reasons for not writing and a letter from the principal recommending the application. All documents were to reach Head Office by 18 December and applicants were assured of a reply by 27 December (Cape Times 03:12:85; Cape Times 20:12:85). (See also Education Administration

Circular Letter under File No 7/19/4/2 dated 29 November 1985.)

By the end of December it was announced that in the unrest-affected areas of Athlone, Bellville and Wynberg 53,9% of candidates who had entered, actually sat the examination. At year's-end DEC had received 1 162 applications for supplementaries in February 1986 - obviously from non-writers or partial-writers. 11 052 candidates sat the full examination (Cape Times 31:12:85) which left 3 500 - 4 000 candidates unaccounted for.

#### AN EXAMINATION LIKE NO OTHER

'Children are discriminated against in life, discriminated against by birth, by circumstances, by social factors and by politics. But when they sit in the school bench we expect all to pass the same material at the same pace'. (Educatio IX (3) 2nd Qr 1985 quoting Professor M. Mehl)

Some of the features which characterised the holding of examinations under such abnormal and unfavourable conditions, and which became common knowledge by word-of-mouth and via press reports, are described below.

#### The External Senior Certificate Examination

The first examinations were held on 24 October as per original time-table. In terms of the undertaking given by the Executive Director that venues would be provided away from school premises and out of reach of potential

disruptors, two such venues were demarcated, namely, Goodwood Showgrounds and the SA Cape Corps military camp at Faure. In the event, marquee tents which had been set aside for such purposes at Goodwood became victim to the notorious Cape winds and students had to be bussed to nearby Wingfield military base where three hangars were set aside as examination halls. Early announcements indicated that forty-eight schools were accommodated at Goodwood/Wingfield and perhaps 500 candidates at the SACC camp. Three schools were accommodated at the Faure (Industrial) Schools for Boys and Girls respectively. No clear picture emerged of percentage attendance while practical subjects were being taken, although early estimates varied between 23% and 50%. The DEC decided to withhold information on attendances for the duration of the examination (Argus 04:11:85).

Strict security was enforced at each venue. Pupils were required to produce identification and an official examination number to gain entry at the gates or to board a bus for conveyance to an overflow venue. School principals or nominated substitutes were required to be on hand to assist with the identification of pupils, while members of the inspectorate were present to supervise organisational arrangements. Where candidates wrote more than one paper on a particular day, they were not allowed to leave the premises between examination sessions. An outside or 'neutral' assessment was provided by a UNISA student who was required to write

examinations at the Cape Showgrounds, Goodwood, and who suffered an emotional shock at the presence of armed security guards on the premises. She required all of fifteen minutes to settle down. 'The rest of the students were extremely irritated and annoyed. There was much anxiety and anger (Cape Times 31:10:85).'

Major routes from feeder schools to the 'safe venues' were patrolled e.g. the N2 freeway linking both Somerset West and Mitchell's Plain with Faure was patrolled by Casspirs, Buffels and South African Police patrol cars (Argus 05:11:85). Similarly, an SADF troop carrier guarded the entrance to the Faure School for Boys, while unarmed civilian guards kept vigil within the grounds. Defence Force buses were also used to ferry pupils.

By 5 November when the first compulsory subject was scheduled to be written it was estimated that approximately 2 000 matriculants turned up at Goodwood. They were joined by third-year and fourth-year qualifying students from the four local teachers' colleges where examinations had been disrupted that morning. The examinations extended to November 26 and no acts of disruption or violence were reported.

The Executive Director of Education conceded that 'a significant number of candidates did not write or wrote 1 or 2 subjects (Cape Times:03:12:85)'. This reflects the level of confusion in the minds of the candidates; their

sense of guilt at 'letting down the side'; the impact of Ministerial threats or promises that only candidates who attempted to write would be granted supplementaries or re-admission to schools in 1986. Although not proven, it is conceivable that pupils who wrote one or two subjects would either have written early in the examination period and have been deterred by the harassing circumstances or late in the examination period simply to secure supplementary or re-admission status.

An interesting feature, not quantifiable at present, was the decision of some parents to seek transfers of their children to other centres as far afield as George, Durban, Johannesburg and even Windhoek. One principal is reported as having signed, at one stage, an average of two to three transfers per day (Argus 24:10:85). Some local parents withdrew their children from DEC schools and sought hasty enrolments at 'cram' colleges (tutorial colleges) to make good the lost work and earn an opportunity to write the final examination. The SRC in Guguletu (DET schools), confronted with a similar situation, gave fellow-pupils an ultimatum to return from Ciskei and Transkei whence they had travelled to write matriculation examinations (Cape Times 19:10:85).

Thus for many pupils the culminating act to end a school career, and which should have been a happy and rewarding event, became an act of stealth and apologia.

Internal Examinations (Standards Six to Nine)

Scores of high schools in the Western Cape were affected by the prolonged class-boycott and related events. To record conditions which prevailed before and after 18 November, the initial date for the commencement of DEC internal examinations, would not be possible. It would be helpful to visualise a continuum whose extremes are represented by:

1. A city centre school, where with the concurrence of parents and staff, it was decided that examinations would not be taken in 1985 but could be written in March 1986, and
2. A school where perhaps the entire enrolment, (except for the normal illnesses, injuries and accidents) opted to write examinations (Cape Times 07:11:85).

These two polar positions encompassed varying ratios of writers to non-writers and accommodated different relationships between the two groups. At some schools pupils voted with their feet and were simply not present e.g. single-digit and double-digit attendances in premises normally teeming with hundreds of inmates. At other schools where pupils were split on the issue, non-writers respected the rights of their dissenting peers and refrained from interfering, either on-premises or off-premises. But at some institutions the divisiveness of the issue became apparent and 'disruption squads' comprising the schools' own non-writers, but not necessarily so, were active.

The actions of some students, the role of the police and the response of DEC became crucial factors in this traumatic episode. From several schools came reports of, inter alia, pupils running through classrooms, tearing up question papers or scripts, turning fire-hoses on luckless writers or teacher-invigilators. At one school writers organised to defend themselves against disruption squads (Cape Times 07:11:85), while at another it was reported that parents were prepared to keep vigil while their children wrote.

In a well-publicised incident at Zeekoevlei Senior Secondary school (See under Students' Dilemma) police arrested all the pupils present to write end-of-year examinations, after reported incidents of stone-throwing and vandalism. Dramatic incidents were reported from Mountview (Hanover Park) where examinations were cancelled after pupils tore up question papers and sprayed water; Lentegeur No 8 (Mitchell's Plain) where 300 police and soldiers moved in after pupils punctured tyres, attacked windscreens or daubed slogans; Westridge (Mitchell's Plain) where police entered classrooms to arrest six pupils and a teacher (Mercury 08:11:85). At Silverstream (Manenberg) police searched classrooms and questioned pupils while the school was surrounded by six Casspirs and four Buffels. At Belhar No 1 police fired teargas to disperse pupils and subsequently detained four teachers. In the ensuing week five teachers were

detained (two later released) in the school grounds of Westridge while picketing with posters demanding the 'withdrawal of troops from school grounds (Cape Times 12:11:85)'. Armed soldiers in combat uniform and a riot policeman carrying a shotgun patrolled both inside and outside the school. This was the picture at several schools in Mitchell's Plain, Athlone, Manenberg and Hanover Park, but slightly different was the case of Arcadia (Bonteheuwel) where DEC provided six private security guards. When police in Casspirs swooped on Kasselsvlei Senior Secondary school, arresting four teachers and two classes of writers the staff was constrained to issue a statement saying: 'The staff is terribly disturbed at current events at the school and is pessimistic about the examinations continuing under such adverse conditions (Cape Times 15:11:85)'. An incident with grave implications for education occurred at Groenvlei (Lansdowne) where police and soldiers in Buffels arrested three teachers in full view of pupils and the rest of the staff. The principal cancelled the day's examinations after securing DEC approval for his action. A police officer described such permission as 'irrelevant' and ordered the principal to proceed with examinations or face arrest. Examinations then proceeded under heavy police guard. A teacher said: 'It was a very emotional experience. People kept breaking down and some collapsed ... the whole thing was very unpleasant (Cape Times 21:11:85)'. SATA, representing mainly English-speaking teachers in the Cape, issued a statement

condemning the 'intervention of non-educational authorities in the implementation of professional teaching staff of instructions from the relevant education department (Cape Times 25:11:85)'. A search for a recorded public statement in response from DEC on these issues proved fruitless.

Police were also cast in a somewhat different role - secondary to the above. Reports prevailed of policemen acting as invigilators inside classrooms, or escorts to teachers conveying examination documents to and from the principal's office. Equally disturbing from an educational point of view were stories of pupils faking writing while in fact doodling or composing poetry (See Cape Times 23:11:85).

South African Police (HQ) in Pretoria commented: 'We consider it any pupil's right to write school examinations if they wish to do so. The SAP will, wherever possible, assist such pupils to do so. In order to fulfil this function, it is necessary to act against intimidators and other persons who are intent on disrupting examinations (Cape Times 16:11:85)'.

Many parents who witnessed events at or near schools believed their children to be safer at home and withdrew them from examinations. Several principals circularised parents asking them to send pupils to school for examination sessions only - at all other times during the

day they should be at home and in-doors; some schools freed pupils from the requirement to wear uniforms believing that children were safer in casual wear than in school uniform.

### Professionalism at Risk

There were many allegations of irregularities, some publicly aired. Once again, it is not the function of this study to confirm or refute these allegations, but to assess the influence of such perceptions on the subsequent actions of the actors.

Amongst the more serious abnormalities occurred at Cathkin (Heideveld) where pupils were informed by Departmental letter (DEC) on 20 November of examinations to begin on 21 November (Argus 20:11:85). The school had received, in the previous week, a negative reply to its 10 October request for a postponement of the internal examination to March 1986. Similar conditions prevailed at Alexander Sinton (Crawford) and Hanover Park. It was claimed that at Cathkin, where not all examination papers had been prepared yet, DEC supplied papers previously written at other schools (Cape Times 21:11:85). There were also allegations of large-scale mark adjustments, effected by members of the inspectorate, with substantial additions being made to the pupils' raw marks. Teachers saw this as an attempted cover-up for a high failure-rate and a device to give the examination a semblance of

normality (Cape Times 02:12:85). In his replies to these allegations the Executive Director said that 'adjustment of marks was an accepted practice and standing procedure applied by all educational departments at both the internal and Std 10 examinations (Cape Times 05:12:85)'. Adjustments, either positive or negative, were made in response to indentifiable factors which favoured or prejudiced candidates. The reply did not assuage misgivings. How does one quantify emotional trauma? Bearing in mind the extensive gaps in pupils' grounding would the next year's marks of necessity be adjusted upwards?

WECTU, a newly-formed teachers' organisation, called on its members not to administer 'farcical examinations' which 'served no purpose but caused harm' (Cape Times 26:11:85). The body announced its intention to seek legal advice to have all examinations declared invalid. At several schools, teachers - acting jointly or severally - withheld their services and refused to administer examinations, bringing upon themselves the full wrath of the bureaucratic machine. Thus, an acting inspector of education, assisted by two DEC officials, visited Alexander Sinton and asked teachers to sign individual documents signifying their willingness or unwillingness to administer examinations (Cape Times 20:11:85). At the same time, an Elsie's River teacher, a branch official of WECTU, had his services terminated after twenty-one years, and was told that re-instatement

would require the written approval of the Executive Director (Argus 20:11:85). At Alexander Sinton forty-three teachers had their November-December salary cheques docked by DEC, while at Groenvlei fourteen teachers who had refused to invigilate were reminded by an inspector of their contractual obligations (Cape Times 22:11:85). The acting-principal at Crestway (Steenberg) was suspended and prohibited from entering any school premises - a fate which befell the deputy-principal and six departmental heads at Cathkin (Cape Times 23:11:85) and the deputy-principal at Alexander Sinton. At Harold Cressy (city centre) the principal and entire senior staff were suspended after the last school day, while many temporary teachers were either dismissed or not re-employed (Cape Times 05:12:85).

The school year ended on this gloomy note in the Western Cape - a mirror-image of circumstances at the DEC (House of Delegates) school for Indian pupils at Rylands in the Athlone complex. Here eleven teachers were dismissed and eleven others transferred, some to schools in remote areas. The latter step involved separation of a husband-and-wife team bound for widely-separated destinations (Cape Times 11:12:85).

The way in which the examination proceeded exemplified the 'working-out' of the dilemmas confronting the respective interest-groups. Of the many facets to this complex issue TWO are far-reaching in their implications

for the future.

1. For the first time in many years teachers were constrained to nail their colours to the mast and to display the level of their commitment in resisting those matters which they saw as impinging on their professionalism as educators, regardless of cost.
2. The teachers' decision not to administer and the pupils' decision not to write appeared to be mutually supportive i.e. one decision fed upon the other.

No longer can an abnormal situation at schools be construed as emanating from pupils only.

Finally, the Western Cape executive of the UDF issued a statement which said, inter alia, 'The overwhelming view is that examinations are a small sacrifice when viewed against the deaths, shootings, detentions and ridiculous criminal charges (Cape Times 02:12:85)'

#### Unresolved Issues, 1986

UTASA, an umbrella-body of provincial teacher organisations with a reputed membership of 26 000 teachers in the employ of DEC (Argus 16:07:86), and favourably disposed to negotiation with the authorities, said in its plea for postponement that such a step would go a 'long way to ensuring that the 1986 academic year would start with reasonable peacefulness (Argus

18:11:85)'. .

The examinations were not postponed, and 1986 did not start with reasonable peacefulness.

There were THREE unresolved issues which taxed the energies of the school community immediately:

- the status of pupils who did not write end-of-year examinations in 1985;
- the plight of teachers against whom administrative action had been instituted [an estimated 190 teachers from twelve schools by 26 November (Cape Times 26:11:85)];
- the call made by the SPCC (later National Education Crisis Committee, NECC) for pupils to return to school on 28 January and not 8 January as required by the DET calendar for 1986. The question of solidarity emerged.

[The NECC movement tries to ensure representation of all political tendencies and all population groups, and includes in its composition students, teachers, parents, workers, community and political leaders. It is spearheading the introduction of People's Education and the elimination of discriminatory, ethnically-based education.]

DEC schools re-opened amidst chaos on 15 January 1986. At most schools pupils returned in order to discuss the above issues e.g. Vista (Bo-Kaap) and three Bonteheuwel

high schools staged a walk-out after deciding to return on 28 January. At two schools, namely, Zeekoevlei and Belgravia, pupils decided to 'promote' themselves to the next standard in spite of not having written 1985 final examinations - they expressed dissatisfaction with the validity of the examinations which were written by some and upon which promotions were made (Argus 16:01:86). At other schools announcements were made about the re-instatement of suspended and/or dismissed teachers (pending further enquiries) following a decision by the Ministers' Council (House of Representatives) which was described by the UDF as a 'triumph in our peoples' struggle for the control of the education system (Cape Times 16:01:86)'.

At Rylands pupils confronted replacement teachers and forced them to seek shelter at a nearby school, while in Durban it was announced that the fate of the dismissed or transferred Rylands teachers would be decided by the Natal Supreme Court on 19 February 1986.

January 28 saw a general return to school nation-wide, supported by most community organisations. In Guguletu, a meeting of the Parents' Action Committee (PAC) together with principals and SRC members, resolved that because no final examinations were written in 1985 all promotions would be frozen until parents, pupils and teachers decided on an acceptable date for postponed examinations. No new admissions would be countenanced in the interim.

The DEC Decision on Examinations, February 1986

On 6 February the Minister of Education and Culture (House of Representatives) announced a 'planned system of promotions for pupils from standards six to nine who did not write last year's final examinations (Cape Times 07:02:85)'. The plan entailed three options and the choice was to be exercised by the principal and staff at each affected school.

Two of the options are set out below, namely:

- promotion, without examination, on the basis of the pupil's previous academic record
- specially set examinations which could be written by both the non-writers of 1985 and the writers who had failed, and upon which promotions would be determined.

It was stated that the decision was arrived at after consultations with inspectors of education and principals of high schools in the Peninsula, and bearing in mind representations made by parents, pupils and teachers. The Minister's statement said: 'This decision has been taken to end the confusion existing at many high schools, to eliminate the mounting dissatisfaction among pupils and to accommodate the genuine desire now being demonstrated by the overwhelming majority of pupils, to get down to their studies (Cape Times 07:02:86)'.

The CTPA regretted the lateness of the decision; WECTU asserted that DEC had 'declared their own examinations

null and void', while Professor Gerwel said that the Minister had learnt 'just as we have at UWC that it is better to be flexible than rigid in situations like this (Argus 07:02:86)'. The Western Cape executive of the UDF questioned the right of the Minister to take such a decision.

Two schools at least believed that the only honourable course was to exercise a third option i.e. to require all non-writers to repeat the year (See Education Circular Minutes under File No 7/19/1 dated 11 February 1986). Many principals considered promotions without examinations to be educationally indefensible and furthering the objects of gutter education. They therefore arranged for examinations after a limited period of tuition and revision. Amongst a sector of the community questions were asked about the 'commitment' of pupils and their willingness to 'pay whatever price' - an oft-repeated oath during 1985. Promotion without examinations was considered to be renegeing on this stand and further bolstering gutter education.

One category of pupils whose plight was not addressed by this arrangement included those who had dropped out of school believing they had failed through not writing end-of-year examinations. A smaller category included those pupils who sought transfers to other schools where, in the absence of a previous academic record, they were required to repeat the standard last attained.

Intruding into the debate, but only very faintly, is the belief that a segment of students do not accept the competitive, selective, discriminatory aspects of an examination and therefore, welcomed an arrangement that was more collective, less selective and non-discriminatory in nature. If this is correct, then once again there are far-reaching implications for education embodied in the slogan 'Pass One, Pass All'.

#### Postscript

In April 1986, already into the second quarter, it became known that DEC wished to demote 300 pupils at Bonteheuwel schools who had been promoted, despite having failed the June 1985 examination and not writing the end-of-year examinations. They were allowed to remain in the higher standard after representations and threatened student action (Cape Times 24:04:86).

### A brief evaluation

The quintessence of the preceding description of oppositional strategies has been the impacting of socio-political factors upon education. Thus localised educational issues became community issues, and vice versa. At the same time compartmentalised constituencies disappeared to the extent that, for example, church, sports body and trade union became united. Proof was provided, if it was needed, that the community was jealous and protective of its education.

The examination boycott portrayed one facet of the many-faceted education crisis. It should not be viewed as a 'once-off' occurrence but rather as a phenomenon that is deep-rooted within the tradition of resistance to an imposed educational system, within an imposed social milieu. It represents, therefore, a notch within a spiral, and is indicative of intensifying strain within the system.

The examination boycott, correlated with the Pollsmoor march and consumer boycott, provided one more focus for groups, holding values at variance with those exemplified by the status quo, to engage in collective behaviour aimed at accentuating strains and achieving gains. The response of the State and its agencies rang true to the dual function of attaining its goals and maintaining its predetermined patterns for its subjects, by whatever

means deemed necessary.

It remains to consider the responses of the State, emanating from and pursued by the civil authorities (Education authorities) and the security agencies.

## CHAPTER 6

**Steps Towards Maintaining a Truce Situation****(Status Quo Ante)****State-Initiated Responses**

## A. CIVIL MEASURES:

Schools' Closure: Not an Open-and-Shut Case

This critical event will be examined in terms of four clearly identifiable elements, namely, closure by Ministerial edict; re-claiming or re-possession by the community; re-opening by Ministerial announcement; and commencement of the new term.

Closure: 6 September 1985

It is striking to note the congruence of events at UWC with later events in the school community. In many instances, decisions, actions and warnings emanating from the university were replicated in the broader school context at a later stage. This feature is noteworthy, albeit not surprising, since UWC, serving a specified community, would be expected to reflect the anger, frustrations and anguish of the community, together with its ideals and aspirations.

As early as the end of July, when students had taken a decision to institute an indefinite lecture-boycott, and when clashes with the police and university authorities had already occurred, Dr Boesak, student chaplain at UWC, warned students that they had an important contribution to make in the ensuing weeks and that they should forswear any action 'forcing closure of the university (Argus 31:07:85)'. He thereby identified closure as a possible consequence of continued clashes, but also identified the university as a legitimate mobilising point for students. Hall says: 'In a society where normal political association is either severely curtailed or prohibited, institutions such as schools become focal 'sites of struggle'...(Hall, UCT Conference, July 1986)' - a statement equally true for the university.

The rector, faced with the reality of campus meetings making inroads into the primary functions of the university, namely, teaching, training and research, imposed a ban on such meetings during lecture-times. The ban was ignored; lecture-boycotts continued as did the stoning of traffic on adjoining public thoroughfares. On 2 August the rector felt constrained to warn students that the university would be closed unless the right of safety of passing traffic was respected (Cape Times 02:08:85), and when several days later a professor's office was gutted by fire the university was closed for two days (Argus 15:08:85 and Cape Times 16:08:85). Dr van der Ross later conceded that closure would create

more problems than it would solve, both academically and financially, and that it would bring uncertainty, anxiety and tension to many thousands. He said: 'The university is there to serve the best interests of students, their parents and the public (Cape Times 20:08:85)' and would therefore stay open. We have in the UWC situation a microcosm of the issues which later crystallised in the schools-closure episode.

By the end of August the social unrest situation in the Western Cape had deteriorated to the extent that the confirmed death-toll stood at twenty-eight, including four schoolchildren (Dispatch 31:08:85), while the number of seriously injured, requiring hospitalisation, had risen to 150. Rioting, looting, arson, disruption of essential services occurred over widely spread areas covering Bo-Kaap, Cape Flats, the northern and southern suburbs (See Appendix 1, Map 1C). Armoured patrols were commonplace in the troubled townships; police used teargas, quirts, rubber bullets and live ammunition to 'disperse crowds' while making large-scale arrests on charges of public violence. Police were also active on school premises arresting pupils (Cape Times 31:08:85). In the ensuing week, rallies, attended by thousands of pupils, were held at Fairmount (Grassy Park), Range (Elsies River), Vista (Bo-Kaap), Steenberg, Oaklands (Lansdowne) and, finally, Belgravia. The aftermath of stone-throwing, barricades of burning tyres, teargassing, rubber bullets and live ammunition became endemic. On 4

September, approximately 4 000 pupils and students from high schools, two teachers' colleges, the Peninsula Technikon and UWC gathered at Belgravia and ceremonially buried a coffin labelled 'Apartheid' (Cape Times 05:09:85). After the rally a battle raged between students and police turning the suburb into a 'no-go area' with even the press being ordered to leave. In the words of a police force member: 'We are using live ammunition because they are not taking notice of rubber bullets (Cape Times 05:09:85)'. The afternoon's activities was followed by a night of Peninsula-wide violence leaving two dead, twenty-two arrested and the home of a SACS policeman in the white suburb of Kraaifontein attacked. Ministers la Grange (Law and Order) and Malan (Defence) flew to Cape Town (Evening Post 05:09:85), no doubt to discuss the security situation. In the wake of this visit, the Minister of Education and Culture (House of Representatives) announced the closure on 6 September, for an indefinite period, of all schools and colleges in the Western Cape which fell under his jurisdiction. This drastic measure, by virtue of its scope an unprecedented act in South African educational history, merits a detailed evaluation.

TABLE 6.1: INSTITUTIONS AFFECTED BY CLOSURE

(based on figures quoted in Cape Times 07:09:85)

Category	School Region	Number of Institutions	Number of Teachers' Colleges
A. Peninsula (mainly)	Athlone	118	2
	Bellville	89	1
	Mitchell's Plain	60	0
	Wynberg	108	2
B. Western Cape	Paarl	63	1
	Worcester	27	1
TOTAL		464*	7

Approximate Number of Pupils/Students: 500 000

[\*Includes Teachers' Colleges also shown separately.  
College enrolment approximately 2 500.]

N.B. Rylands High was closed till the end of September by the Department of Education and Culture (House of Delegates).

The closure-decree affected approximately 500 000 pupils and students in pre-primary, primary and secondary schools, as well as colleges of education. It declared school premises out-of-bounds to staff and students alike, and gave police the power to arrest all unauthorised persons found trespassing. Principals, or delegated subordinates, were required to secure permission from the commander of the nearest police station to gain access to their places of employment.

The Minister Mr C. Ebrahim, put forward two main reasons for his decision, namely, 'the current riot situation' which meant that the authorities 'could not guarantee the physical safety of students', and the cessation of formal work during the six-week boycott period. 'Certain schools

are no longer performing an educational function', he explained (Cape Times 07:08:85). The Labour Party leader and Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Rev Hendrickse, confirmed the unrest aspect saying that schools would remain closed 'while we ride the wave of unrest (Cape Times 07:09:85)'. He was of the opinion that schools had become 'meeting places for organising protest, and more than protest, arson and violence'.

Re-action to the Minister's announcement, which reached most of the affected people via radio and television news-broadcasts in the late afternoon or early evening, was immediate and vehement in its condemnation. The Chairman of ADPA, the Athlone and District Principals' Association, referred to the 'lack of consultation' inherent in the decision and said that closure did 'not in any way address the grievances of pupils, parents and teachers' nor 'police harassment ... and brutality against pupils which principals witnessed daily'. He regarded the act as 'high-handed' especially in view of the 'deafening silence' of the Department on matters such as the teargassing or sjambokking of pupils on school premises (Cape Times 07:09:85). The latter is a refrain which was oft-repeated in ensuing days. Thus the new and loosely-formed CTCC (Concerned Teachers' Coordinating Committee - born in part out of concern for the physical safety of pupils) in condemning the 'high-handed and autocratic closure' and lack of consultation with principals, said of the Minister: 'His silence while

students and teachers were being ripped, gassed, held at gun-point and even killed is contemptible' and furthermore 'we do not recognise the right of Carter Ebrahim to close them [the schools](Cape Times 09:09:85)'. The school committee and parents of Livingstone (Claremont) reminded the Minister that he and his colleagues were 'conspicuous by their absence during the period the committees, parents and pupils have been wrestling with the issues at stake (Cape Times 09:09:85)'. This lack of involvement was interpreted as a lack of interest and a lack of first-hand knowledge e.g. the Minister was described as being 'totally out of touch with the realities facing the school community (Cape Times 09:09:85)'. The Federation of Cape Civic Associations, opposed to local management committees and tri-cameral politics, was quoted as saying: 'Ebrahim said nothing about the whipping and shooting of our students. Not a word was uttered on the detaining of students and teachers (Cape Times 10:09:85)'.

Many practical considerations were brought to the fore. Parents in Manenberg, a working-class suburb, in one of the earliest moves to form a PTSA, objected to the closure of pre-primary and primary schools which up to that stage had been functioning normally, and posed the question: 'What are working parents supposed to do with their children? (Cape Times 11:09:85)'. Suddenly to discover, via public media, that your offspring were on enforced holiday was unpalatable to working mothers. Dr

Beyers Naude, secretary of the SACC, referred to thousands of young pupils sitting idly at home 'without parental care' or roaming the streets (Argus 07:09:85), while the PFP spokesman on education, Mr Ken Andrew, MP, accused the authorities of putting hundreds of thousands of children on to the streets with nothing to do for several weeks to come. 'If they are angry now, they are going to be bored and angry in the future (Financial Mail 13:09:85)' he is quoted as saying. The Mitchell's Plain branch of the UDF believed that closure 'would not solve the problems of unemployment, high rents, low wages ... (Argus 07:09:85)'. SATA condemned any action which 'interrupted education' and said that closure could 'only jeopardise the education of pupils and students and result in further polarisation of the communities (Cape Times 11:09:85)'. A senior PFP parliamentarian, and former leader of the opposition, was concerned about the deeper implications of closure, namely, the 'politicising of the youngest children (Financial Mail 13:09:85)'. An interesting side-issue was the accusation that the CTPA held prior consultations with the Minister and gave explicit support to closure, an accusation which their leadership denied, claiming that they were told by the Executive Director that closure was non-negotiable (Cape Times 09:09:85).

The community mobilised around the central issue of closure, and meetings were held in various areas, sometimes under the auspices of the UDF, although civic

associations and the newly-formed CTCC were also active. These meetings were characterised by good attendances, wide representation (including pupils, parents and teachers) and the intensity of debate, sometimes with a strong emotional component. At one meeting speakers rejected 'pupils' safety' as a factor in closure, asserting that 'the only people who threaten the safety of our pupils are the police and the army (Cape Times 16:09:85)'. A member of the CTCC described closure as an 'extreme and unwarranted punitive measure against the entire community (Cape Times 16:09:85)'.

It appears then, that in spite of the genuine concern of parents for the safety and welfare of their children in the climate of unrest, closure failed to gain popular support because of:

- the apparent aloofness and disinterest of the education authorities,
- the lack of consultation with senior people in direct contact with the situation,
- an apparent insensitivity to the plight of parents and the wider community,
- a failure to simultaneously address 'causes' rather than mere symptoms,
- the burning issue of legitimacy of the own-affairs administration.

A widely-held view was that closure had little to do with education - 'it is strange that closure should come only hours after the visit of La Grange ...' read a statement

issued by eight community organisations (Cape Times 09:09:85).

Re-taking (or Claiming Back) of Schools: 17 September 1985

Within living memory people have spoken freely of 'church' schools or 'mission' schools on the one hand, and of 'government' schools or 'board' schools on the other hand (a reference to the Cape School Board, and other regional school boards, of the Cape Education Department). The thoughts of people have never really been taxed by the question: To whom do schools belong? And yet the question is not philosophic, but is political in nature and has wide social implications. The question became central in the aftermath of closure, and gave rise to a host of ancillary issues, not least of which was the right of the State to close institutions and to declare the user community as trespassers on State property.

The community meetings, held in the week after closure, were confronted with this issue, albeit not in academic form. At a well-attended meeting in Lentegeur (Mitchell's Plain), 2 000 people were urged by a speaker to 'take back' their schools. 'We built the schools, we paid for them. They belong to the community. The government has no right to close them' a teacher is quoted as saying (Cape Times 16:09:85). He encouraged parents to exercise their rights, in conjunction with

teachers and pupils, to 'determine what kind of education they wanted'. The meeting adopted a resolution calling for the schools to be placed under the 'direct and democratic control of the community, teachers and students'. Similar meetings were held in most suburbs where schools were represented jointly on a regional basis.

The community, including parents, teachers and pupils, were called upon to report to schools on Tuesday 17 September at 8 a.m.; principals were asked to be present to unlock the gates. A principal was reported as saying that if he was not able to be at school on that day to unlock the gate he would 'never be able to look them in the eye again (Cape Times 16:09:85)' - them referring to the community, and highlighting the question of dual loyalty. Over the previous weekend pamphlets had been distributed calling on parents to send their children back to school in defiance of government closure, while at meetings it was agreed that parents would accompany their children in order 'to show their solidarity and to restrain the forceful police action against protesting children' which typified this and other boycotts (See M.Hall, UCT Conference, July 1986). The planned action had the support of a range of organisations including the UDF, the New Unity Movement (NUM), CAL, CTCC, Federation of Cape Civic Associations and other community organisations. It was asserted that 'students had instituted the boycott, they should decide when to end it

(Cape Times 17:09:85)'. The PTSA of Erica Primary School (Belhar) threatened to test in court the legal validity of closure if schools were not re-opened by 17 September.

It soon became clear that official responses would not be low-key. The relevant Minister, in his response to the threatened 're-opening' of schools, described the planned actions of 'unauthorised persons' as 'irresponsible, reckless and illegal', and condemned the 'cowardly use of young children in an act of defiance (Argus 16:09:85)'. The local divisional commissioner of police said: 'The prime function of the police is the maintenance of law and order. When an offence is committed the police will investigate and let justice follow its normal course (Cape Times 17:09:85)'.

With such diverse views and attitudes in evidence, a clash seemed imminent. There were calls for restraint to be exercised by both sides e.g. from the Cape Muslim Assembly and the Moderature of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk. AZASO called for police not to interfere with parents, pupils and teachers as such action would heighten resistance (Cape Times 17:09:85).

It is difficult to assess the response to the call on the community to claim back its schools, since conditions varied widely from school to school and suburb to suburb. The turn-out in Atlantis was described as poor, ascribed to the shooting of a fourteen year old boy the previous

night and constant police patrols through the night (Cape Times 18:09:85), whereas in the Wynberg-Diep River-Grassy Park-Retreat area, encompassing twenty-three schools, it was estimated that approximately 3 000 pupils, parents and teachers (1 500, 1 300 and 500 respectively) responded to the call (Cape Times 18:09:85). In all, it was estimated that people gathered at approximately fifty Peninsula schools with Mitchell's Plain being described as 'quiet'. Police and army kept a low profile in some areas and crowds dispersed peacefully having gained entry to the schools e.g. Rylands; or having been turned away by locked gates or police blockades e.g. Livingstone where approximately 400 staff and parents and a full complement of 1 000 pupils had assembled (Argus 17:09:85).

An entirely different scenario unfolded at Alexander Sinton (Crawford) where a crowd estimated at 4 000 had gathered. The police seemed also to have singled out this spot for special attention. At an early stage in the morning police drove into the school grounds in trucks and vans to arrest about sixty parents, teachers and pupils - also journalists. Pupils responded by hijacking buses, delivery trucks and municipal refuse vehicles to block off an entire neighbourhood, while civilian cars were 'parked strategically' at exits from the school grounds. The police vehicles - with their detainees (including the school principal!) - were thus trapped within the grounds. Reinforcements in police

Casspirs and army Buffels arrived to relieve the siege. By late morning the crowd had dispersed, although the pattern of burning barricades, hot pursuit, teargassing and violence continued (Argus 17:09:85). By the end of the day it was estimated that 173 arrests had been made - fifty-three boys, fifty-four girls and sixty-six parents, while four teachers were detained under the Internal Security Act. There were no reports of deaths or serious injuries (Cape Times 18:09:85) but the level of antagonism was raised to new heights. The blame for political violence was placed squarely on the shoulders of the Minister whose actions were seen as 'provocative and high-handed' and therefore inviting defiance (Cape Times 18:09:85 quoting a PFP spokesman).

It is interesting to return to the quotes of the Minister describing the symbolic re-occupation as 'reckless and irresponsible'. Professor Small (UWC) accompanied his two children to primary school 'because of my personal anger at the unutterably authoritarian way in which these schools have been shut down' and regarded the descriptive term 'unauthorised' for parents, pupils and teachers as the 'height of dictatorial madness'. He went on to say: '... school premises are ours because we are the taxpayers, to which extent we employ Ebrahim [the Minister] and not vice versa'. Small also accused the Minister of making statements which provoked violence (Cape Times 18:09:85). His colleague, the rector-designate of UWC - Professor Gerwel - accompanied his

offspring to school. It is known that scores of teachers and college lecturers assumed the mantle of parent and ensured the safety of their children at schools first, before reporting to their own places of employment.

This single event, conceived as a participatory act, is pregnant with ideological content. Some of its far-reaching implications e.g. in 'People's Education', are discussed in Chapter 8.

#### The Official Re-opening of Schools: 20 September 1985

The CTPA decided during the weekend immediately after closure to make urgent representations to the authorities for the re-opening of schools. The teachers' body, taking cognisance of the official commencement of the fourth quarter on 1 October, recommended that schools utilise the preceding week for revision and wiping-out of any backlog. In this way one week would be re-won and set against the fortnight lost at the end of the third quarter as a result of closure. The Minister retained his stance that closure was enacted in pursuance of the 'interests of the children', and believed that parents would view closure as temporary and, therefore, 'an unavoidable inconvenience (Argus 16:09:85)'. He said that schools and colleges would be re-opened when discussion involving the DEC, principals and parents had taken place, and when calm and order could be ensured. Earlier, in his response to the storms of protest from

the community, the Minister averred that closure had been very effective and that the portents for an early re-opening were good - in fact, unrest was abating (Cape Times 14:09:85) - and the time was appropriate for talks between the authorities, headmasters and parents.

Two meetings took place on Tuesday 17 September. In the morning, the Minister of Education and Culture, accompanied by the Director-General of the Department and the Executive-Director of Education, met principals and deputy-principals of the affected institutions, and inspectors of education. In essence, he presented the education boycott as a breakdown in discipline and reminded the heads present of their duties and obligations to regain and maintain authority and discipline. He committed himself to the removal of grievances such as broken fences, and non-arrival of requisitions. The Director General acquainted the audience with various powers which were available to the authorities to ensure that the will of the DEC was carried through e.g. the Children's Act. The second, and reportedly similar meeting, took place in the afternoon between officials and the representatives of school committees or advisory councils of the affected institutions.

The coincidence of the date and time of the meetings with the planned community re-occupation of the schools was not lost on many of those present. The post-meeting mood

was one of despair at the lack of grasp of issues inherent in the schools crisis, and of the apparent insensitivity to the dilemma of principals in their often hard-won relationships with the parent-community. A principal spoke of his deep involvement in community affairs. He spoke of the location of his home in relation to the school, and of the position of his wife and children in the area. He asked how he, having fought for a relationship of trust, could blind himself to the wishes and aspirations of the community. He was told that the community had no say in the execution of his duties and that his loyalties were first and foremost to his employer. (Personal note: Meeting held at DRC Synodal Hall in Cape Town, 17 September 1985.)

This then was the DEC attempt to draw teaching staff and parents into efforts to resolve the crisis. However, according to the NUM the DEC was 'in no position to solve any problem that had recurred in the tribal system of education (Cape Times 21:09:85)'. Surprisingly, therefore, on 20 September the Minister announced the re-opening of schools and colleges with immediate effect - ironically on the day scheduled for closure for the September vacation. The announcement permitted normal programmes to be followed, and authorised access to grounds and buildings for pupils, teachers and parents at the discretion of the principal. The authorities, after consultations with a cross-section of educationists, felt confident that 'normal educational procedures could be

resumed in a peaceful and responsible manner (Cape Times 21:09:85)'.

The UDF and Wynberg Civic Association perceived the decision as a 'victory for united action' by pupils, parents and teachers, while the CTCC questioned the mandate of the Minister to open or close schools. 'We don't recognise him as Minister of Education...' they were reported as saying (Cape Times 21:09:85). The president of NUM, Mr R. Dudley, reflected on the irony of the situation which prevailed over previous weeks where 'police were patrolling deserted schools that pupils and teachers were wanting to attend (Cape Times 21:09:85)'.

#### Re-opening: Last Quarter, 1 October 1985

The formal re-opening of schools for the last quarter became a matter of intense debate. Pupils were by no means united in their thinking on this issue. There were those who believed that they could not, in principle, return on a date determined by the authorities - a view shared by some parents. The SRC of UWC met with representatives from Peninsula high schools to devise a common response, while mass rallies were held in Wynberg, Grassy Park, Athlone and Rylands to formulate both educational and political demands. What emerged from these meetings was that a return to school did not imply a return to classes. Schools in the Athlone area, e.g. Alexander Sinton and Belgravia, considered not returning

at all, justifying such action by linking it to the detention of teachers and fellow-pupils. Members of the PAC (Parents' Action Committee) met in Guguletu and decided to continue the boycott of DET schools.

The SRC of UWC called a mass rally for Tuesday 1 October to co-incide with the re-opening of schools, and in 'deliberate opposition' to DEC, according to a spokesman. 'The rally will be a sign of mass unity and of what we have achieved in defiance of Ebrahim (Cape Times 27:09:85)'. The SRC supported a return to school, subject to short-term demands being met. The generalised call was for a stayaway on 1 October and a return to school, but not necessarily formal instruction, on 2 October. WECTU, the newly-formed non-racial teachers' organisation, called on its members to return to school at the official start of the new term, but not to normal classes. A widely-disparate picture of attendance emerged on 1 October but was virtually normalised by the next day in DEC schools. It is interesting to note that the high schools in Rylands and Cravenby Estate, for pupils classified as Indian, were deserted on their opening day, namely, 30 September (Cape Times 01:10:85), although teachers were present.

The security forces made a tactical change in support of DEC and used helicopters, circling over the townships, urging parents to 'exercise discipline and to ensure an orderly return to school (Cape Times 01:10:85)' -

sentiments echoed by a Labour Party regional congress in Tulbagh which called for 'discipline to be restored at all schools' and for parents and the community to do all in their power to secure a normal start to the term. The Minister, however, banned all meetings on school premises of pupils' or students' councils and teachers' bodies 'not recognised by education authorities (Cape Times 02:10:85)' - the latter being coupled with threatened penalties (Argus 02:10:85). This act, linked with the deployment of security personnel monitoring the presence and activities of pupils, teachers and visitors, 'ensured that confrontation would continue' (See Hall July 1986) - a prophecy fulfilled by the examination boycott.

### Evaluation

Closure, as a single act, did not resolve any of the problematical issues confronting the school community but, on the contrary, provided a new issue around which support could be galvanised. Bundy asserts that closure, 'more than any other single action, outraged both middle class and working class coloured parents (UCT Conference, July 1986)'. It can be said that closure bridged the class-gap and generation-gap simultaneously - a fact eminently verified in PTSA meetings. Closure raised, among others, two fundamental issues whose centrality in the ideological tussle cannot be over-emphasised:

- the issue of authoritarianism versus democracy, and
- the issue of legitimacy of government.

It also provided lessons in the exercise of power. These considerations have implications for the kind of education which must inevitably replace the present system.

Bundy says: 'The closure of the schools by the state to some extent realigned the main agitational thrust of the boycotters. Student and youth demands increasingly meshed with those of community organisations in the call for popular control over the schools. The new PTSA's, formed in DEC schools, called for democratic local control as the first step towards a free, compulsory, unitary education system (UCT Conference, July 1986)'.

Closure has been portrayed and analysed here as the State's response, via its education authorities, to the prevailing upheaval in education. However, in the wider community context, the State imposed restrictive measures through its security agencies in an attempt to contain widespread and escalating civil disorder. It needs to be determined whether these measures were effective in promoting a return to normality.

## B. RESTRICTIVE MEASURES:

Declaration of a Partial State of Emergency

In July 1985 the government declared a State of Emergency in thirty-six magisterial districts in the Eastern Cape and Transvaal, in order to cope with a prolonged but deteriorating unrest situation in those areas. The Western Cape, geographically isolated from both areas, was experiencing a period of relative calm at the time. However, the level of anger induced by the emergency-declaration rose rapidly and meetings were convened to give expression to such feelings. The regulations provided a focus or rallying-point for students, and must be seen as a contributory cause of the later upheaval in the Western Cape. Bundy says: 'The declaration of a State of Emergency over parts of the country in July 1985 provided a major impetus to organised youth-based politics: within a week scores of thousands of students were participating in a boycott of classes and a new co-ordination body was created, namely, WECSAC... (UCT Conference, July 1986).'

On 26 July a mass rally was held at UWC and attended by 6 000 pupils and students protesting against the State of Emergency. When youths, returning from the rally, stoned cars and set fire to a delivery truck, police used tear-gas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowds and later, with the SADF, sealed off the Black townships. On the

same day sjambok-wielding police prevented Mitchell's Plain pupils from boarding buses to attend the protest rally (Argus 31:07:85). Support was solicited for the institution of an indefinite class-boycott commencing the following Monday and was endorsed by COSAS, ISCC (The Inter-School Co-ordinating Committee, formed in 1984 to co-ordinate student activities at high school level only in the Western Cape), the SRC's of UWC and Pentech. The call was ratified by 3 000 UWC students, while approximately 250 black UCT students voted for a two-day stayaway and Hewat College students staged a walk-out. Attendances plummeted at DEC high schools while those pupils attending school held awareness programmes in place of normal instruction (Argus 30:07:85). When police clashed with UWC students returning from a joint rally with Pentech and Bellville College, Dr van der Ross acknowledged that 'students had very genuine concern about the situation in areas under the State of Emergency, and real anger at the deaths and detentions (Argus 31:07:85)'. Students experienced a divided loyalty between their studies and a 'proper response to the State of Emergency' he said.

Many of the subsequent events e.g. the boycott of classes by university and college students and by scores of thousands of high school pupils in DEC and DET schools; the three-day SRC-supported stayaway at UCT; the first-ever protest march in Stellenbosch by 250 (mainly black) Matie students; the picket and placard

demonstrations; the Rondebosch street march et al, all expressed opposition to the imposition of a State of Emergency. Thus the implementation of an indefinite education boycott must be seen as flowing out of the declared state of emergency.

Teachers were not unmoved. At a meeting convened by the loosely-knit CTCC, and at which the formation of a 'dynamic progressive organisation' to 'represent teachers fighting apartheid' was canvassed, it was decided to use 'class hours to discuss the State of Emergency ... (Argus 20:08:85)'. At a subsequent meeting 700 teachers decided to extend their two-day work stoppage for 'as long as our students and pupils boycott classes' thus linking their decision (and fate) to WECSAC's extension of the boycott protesting the State of Emergency (Argus 21:08:85).

Outside of educational institutions, resistance and opposition mounted. In mid-August, when fourteen sponsoring community organisations mooted the idea of a consumer boycott, they demanded, inter alia, a rescinding of the State of Emergency (Cape Times 12:08:85). This refrain was taken up by the Federation of Cape Civic Associations at its Bellville South meeting (Cape Times 04:09:85) and later by Manenberg parents (Cape Times 11:09:85) in a precursor to later PTSA meetings. Certainly within the community the imposition of a State of Emergency, albeit in distant parts of the country, evoked a strong sense of protest at a measure which

displayed the hallmarks of repression without offering any solutions to immediate and long-term problems. Opposition to the Emergency was widespread and emanated from all elements in the pupil-teacher-parent troika, as evidenced by the Pollsmoor march, the consumer boycott and later worker-stayaways.

Outside of the affected communities, the Voluntary Action Group at UCT organised a Rondebosch meeting to be attended by pupils from white schools and addressed by a PFP Member of the Provincial Council. The purpose, namely, to inform pupils of the full implications of the State of Emergency, caused the local South African Police commissioner to ban the gathering (Cape Times 07:09:85).

#### The Banning of COSAS

The government believed that COSAS was responsible for co-ordinating schools boycotts and unrest countrywide. It accused the student organisation of 'activities calculated to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of law and order (Cape Times 29:08:85)'. The Minister of Law and Order invoked Section 4 of the Internal Security Act to declare COSAS an unlawful organisation - on the day of the Pollsmoor march. Reaction was swift and intense. AZASM, a nation-wide student organisation under the wing of AZAPO, described the banning as 'an exercise in futility' since the organisation reflected the views of the community - its

constituency - views which would not be changed by any restrictive order. NUSAS condemned the banning and commended COSAS, a sister organisation together with AZASO, for its role in exposing the 'appalling conditions of black education and the demands for a non-racial education system (Cape Times 29:08:85)'. The banning order was condemned by UDF, AZAPO, DPSC, UWO and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA). The PFP pointed out, like AZASM, that the banning 'would not improve the situation of boycotts in the schools', while Dr Beyers Naude saw it as a 'sign to young blacks that very little is left for them (Cape Times 29:08:85)'. A protest march from UCT campus, put down by police using teargas and quirts, decried, inter alia, the banning of COSAS (Cape Times 29:08:85). A statement issued by staff and students of Hewat College condemned police brutality on marchers and the banning of COSAS (Cape Times 02:09:85), while 150 UCT picketers protested the State of Emergency and the banning of COSAS.

In effect then, the ban on the student organisation, established in 1979 and claiming support from more than 50% of black high school students, evoked widespread local anger and condemnation, international anger (e.g. Reagan Administration, USA - Cape Times 29:08:85), and provided an additional focus for student and community protest thereafter.

### The Ministerial Ban (DEC) on 'Unauthorised' Meetings

The DEC, in its attempt to regain and maintain control over the management of education, employed what was perceived to be repressive methods. With the re-opening of schools for the fourth quarter, principals were confronted with an order, already gazetted and amending regulations promulgated under the 1963 Education Act, whereby meetings of SRC's, PTSA's and unauthorised teachers' organisations were banned from school premises. The term 'unauthorised' was thought by many teachers to refer to WECTU. The ban also extended to 'outside speakers' who could be subjected to summary eviction from an educational institution (See Education Circular No 56/85 dated 11 October 1985 and Government Notice No R.2248 of 1 October 1985 in Regulation Gazette No 3878 of 1 October 1985). To enforce the ban a small army of 370 security guards were deployed at Peninsula schools with the following job description (See Argus 03:10:85):

- to control access to school premises, and to report to SAP all attempts at 'illegal entry'
- to act as 'liaison' between the public and principal (or his secretary)
- to lock school gates after pupils have entered in the morning and thereafter to man the pedestrian gate
- to allow in vehicles whose registration numbers corresponded with a list provided by the principal
- to announce all visitors to the secretary, noting their names and addresses prior to entry

- to report any fire, on or near school grounds, to the fire brigade.

Pupils at some schools objected to being imprisoned, and vented their feelings on the property and persons of the security guards.

The establishment of security services at schools fell under the control of the Department of Budgetary and Auxiliary Services. Principals, who 'would have no say in the appointment of security personnel at their schools' would also have 'no control over their duties and the manner in which these duties are executed'. The appointment of security personnel, as officially explained, was in response to vandalism, burglaries, theft, arson and trespassing on school property mainly after school hours (Education Circular No 38/86 dated 9 July 1986. See also duties and powers of security personnel.).

This then represented the effort of the Minister to restore 'order in coloured schools' as promised to a Labour Party congress at Uitenhage (Cape Times 07:10:85). The CTPA was incensed and announced immediate plans to institute court proceedings, eventually successful (Cape Times 29:10:85), opposing the validity of the ban (Argus 04:10:85), which it saw as 'provocative' and 'confrontationist'. CAL saw the ban as designed to crush democratically-elected student, parent and teacher-organisations (Cape Times 02:10:85). Most other

commentators perceived the ban to be counter-productive since it prevented the coming together of the very participants who should be debating a return to classes. Indeed, many principals perceived a strong desire amongst students and parents to return to classes in preparation for the final examinations. The ban, christened a 'recipe for disaster' or a 'recipe for chaos and conflict' by the UDF (Cape Times 02:10:85), was seen to place the positive efforts and 'constructive initiative to solve the crisis' in jeopardy (Garlandale PTSA, quoted in Argus 04:10:85).

Opposition and resistance stemmed from several sources, the most important of which were the following:

- students, whose demand for the right to elect democratic SRC's, as opposed to school-appointed prefects, was now met by a ban on SRC meetings;
- embattled teachers, uncertain about the correct responses in a traumatic situation, and needing to debate these issues, were denied the right to meet as 'authorised persons' on school premises;
- principals, cast in the role of implementers, were required to enforce disciplinary measures, including suspension, against offenders - be they teachers, officials or pupils who disrupt the normal educational programme (Cape Times 02:10:85);
- parents, alarmed at the looming prospect of an examination boycott, but denied the opportunity to arrive at collective decisions within the PTSA

structures.

A NUM office-bearer foresaw that the 'autocratic ban upon the use of school facilities by communities to discuss school matters affecting everyone' could only add to the problems raging in the schools and colleges (Argus 02:10:85) - a prophecy which was fulfilled in the ensuing weeks.

#### The Extended State of Emergency: Western Cape

On 26 October, in the face of mounting public violence, injuries and deaths in the region, a State of Emergency was declared in eight Western Cape magisterial districts, namely, Cape Town, Bellville, Goodwood, Wynberg, Kuils River, Paarl, Simon's Town and Worcester. The extension of emergency regulations to the Western Cape was regretted by the Labour Party leader who, while acknowledging the role of the police in the current unrest, appealed to both sides to end the violence. In a massive security swoop at least eighty-five anti-apartheid activists were detained. The SRC of UWC lost its president, two executive members and a fellow-student; Hewat's SRC lost its chairman; WECTU lost officials up to senior executive level (Cape Times 26:10:85) while seventeen UCT students were detained for fourteen days under the Emergency Regulations (Cape Times 30:10:85). Once again, tension rose as student leaders went into hiding (Weekly Mail 21:11:85); principals,

students and community organisations called for a postponement of the final examinations which could not, they believed, take place under the prevailing conditions. A Hewat SRC member said that detentions 'only unify the broad mass of the community even more than before' while an SRC support-group at UWC said that 'the detention of our leaders is merely another form of State violence by which the State avoids responding to the reasonable demands of students and communities in the education crisis (Cape Times 13:10:85)'. Up to the end of 1985 student demands included the lifting of the State of Emergency (Argus 02:12:85).

#### Emergency Police Orders

On Saturday 26 October the Divisional Commissioner of Police (Western Cape) issued two additional orders, in terms of the Public Safety Act, with validity in most of the 'black, coloured and Indian' areas of the Western Cape, namely, the Control of Schools Boycotts and the Prohibition of Gatherings.

In terms of the former, school pupils were effectively confined to their homes or classrooms on school days and were prevented from engaging in activities outside of the formal curriculum. Thus pupils were allowed exit from their classrooms only during official breaks, when changing classrooms or visiting cloakrooms. Only those activities which were staff supervised and which had a

direct bearing on formal tuition were permitted. Only pupils and staff were allowed on school premises, while nobody was permitted to address pupils on any topic not forming part of the prescribed syllabuses (Argus 28:10:85). Pupils not on their way to or from school 'must at all times on school days remain inside the boundaries of premises normally used for human habitation (Cape Times 28:10:85)' i.e. be indoors at home.

These regulations were obviously introduced to normalise the schools situation in the run-up period to the final examinations. It is difficult to give a proper evaluation of their effect - either positive or negative. At many schools members of the forces used the powers given to them to detain pupils and teachers, on or off school premises. Some schools were required to make available to members of the forces copies of the official time-table, while teachers were asked by policemen to pinpoint the place of lesson topics in the subject syllabuses. Classrooms, and even cars belonging to teachers, were searched, and arrests made. Teaching and schooling became high-risk activities (witness the arrest of an entire school enrolment). Falling attendances were counterpointed by heightening teacher and parent anger, important contributory factors to the eventual chaos.

The second banning-order prohibited gatherings of about 100 anti-apartheid organisations in the Western Cape and Boland. These extra-parliamentary groupings, including

the UDF and National Forum (NF) affiliates, were required to gain permission from divisional commissioners of police to hold meetings (Cape Times 28:10:85). This action, coupled with the detention of executive leaders, was obviously designed to contain, and preferably eradicate opposition within communities and at schools. Post-mortem evidence has shown both measures to have been counter-productive.

### C. POLICE AND DEFENCE FORCE ACTION

#### Ambulances versus Traffic Lights

A church minister told his congregation the modern-day parable of a municipality that was confronted with statistics showing an increasing number of accidents and injuries at an unguarded intersection. The city fathers had to choose between purchasing more ambulances to convey the injured and dying to hospital, or installing traffic lights to reduce the number of accidents at the crossroads. They bought more ambulances! (Personal notes)

It is revealing to examine the South African Police responses to the community-based and educational upheaval in the Western Cape in the light of the parable, and of the following request:

The CTPA, at its annual congress held at Vredenburg in mid-June, passed a motion calling on the security police not to interfere in situations of schools unrest but to leave such unrest in the hands of school principals and staff. Speaking to the motion, a delegate described apartheid as the most hated policy in the world which 'seriously affected people's humanity (Cape Times 20:06:85)'.

Five weeks later unrest flared in the Peninsula: police and army units sealed off the Black townships, used teargas and rubber bullets to control protesting students returning from a UWC rally, but made no arrests. On the same day sjambok-wielding police prevented Mitchell's Plain pupils from boarding buses to attend the UWC rally. Police claimed that pupils gathered illegally to be transported to an illegal rally. They also claimed that SADF troops had assisted police in the townships in a 'passive, supportive role (Cape Times 27:07:85)'. A few days later UWC students disrupted traffic passing the university and clashed with police who were assisted by members of the SATS Reaction Unit. Also, when police conducted a house-to-house search in Zwelethemba (Worcester) arresting eighty-five, mainly primary, pupils, residents avowed that the SAP was assisted by SADF and SATS units (Cape Times 06:08:85). A local (Crawford) interviewee (5), a student victim of police-whipping, was adamant that the perpetrator was personally known to him as a soldier based at the SACC

(South African Cape Corps) military camp in Faure, albeit in police uniform on the day (Personal notes: 5 September 1985). This feature i.e. involvement of SADF and SATS units, became a characteristic of subsequent police action.

From the outset police used modern, sophisticated apparatus e.g. pupils attending a memorial service to a fallen colleague in Guguletu were filmed by the SAP. A few days later the police video unit was in evidence at the Rondebosch street march, thus providing a means of later identification of participants.

High school pupils from Bonteheuwel and Manenberg, attending meetings in their respective areas to discuss the projected consumer boycott, were dispersed by police using sjamboks. Five pupils, ranging in age from fourteen to sixteen were arrested with a view to being charged with attending an illegal gathering. The divisional police commissioner warned 'intimidators' of 'firm action (Cape Times 08:08:85)'. Indeed firm action was in evidence over the ensuing days when quirts and teargas were used in areas as widely dispersed as Rondebosch, Wynberg and Mitchell's Plain. Protesting students (UCT, UWC and high school) on the Groote Schuur campus were confronted by police armed with teargas, riot weapons, quirts, batons, dogs and supported by Casspir personnel carriers (Cape Times 10:08:85).

An entirely different tactic emerged in Mitchell's Plain, which enjoyed a measure of attention not everywhere evident. Student leaders claimed that police photographers impersonated members of the media to photograph leaders at rallies and school boycott meetings. There were other claims that members of the force tried to infiltrate rallies wearing school uniforms and posing as students (Cape Times 13:08:85). A teachers' meeting held in Athlone was interrupted when a policeman, masquerading as a teacher, was found taking notes in the hall. He was disarmed and evicted from the hall, which was later surrounded by fifteen vanloads of his colleagues (Cape Times 21:08:85). Impersonation of a different kind was alleged at UWC where a professor, accused of being a policeman, had his office gutted by fire. This allegation was vehemently denied, and an alibi offered (Cape Times 15:08:85).

There were constant calls for police to desist from entering school grounds and inflicting injury on pupils e.g. ADPA (Cape Times 23:08:85); TICC, which condemned brutality and the attack on the right of people to organise themselves (Cape Times 26:08:85); PENATA, which saw the SAP presence as intimidatory, provocative and leading to violence (Cape Times 26:08:85). There were also threats of assault charges being laid against individual members of the force. However, violent responses continued e.g. in breaking up a student demonstration at the South Cape Teachers' College in

Oudtshoorn police used teargas and sjamboks but also set dogs loose amongst the students, two of whom were bitten (Cape Times 21:08:85). Twenty-three students were arrested, and a further fifty-one students detained in renewed unrest two days later. Pupils from the two local high schools staged a walk-out in sympathy with their College peers. The physical attack upon people reached its high point when police tried first to prevent and later to halt the abortive march on Pollsmoor. The victims, severely gassed and beaten, came from all walks of life.

It appears as though two further turns of the screw were applied at this stage, namely, an increase in the severity of police action, and a conscious 'harassment and victimisation' of pupils and teachers. Live ammunition e.g. birdshot and the heavier buckshot was used, and in the three days succeeding the Pollsmoor march there were twenty-eight confirmed deaths and 150 victims injured seriously enough to be hospitalised (Dispatch 31:08:85). Young pupils were included amongst the dead and their funerals became new rallying points. From Kasselsvlei came reports of police vehicles riding over fences to enter school grounds, of firing teargas at pupils and arresting two of their number in the secretary's office, of firing sneeze powder at teachers en route to the police station to negotiate the release of detained pupils, et al. (Cape Times 31:08:85). And from Vista (Bo-Kaap) it was alleged that police fired

shots over the heads of teachers in the school grounds; stormed the buildings; threatened teachers at gunpoint and arrested several pupils after debris had been set alight outside the school gate (Cape Times 03:09:85). At Vredenburg, along the west coast, police baton-charged a meeting in the school hall and arrested seven pupils (Cape Times 03:09:85). The pattern repeated itself elsewhere over the next few days and became a feature of school life in the last quarter when the examination issue waxed large.

On 1 October the SRC of UWC organised a counter-rally to the official opening of DEC schools. When unrest flared police threatened severe action and subsequently fired plastic bullets and teargas canisters. This was reported to be the first use of plastic bullets in the Western Cape since 1980 (Cape Times 02:09:85). It is interesting to note that a medical scientist from Witwatersrand University warned against the use of rubber and plastic bullets. His report, which appeared in the SA Medical Journal, was based on his treatment of five patients with severe facial injuries, including the loss of an eye (Sowetan 10:12:85, quoting Dr Cohen).

Finally, in a bid to stem the escalating confrontations on school premises, university campuses and in the metropolitan areas, the police acquired a water cannon capable of firing purple dye, as well as a rubber bullet machine. The equipment, which they hoped would be more

effective in crowd control while also reducing the number of serious injuries, was brought into immediate use e.g. the water cannon at UWC and at Bo-Kaap where pupils stoned the vehicle; the rubber bullet machine at Mitchell's Plain. Despite police efforts and armaments, public violence intensified over the next few days and inexorably reached the centre of the city (Business Day 25:10:85).

It has been shown that, far from containing or controlling protest and resistance, police action appeared to spawn reaction and counter-action. What effect then, would a low profile or 'positive' approach have had? On 28 August a mass meeting was organised in Paarl and attended by 1 500 students from four local high schools and the Athlone College of Education. The meeting began at 8.30 a.m. with police vehicles patrolling the perimeter of the school grounds. After consultations between the principal and police, the meeting ended and pupils dispersed quietly at 10.15 (Cape Times 29:08:85). Similarly, a rally organised at Oaklands (Lansdowne) two days after the Pollsmoor march, dispersed quietly after SRC representatives negotiated dismissal with the SAP (Argus 30:08:85). At the funeral of an eighteen-year-old youth, shot dead by police en route home from a take-away outlet, mourners accompanied the procession on foot over a distance of several kilometres without incident - the police maintaining a low profile (Dispatch 04:09:85). Some two weeks later

when parents, together with teachers and pupils, symbolically re-occupied the schools, crowds dispersed quietly after gaining uninterrupted access to school grounds (Cape Times 18:09:85). At about the same time approximately 2 000 UWC students, led by the Rector, Vice-Rector, Rector-designate and a faculty Dean, embarked on a march from campus bound for Bellville police station to demand the release of SRC members and a lecturer. They were confronted by police at the gates and asked to disperse - the request was acceded to (Cape Times 20:09:85). To linger in the area of 'what might have been' is speculative and non-creative, but the evidence above does give some pointers. Police made some attempts at 'non-violent approaches' but these also turned out to be inflammatory e.g. the pre-dawn use of a helicopter circling over townships broadcasting appeals to parents to send their children to school (Cape Times 01:10:85), or the issuing of pamphlets to Bonteheuwel residents inviting them to view the police as 'friends and protectors (Argus 17:10:85)'

It is pertinent to examine the reactions of the affected parties at this stage. Two issues are clearly recognisable:

- the attack of the forces upon the persons of those participating in demonstrations and protests, inflicting physical injuries e.g. baton-bruises, whip-welts and dog-bites, and
- the denial of the right of people to organise

themselves in order to give expression to their dissatisfactions (Argus 29:08:85).

Furthermore, the presence of armed forces in and around school grounds was perceived to be intimidatory, provocative and conducive to violence. Many teachers can testify to the instigation of stone-throwing and tyre-burning after the appearance of Casspirs, in spite of police claims to be present to 'protect members of the public and their property (Cape Times 26:08:85)'.

### The 'Trojan Horse' Shooting

The Trojan Horse killings provided substantive evidence of how people perceive, and how such perceptions influence their subsequent decisions and actions. It is generally accepted that the pupil/student population, as a segment of the community at large, perceive the State to be violent. The 'system' is seen to be repressive and the State, through its arms (e.g. law enforcement) and agencies, is seen to be predisposed to the use of violence in upholding its objectives and withstanding resistance. There is the perception that the repressive government will do all in its power to enforce its will by using coercive measures of a non-violent nature e.g. closure of schools, the banning of meetings, et al, but also not stopping at the use of violent means in suppressing opposition to its policies. Thus the daily tally of deaths and serious injuries incurred in unrest-related incidents, many of which were inflicted by

security forces upon unarmed people, even juveniles, bore testimony to this perception. Far from instilling fear into people, it produced a sense of the inevitability of violent clashes and almost provided some 'justification' for violent responses. The Trojan Horse incident, or ambush-style execution, chilling in its conception and execution, provided gruesome substantiation of this phenomenon.

The killings followed on an intensification of street activities and an escalation of direct police involvement in pupil-demonstrations e.g. on the day before the infamous incident a rally at Wynberg Senior Secondary broke up in chaos after police in civilian clothes with guns drawn, entered the school hall and arrested the speaker, an executive member of the UDF local region (Cape Times 15:10:85). Angry pupils converged on Wynberg Main Road, smashing shop windows and car windscreens, and causing lunch-hour shoppers to scatter in search of cover.

On 15 October there were sporadic incidents of stone-throwing and barricade-burning in the Thornton Road-Belgravia Road block in Crawford. The police were sent into the area to make arrests. A contingent of nine (three SAP and six SATS Reaction Unit members) used a police vehicle disguised as a railways delivery truck to gain access to the area. In the cab were two policemen in the uniforms of SATS workers. while the rest of the

team were hidden in wooden crates at the back of the 'ghost truck'. The decoy truck, bright orange in colour and travelling slowly, made more than one trip along Thornton Road. On the fateful trip, in response to alleged attacks from stone-throwers, police sprang up from their positions in the wooden boxes and opened fire from close range using pump-action shotguns. Three youths, aged eleven, sixteen and eighteen, were shot dead, many more injured (including some indoors) and others arrested to face subsequent court appearances.

The impact of this incident was immediate and electrifying. An initial sense of numbed shock soon gave way to unbridled anger. The police stood accused of provoking people in order to ambush them - while the ages of the dead and injured told a story of its own. Later that night, when police attempted to disperse an angry crowd by firing teargas and birdshot, the police were forced to take cover as their fire was returned (Cape Times 16:10:85).

Widespread outrage and condemnation from within community sources e.g. UDF, MJC, SOYA (a predominantly Western Cape-based student organisation opposed to racial-capitalism) was augmented by warnings and criticisms from influential bodies outside (Argus 17:10:85). The president of ASSOCOM accused the government of creating a new brand of criminal i.e. the stone-thrower and tyre-burner by 'outlawing most normal

forms of expressing opposition to the policies of those in power (Argus 17:10:85)'. He questioned the government's sincerity in promoting reform 'when it condones the shooting of schoolchildren'. The Association of Law Societies of SA, via its president, expressed its 'deep concern' and sought an urgent interview with the Minister of Law and Order, re-iterating that Athlone did not fall within an area over which a state of emergency had been declared, and that the normal laws of the country were applicable to the police force and citizens alike (Argus 21:10:85).

The entire incident had been filmed by a BBC-TV news crew and televised on news-bulletins abroad, evoking immediate and hostile reaction. Thus the class boycott and schools unrest situation, with their wider social implications, were taken into the outside world.

On the next day, and on succeeding days, as tension and violence mounted at and near schools, it became clear that a likely victim of this 'black' incident would be the end-of-year examinations. Pupils and teachers alike, many strongly pro-examination, realised that the probability of a fair and just examination taking place was being brought to nought. The question was no longer only 'should I write' but 'can I write, given the circumstances?' A teacher, a believer in getting-on with constructive work, was overheard to say: 'we can kiss the examination goodbye!' (Personal notes, 16 October 1985)

School and college attendance took a visible nosedive, especially in the immediate vicinity of the shootings.

There are two questions that need to be addressed, namely, were such incidents avoidable, and secondly, what was the effect of violence in the context of future planning and actions?

To answer the first question a leading article extracted from the Argus is quoted:

Much of the unrest in South Africa now follows a tragically predictable course. Time-honoured forms of protest like demonstrations and marches are declared to be illegal. Since no other effective outlets exist for the public expression of frustration and anger, the law inevitably is broken. The police are forced to act, sometimes with a lack of sufficient discretion, setting-off a chain reaction of violence...

... the risk of violence would surely be reduced if reasonable protest were tolerated - under controlled conditions if need be ...  
(Argus 03:09:85)

The key word in the extract is tolerated. A reference to the theoretical model, described in the introductory section of this study, confirms in the present circumstances the emergence of internal strains in the system brought about by power-groups holding conflicting value-systems. The prevailing system is not structured to accommodate such variations i.e. there is no built-in tolerance factor, hence an anti-system becomes inevitable. This is followed by the State's response to 'defiance of the law'.

In order to address the second question, it is necessary to regard the Trojan Horse incident, however tragic in its immediacy, as part of a pattern of escalating confrontation and concomitant counter-action. Somewhat emotive language was bandied about during the period e.g. war-zone, battlefield, no-go area et al. Far more realistic, though, were the audible reports of shotgun-fire or the visible evidence of the dead and wounded. Under normal war circumstances, people within battle-zones whose area is being invaded either 'defend their space' or yield to superior forces and 'abandon their territory' or are seemingly pummelled into submission. A question which caused deep concern to educationists was the following:

Would students, rather than be crushed, simply abandon schools and schooling?

#### People's Perceptions of Police and Defence Force Actions

When a high-school teacher, an office-bearer of the UDF, was arrested, his colleagues expressed their 'utter resentment' at the 'arbitrary arrest'. They saw it as 'evidence of the fear that the authorities unwittingly express (Cape Times 27:08:85)'. ADPA condemned this 'latest wave of harassment' and called for the 'immediate and unconditional release' of detained teachers and pupils (Cape Times 27:08:85). A UWC student, reflecting on campus conditions, commented: 'What is different is that now the youth have faced the authorities. The old

hold that the authorities had over the students, and over the wider community, has broken down with the result that the police cannot control any protest. All they can do is to try to contain it (Weekly Mail 10:10:85)'. A week later, after the shooting of young children in Athlone, the IRF described the mood of pupils as 'anti-authority' and angry. Police action, as exemplified by the shootings, 'served only to worsen the situation (Cape Times 17:10:85)'.

Responding to the schools-closure issue, teachers, wishing to counter the assertion that schools had been closed as a safety measure, said that 'the only people who threatened the safety of our pupils are the police and army (Cape Times 16:09:85)'. A short while later the Director of the Peninsula Technikon, Mr Sonn, called an academic assembly to demand an independent inquiry into unlawful action by the security forces. He was reacting to, inter alia, allegations of brutality, obscenities and abusive language inflicted upon three college students. Two student brothers, who sought a court order restraining the police from detaining or intimidating them, heard the presiding judge describe police conduct as 'either incredibly inept - hamfisted - or rightly perceived by them as threatening'. Police behaviour created the impression that some members thought 'they either are the law or are above it', commented the judge (Cape Times 16:10:85).

Many parents detected a swing to a mood of open antagonism towards the police mainly because of indiscriminate shooting of any groups of youths either congregating in the street or running for shelter. If it is recognised that township life is characterised by street gatherings and games, occasioned by high-density living and lack of recreational facilities; and if it is remembered that the natural reaction, borne out by immediate past experience, is to run in the face of advancing security forces, then all residents become potential victims. A perturbed parent, commenting on this phenomenon, assessed that the 'police in 2 days have done the work of 30 popular organisations in politicising our people and making everybody a potential guerilla (Cape Times 10:09:85)'. Thus evidence emerged of adults assisting the youth by acting as look-outs, or providing material for barricades, or simply offering shelter to the fleeing or injured. Finally, when twenty community organisations demanded a postponement of examinations their justification was, in part, motivated by the daily acts of intimidation and harassment against pupils, teachers and parents perpetrated by the police and army.

To counter such negative perceptions police headquarters re-iterated their stance from time to time, namely, 'If anyone should have reason to believe that they have legal cause for complaint, such person can file an affidavit at any police station. The allegations will then be fully investigated' (Cape Times 16:11:85)'. .

The SADF opened 'complaints centres' at Nyanga, Mitchell's Plain and Manenberg - manned on three days per week and established to investigate complaints of misconduct against army personnel. Employers were also invited to submit complaints on behalf of workers, who showed an understandable reluctance to complain about the 'forces' to the 'forces'.

The essence of this section of the study, which focussed upon security force actions, the people's perceptions of such actions and attempts by the security agencies to neutralise a negative image, is portrayed in an extract from a statement issued on behalf of the Civil Rights League by a senior office-bearer. The statement, having located the problem, goes beyond image-building in specifying first steps towards its resolution:

Everyone acknowledges that inferior schools in inferior suburbs to which so many Capetonians have been forced by apartheid legislation have created legitimate grievances.

Violence is being used by the State to force those grievances under the carpet, and this is obviously creating new grievances, which the State sees as defiance.

The State has started the cycle of violence and it is up to the State to stop it by withdrawing the riot police and SADF from the townships.  
(B.Bishop, quoted in Cape Times: 17:10:85)

## CHAPTER 7

**An Evaluation of the Boycott Strategy**

In the preceding chapters in this section, emphasis was placed upon oppositional strategies generally classified as 'boycott' - not strictly accurate, but legitimate in the sense that the period was dominated by an education boycott of major proportions in terms of impact and involvement. It is appropriate, therefore, to evaluate the boycott strategy in terms of outcomes - reflected as gains or losses - from the perspective of the participants.

For the proponents of educational reconstruction, the encounters of 1985 spawned some successes in the emergence of new structures, new alliances and new strategies, but also in engendering higher levels of mobilisation and commitment within their ranks. These will be examined at several levels.

**1. STUDENT LEVEL****1.1 Secondary Education**

The goals of greater pupil-awareness of, and involvement in, political and socio-economic issues of the day are self-evident, and need no elaboration. However, during

1985 pupil and student realisation of the 'need for effective organisation' and of the importance of joint action with the community (Cape Times 16:10:85)' fitted comfortably within the assessment of Parsons that 'student activities and militancy are a symptom of ... the understanding and political goals that already exist among the oppressed generally, and are an important, but not leading, wing of the movement towards freedom ...(Educational Journal LIV (4), Dec 1982: 4-9)'.

Whereas the events of 1980 gave birth to the loosely-constructed Committee of 81, an altogether different response emerged during 1985, manifesting the urge for greater co-ordination, greater cohesion, more sensitivity to local and immediate issues but not ignoring national issues. Thus the Inter-schools Co-ordinating Committee (ISCC) which was founded in 1984 and confined its activities to school campuses, was replaced by the Western Province Schools Action Committee (WEPSAC) whose prime function as an ad hoc committee was to monitor the boycott. The latter organisation was soon supplanted by the Western Cape Students Action Committee (WECSAC - founded August 1985) which brought representatives of local high schools, colleges and universities into one body which assessed and reviewed the course of the boycott. WECSAC was later dissolved and restructured as the Inter-regional Forum (IRF), incorporating schools in the Peninsula, Paarl, Worcester and other outlying areas. The IRF, given 'decision-making powers' by the delegates

from the boycotting schools which it represented, was required to address the examination-boycott issue. In a press statement, the IRF confirmed that it 'aligns itself with the rest of the oppressed student community in South Africa who are also boycotting, and has undertaken to send delegates to other parts of the country to establish contact (Cape Times 28:10:85)'

The observable search for contacts, which can be interpreted as a search for identity and role, as exemplified in the establishment of the Western Cape Students Council (WECSCO) after the banning of COSAS (WECSCO incorporated schools from the Black townships and Cape Flats areas), and the desire to promote responsiveness, as manifested in the establishment of regional action committees e.g. Athlone Schools Action Committee (ASAC), are measures of growth. They mirror previous and similar trends after the demise of SASO, namely, the formation of the South African Student Movement (SASM - a national body for black secondary school pupils founded in 1972), the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC, founded in 1976 and comprising action committees of two representatives per school), and later COSAS (established in 1979 to represent Black school pupils nationally) and its sister organisation AZASO (Azanian Students' Organisation, representing Black college and university students).

## 1.2 Tertiary Institutions

Two significant developments emerged at local university level:

- the co-operation on specific issues of the University of Cape Town SRC and Students' Action Committee (SAC - representing mainly Black student interests). Thus the call for a three-day lecture boycott in August 1985 was a joint, non-sectarian call made upon the entire student body, to 'unify the boycott action on campus (Cape Times 07:08:85)' started the previous week by approximately 300 black students; and
- the alignment on certain issues of UCT and UWC students within the fold of WECSAC (Cape Times 10:08:85).

Both developments imply subscription to the principle of non-racialism in confronting national issues e.g. the then limited State of Emergency.

An interesting feature emerged in the display of 'sensitivity' by university authorities on, inter alia, the examination issue. Thus at UCT, whose black student constituency showed increasing relative strength, deferment of examination was granted on application to students from unrest-affected areas or communities. At UWC the examinations were postponed to a negotiated date.

At college level, a fledgling organisation, namely, National Tertiary Institutions Students' Organisation (NTISO) was called into being to address the issue of an

examination boycott.

## 2. THE ORGANISED PROFESSION

### 2.1 Teachers' Associations

Practising teachers, who were members of professional associations, aligned themselves traditionally with one of two bodies, namely, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA), which, since 1943 had aligned itself with the liberatory struggle (See Educational Journal LV (1), 1984: 1-3); and the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA), founded in 1967. A significant reservoir of teachers - probably urban and operating in the secondary area - remained untapped. Why?

The TLSA traditionally found itself in vigorous opposition to the government-of-the-day, especially in regard to the outflow of race- and class-based policies. The organisation espoused the cause of nation-building, resting upon non-racialism and political and economic democracy. Its stand has been uncompromisingly consistent - no collaboration! The official journal of the association stated that 'the legitimate political movement has to maintain the integrity of its ranks. It must shut its doors tight against any and all forms of collaboration and compromise... The choice is either a national unity based upon non-negotiable demands for full

democratic rights and upon non-collaboration with all the machinery of oppression - or disunity, loss of direction, loss of gains made thus far and betrayal of the entire struggle...(Educational Journal LIV (7), Apr-May 1983: 2)'.

The principled stand has earned respect, although a charge of 'negativism' - of being reactive rather than pro-active - has been levelled at the body (Interviewee 1).

The CTPA, on the other hand, described itself as an 'organisation of realists with its feet on the ground' hence its willingness to 'negotiate with the authorities of the day - a policy which is in the interests of members'. This policy was reiterated in the president's address to the 17th Annual Congress viz.

'...we should not be reckoned among those who find satisfaction in merely slating the system and doing no more... We will continue to fight for our goal of equal educational opportunity in a unitary and non-racial system, but at the same time we will do the best we can under existing circumstances to provide quality education for our children and provide rights and dignity for our teachers (Educatio IX (3) 3rd Qr 1984: 5)'.

The TLSA does not have the 'officially recognised' status accorded to the CTPA. Many teachers perceive official recognition as a dubious advantage since it could be interpreted as showing a willingness to 'toe the line' while extracting concessions.

The 1985 schools unrest situation saw the emergence of a new teachers' organisation which immediately occupied the high ground. In mid-August a meeting was held in Rylands and attended by several hundred teachers who were exhorted to accept their 'duty to organise with students (Cape Times 16:08:85)'. Teachers were asked to observe a work-stoppage or downing-of-tools for two days in support of students' demands and a consumer boycott (Cape Times 17:08:85). An interim body, the Concerned Teachers' Co-ordinating Committee (CTCC), targeted at progressive and concerned educators, called for a 'progressive, dynamic organisation' to represent 'teachers fighting apartheid (Argus 20:08:85)', and attempting to play an 'educative role in the liberation struggle (Cape Times 26:08:85)'. The non-racial Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU), with detectable UDF-COSATU leanings, was launched at the end of September in the wake of the schools-closure episode. It soon became embroiled in the examinations-issue and reminded its membership that 'teachers cannot be neutral (Cape Times 15:10:85)'. It called for a postponement of the examination and in particular for teachers not to administer 'farcical examinations (Cape Times 26:11:85)'. The consequent transfers, suspensions, dismissals and docking of teachers' salaries are recounted in Chapter 5.

WECTU appears, then, to have provided a home to those teachers who espoused a more direct involvement in the

issues of the day - schools as legitimate sites of struggle - and who saw their roles as indivisible from that of the student community and community at large. They hedged at the clinically academic analyses of the TLSA - allegedly not backed by action - on the one hand, and the conciliatory approach of the 'moderate CTPA (Argus Editorial 16:06:85)' on the other hand. They accepted involvement as a professional responsibility - an approach seen as activist in official circles.

It is interesting to note that during 1986 CTPA and the umbrella Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa (UTASA) took a decision to cease negotiations with, and membership of, bodies locked into the 'own-affairs' and 'general affairs' constraints (Argus 16:07:86). Delegates were withdrawn from several statutory bodies. This new stance was in keeping with the assessment of interviewees (1-4) that any movement towards transformation and rectification of the existing educational order must start with teachers, who present a constant factor as opposed to the changing composition of the student population.

## 2.2 Principals' Associations

The Athlone and District Principals Association (ADPA) issued several public statements with a view to influencing the course of events. Calls were made upon

students 'to end the boycott' and upon the South African Police 'to desist from entering school grounds and injuring pupils (Cape Times 23:08:85)'; upon the authorities to cease 'harassment and arrest of pupils and teachers (Cape Times 27:08:85)' and later for a postponement of examinations (Argus 16:10:85).

Principals were sensitive to the suspicion and lack of confidence implicit in the attitudes of student organisations. Thus in mid-October a group of forty secondary school principals launched the Secondary Schools Principals Association (SSPA) whose aim was to establish a 'forum for the discussion and examination of the critical issues facing secondary education at present (Cape Times 05:11:85)'. The association accorded sympathy and respect to the aims of the student movement but decried the periodic attacks upon the integrity of high school principals (Cape Times 05:11:85). Although there was no indication of the existence of formal links between principals and students, the implication was strong that principals resisted being assigned a role of irrelevance. There was an apparent willingness to engage both the students and the education and security authorities in discussion on matters of vital concern to them as education administrators and community members.

To the extent that the structures discussed in the preceding paragraphs can be regarded as reasonably representative of the school community in the Western

Cape, it is significant to note the concurrence of visions for a 'single non-racial department of education in an open society and the eradication of all racist and discriminatory measures in education and society at large (Cape Times 05:11:85)'.

### 3. PARENTAL LEVEL: EMERGENCE OF PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS (PTA'S) AND PARENT-TEACHER-STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS (PTSA'S)

The 1963 Coloured Persons Education Act (Act 47 of 1963) made provision for duly elected school committees to be constituted at State and State-aided schools. The committees, elected by parents of registered pupils, are statutory bodies with a prescribed membership, term of office and range of functions and powers. By far the most important functions relate to: nominations for appointment of teaching staff, acting as trustees of school funds and generally promoting and safeguarding the interests of the school. Matters handled at quarterly meetings are confined to school business only.

A measure of apathy towards school committees is shown by parents, as evidenced by occasional failure to elect a committee where neither a quorum of parents, nor sufficient candidates to fill the vacancies, have been present at election meetings. Departmental mechanisms are then invoked to appoint school committees.

In the wake of the schools-closure crisis there was hard-won unanimity that all sectors of the school community, namely, teachers, parents and pupils, faced the same challenges and needed, therefore, to be united in purpose and direction 'in their resistance to segregated, inferior and unequal schooling (See SACOS - Sport and Liberation, Aug 1983)'. There was common rejection of 'ineffective school committees (Cape Times 28:09:85)'. Joint meetings of parents, pupils and teachers elected ad hoc committees to fight such issues as closure e.g. Manenberg (Cape Times 11:09:85) and Belhar (Cape Times 14:09:85), and later to assume control of schools by re-claiming school premises in defiance of official strictures. These embryonic parent-teacher-student associations provided a pattern to be emulated elsewhere. Similar meetings were held throughout the Peninsula over the ensuing weeks at which PTSA's were formally constituted. Attendance at such meetings and the prevailing mood displayed the very antithesis of the apathy which characterised school committee gatherings. In the Peninsula's Black townships similar groupings within a Parents' Action Committee (PAC) structure were engaged in efforts aimed at resolving the crisis in education (Cape Times 30:09:85), but did not circumvent addressing political and socio-economic factors impinging upon education.

PTSA's soon gained the attention of the authorities and

were denied access to school premises by Ministerial ban in early October; similarly, but more positively, they gained recognition from student organisations which demanded, inter alia, 'recognition of SRC's and PTSA's elected during the boycott period... (Weekly Mail 21:11:85)'

A document in general circulation at this time, and entitled Why a PT(S)A (date and authorship not published) sets out thirteen reasons and guidelines for the establishment of such an instrument 'to prepare pupils for a free, non-racial and democratic country (Cape Times 28:09:85)'. An analysis of the rationale shows coverage of such significant considerations as:

a) control and management, e.g.

Item 5: To establish the right to have control over the educational institutions..., or

Item 11: The bureaucratic role of the principals and inspectors should be done away with.

b) curriculum and syllabus content, e.g.

Item 9: In the schools we should undertake to change the syllabuses - the content of the education, or

Item 6: The right of a PTSA to have a say in the choice of subjects at a school, library books, ...

c) methodology, e.g.

Item 12: Our children have to be taught how to think not what to think...

d) relationships of power, e.g.

Item 8: ...unequal relationships are unacceptable to a people striving for control of the educational process and liberation.

e) goals and values, e.g

Item 13: The values that we wish our children to have must be taught through the schools.

f) needs and aspirations, e.g.

Item 2: It (the PTSA) is a channel through which parents, teachers and students can express their needs, aspirations and demands.

Underpinning the stated objectives is what may be termed a counter-curriculum to the prevailing hidden curriculum e.g. '... the role of competition (a value of the present ruling class), the whole question of SUBSERVIENCE AND HIERARCHY... imbibed by our children at a very tender age... These must be rejected'. Finally, it must be recognised that the forging of unity within such bodies fell squarely upon the long-term political agenda i.e. working towards a reconstructed South African education system.

By March 1986 a decision was taken to launch, in early May, a Federation of Parent, Teacher and Student Associations (Western Cape) to provide a 'forum for discussion on educational matters (Cape Times 31:03:86)'.

#### 4. COMMUNITY LEVEL

The interlocking effect of student affairs and community affairs via trade unions, civic associations and quasi-political organisations reached new proportions during 1985, partly 'because students realised they ... could not bring about change through their actions; they had to ally (themselves) with and support the struggles of their parents, the workers (NUSAS booklet 'Educating for Change', 1983: 8)'. The very quick youth and student support for the call by organisations to start a consumer boycott was matched by a realisation that 'progressive organisations such as trade unions would have to support the consumer boycott (Cape Times 14:08:85; quoting a Western Cape Youth League spokesman)'. Platforms at student meetings were shared with trade unionists e.g. a WECSAC meeting on UCT campus was addressed by a senior official of the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Union (Argus 09:08:85). Union federations called upon the authorities to, inter alia, re-open schools after closure (Cape Times 07:09:85) or to re-schedule examinations (Cape Times 22:11:85). Students in turn gave support to the workers' call for a work-stoppage on 11 and 12 September (Argus 11:09:85).

In a broader community context efforts were made to establish links with SRC's in DET-controlled schools and to bring WECTU and its counterpart DETU (serving black teachers) into closer liaison on teacher-related issues.

Structural ties remained tenuous during 1985, although the principle of linkage had been established.

In a restricted sense the 1985-86 upheaval mirrored the events and aftermath of previous periods of unrest. However, two significant features emerged in the Western Cape during this period, namely,

- greater politicisation and perhaps radicalisation of some parents, with concomitant increased support (or less overt opposition) to the 'student cause';
- an infusion of ANC symbols, if not substance, into some events e.g. the holding aloft of photographs of jailed leaders, or unfurling of the ANC banner at rallies, or discussing the Freedom Charter, et al.

#### Losses (Inhibiting Factors)

The idea of 'sacrifice' and a 'price-to-be-paid' surfaced on many occasions (e.g. Cape Times 24:08:85). The coinage of such payment consisted of detentions and arrests of pupils and teachers; suspensions and dismissals of teachers; interruption or termination of schooling or training of students; physical injury and death, and damage to property. Growing numbers were 'lost to the cause' via 'defections' to private schools and tutorial colleges, some hastily established (see C.Reid, Unpub. B.Ed dissertation, UCT). Very severe restrictions were placed upon the functioning of SRC's and umbrella student organisations on the one hand, and

teachers' organisations and PTSA's on the other hand, through Ministerial denial of access to school premises. Court injunctions against the Minister of Education and Culture, or court orders restraining the Minister from implementing certain orders were sought in unprecedented moves by teachers' associations (Argus 04:10:85; Cape Times 29:10:85; Argus 02:12:85). The banning of COSAS and the extension of the State of Emergency to the Western Cape represented severe limiting factors (Cape Times 26:10:85).

An ominous development, which should initiate a re-appraisal of the too frequent use of the boycott strategy, emerged in the deployment of security guards at schools (independent of the school authority) and the occupation of school premises by police and army personnel. Of great gravity was the intervention of such forces in the internal workings of specific schools.

Postscript: It is noteworthy that the 1985 incumbent of the post of Executive Director of Education, Administration: House of Representatives felt compelled to resign his post which had become 'untenable' because of 'political pressure from higher up' (Weekend Argus 26:04:86 and Sunday Times 27:04:86).

#### A Brief Synopsis

It is apparent that the boycott instrument needs to be

evaluated against its awesome, self-propelling momentum, often uncontrollable, sometimes self-destructive, and against the awesome anti-democratic responses from the State. It evokes the question: Is it not possible to initiate and achieve attainable targets via programmes that are educative and non-disruptive, and which do not pre-suppose class and education boycotts?

Since the schools boycott, and the diversity of concomitant events unleashed by this phenomenon, so dominated the latter half of 1985, it is imperative that a survey be made of long-term responses emanating from the State and from non-State interest groups. The responses, some already announced and others enjoying de-facto implementation, will sketch the kinds of systems, programmes and activities which are considered to be crucial elements of a stable boycott-free education milieu. Political groupings within and outside the parliamentary system e.g. the National Party, AZAPO and UDF(NECC) et al, endorse and propagate models which will presage a truce-situation in education, both within the transition- and the post-apartheid stages. In Chapter 8 of this study, therefore, an analysis will be made of three selected models, and of their potential efficacy in neutralising the severe strains now rampant in a divided system.

## SECTION C

## AN EXPLORATION OF ALTERNATIVE MODELS

## ABSTRACT

'There should be equality of educational opportunity. This means that every person in society should have equal access to the best education which the State can provide and have available an education which is best suited to his age, ability and aptitude... The system of selection for education and the system of differentiation in education must be based on the criteria of ability, talent, quality and hard work of the individual, and on the needs of all the members of society... Criteria like colour, race or creed should be irrelevant in the public education system (SPRO-CAS Report, quoted in Rose and Tunmer, 1975: 275)'

If there is evidence that a system is being rejected, and if there are strongly focussed portents of strain between contending parties within the system, then it is appropriate to ask what alternatives are envisaged as possible new truce-situations, or imposed solutions, in a re-defined order.

South Africa is a heterogeneous country with clearly demarcated racial and ethnic divisions entrenched by law, and class divisions re-inforced by tradition and practice. There exists also a history of contention and conflict within the populace which displays varying stages of socio-economic advancement and educational attainment. These circumstances have spawned

widely-divergent social and political priorities and outlooks. Views of education, and therefore, favoured educational models, are as disparate and possibly irreconcilable as such socio-political agendas.

Whilst Section A focussed on what was being rejected in education within the broader social milieu, and Section B highlighted the actions of the aggrieved sector of the populace, and the responses of the State in its attempt to neutralise such strains, it will be the purpose of this section (Section C) to identify and analyse some of the alternative models which were propagated in the period under review. It is not possible to analyse in detail the particular educational model favoured by the myriad of contending groups. Therefore, an attempt will be made to describe and analyse a limited selection of models representing three broad positions along the political spectrum.

Firstly, account must be taken of the model presented by the State since it is currently (and for the foreseeable future) in the process of implementation. It is representative of the broadly conservative political outlook. Secondly, occupying the middle ground, and representing traditional liberal values, is the model characterised by open schools in an open society - achieved gradually, perhaps by assimilation. A distinction is drawn here between State schools and those schools classified as private. Finally, that section of

the population which demands a reconstructed socio-politico-economic order defines education as a tool with which to achieve its goals and to establish a new dispensation thereafter. Some expression is given to these aims in People's Education - diametrically opposed to the status quo, and considered to be radical within establishment ranks.

It will be profitable to assess each of the models against the backdrop of the quotation which introduces this section.

## CHAPTER 8

**Education Models**

## I APARTHEID OPTION (MODERNIST, REFORMIST, TECHNICIST)

[Modernist: The current model is seen by critics as an up-dating or modernising of the traditional apartheid model. The government re-affirmed its commitment to the principles of 'Christian' and 'national' education, and to mother-tongue instruction. It committed itself to the removal of discrimination in educational provision and opportunities between the races, but retained racial segregation in education.

Reformist: The government, in instituting constitutional reform remained committed to the principle of self-determination for each racial group. The tri-cameral parliamentary system, introduced in 1984, made provision for separate, racially-based 'own-affairs' administrations for the participating groups. Education, designated an 'own affair', made provision for separate schools under the jurisdiction of a separate education authority for each population group.

Technicist: The technicist approach assumes that education, placed in the hands of 'experts' employing scientific and technological reasoning and methods, can be made to achieve pre-determined social and economic goals, even where such goals run counter to the

experience and aspirations of communities. The approach subordinates the moral and ethical questions of, for example, racial differentiation in education to the criteria of efficiency and control. All in all, it serves the interests of established government. In the post De Lange Commission period, great emphasis has been placed upon the importance of vocational training and non-formal education as an answer to the country's economic-growth needs, with an intrusion of merit as a criterion for advancement in place of colour and race only. (See Kallaway, 1984: 371-384.)]

The education boycotts of 1976 and 1980, together with the accompanying political and social upheaval, forced the National Party government to give consideration to a programme for accommodating the aspirations of the disaffected. The appointment, terms of reference and recommendations of the De Lange Commission of Enquiry into Education Provision in the RSA, which represented the government's response to disintegration in the field of education, are specified in Chapter 2. By 1984 the government had embarked upon its programme of political reform via the tri-cameral parliamentary system which designated education as an 'own affair'. Separate school systems run by separate education departments headed by racially classified 'own affairs' Ministers of Education and Culture would continue to represent official State policy (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1970). It is significant that the De Lange Commission, while recommending a new

emphasis in content and methodology, and while calling for a single Ministry of Education, did not oppose the principle of separation. It is interesting to note that, in terms of the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act (Act 76 of 1984, Section 2(1)), the Minister of National Education was empowered to determine policy in respect of:

- (a) norms and standards for the financing of running and capital costs of education for all population groups;
- (b) salaries and conditions of employment of staff;
- (c) the professional registration of teachers;
- (d) norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations, and for certification of qualifications (Hansard HoA, 2/1986: 470).

While the DNE, through the columns of its Annual Report (1985: 12) regarded the Minister's functions as being the 'unifying factor' in education, Mr M.Lewis, MP (LP) saw the policy as divisive and responsible for the entrenchment of racial separation in education and the concomitant financial disparities (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1969). Earlier chapters in this study have traced the education upheaval of 1985, particularly in the Western Cape, to this factor.

The authorities, confronted with a near-breakdown in the education systems for those classified coloured, Indian or black over significant sections of the country, were obliged to react. The response of the government, made

via its Minister of National Education, Mr F.W. de Klerk, after consultation with the South African Council for Education (SACE) and the Universities and Technikons (UAT) Advisory Council, and labelled as the '10-Year Plan', provided a blueprint for education provision which should be viewed as part of the overall reform programme within the education component of social organisation.

### The 10-Year Plan: Equal Educational Opportunities and Standards

The Minister of National Education announced in Parliament that the government had decided to launch a 10-year programme (1986 - 1996) to 'upgrade the provision of education in South Africa', as part of a 'long-term, objective for achieving equal educational opportunities for all population groups within the shortest possible period (Argus 17:04:86)'. The plan, linked to the country's expected economic growth rate, provided for a real increase in education expenditure of 4,1% per annum. Thus the current 1986 total expenditure on education in RSA of R6,8 billion would rise to an expected R10,0 billion in 1996 (Argus 17:04:86). Furthermore, funds would be allocated on a priority basis to departments experiencing the greatest backlogs which, in effect, meant the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives and, in particular the Department of Education and Training (black schooling). (See Cape Times

04:10:86 and Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1998)

The Minister defined the priority objectives, which would consume the major portion of the monetary allocation, as:

- improving the qualification levels of teachers,
- improving the pupil-teacher ratio,
- dealing with the increase in pupil numbers. (See Cape Times 17:04:86)

Thus both qualitative and quantitative improvements were envisaged.

However, the new planned approach to education, as opposed to the apparently ad hoc approach traditionally in operation, had to be viewed in a context. Such context was provided by Minister De Klerk in his address to the House of Representatives, re-affirming the view that education was in principle an 'own affair', and saying that 'the recognition of separate groups had to be the departure point for an education policy (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1970)' and that parents and the church were in the first instance responsible for education with the State intervening only by consent of the two traditional custodians of this responsibility (Argus 23:04:86)'. In attempting to justify the entrenchment of separation, the Minister enumerated four factors which hampered the introduction of a single educational system, namely, milieu backwardness, interference by radicals, lack of discipline and (uneven) levels of education qualification (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1974). A week earlier, Dr F. van

Staden, a Conservative Party MP and spokesman on education, re-iterated his party's standpoint that an 'integrated education department was totally unacceptable (Cape Times 17:04:86)'. His colleague, Mr H.van der Merwe, MP, warned that the 'policy is moving in a direction in which the Third World will ultimately assume control (Hansard HoA, 10/1986: 3437)'.

Dr Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid, exposed the subordination of the education programme to socio-political goals, when he told the House of Assembly that 'a single department (of education) would eliminate the opportunity for self-determination in education (Argus 08:06:86)'. The establishment view was confirmed by the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk's new policy document on Church and Society, enshrining education as an 'own affair' and re-endorsing Christian National Education and mother-tongue instruction (Argus 23:10:86), while Mr P.Clase, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, called upon Afrikaans-speaking teachers to 'close ranks against the onslaught on education as an own affair (Argus 26:06:86)'. The SAOU, representing mainly white Afrikaans-speaking teachers in the Cape, at its 1986 Graaff-Reinet Congress, gave overwhelming support to the principle of 'own education', with national character and cultural character being worthy of defence at all costs (Argus 25:06:86).

The government, in its adherence to the principle of

separateness, did not earn the support of the official Opposition Progressive Federal Party which called for 'general affairs' schools coupled with local option (Hansard HoA, 10/1986: 3441-2), nor of its partners in either the House of Representatives or the House of Delegates (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1980). The governing party seemed to have taken very little account of the well-documented United States Supreme Court ruling that separate education could not, by its very definition, be equal (Brown versus Board of Education, 1954).

The Court ruled that comparisons could not be based on tangible aspects only e.g. buildings, facilities, equipment, teachers, examination standards and results, since these did not address the effect of segregation itself upon public education. The Court was of the opinion that segregation of white and coloured pupils in public schools had a detrimental effect on coloured children, implying inferiority, especially where segregation had the sanction of law. (See H.Roberton, Argus 22:04:86.)

The extra-parliamentary view, given utterance by WECTU, raises the very interesting quandary of a regime, lacking in political legitimacy and credibility, attempting to achieve legitimate goals in the field of education. Thus:

'South Africa's schooling problems cannot be solved under a system of oppression, under apartheid and capitalism. When the country is liberated, the people themselves will be able

to solve the country's education problems  
(Argus 17:04:86, quoting WECTU spokesman)'.

This view was shared by Mr H.van Rensburg, a PFP parliamentarian who asserted that the government should 'realise the reality that it is supported by less than 10% of South Africa's population, but it decides unilaterally that educational apartheid will be forced on the whole of South Africa against the wishes of...more than 90% of all South Africans (Hansard HoA, 10/1986: 3427)'.

### Evaluation

The government appears to have erred in coupling education provision too closely with possible economic growth, whereas education could be viewed as a potential generator of such growth if aligned with job creation and similar stimulatory measures. There is also serious doubt, conceded by the Minister himself, whether the goals of equality of opportunity and standards can be achieved within 10 years (Hansard HoA, 10/1986: 3425) or whether the government (or country) has that length of time to evolve an acceptable dispensation (Cape Times 17:04:86 quoting R. Burrows, MP (PFP), and Argus 22:04:86 quoting J. Ince, president of SATA). In any event, it is questionable whether the State can release the resources to match its own target, hence the warning by a government member, Mr W.Hefer, MP, that the education advancement programme as announced by the Minister

'places a responsibility on the shoulders of the business world and on those of the parent community as the private sector which also has to make an equal contribution in support of the State... The entire community is responsible for a financial contribution...to realise this plan within the compass of 10 years (Hansard HoA, 10/1986: 3438)'.

In a country with a highly uneven distribution of wealth and access to private sector financial support, roughly correlated with racial divisions, the marked disparities in education are likely to be re-inforced rather than eliminated in this way. Essentially then, the view postulated by Elliot is an acceptable assessment, namely, 'the inadequacies in education for blacks will not disappear with the infusion of more money into the system' since the 'crucial factor in raising standards and improving quality in education is time, not money (Sunday Times 13:04:86, 'Black School Crisis')'.

Within the school context there are immediate problems which could be solved by the availability of funds or a more favourable per-capita monetary allocation e.g. provision of adequate buildings, sport and recreation facilities, libraries and laboratories, equipment, textbooks and stationery, technological aids et al. However, there is no short-cut to raising school-retention rates to acceptable levels; to carrying quality primary school training through to the secondary level;

to achieving acceptable levels of school leaving and university entrance passes; to improving the quality and qualifications of teacher-educators and teacher-trainees, inter alia. These are basic prerequisites to quality education and are not achievable within a decade or two. Given the most favourable school circumstances, progress in the field of equal standards in education will still be subject to the totally debilitating social milieu confronting other-than-white pupils, namely, poor housing, health services, welfare programmes and economic opportunities.

An additional militating factor against any potential success for the 10-year plan is the impediment to self-realisation implicit in a system undergirded by separation and its corollary, inferiority. The emotional and psychological damage experienced by deprived pupils will not be assuaged by a favourable physical school environment, if it is separate. The latter view is endorsed by Lee who asserts that 'as long as education policy is based on separation, suspicion will persist almost regardless of how much money is spent (Education X, 1 3rd Qr 1985: 23)'. An obvious question arises, namely: if education is the same why should it be separate?

Mr de Klerk expressed the belief that:

'Education and upbringing at school have to link up with the values and norms applying at home and in the community or, in an even narrower sense, the neighbourhood.'

This principle implies that education should be community-orientated and culturally-orientated to those groups which set a high price on this (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 2009).

His opinion did not find universal favour. Indeed, it was countered by Mr M.Lewis, MP (LP), who stated that:

'Equality of treatment means to me - and to many others - finally and simply: Making students operate harmoniously at school level so that they can become harmoniously operating adults in society. The harmony can best come about when they start off by being educated together and continue being educated together in an open-ended educational system (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1971)'.

It would appear then, that the programme of upgrading education to achieve parity of standards and opportunities for all children in the RSA, will not succeed in its inferred aim of de-politicising education within the ranks of the disaffected. To the extent that it is a technocratic response to a sociological/ educational problem the plan does not address principal issues e.g. separation, isolation and relevance, and cannot, therefore, succeed. Such failure to deliver is guaranteed by the lack of user involvement in decision-taking and implementation, a pre-requisite for common purpose and hence, legitimacy. Perhaps credence can be given to the views expressed by an interviewee that the 10-Year Plan constitutes an attempt to buy off a middle class (Interviewee 3), or another interviewee who foresaw massive repression as a corollary to massive expenditure in education (Interviewee 2).

## II LIBERAL OPTION (INTEGRATED, OPEN SCHOOLS):

## CENTRIST ALTERNATIVE

The traditional repository for liberal educational thinking in South Africa has been the English-speaking sector of the (white) population, probably because of cultural links with Britain and the United States. Ashley (Education Journal XC, 3 Nov 1980: 9) defines a liberal education as 'one which prepares a man to be free, to live as a free man in an open society' with a balanced development of his emotional, physical, aesthetic, moral and intellectual powers. It places great store on the development of the critical intellect, upon hard challenge and a shared exploration of knowledge.

Gradual, but perceptible moves towards this option, positioned between the status quo and more radical models presently under consideration, have been witnessed in recent years. There have been significant expressions of opinion by parents and the broader community (white English-speaking) on the question of 'open' or integrated schools, while many church-run private schools have been unobtrusively implementing such a policy for a decade or more. What are the characteristics of such 'open' schools; what levels of support for desegregation exist at this moment and what are the overriding fears and prejudices of the parent-community? These questions will be addressed within the context of State schools and

privately-run schools, respectively.

#### A. State Schools

A survey conducted by Natal University's Professor L. Schlemmer and reported upon in the public media, revealed that members of the Natal Teachers' Society (white) supported the gradual integration of schools with safeguards to 'maintain the current standards in white schools (Sunday Times 18:05:86)'. It is legitimate to infer that 'standards' apply in an academic and non-academic sense i.e. with regard to the formal curriculum and hidden curriculum, respectively. The typical school would, therefore, implement an open-admissions policy but would retain the standards, traditions, norms and values of the present single-race (white) school. This could be achieved via the system of zoning or 'suburban proximity' as a criterion for admission (Argus 29:05:86).

Schlemmer, in his survey, enumerates the following hindrances to full support for such a policy from the white school community:

- cultural differences;
- language and communications problems;
- maintenance of standards in presently white schools;
- lower level of academic readiness among black pupils;
- advanced politicisation of black youth;
- likely resistance from pupils, teachers, parents and

local communities (the much feared backlash effect?). Minister Clase added another consideration of distinctly political flavour, namely:

- loss of control of children's education to the majority (Argus 23:05:86).

These problems and issues (whether real or imaginary) must inevitably be resolved in the national life of the country. Many would argue that the school is the appropriate place for inter-group trust, knowledge, understanding and tolerance to be fostered in place of the fear, suspicion, prejudice and enmity engendered by separation. Mr M.Lewis, MP (LP), crystallised this opinion in his assertion that 'education deals with human beings, human potential, human development and human advancement. The main objective of education is to turn out well-balanced products, able to fit into a society in which such products will operate (Hansard HoR, 10/1986: 1971)'.

A Gallup poll of urban whites, as published in Education News (XCVI (2) Mar 1986) on behalf of the South African Teachers' Association (SATA - Cape, white, English-speaking) showed 17% active support for the principle of integrating the present all-white State schools and 38% acceptance (even unwilling). 40% of those polled were opposed to integrated schools. English-speakers showed 75% support or acceptance and Afrikaans-speakers 67% rejection of the principle of integration. Cape Town, a major metropolitan area in the Western Cape, showed 68%

support amongst whites for desegregated schools (Argus 03:04:86).

The year 1986 witnessed a plethora of surveys or opinion polls conducted by the governing bodies of Cape Town schools under the control of the Cape Education Department - i.e. State schools. All displayed a significant measure of support for schools to be opened to pupils of 'all races'. In February, parents of pupils attending SACS (South African College Schools) endorsed the principle (80% for; 14% against - Argus 12:05:86). This pace-setting response was followed by Westerford (91% for, in a 62% poll - Argus 06:05:86), Rondebosch Boys' Schools (87% for - Argus 29:05:86), Wynberg Boys' Schools (80% yes, in a 54,4% poll - Cape Times 12:08:86), Camps Bay (Argus 06:11:86) and Cape Town High (77% for, in a 59% poll - Cape Times 10:11:86). This call was backed by SATA through an editorial in its official mouthpiece calling for 'government' schools to be opened to all races. SATA defined an 'open school' as 'a state school which is open to all pupils in the local community regardless of race, colour, language or creed. With due regard for the school's primary responsibility towards the pupils of the local community, the only criteria for admission to an open school are educational norms, standards and values (Education Journal XCVI (2), Sept 1986: 3. See also 'Report on Open Schools': 5-15)'.

SATA at its 1986 Grahamstown Congress provided

interesting insights into the motivation for an open-schools policy, namely:

- open schools were the most effective way of educating for a future changing society;
- sharing of white facilities and expertise was a more viable economic solution to South Africa's educational needs than pouring funds into black education;
- open schools could shift control of education from the political arena into the hands of educationists and communities;
- refusal to allow open schools could lead to increasingly rigid stances being adopted by extremists (Argus 24:06:86).

In all likelihood, the constraints of scale would disprove the second assertion, while the last factor illustrates the outcome of the all-or-nothing approach.

The guiding principles informing the stance as set out above are the traditional liberal tenets of freedom of association and individual choice (in this case local community choice). Cognisance was taken of the spare capacity available at state schools for whites - 205 000 at primary and high schools and approximately 3 000 at colleges of education (Cape Times 06:10:86). These figures should be viewed against the 1985 black school enrolment of 5 013 050 (Cape Times 24:06:86, quoting figures released by the Research Institute for Education Planning, University OFS).

The Houses of Representatives and Delegates, through their respective education administrations, have declared schools under their control to be open to all races. At an early stage in 1986 it was reported that significant numbers of pupils from the Peninsula's black townships had enrolled at primary and high schools under the (coloured) DEC (Sunday Times 13:04:86).

[The DEC requires notification of all black enrolments, while a regulation precludes the registration of a Black pupil whose home is more than 8 km from the school.]

What is the test of acceptability for any proposed model? Perhaps perspective is provided by the pronouncement of a black UNISA lecturer, namely: 'I do not advocate abandoning black education and its substitution with the white educational system - I am referring to an alternative system developed by the people, for the people and with the people to serve the entire nation irrespective of race, creed, colour and nationality (D.Motsepe, addressing NAFCOC, quoted in Argus 10:07:86)' or similar sentiments echoed by a UDF executive member, namely, 'Students are not saying they want equal education, or white education, but are calling for a free equal and dynamic educational system (Argus 25:03:86 quoting N.Jaffer, UDF Education sub-committee)'.

In the same vein Sisulu, in his keynote address to the March 1986 NECC Conference, stated: 'To be acceptable,

every initiative must come from the people themselves, must be accountable to the people and must advance the broad mass of students, not just a select few ...

(Z.Sisulu, 'People's Education for People's Power', 29:03:86: 25)'. .

#### B. Private Schools

It is more important for our children to learn how to change this society than to obtain the 'best' education in an apartheid society (via private schools (Anon., SACOS - Sport and Liberation, 1983: 31)).

Church involvement in the provision of schooling has a long history in South Africa. Such schooling, for pupils classified as black or coloured, was mainly basic primary or to a more limited extent secondary, and flourished in the absence of state schools. The promulgation of the Bantu Education Act and Coloured Persons Education Act largely relieved the churches of this responsibility. Private church schools for white pupils, however, have catered for children whose parents were adherents of the faith or sufficiently affluent to meet the full costs of their children's education. The hallmark of such schools has been high scholastic standards based on First World academic curricula, moral values and traditional liberal concepts such as individualism and excellence born out of competition. In this context individual merit supersedes many other criteria.

During the 1970's some schools, particularly Roman

Catholic, began accepting pupils who were not white (cynics suggested for economic reasons), to the extent that by 1986 an estimated 86% were open to pupils of all races (Cape Times Editorial 07:10:86). What are the motivating factors behind change?

Ashley sees the role of private schools as:

- spearheading educational reform through pioneering school integration, thus serving as the foundry in which the post-apartheid education dispensation is being forged;
- providing opportunity for the principle of voluntarism to be exercised i.e. parents and communities choose the kind of school they favoured;
- fostering the growth of a middle class with links across the colour line (quoted in Argus 23:04:86, 'The right to choose').

This last consideration will not enjoy support where socialist tendencies prevail.

The government, wishing to respond to repeated requests for financial assistance from private schools, and wishing to project such schools as an 'alternative for people who feel strongly about integrated education (Cape Times 17:09:86)' announced in Parliament draft proposals for the granting of subsidies to private schools linked to the racial composition of its student enrolment (quota system). The proposals, seen as an attempt to force private schools to toe the colour line or face closure through financial constrictions, were vehemently opposed

by governing councils, and were subsequently relaxed. Subject to registration under the Department of Education (White Own Affairs), to pupil composition where whites do not form the minority and to meeting the needs of a particular 'cultural or religious group (Argus 23:05:86)', such schools qualify for a per capita subsidy proportional to that prevailing in State schools. At present, registered private schools fall into one of two subsidy categories qualifying for 45% or 15% respectively of the subsidy per pupil in an education department, calculated according to a formula. For this reason subsidies vary from one department to another. In the 1986/87 financial year, for example, private schools registered with the DEC (House of Assembly) qualified for a subsidy of R467,00 (45%) or R156,00 (15%) per pupil in sub-standard A to standard 7, and R701,00 (45%) or R234,00 (15%) per pupil in standards 8 to 10. Provision is also made in the regulations for private schools to be registered without being subsidised (Education News XCVI (2), March 1986).

The DEC (House of Representatives) provides for the registration of private schools and for the award of grants-in-aid on a 45% and 15% category basis respectively. Criteria which have to be met relate, inter alia, to scholastic standards, curricula requirements, school management, teaching staff, length of school day and school year, buildings and the 'educational and cultural needs of a cultural or

religious group which are not adequately met by State and State-aided schools (See 'Registration of Private Schools', Education Bulletin No 16/87, 30 September 1987: 3-6)'.

A new factor which has emerged recently is the establishment of 'christian schools' which are Bible-based i.e. supporting a theological and doctrinal viewpoint, run by parents and free of State control. Education principles and practices follow the American pattern of Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) i.e. self-instructional, with 'teachers' as facilitators. A Peninsula school, theoretically non-racial, in fact has absorbed other-than-white pupils who wished to escape the boycott-affected State schools (a critical observation often expressed, and based on enrolment figures: almost 100% of the 1986 enrolment of 250 at this school came from schools on the Cape Flats and Black townships of the Western Cape). This phenomenon is presented merely as an outcome of the present instability in education, and not as a factor with significant potential impact on a national scale. (See C.Reid, 'The Bible-based Christian school and its location in the SA education debate', 1986 B.Ed diss., UCT.)

Aside from church-run schools, recent years have witnessed the establishment of secular or private-sector schools, an example of which is the PACE College in Soweto, founded to create and strengthen black

representation in commerce and finance (Sunday Times 12:10:85). PACE immediately faced the charge of being an elitist school, and faced severe problems of organisation and administration. Many observers ascribe the low return on investment, culminating in closure, to the artificiality of a high-quality education being available to a select band of youthful students who have to return to 'normal' township life in after-school hours.

In the Cape Peninsula, indicators suggested that increasing numbers of coloured and black pupils were registering at private tutorial colleges, some newly-created to absorb the demand. Pupils from mainly middle-class homes (fees range from R1 600 to R3 700 p.a. - see Cape Times 23:10:86) were withdrawing from trouble-torn, boycott-hit ethnic schools but could also have been escaping from overcrowding, poor facilities and poor teaching methods. The crisis-born schools, theoretically non-racial but in fact not drawing a white clientele, could face fluctuating fortunes depending upon the degree of stability or instability prevailing in State schools

On a national scale a consortium of mining and investment corporations called into being a group of high-powered leaders under the chairmanship of Professor G.R.Bozzoli, former principal of Witwatersrand University, to establish a series of four model schools, the first of which should open its doors in 1988. These schools would

be non-racial, co-educational, partly residential and not government-registered under the education department of a particular race-group. Admission would not be dependent upon a family's fee-paying capacity (anti-elitist) while the residential factor, functional only, would cater for a positive learning environment. The overall aim of such schools, designated NEST (New Era Schools Trust) would be:

- to contribute to peaceful and sensible social change in South Africa;
- to help build the foundations for a new South Africa;
- to bring people of different culture and backgrounds together (Sunday Times 27:07:86).

To achieve acceptable norms and values it was decided to appoint integrated staff complements and parent-governing bodies, whilst scholastic standards would be protected by working towards the examinations of the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB). While serious efforts appear to have been made to secure cross-cultural acceptance and legitimacy, the area of curriculum content in the context of societal relevance could be the rock upon which this ship would founder.

Evaluation: It is too early to assess the impact and success of these and other models (extant and projected). However, a newspaper correspondent with many years experience of teaching at private schools attempted to explode popularly-held beliefs and wrote on his (untested) observations, namely,

- standards do NOT drop with integration, since attainment is not race-determined;
- children do not form naturally into race-groups but choose friends for the normal reasons;
- children come from the same socio-economic background and have the same interests and ambitions (Letter, Argus 11:06:86).

It is also too early to comment upon parental and community acceptance at a level which would accord legitimacy to this option. The church and private sector need to appear to be encouraging community support and involvement at all stages to ensure success, and to neutralise the stigma of elitism and treachery to the cause.

Finally, while experimentation in private schools can provide a testing-ground for future educational (and political?) models, it can never minimise the need for a national programme of mass-based education on a racially integrated basis. The Population Registration Act, Separate Amenities Act and Group Areas Act (with concomitant poverty, instability and insecurity) remain the greatest obstacles to achieving this educational goal.

### III RADICAL OPTION (ANTI-REFORMIST OR RECONSTRUCTIONIST)

This view precludes constant adaptation and re-adaptation of the existing system and calls for the creation of a new dispensation.

A notable feature of the 1985 upheaval was the measure of consensus reached in rejecting the status quo. However, equally noteworthy, was the absence of proposals in the form of structured alternatives to the existing educational order. Rhetoric was heavily weighted in favour of decrying the discredited system rather than propagating concrete models for consideration and evaluation as viable alternatives. There were assumptions (perhaps naïve) that a new political and socio-economic dispensation would of necessity give birth to a new or transformed educational system.

A new concept i.e. that of People's Education intruded into the debate and gradually captured the interest, if not the imagination, of those involved in the education struggle. While the concept had some appeal, there was very little substantive structure and theory upon which rigorous judgments could be made. The problem was that People's Education, like happiness, meant different things to different people. Essentially, the concept evolved out of the Education Charter Campaign, spearheaded by such organisations as AZASO, COSAS and NEUSA and given form by the People's Education Commission

(PEC) acting on behalf of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), which sought to give expression to positions emanating from the Education Charter, the Freedom Charter and resolutions of the December 1985 and March 1986 NECC conferences (See Sunday Times 07:12:86).

### People's Education (PE)

Definition: Hartshorne defined People's Education (PE) as 'the working out of the educational consequences of the Freedom Charter' and as being 'inextricably bound up with the concept of people's power, which is the collective strength of the community (Argus 22:09:86)'. Gerwel in turn defined people's power as 'non-racial democracy (Argus 08:04:86)' and People's Education as 'a process' towards that goal (Gerwel, addressing a workshop on People's Education, UWC, 09:10:87). For Sisulu, PE means 'education at the service of the people as a whole, education that liberates, education that puts people in command of their lives (NECC Conf., 1986: 24)'. Furthermore, he sees the education struggle as a political struggle in South Africa and commends the fight 'for the right to self-determination in the education sphere as in all other spheres (NECC Conf., 1986: 19)'. Kallaway avers that, by definition, there is a claim for the inviolability of individual rights, an end to racism in education, and for equality of opportunity i.e. a call conforming to liberal First World tenets in education (P.Kallaway, Kenton Conference, Oct/Nov 1986: 38-39).

It is apposite in this section of the study, to analyse and classify some of the early discrete, or unstructured, statements of what people wanted in education, and then to examine the extent to which these requirements are met within the concept of People's Education, as set out in current literature or contained within the NECC Conference resolutions. The basic framework to be used for such validation will cover goals, values, educational objectives, structures, methods and content.

Goals: Statements by Individuals and Organisations: At its 1985 Oudtshoorn Congress the CTPA expressed its determination to 'continue the struggle for open schools, and a single, uniform educational system (Cape Times 20:06:85)'. Its sister organisation, SATA, called for a 'single education ministry' and a 'full utilisation of all education facilities (Cape Times 16:08:85) which presupposed a waiving of the Group Areas Act. A UDF executive member spoke of children having rejected the system and who were 'fighting for a new, democratic one (Argus 21:08:85)'. At the height of the schools' rally season, a student spokesman crystallised the goal of achieving 'equal education for all' in a 'non-racial democratic state (Cape Times 24:08:85)' after putting an end to apartheid. The NUSAS president, in his reaction to the banning of COSAS, lauded the success of the newly-banned organisation in articulating black student demands for a 'non-racial education system (Cape Times

29:08:85)'. Two embryo bodies, namely, the Manenberg PTSA which called for 'a single education system (Cape Times 11:09:88)' and the ISCC which demanded an 'alternative anti-racist education system (Weekly Mail 12:09:85)' continued the litany. Guguletu parents supported pupils' demands for a 'free, equal and dynamic education (Cape Times 30:09:85)'. The newly-formed SSPA declared its stand for a 'single, non-racial department of education in an open society and the eradication of all racist and discriminatory measures in education (Cape Times 05:11:85)'. Finally, in a joint statement issued by eleven trade unions, workers added their support to the children 'in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic, compulsory and free system of education in a unified South Africa free from exploitation and oppression (Cape Times 22:11:85)'. Emerging goals were therefore encapsulated in a unitary, non-racial and democratic system of education, free and compulsory, as part of a new-order, unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Goals: PE Policy Statement: The People's Education

Commission of the NECC defined its primary goals as:

- educating the young in such a way that they can shed the effects of oppression and play their part in the organisation and mobilisation of the forces against apartheid;
- laying the foundation for education in a liberated South Africa.

The NECC also assessed a need

- to examine ways of making inroads into the white community 'to break the stranglehold that apartheid education has on the minds of white children' and to show their parents 'that apartheid education provides no future for their children, or any of South Africa's children (NECC Conf., 1986: 32)'.

These goals appear to have relevance in the interim, pre-transformation period and are related, therefore, to a process rather than a finished product.

Hartshorne defined the broad goals of PE as:

- the setting up of a free, compulsory, unitary, non-racial and democratic system of education relevant to the establishment of a unitary, non-racial, democratic South Africa (Sunday Times 21:09:86. See also Kallaway (Oct/Nov 1986: 37) and NECC Resolution 7, Appendix 8.).

Hartshorne emphasised the necessity to interpret 'all' as being all South Africans regardless of race or ethnicity, a view shared by Gardiner (quoted in Cape Times 29:05:86, 'People's Education').

The congruence of goals between the 'spontaneous' utterances of individuals or bodies on the one hand, and the more structured statements of PE policy on the other, is clearly detectable in the preceding analysis.

Values: Statements by Individuals and Organisations:

Goals emanate from values. The critical values which

emerge from the preceding paragraphs are those of democracy and non-racialism. CATU, at its 1985 Queenstown Congress, stated that 'Blacks experienced a deep need for involvement in the decision-making process affecting black education (Cape Times 13:08:85)' while PENATA said that it 'wanted to specify what kind of education their pupils needed, and to marshal other organisations and resources to assure academic excellence for our students and community (Cape Times 28:10:85)' thereby endorsing the sentiments of LAGUNYA parents who wanted education 'that will benefit our people (Cape Times 22:08:85)'. There are clear intimations of 'education of the people, by the people, for the people' contained here, namely, democracy.

Further intimations were provided by a speaker at a winter school as reported in a community newspaper advocating 'true learning ... where people learn from each other and share their experiences, instead of compete (Grassroots, August 1985)'. Thus active involvement and participation, and co-operation rather than competitive individualism seemed to be desirable values.

[It bears noting that the slogan Pass One Pass All is seen as an outflow of such values and has not found universal favour. Perhaps the same concept, considered under normal operational circumstances, and not related to periods of crisis such as examination-boycotts, may

gain greater currency.]

Values: PE Policy Statement: Gardiner described PE as being 'designed for the entire South African community (Cape Times 29:05:86)' thus recognising the place of non-racialism in the deliberations of the December 1985 and March 1986 conferences of the NECC. Resolution 7, Clause 7 of the 1985 Conference (See Appendix 8) committed the NECC to seek consciously to break down artificially-created race barriers. In addition, according to Gardiner, the prime motivation behind PE was fundamentally democratic in nature in that whatever happened or was decided upon, took place in consultation with all the people affected by it (Cape Times 29:05:86). This latter view was exemplified in the Keynote Address to the 1986 Conference which stated, inter alia, that 'students, parents and teachers now have democratic organisations available through which we have begun to take some control over education (NECC Conf., 1986: 18)'.

Furthermore, the December 1985 Conference committed itself to strive for PE which 'eliminates capitalist norms of competition and individualism...' and encourages 'collective input and active participation by all... (Resolution 9, Clause 2)'. In summary then, the 'programmes must promote the correct values of democracy, non-racialism, collective work and active participation (Resolution 10 - preamble, Appendix 8)'.

Educational Objectives: Statements by Individuals and Organisations: These objectives must be seen as the means whereby the envisaged goals and values could be achieved. Early pointers to legitimate objectives were provided on several occasions. Thus Professor F.Meer, in an address to a meeting of the CTCC reminded teachers of the need to 'eradicate racism from the hearts and minds of pupils (Cape Times 16:08:85)'. A teacher declared: 'We must educate people to liberate themselves ... make them aware of the injustices in society (Cape Times 16:09:85)' thereby eliminating the negative and debilitating effects of the status quo. Motsepe, in his address to NAFCOC, said that 'administrative structures should ensure that all children have access to quality education' and that the 'content of education should be revised to project different values and norms (Argus 10:07:86)'. Inequities in provision should be removed and with them the concomitant stultified intellectual and emotional development. Education should be seen as a 'tool for building a new order and developing a new culture (Weekly Mail 18:04:86)'. In short, education for liberation!

Educational Objectives: PE Policy Statement: The NECC 1985 Conference resolved to design programmes and procedures which would:

- enable the oppressed to understand the 'evils of apartheid, and prepare them for participation in a non-racial democratic system;

- hasten the 'elimination of capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development;

[These objectives concur with the assertion that 'education must be seen as a tool for building a new order and developing a new culture (Weekly Mail 18:04:86)'.]

- expedite the 'elimination of illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation';
- enable students, parents, teachers and workers... to participate actively in the initiation and management of people's education in all its forms.

(Resolution 9, Appendix 8).

An office-bearer of the CTPA, speaking on the concept of People's Education, suggested that it represented the culmination of a drive towards a more relevant and meaningful experience for pupils in the classroom (Cape Times 07:05:86)'. It can be conceded quite readily that relevance and meaningfulness are imperatives in any new system striving to gain acceptance from students, communities and the greater society.

Structures and Control: Statements by Individuals and Organisations. In the period following immediately on the schools' closure decision by Minister Ebrahim, a teacher said publicly that 'parents, teachers and pupils will determine what kind of education they want (Cape Times 16:09:85)'. Implicit in this statement is a recognition of the role of parents via community and

worker organisations, of teachers via progressive teachers' organisations, and of pupils via student representative councils (SRC's) with the three elements being conjoined in democratic Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSA's). The UDF, at its Unite to Control Education Conference, recommended that students unite at local, regional and national level and to forge links with teacher, community and trade unions 'to facilitate community control of education (Argus 17:03:85)'.

Democratically elected SRC's were seen as the natural substitute for the prefect system - viewed as an extension of the official system of control - while PTSA's were designed to replace the traditional, statutory school committees, hamstrung by restricted powers and a state-prescribed role. The dovetailing of interests within PTSA's would ensure community control of education management, and accountability of all structures within the system to the community.

UTASA, umbrella body of the organised 'coloured' teaching fraternity, withdrew its representatives from all 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' structures as it did not wish to be seen to be propping up apartheid 'at a time when the broader community was engaged in a struggle to end it (Argus 16:07:86)' - a step following on that taken by ATASA and later replicated by TASA and SATA. It can be expected that such bodies would wish to play a significant role in future developments by striking alliances with bona fide community organisations.

Structures and Control: PE Policy Statement: The NECC defined the agencies for promoting change as 'student-teacher-parent and community based organisations (Resolution 10)', enjoining them to 'participate actively in the initiation and management of people's education (Resolution 9, Clause 5)'. All local, regional and national structures were required to 'mobilise the necessary human and material resources from within communities and regions (Resolution 10)' before turning to other sources. The NECC accused statutory school committees of being 'agents of the state' and of carrying out 'the work of the oppressive, apartheid education system' and called, therefore, for the establishment of PTSA's (Resolution 2). Similarly, it called for the establishment of democratically-elected SRC's at all schools and tertiary institutions (Resolution 7, Clause 2) and for the unification of 'all teachers in a single, progressive teachers' body (Resolution 3, Clause 5)'. (See Appendix 8.)

Khanyile, chairman of the NECC, in his call upon the government to give 'control of schools to the community' asserted that 'we want to resume the duty of setting syllabuses, appointing staff and setting examinations ... education itself must rest in our hands (Sunday Times 14:09:86, 'Save our Schooling')'.

Content and Methods: Statements by Individuals and Organisations: It is particularly in the area of content that a lack of forethought and clarity was evident. Generalities were uttered which could perhaps provide direction, but little evidence emerged of substantive content to give form and shape to the stated goals and objectives.

Motsepe advised that the 'content of education must be revised to project different values and norms (Argus 10:07:86)'. Khanyile was clear that the system should reflect the 'history, aspirations and fears from our perspective (Sunday Times 09:03:86)'. Mawasha (Lecturers' Conference, 1984: 12) said that the 'African wants to belong, to be relevant, to be current, to be part of the new world' from which one can deduce that a role exists in a new order for Mathematics, the sciences and technology. He also stated that the African 'values his language and culture ... but also values other languages such as English ... which brings him in dialogue with other cultures and the larger world community'. This concurs with the view of Dudley who pleaded for the retention of Science and Mathematics and 'a rational language policy (Lecturers' Conference, 1984: 4-7)'.

To the question: what will be taught, what facts will be described and whose opinions will be expounded and promoted, an answer must be sought in the words of a

TRASCO official, namely, what people wanted and how they would get it 'would be born and corrected by practice (Weekly Mail 18:04:86)'.

In respect of methodology, mention has already been made of collective input and co-operative methods as a means of inculcating democratic habits. In the short-term, and as a means of breaking the grip of ignorance, injustice and oppression alternative or awareness programmes incorporating debates, talks by invited speakers, play-performance, reading of poetry and composing freedom songs, small-group discussions on worker-issues, the Freedom Charter, Emergency Regulations et al are propagated. These can be seen as a forerunner to a total learning experience involving the teacher, pupils and the community as opposed to the existing traditional teaching style, and would be augmented by 'participation in economic boycotts and joint action with trade unions to bring pupils into close contact with the realities of life in South Africa (Argus 21:08:85, quoting a UDF executive member)'.

Content and Method: PE Policy Statement: The first NECC conference empowered the incoming committee to use the recommendations of the PEC as guidelines in the formulation of programmes to promote PE at all levels. More substantive indications of the content of a people's curriculum will in all likelihood emerge from this. A TRASCO official, outlining a possible curriculum,

highlighted Political Studies (or Science of the Living), History (own History and that of the rest of Africa, including anti-colonial struggles), Religion and the development of societies, Mathematics, Physics, Accounting and Geography (not colonial Geography), Woodwork and Cooking. Hartshorne (McGraw-Hill Seminar, 18:09:1986: 22) has highlighted the search for relevance and quality in new curricula as evidenced by PE approaches to History, Economics (see SACHED Manual on Alternative Education, including alternative education on Economics, 1985) and English. Sonn, in an address to the 1986 Kimberley Congress of CTPA claimed on behalf of pupils the right to 'learn of the heroism of blacks in history' or to 'read the poetry of black suffering' as written by black poets, and for the acceptance of Afrikaans, not as the language of the oppressor, but as 'our language (Cape Times 18:06:86)'.

The paucity of hard content at this stage could be explained in two possible ways:

- Gardiner's description of PE's approach to determining 'priorities and needs and defining what education means ... for society at large ... and the impossibility of thinking about education as a separate entity, divorced from society and the community (Cape Times 29:05:86)';
- the fundamental tenet of PE that those involved must 'discover what they considered to be important issues, and must find ways to translate them into action'.

Teachers would, therefore, have to tap the knowledge and potential of pupils as well as the skills and special knowledge of parents and the community at large - an active process in generating and developing knowledge.

It is in the area of methods that approaches diametrically opposed to present practice come to the fore. Thus PE hopes to promote its objectives via 'critical thinking and analysis (Resolution 9, Clause 2) and 'creative working methods (Resolution 10) which Hartshorne (McGraw-Hill Seminar, 1986: 22) interprets as 'active participation and involvement of pupils in the learning process, hands-on experience in the laboratory and workshop, self-study in the library, questioning, discussion and cooperative working in groups'. This is in sharp contrast to facts-based instruction, rote-learning and examination-oriented teaching. Similarly, 'collective input, and participation by all' represents the antithesis of a competitive, individualistic 'academic merit' milieu.

## Evaluation

People's Education is too new as a concept, and too untried in practice to permit meaningful assessment of its present status and potential future level of acceptance. One can only speculate on its legitimacy within the various tendencies engaged in the push for liberation. However, it sketches a scenario envisaged by one important sector of the liberatory movement, and has served the very useful purpose of throwing up for debate a type of education which is diametrically opposed to the existing definition, and in so doing has transformed the debate from the academic and abstract to the experiential and concrete i.e. the existential world of the ordinary South African. Education has been shorn of its 'neutrality' and has emerged as a sensitive, controversial and even provocative human activity.

In its starkest challenge to the status quo it propounds an end to racism or apartheid in education i.e. it demands the demise of what Kallaway (Oct/Nov 1986: 38) describes as 'colonial' remnants of domination on the one hand, or paternalism on the other, still detectable in trusteeship education (NECC Conf., 1986: 1). It is not clear on whether standards and norms in the post-apartheid dispensation will approach those now in force at one or other of the present extremes ('white' or 'black' education) or be positioned somewhere between. Similarly, it is explicit in its thrust towards mass

education, but lacks clarity with regard to content, and therefore, denies one the opportunity to define its essence in First World liberal traditions or still-to-be-established Third World practices.

Some of the facets of People's Education which display strong portents for creative growth could as easily prove to be weak points. Sisulu (NECC Conf., 1986: 1) describes education's interlocking with, and feeding upon all aspects of the peoples' condition, namely, social, political and economic. This unleashes a generative force of new sources and resources, new knowledge, new skills and new values. However, the integration of education and politics, and the translation of local issues into national affairs, presents the danger of political manipulation in favour of a specific movement or ideology, or alternatively, of ideological pressures and control stultifying the fostering of critical analysis and examination, and creative thinking. Hartshorne (McGraw-Hill Seminar, 1986: 23) warns against this danger, while other observers display discomfort over the possibility of spontaneity supplanting disciplined organisation - in politics as well as in education - thereby impeding the formulation and implementation of a broad macro educational strategy. There is cause for concern that the attainment of uniform educational goals, standards and opportunities could be sacrificed in pursuance of some hidden political agenda. Thus Deputy-Minister De Beer condemned the NECC stance

that teachers should become involved in political matters or activities and should influence pupils politically (Cape Times 02:08:86).

Some argue that education as an expression of the will of the people - a central tenet of People's Education - cannot be achieved while the great debate concerning the new political-economic order remains unresolved.

Kallaway (Oct/Nov 1986: 39-40) argues that if PE is to be instrumental in placing real power in the hands of people to assist them in shaping their own destinies then a capitalist state is an unacceptable framework within which to achieve these goals. He postulates an alternative socialist milieu as the appropriate medium for encouraging a devolution of power, a re-distribution of wealth and privilege and a recognition of the relevance of people's knowledge. Gardiner on the other hand recognises the fear of some people that PE would encourage a 'dreary socialist conformity', but believes that this would be countered by the encouragement of critical examination, thinking and analysis together with the obliteration of mindless obedience. He further believes that by encouraging 'collective input' and by discounting individual competitiveness, PE would correctly focus on social responsibility rather than individual advancement as the end-goal for the recipients of education (Cape Times 29:05:86).

Sisulu demarcated the parameters for acceptability for

any initiative, namely, each initiative should 'come from the people and be accountable to the people (NECC Conf., 1986: 25)'. Walters (ASSA Conf., July 1986: 8) recognised this 'internal accountability' and the absence of accountability to any external authority or structure. Thus the user community remains the custodian of the standards and norms of its education as opposed to an outside regulatory structure pursuing collective strategies on its behalf. Perhaps in a country with an uneven spread of human and material resources and levels of development, there is a need for macro-strategies and regulatory mechanisms to secure parity of standards.

Perhaps the most challenging, and potentially the most rewarding aspect of PE, is to be found in the area of generating new knowledge and its reflection in new syllabuses and curricula. One of the criticisms levelled against the Ten-Year Plan and against the Liberal educational alternative is that both fail to address the crucial factors of relevance and meaning in respect of the realities of present-day South Africa. By mobilising the widest spectrum of interest-groups in formulating new values, norms, objectives and goals, and by tapping wide-ranging sources of information and skills, PE presents a rare opportunity to address, and hopefully resolve, the issue of relevance in education. As an example, Ashley recommends an integration of school-work and productive labour as a means towards removing the manual-mental dichotomy whilst adding to general levels

of production (Sunday Times 27:07:86). Herein lies the significance of the inclusion of the trade union movement as a constituency within the PE interest group.

The commitment to mobilising and utilising human and material resources could present serious problems to tradition-bound school professionals who, at present, take all decisions with regard to content, methods and materials and who exercise unchallenged authority.

Finally, PE suggests that it could be both a promoter of change and a reflector of change - a positive factor where dynamic growth is likely to occur 'at different speeds on different fronts at different times (Educational Journal LV (1), July-Aug 1983: 1)'. By design, it promises to provide education to meet the needs of the whole of society.

## CONCLUSION

### Prospects for a Truce Situation

This study has placed the spotlight upon the 1985/86 upheaval in education in the Western Cape in schools under the control of the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives and in tertiary institutions serving the 'coloured' group. However, every effort was made to locate the events in the broadest possible context covering national movements within the social political and economic life of the country. Therefore, in formulating an appropriate conclusion to this study, the same approach needs to be adopted. This is justified since the events of 1985/86 were firmly embedded in the history, traditions and practices of the country, and a resolution of the 1985/86 upheaval will have to be found within new historical developments. It is easy to concur with the view of a commentator who believed that 'the crisis facing coloured education is not new - it is as old as colonialism and apartheid itself. We will have a continuing crisis until the system of apartheid has been broken down and completely eradicated (Cape Times 28:09:86)'.

An interviewee defined education as 'the highest form of ideology'(Interviewee 4). Another defined education as 'subversive - in a classical sense - and aimed at counteracting the goals of the dominant class

(Interviewee 1)'. Bearing this in mind, those who seek immediate educational solutions to problems in education should be disavowed of this false hope or belief.

Four aims are germane to this concluding section, namely:

1. To crystallise the nature and scope of the respective educational ideologies of the most important contenders in order to gauge the potential for reconciliation;
2. To appraise the relative strengths of the contending parties;
3. To trace and assess the extent of growth and maturation within the school communities from 1976 through 1980 to 1985/86;
4. To relate aims 1, 2 and 3 to the theoretical model and hypothesis underlying this study, and to formulate a tentative prognosis.

#### I COMPARATIVE SUMMARY:

STATUS QUO (APARTHEID OPTION) VERSUS RADICAL  
ALTERNATIVE

##### A1 Educational System, Status Quo

This is informed by the philosophy and life view of the politically dominant Afrikaner group. It is essentially race-based and provides for separate ethnic departments of education e.g. 'own affairs' departments of education

for the groups included in the tricameral parliamentary system, together with separate departments for non-homeland blacks and for the 'self-governing' i.e. non-independent, ethnic states. It reinforces a racial socio-political order, and bolsters the existing capitalistic or free-enterprise economic order.

The system is highly centralised and bureaucratised, and is hierarchical in structure. It is devised, structured and managed by professional education-administrators. The education which it provides is State-funded allowing for a most-favoured per capita monetary allocation for white pupils and a least-favoured allocation for black pupils. Indian pupils and those classified as 'coloured' are ranked between these extremes. Education for white pupils is compulsory and free, generally up to age 16 years or the eighth standard. By contrast, black pupils are fee-paying and in the main are denied access to compulsory education. Once again, Indian pupils and 'coloured' pupils are more favoured than their black counterparts.

#### A2 Education System, Radical Alternative

This is informed by the wishes (or will) of the 'people' - i.e. it represents an attempt to devise a system from the bottom upwards. In essence, therefore, it is democratic, reflecting the collective life view of all communities. It is non-racial, and envisages a unitary

system of education encompassing all of South Africa. It promotes a non-racial socio-political order, and perhaps, provides for a re-structuring of the economic order to accommodate elements of socialism. It stipulates wide community representation and accountability at all levels.

Education is planned to be State-funded, with a uniform per capita monetary allocation for all pupils. To ensure equal opportunities, education will be compulsory and free for all pupils alike.

#### B1 School Milieu, Status Quo

Under conditions which obtain at present, school management is essentially hierarchical in design, identifying the headmaster as final arbiter in all matters. A formal, authoritarian dispensation prevails, supported by an imposed discipline. Education is perceived as a 'discrete' activity i.e. confined to the prescribed curriculum and syllabuses, while the boundaries between intra-mural and extra-mural activities are clearly defined. The curriculum is formal and differentiated, allowing for academic, vocational and technical aptitudes. It conforms to First World patterns in respect of standards and norms for the most-favoured sector, is examination-orientated and, therefore, bookish. Syllabus content reflects the national life view, perceptions, symbols, aspirations and goals of the

dominant group i.e. the Afrikaner, and portrays a discriminatory and exploitative perception of other race-groups.

The classroom milieu is largely teacher-centred i.e. teachers as the repositories of knowledge employ the 'banking-method' as described by Freire (Freire, 1979: 57-74), with pupils as passive recipients. The role of the latter is to absorb, recall and reproduce. Pupil activities are usually competitive, with much emphasis placed upon individual merit and advancement.

## B2 School Milieu, Radical Alternative

A sharply contrasting dispensation is held in view e.g. a management-style which is more consultative and encompassing the opinions of pupils, teachers and parents to ensure democratic decision-taking. Of necessity, an informal atmosphere must prevail.

Likewise, the curriculum needs to be less formal, less structured and more dynamic, allowing for utilisation of resources from within the communities. Education is less sharply defined so that school and community are one, and school affairs and community affairs are integrated. Provision is made for life-experience and work-experience projects to bring more meaning and relevance into schooling. Training is consequently less bookish.

Teachers are seen as facilitators and participators in the learning experiences of pupils, including community involvement. They are viewed as 'guides, not gods'. A spirit of co-responsibility, collective effort and collective gain is predicated in preference to individualism. School activities are, therefore, creative, non-discriminatory and non-selective.

Can the opposing education models, so different in conception, be reconciled to produce a truce-situation? Can the radical alternative be grafted on, or flourish within, the existing 'hostile' socio-politico-economic order? The answers to both questions appear at this stage to be negative.

N.B. In this section the Liberal option has not been examined, mainly because its likelihood of acceptance and widespread implementation appears to be limited. Implementation would require the de-politicisation of education and/or the privatisation of State schools - neither of which appears to be on the government's agenda at present. In addition, privatisation of State schools has been rejected by the NECC leadership as an answer to the crisis in education (Sunday Times 16:09:86).

## II RELATIVE STRENGTHS OF CONTENDING PARTIES

Since the ideologies as outlined above appear to be irreconcilable, and the possibility of a truce-situation not assured, it becomes imperative in terms of the theoretical model to assess relative strengths in order to establish:

- how much strain the present system can absorb;
- when the threshold will have been reached;
- whether the proponents of the radical alternative possess the power to supplant, at some stage, the present model with their own.

It should be emphasised that there are no ready-to-hand units of measurement for determining relative strengths. However, it is possible to identify areas of strength in each case and to utilise these as yardsticks for measurement.

### A. Strengths, Status Quo

The present government has the force of legality behind it i.e. it has been 'legally' elected by an enfranchised sector of the population and is 'constitutionally' empowered to govern. It possesses a mandate to implement the wishes of its voter support group i.e. the group to which it is accountable. As the government of the day it has access to the nation's resources and can give effect to its decisions by, inter alia, granting or withholding monetary allocations. It has control over a vast

infrastructure, encompassing officialdom, buildings, equipment, materials and information media to implement its programmes. Via its administrative wing, it possesses significant regulatory and manipulative power to execute its will. Finally, it has at its command a vast network of security apparatus to buttress any or all of the above where there are signs of faltering.

All of these strengths were utilised in containing or suppressing the upheaval of not only 1985/86, but also of previous years.

#### B. Strengths, Radical Alternative

Counterpoised against legality is the concept of legitimacy defined by Lipset as 'involving the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society (quoted in Connolly, 1984: 10-11)'. On this score the apartheid model founders, since the institutions and their bureaucrats do not give expression to the 'collective will' of the people as expressed by its organisations and leadership. To the extent that people identify with the principles, programmes and participants in People's Education for People's Power, the requirement for legitimacy will be satisfied. The great strength, therefore, lies in the numbers and diversity of supporters, and the rich potential which this unleashes. Whilst the peoples'

movement is denied access to the nation's resources, it has free access in the area of creative ideas which can be shown to be more appealing, more relevant and less denigrating than the official dispensation. Despite the lack of a well-tried and efficient infrastructure to implement policy, it possesses an infrastructure to undermine, frustrate, oppose and challenge the established agenda. It appears to be strong in the knowledge that it advances the will of the majority of the people.

With such forces in contention it is impossible to measure relative strengths at any given time. It is more profitable to assess areas of control. In schools under the DEC: House of Representatives in the Western Cape a semblance of 'normality' had returned by the second quarter, 1986, after the authorities had permitted automatic promotion and a second-round of final examinations for the non-writers and failures of 1985. A few unresolved issues remained e.g. the position of teachers facing disciplinary action for not administering examinations, but by and large the authorities were in control and schools were working to official programmes.

In schools under the administration of DET, rival claims of control emanated from the State and the 'people's movement' respectively. The December 1985 NECC conference called upon pupils to return to school, and the March 1986 conference asked pupils to stay at school.

However, while students responded positively to the NECC calls, many local issues kept significant numbers of pupils away. DET called for compulsory re-registration of pupils in the third quarter, 1986 - a device designed to produce misleading attendance percentages. Simultaneously, pupils were required to carry identification or registration documents, while security guards and/or the SADF were deployed at schools where disruption and intimidation were rife (Cape Times 10:07:86). In the Western Cape 5 066 pupils from Standard 3 upwards in 74 schools under the administration of DET were affected by the re-registration requirement (Cape Times 26:07:86).

In September, the State decided on the closure of twenty schools, located predominantly in the Eastern Cape, but also in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area (Sunday Times 16:09:86), followed by a further thirteen schools a week later (ten in Soweto, two in East Rand, one in Natal), offering poor attendance and disruption as primary causes (Cape Times 15:09:86). The closure of schools caused many parents to seek admission for their children at schools in the 'independent' homelands or in neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (Sunday Times 16:09:86). School-closure gave rise to the retrenchment of temporary teachers and the transfer of permanent teachers and physical resources to schools functioning normally. DET also used the opportunity to present compulsory training courses to

facilitate the up-grading of qualifications of teachers from the affected schools.

Educationists sounded a note of alarm at the breakdown of discipline and the associated breakdown of learning-habits. They warned that even where school attendance was described as satisfactory, i.e. in excess of 80%, pupils did not bring books to school, refused to carry out homework tasks or submit to evaluation via tests and examinations (Argus 22:09:86, quoting Hartshorne). To provide perspective, however, DET reiterated that of 7 300 schools under its control perhaps 250-300 schools were affected by disruptions and stayaways (Argus 27:10:86). Mr S. de Beer, Deputy- Minister responsible for DET, stated that of 91 000 pupils who originally registered for Standard Ten, 71 000 wrote the 1985 Matriculation examination (Cape Times 07:05:86).

During 1986 evidence emerged of some schools running classes in People's Education at specified times on selected days to counter the 'indoctrinating Bantu Education (Weekly Mail 18-24:04:86)'. A spokesman for TRASCO, however, conceded that difficulty was experienced in finding suitable or willing teachers on school staffs to give effect to these plans.

From the preceding assessment of relative strengths, it appears as though the State still wields considerable power and authority to execute its policies and

practices, towards which only some schools in concentrated areas display a determination to thwart at every opportunity. This signifies that the authorities do not have total control over the educational process, but that pupils, teachers and parents do have space and time both inside and outside the classroom to promote education for liberation. For the foreseeable future, a form of alternative education - differing in content, materials and methodology from the formal programme - could run side-by-side with the prescribed curriculum.

It is clear from the above that the prevailing school abnormality, reflecting community abnormality, is indicative of strain within the system. The radical alternative, however, does not appear to be widely-enough implemented nor validated, to pose a critical challenge to the State's authority in the formal structures at this stage.

### III GROWTH AND MATURATION, 1976 - 1985/86

In 1976 African schoolchildren in Soweto started a peaceful protest-march against the enforced introduction of Afrikaans as instructional medium. The history of this march and its aftermath, commonly referred to as the 'Soweto uprising' is well-documented. Of special significance to this study is the fact that possibly for the first time 'coloured' pupils and students came out in support of their black counterparts. Although the

boycotts and related actions were of short duration in 'coloured' education establishments, and were centred around immediate issues such as poor provision, poor facilities and amenities, late delivery of textbooks et al, their real significance was located in the solidarity shown by 'coloured' students in the Western Cape with disadvantaged pupils elsewhere in the country. Richard Levin expressed the view that the 'coloured' group firmly 'identified themselves as part of the oppressed black majority (Africa Perspective No 17, Spring 1980: 17-41)'.

The 1980 school-boycotts, by contrast, had their beginnings in the Western Cape and soon spread throughout the country to involve both black and Indian pupils. Whilst poor facilities, et al, provided the initial rationale for boycott action, it soon became apparent that students were not looking for mere rectification on the score of physical amenities, facilities and resources, but were demanding equal education for all of the country's young. Significantly, they perceived their educational problems as part of the whole problematic of discrimination and exploitation, and linked their activities with high-key community issues e.g. a bus boycott because of excessive and unilateral fare increases, and a red meat boycott in support of striking workers. The Western Cape action fuelled the flames of fire in other parts of the country.

In an assessment of the 1980 boycotts a commentator

enumerated several issues which emerged at this time, inter alia, the distinction between short, medium and long-term goals, boycott as a tactic or principle, democratic education in relation to a democratic society, student organisations (Committee of 81) in relation to other democratic organisations, the need for mass-based democratic organisations, democracy and non-racialism as long-term goals and as working principles and the need for an alternative educational system (See State of the Nation, Oct-Nov 1985: 16). Whilst it is not claimed that students consciously formulated these issues, nor that the issues were uppermost in their thinking when the boycott was first called, yet by the time normality had returned, in readiness for final examination preparation, the issues had emerged in community and in embryo parent-student organisations. Parents as a constituency, albeit sympathetic to the students' cause, were not pro-boycott. Students, on the other hand, had begun to perceive their actions as part of the national move towards liberation, as evidenced by their slogans e.g. Education for Liberation, not for Subjugation, and by their manifestos e.g. Manifesto to the People of Azania issued by the Committee of 81, 1980. Molteno believed that students, for the first time, realised that they 'could assume control of their schooling and transform both its internal social relations and those between schools and the broader society (Molteno, 1985: 4)'.

The 1985 Western Cape upheaval, following on the inauguration of the new tri-cameral Parliament and the formation of the mass-based UDF, took on unprecedented dimensions, described in Section B of this study. It is necessary to highlight the salient characteristics and key issues which emerged here. Firstly, the 1985 action superseded all previous local boycotts in intensity, duration, scope of participation and real consequences. It spawned action and counter-action on a regional scale as opposed to a localised school scale e.g. closure by Departmental edict and the resultant examination boycott. It paid scant attention to domestic issues and to peripheral problems such as the poor state of repair of buildings or fences, shortages of textbooks, et al. It was cast in a political mould and challenged the legitimacy of the controlling authority i.e. the DEC Administration, House of Representatives, and its 'own affairs' Minister; it questioned the morality of the extant political order which excluded Blacks from the three-chamber, ethnically-based Parliament, and committed itself to the national struggle for a democratic, non-racial education in a democratic, non-racial South Africa. It identified education as an instrument for attaining such goals, and so the slogan 'Liberation before Education' could be replaced with 'Education for Liberation'.

Students displayed greater sophistication in organisational skills and fumbled with regional bodies

such as WECSAC, WECSCO and the IRF, with a view to promoting national organisation. Each of these bodies strove for alliances with democratic teachers' organisations and parent-worker organisations and enmeshed the education struggle with community drives e.g. the consumer boycott. The struggle changed from a youth-led movement to one incorporating all sectors of the community, including significantly, the organised teaching profession. For a myriad of reasons, the 1985 action enjoyed more parental 'understanding', if not tacit or direct support, than previous boycotts. It succeeded in bringing parents back into the school communities via PTSA's, to be involved in a real sense in the education of their young. One of the notable successes of the 1985 boycotts, therefore, was the demonstration of democracy in action in the deliberations of student, parent, teacher, worker and other community and umbrella-organisations on matters which previously would have been considered purely educational, and hence of limited interest.

Of great significance was the maturity manifested in a willingness to set long-term goals e.g. the removal of apartheid, and to 'pay a price', be it confrontation with the security forces entailing possible bodily injuries and even death, or the civil authorities, with resultant academic and career losses occasioned by an examinations boycott. This professed willingness to pay was later tarnished by the 1986 automatic promotions debacle.

Nevertheless, the apparent scorn for the established authority as shown by ignoring examination dates, opening and closing dates for terms, promotion procedures, inter alia, coupled with the 'an-injury-to-one-is-an-injury-to-all' philosophy, hold far-reaching implications for education administrators and political decision-makers.

It is clear, therefore, that the 1985 crisis represents an upward turn in the spiral, launching the movement for change in education into a national movement for change in South Africa - a fact confirmed by the formation of the NECC, combining educational and political objectives and issues on a national scale.

#### IV SUMMARY AND PROGNOSIS

The theoretical model employed in this study provides a framework for the analysis of:

1. A definition of the prevailing situation
2. The problem of change
3. A re-definition of the situation.

1. Defining the Situation: The study has shown that the prevalent definition is that of the government, giving expression to the wishes of the more conservative, mainly White Afrikaner, sector of the population. For the majority, mainly Black sector (in a generic sense), of the population, the definition is imposed. The

bargaining process, so necessary for arriving at a truce-situation, has not yet begun, hence consensus is absent.

2. The Problem of Change: Severe strains have emerged within the system as illustrated by various crises within the operational structures. The system, based on rigid uniformity and conformity, does not provide a tolerance factor to accommodate such strain. Significant groups have emerged with objectives and value systems at variance with the prevailing order, constituting thereby, an anti-system.

3. Re-definition of the Situation: Strains have been sufficiently intense to bring about collective behaviour on an unprecedented scale, countered by the political will and security force strength possessed by the State. Within the extant dispensation the threshold has not been reached, nor equilibrium overturned. It does not yet appear as though alternative models, validated and commanding wide enough support for implementation, can challenge the role of the State in the field of education provision. The future will have to produce a new truce-situation determined by the relative strengths of the contending parties; alternatively an imposed system will prevail.

## THE FUTURE

From the foregoing analysis, which shows irreconcilable agendas for the practice of education, strongly-motivated by diametrically-opposed constituencies supporting each contending programme, and finally, the translation of education into the national political arena, it appears as though education is destined to be a sensitive barometer of social disorder, and schools a site of struggle, until the national political debate is resolved. This view is confirmed by Mr S.de Beer, Deputy-Minister (Department of Education and Development Aid), namely, 'There will not be a transfer of black education to a black administration until black political aspirations have been accommodated in a satisfactory manner at central level', or 'I believe that we will not be able to find the end solutions for education until reasonable political aspirations of the blacks have been satisfied (Argus 27:10:88)'. The stated aim of up-grading the quality of education and providing equal standards and opportunities for all the children of South Africa can be seen as a possible attempt to de-politicise education. It is a programme which should be proceeded with as a matter of course.

It is possible to infer that, because of the present politicisation of education, and because the prevailing definition of education is imposed upon a disaffected majority client-group by a minority group lacking

legitimacy, that no infusion of funds to provide equal opportunities, amenities and facilities within the framework of separate ethnic education departments, will redress the upheaval in education while the social, economic and political grievances of the majority of the citizenry remain unresolved.

One can predict, therefore, that more boycotts, stayaways and strikes of greater intensity, frequency and duration, and involving escalating numbers of participants, will occur in future, unleashing ever more stringent responses from the civil authorities and security forces. It is not possible to rule out the likelihood of police/army occupation of school premises and college campuses under certain conditions. While the likelihood of the widescale introduction of People's Education remains unclear, there certainly will be more structured alternative education programmes taking place concurrently with formal schooling, and differing diametrically in quality and life view portrayed. To the extent that alternative programmes can be dovetailed with the formal programme, a backlash from students wishing to prepare for future careers, and not subscribing to the elevation of boycott from strategy to principle, can be averted.

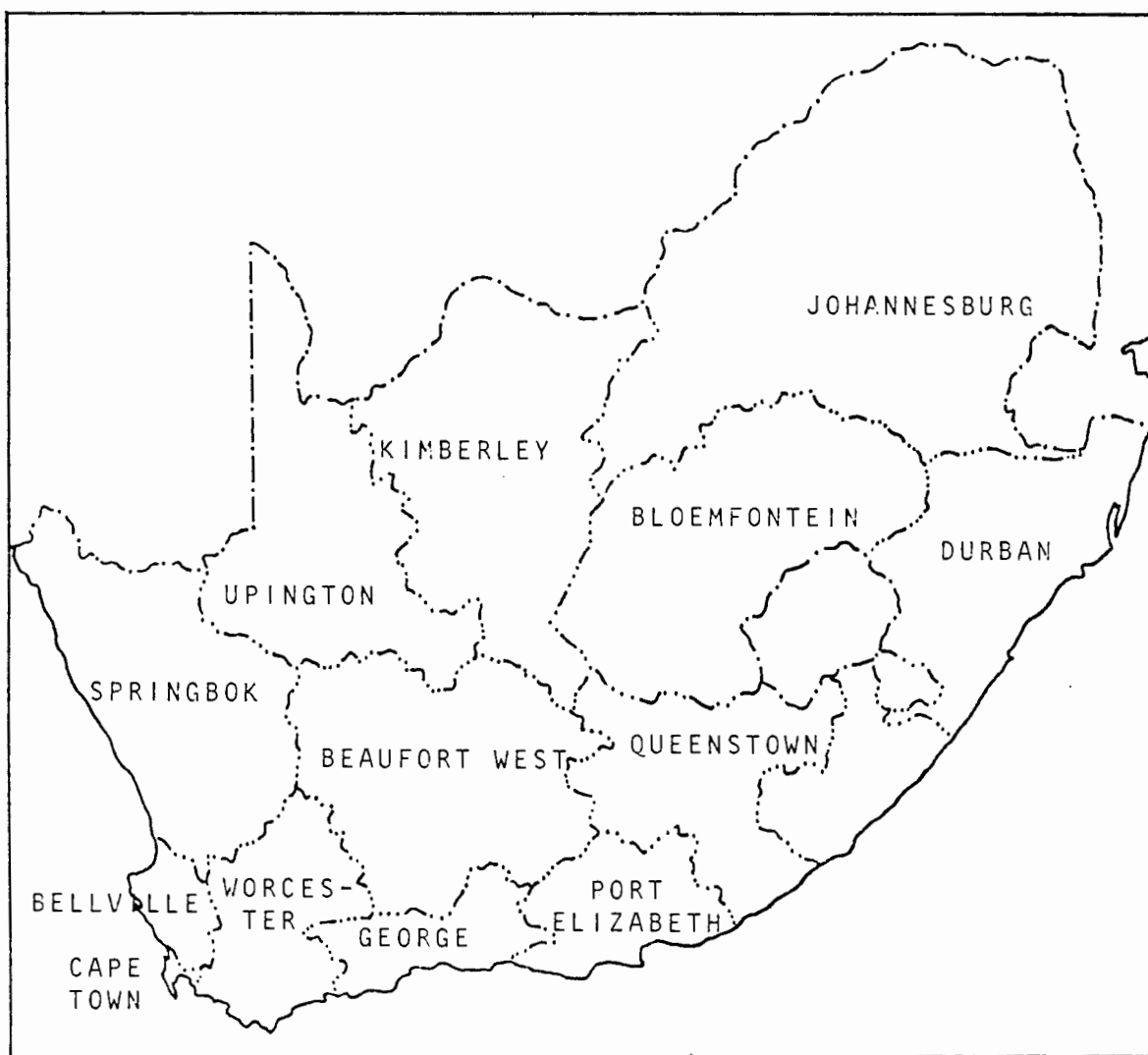
It is to be hoped that within the non-State sector of education i.e. private schools, expansion, research and experimentation will proceed to provide validated

alternative models for implementation in a post-apartheid South Africa. In this way, education of a somewhat different quality to that which currently prevails will emerge (quality relating to underlying ideology and content), with a quality (quality relating to standards and norms) reconciling the Third and First World features of South African life.

## APPENDIX 1

MAP 1A: Map of South Africa showing distribution of Regional Offices, Department of Coloured Affairs, 1963.

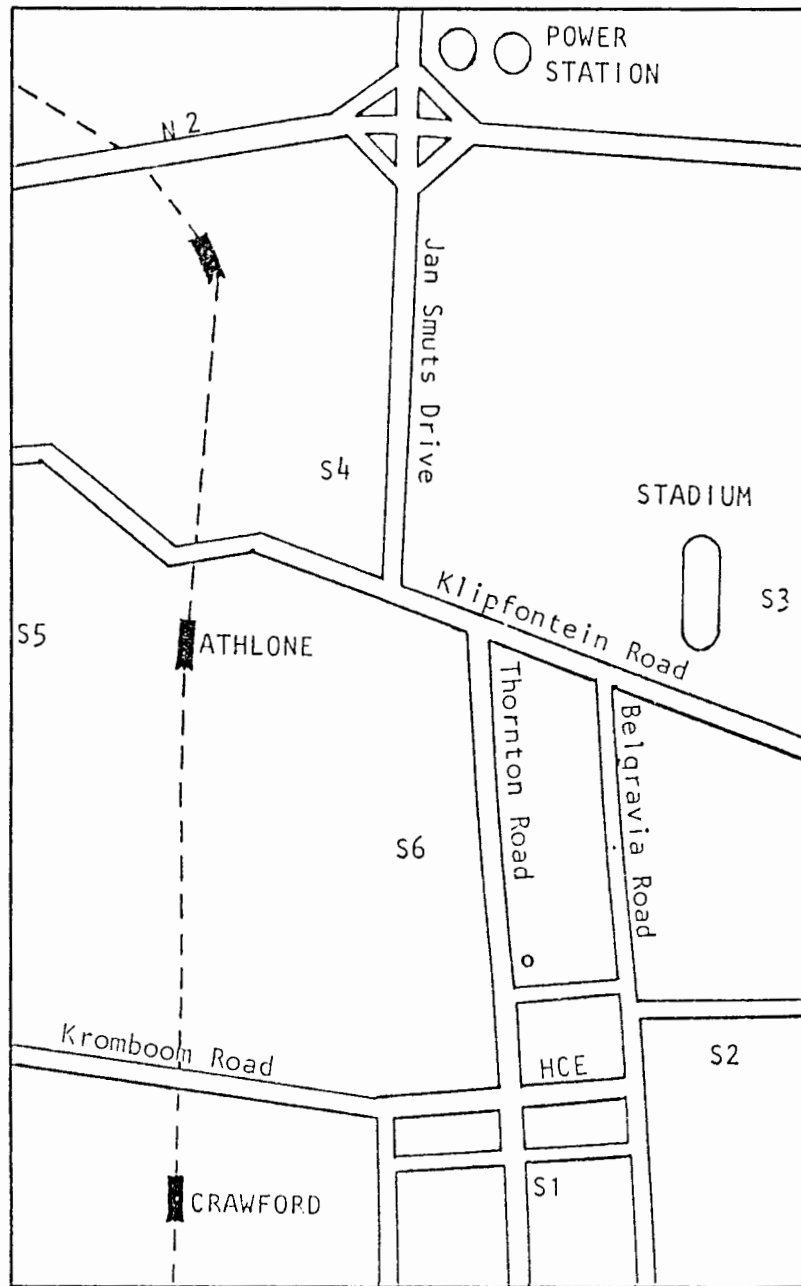
[Source: Alpha, Vol 1 No 4, June 1963, pp 2-3]



MAP 1A

APPENDIX 1

MAP 1B: Map of Greater Athlone Area showing starting point for the Pollsmoor March

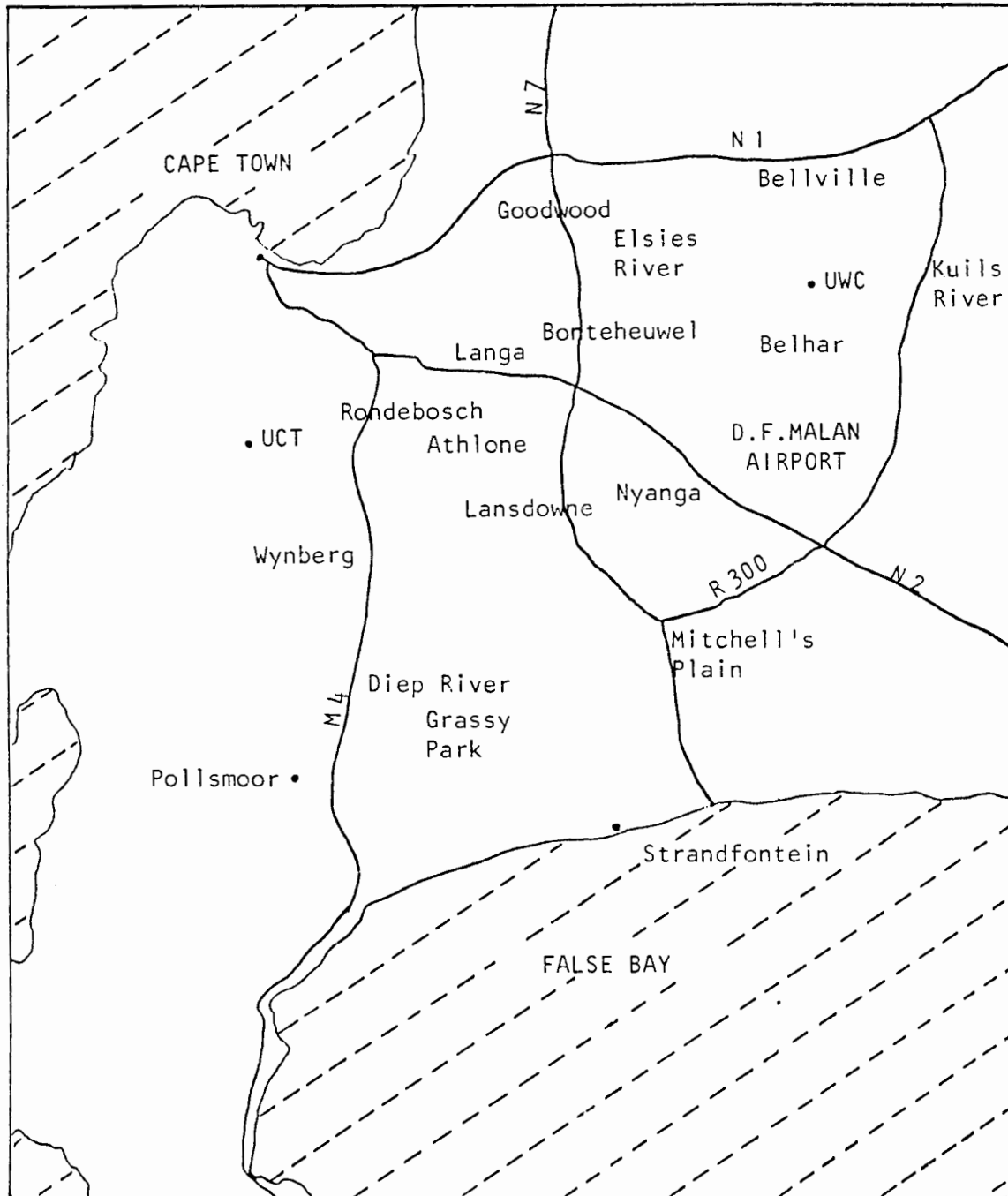


MAP 1B

- Site of Trojan Horse Shootings
- Railway
- HCE Hewat College of Education
- S Senior Secondary School
- 1 Alexander Sinton      2 Belgravia      3 Athlone
- 4 Spes Bona              5 Garlandale    6 Ned Doman

## APPENDIX 1

MAP 1C: Map of Cape Peninsula showing unrest-affected areas, August - October, 1985



MAP 1C

— Major Roads

## APPENDIX 2

Relevant extracts from fifteen Articles contained in the CNE-Policy document

[Source: Rose and Tunmer, Documents in SA Education, pp 120-128]

Article 1: Basis

We believe that the teaching and education of the children of white parents should occur on the basis of the life and world view of the parents. For Afrikaans-speaking children this means that they must be educated on the basis of the Christian-national life and world view of our nation. In this life and world view, the Christian and National principles are of basic significance and they aim at the propagation, protestation and development of the Christian and National being and nature of our nation. The Christian basis of this life and world view is grounded on the Holy Scriptures and expressed in the Creeds of our three Afrikaans Churches. By the national principle we understand love for everything that is our own, with special mention of our country, our language, our history and our culture. We believe that these principles must both become fully valid in the teaching and education of our children so that these two principles shall be the hallmark of the entire school with regard to its spirit, aim, syllabus, method, discipline, personal organisation and all its activities. Corresponding with the basic structure of our Christian National life and world view, the National principles always must be under guidance of the christian principle - the National must grow from the Christian root.

Article 2: Christian Teaching and Education

In order to let the light of revelation of God which is contained in the Scriptures shine in the school, we believe that religious instruction according to the Bible and our Creeds should be the key subject in school. It must determine the spirit and direction of all the other subjects and of the whole school so that all instruction that is given at school shall be founded on the Christian basis of the life- and world-view of our nation. It must not be merely a knowledge-subject.

Article 3: National Teaching and Education

By national education we understand teaching in which the national principle of love for one's own may effectively become valid in the entire content of the teaching and all activities of the school so that the child shall be led properly and with pride in his spiritual-cultural heritage into the spiritual-cultural possession of the nation.

Article 4: The Child and Christian National Teaching and Education

We believe that through the Fall, sin has penetrated by

means of heredity to later generations and that the child as the object of teaching and education is therefore a sinful and not a sinless being.

(c) that God, out of His free grace made a contract with the believing generations, and in the rebirth plants the germ of a new Christian life in the child; that this merciful contract runs through the generations and that therefore the act of teaching must treat a child of believing Christian parents as a believer and not as a heathen child.

(d) that God laid in man a living immortal, active, self-responsible, self-conscious, purposeful principle ordinarily called the spirit or soul of man, by which he is distinguished from all other living beings.

#### Article 7: Method and Discipline

##### (1) Method

We believe that the idea, "discipline" can be defined as all the inner and outer actions and influences which work together in order to assure that behaviour on the part of everybody in the school which shall make the aim of the teaching and education the most effective. We believe that all authority in school is authority borrowed from God and that it places great responsibilities, duties and rights on both the Christian teacher and the child. We believe that the aim of all discipline should be the Christian and National formation of, preservation of, the child (vormingen behoud), the welfare of the community, and above all, the glory of God.

#### Article 8: Control of Teaching

##### (1) No Mixed Schools

We believe that there must be at least two sorts of schools for primary and secondary education: one for children of Afrikaans-speaking parents with their communal creed and language, with only Afrikaans as medium: and the other for children of English-speaking parents with English as medium. We believe that in both sorts of schools there must be the right relationship between home, school, church and state with regard to the spirit and direction, erection, maintenance, control and care of the schools.

#### Article 14: Coloured Teaching and Education

We believe that Coloured teaching must be seen as a subordinate part of the vocation and task of the Afrikaner, to Christianise the non-white races of our fatherland. We accept the principle of the trusteeship of the white man, that is (and by name) of the Afrikaner over the non-white. This trusteeship lays upon the Afrikaner the sacred obligation to see to it that the coloured man is educated according to the Christian and National principles. With regard to the Christian principles, the same remarks are applicable, mutatis mutandis, which we made earlier. We believe that only when the coloured man has been Christianised can he and

will he be truly happy and that he will be secure against his own heathen and all kinds of foreign ideologies which promise him a sham happiness, but in the long run make him unsatisfied and unhappy.

We believe that he can be made race-conscious if the principle of separation (apartheid) is strictly applied in education just as in his church life. Further we believe that it is necessary to emphasise the principle of the mother-tongue as the medium of education in the case of the coloured. We believe that the salvation (welfare) and the happiness of the coloured, lie in his grasping that he is a separate race-group, that he should be proud of it, and that he must correspondingly be educated as a Christian National. The financing of coloured education must be placed on such a basis that it does not occur at the cost of white education.

#### Article 15: African (Bantu) Teaching and Education

We believe that the calling and task of white S.A. with regard to the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally, and that this calling and task has already found its nearer focussing in the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation. We believe besides that any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on this same principle. In accordance with these principles we believe that the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and world view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustee of the native, and that the native must be led to a mutatis mutandis yet independent acceptance of the Christian and National principles in our teaching. We believe that the mother-tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching but that the two official national languages must be taught as subjects because they are official languages, and to the native, the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to his own cultural progress. On the grounds of the cultural infancy of the native we believe that it is the right and task of the state, in collaboration with the Christian Protestant churches, to give and control native education and the training of native teaching forces must be undertaken as soon as possible by the native himself, but under control and guidance of the state: with this understanding, however, that the financing of native education must be placed on such a basis that it does not occur to the cost of white education. We believe finally, that native education and teaching must lead to the development of an independent self-supporting and self-maintaining native community on a Christian National basis.

## APPENDIX 3

Eleven major principles upon which the recommendations of the De Lange Commission are based

[Source: Growth, November 1981, p 13]

## Eleven principles

In drawing up its final report, the commission subsumes its hundreds of detailed proposals under eleven major principles. These should guide all future educational policy and practice, it recommended. The principles are:

- \* Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the State;
- \* Education shall afford positive recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of the inhabitants;
- \* Education shall give positive recognition of the freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisations in society;
- \* The provision of education shall be directed in an educationally responsible manner to meet the needs of society and economic development, and shall, inter alia, take into consideration the manpower needs of the country;
- \* Education shall endeavour to achieve a positive relationship between the formal, nonformal and informal aspects of education in the school, society and family;
- \* The provision of formal education shall be the responsibility of the State, provided that the individual, parents and organised society have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter;
- \* The private sector and the State shall have a shared responsibility for the provision of non-formal education;
- \* Provision shall be made for the establishment and state subsidisation of private education within the education-provision system;
- \* In the provision of education the processes of centralisation and decentralisation shall be reconciled organisationally and functionally;
- \* The professional status of the teacher and lecturer shall be recognised; and,
- \* Effective provision of education shall be based on continuing research.

## APPENDIX 4

LISTS OF DEMANDS/GRIEVANCES ISSUED DURING SCHOOLS BOYCOTT, 1985  
(In summarised form - not verbatim)

APPROXIMATE DATE	REPRESENTATIVE ORGANISATION	NATURE OF DEMAND/GRIEVANCE
I 21:08:85 (See Cape Times 22:08:85)	Combined Students-Parents Committee of Langa-Guguletu- Nyanga (DET schools)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Release of all detained students. Guarantee of no further victimisation.</li> <li>2. Full recognition for democratically-elected SRC's.</li> <li>3. Abolition of age-limit for pupils.</li> <li>4. An end to shortages of books.</li> <li>5. Poorly equipped laboratories.</li> <li>6. Poorly equipped libraries - not used.</li> <li>7. Examination fees should not be increased annually. Should be reduced from R36 to R20 in 1985.</li> <li>8. School transport should be subsidised especially for pupils travelling long distances.</li> <li>9. The quota system should be abolished. [N.B. Perception that only a specified number of candidates are passed each year.]</li> <li>10. There should be a free choice of subjects.</li> <li>11. Abolishing of plans for a new school at St Francis.</li> <li>12. School properties badly maintained and schools badly managed.</li> </ol>

- 13. Allegations of misappropriation of school funds.
- 14. Sexual harassment of (female) students.
- 15. Shortage of qualified teachers.
- 16. More schools and technicians in our areas.
- 17. Equal and democratic education.
- 18. Withdrawal of SADF from townships.

II 11:10:85

(See Argus  
14:10:85)

Inter-Regional Forum  
(supported by eighteen  
PTSA's and CAYCO)

- 1. Postponement of 1985 examinations.
- 2. Inclusion of awareness programmes in curriculum.
- 3. Abolition of age-restriction [Not applicable in DEC schools.]
- 4. End to prefect system and corporal punishment.
- 5. Removal of security guards from schools.
- 6. Right to elect democratic SRC's.
- 7. Right to organise democratic PTSA's
- 8. State-bursaries to be paid.
- 9. All charges against teachers and students to be dropped.
- 10. An end to victimisation of students, teachers and principals.

III 21:10:85

(See Argus  
21:10:85)

MPSAC (representing  
twelve high schools in  
Mitchell's Plain)

- 1. Postponement of examinations.
- 2. Ending of State of Emergency.
- 3. Release of all political prisoners and detainees.
- 4. Scrapping of age-limit at schools.

5. Recognition of democratically-elected SRC's and PTSA's.
6. Harassment of teachers, pupils and community must stop.
7. Government grants awarded to pupils must not be taken away.
8. Withdrawal of troops from townships.
9. Awareness programmes to be included in curriculum.
10. Examination fees for matriculants must be reduced from R36 to R20.
11. Proclamation by Minister must be declared null and void.
12. All charges to be dropped against students, pupils and community workers.
13. Principals must stop negotiations with police.
14. Schools must be opened to the community.
15. Security guards must be removed from schools and student bodies such as COSAS unbanned.
16. An equal, democratic and non-racial education must be introduced for all in South Africa.

IV 29:10:85

(See Cape Times  
02:12:85)

Ten SAC's signatories

(SAC=Students' Action  
Committee)

NP=Mitchell's Plain

BIS=Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools

1. Lifting of State of Emergency.

2. Removal of SAP/SADF from townships and school premises.

3. Immediate, unconditional release of detainees.

HEI=Heideveld  
MAN=Manenberg  
HAP=Hanover Park  
EL=Elsies River  
BEL=Bellville  
LOG=Lotus River/Grassy Park  
RET=Retreat  
Vista Ad Hoc.  
Supported by Joint Townships  
SRC's (DET) and Western Cape  
executive of UDF

4. End of harassment and intimidation of teachers and students.
5. Unconditional re-instatement of dismissed, suspended, expelled students and teachers.
6. Unbanning of COSAS.
7. Scrapping of age-restriction at schools.
8. Scrapping of Ministerial decree effectively banning SRC's at schools.
9. Present examinations to be postponed to March.

- 
- N.B. List: I Issued in early stages of schools boycott, before large-scale upheaval; demands were wide-ranging.  
II Issued early in fourth quarter. Sets out conditions for returning to normal classes.  
III Issued before commencement of final examination. Sets out conditions for a return to classes.  
IV Issued at end of final examinations.

N.B. Change in emphasis over time.

## APPENDIX 5

ORGANISATIONS SUPPORTING THE CONSUMER BOYCOTT: 14 AUGUST  
1985

<u>ORGANISATION</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
UDF	quasi-political umbrella organisation
AME Ministers' Fraternal WPCC	Religious: Christian
MJC (Muslim Judicial Council) Call of Islam Al-Jihad	Religious: Muslim
Thornhill Residents' Association	Civic association
Plastic and Allied Workers' Union	Trade Union
District Six Interim Youth Movement Sarepta Youth and Workers' Organisation Thornhill Youth Organisation Western Cape Youth League	Youth organisations
SACOS	Sports control body - national level
WEPCOS	Provincial affiliate to sports body

## APPENDIX 6

RESULTS PER CONSTITUENCY FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ELECTIONS, 1984  
(EXTRACT OF TWENTY PENINSULA CONSTITUENCIES ONLY)

Electoral Division	Registered Voters	Total Votes Cast	% Poll
Belhar	16 085	1 583	9,84
Bishop Lavis	13 813	2 449	17,72
Bonteheuwel	10 690	1 017	9,51
Elsies River	12 981	1 321	10,17
Grassy Park	14 123	1 432	10,13
Hanover Park	16 463	909	5,52
Heideveld	9 899	677	6,83
Kasselsvlei	14 223	2 057	14,46
Liesbeek	6 145	322	5,24
Manenberg	9 526	488	4,70
Matroosfontein	12 821	1 515	11,81
Mitchell's Plain	13 219	1 147	8,67
Ottery	13 401	1 122	8,37
Ravensmead	11 251	2 570	22,84
Retreat	12 682	1 106	8,72
Rietvlei	9 579	1 548	16,16
Silvertown	10 533	832	7,89
Strandfontein	5 936	562	9,46
Southern Cape	7 710	2 303	29,87
Tafelberg	5 626	234	4,15

N.B. Natal, with five seats, had a highest percentage poll of 40,25 and lowest of 16,8.

Orange Free State, with five seats (two uncontested) had a highest percentage poll of 59,36 and lowest of 49,56.

Transvaal, with ten seats, had a highest percentage poll of 68,15 and lowest of 25,78.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES ELECTIONS, 1984  
(EXTRACT - RYLANDS ONLY)

Rylands	4 150	556	13,39
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N.B. Registration as voters is compulsory for all adults over eighteen years of age. In the 1984 elections registration became one of the political issues in the anti-election campaign. Substantial numbers of potential voters chose not to register, as part of a political strategy. Of the registered voters, especially those who merely satisfied a legal requirement by registration, a significant segment supported the anti-election lobby and therefore did not exercise the vote. The dual boycott of registration and voting was particularly pronounced in the Peninsula and environs, where the campaign was spearheaded by such organisations as the UDF, NF, CAL and trade unions now mainly within the COSATU fold - also

some non-Afrikaner churches.

The foregoing statistics present the number of votes cast expressed as a percentage of the number of registered voters; final figures would be substantially reduced if the number of votes cast was expressed as a percentage of the number of eligible voters.

Patel ascribes the low percentage poll to people's disillusionment with State-sponsored constitutional politics and the resurgence of mass-based extra-parliamentary movements.

E. Patel, Legitimacy and Statistics A critical analysis of the first Tri-cameral Parliamentary elections, August 1984. Saldru Working paper No 61, January 1985 pp 13-16.

APPENDIX 7

TABLE 1

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE  
 GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE STATISTICS IN RESPECT OF THE NOVEMBER 1985 EXAMINATION

SENIOR CERTIFICATE	November 1983	November 1984	November 1985
Number of candidates who wrote the examination	11 076	14 138	11 052
Number of candidates who passed	7 894	10 381	7 115
Percentage passed	71,3	73,4	64,4
Percentage failed	28,7	26,6	35,6
Number of candidates with matriculation-option	4 341	3 934	2 725
Number who obtained matriculation exemption	1 679	2 108	1 381
Percentage candidates who wrote the examination and obtained exemption.	15,2	14,9	12,5
Percentage candidates with matriculation-option who obtained matriculation exemption.	38,6	53,6	50,6

[Source: Tables 1, 2 and 3: See foot of Table 3.]

TABLE 2

## SUPPLEMENTARY EXAMINATION: MARCH 1986

SUPPLEMENTARY SENIOR CERTIFICATE	March 1984	March 1985	March 1986
Number of candidates who wrote the examination	2 956	2 654	6 149
Number of candidates who passed	746	1 061	3 570
Percentage passed	25,7	39,9	58,1
Percentage failed	74,3	60,1	41,9
Number of candidates with matriculation-option	1 785	1 411	2 269
Number who obtained matriculation- exemption	85	108	579
Percentage candidates who wrote the examination and obtained exemption	2,0	4,1	9,4
Percentage candidates with matriculation-option	4,8	7,7	25,5

TABLE 3

## NOVEMBER 1985 - MARCH 1986 SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION

	COLUMN 1	COLUMN 2 NOV.1985	COLUMN 3 MARCH 1986	COLUMN 4 TOTAL
Number of candidates who entered for examination	16 316			
Number of candidates who wrote		11 052	6 149	17 201
Percentage of original entries		67,8	37,7	

## Note:

It is not feasible to add the figures in the two preceding tables to obtain a complete set of statistics for the examination treated as a whole. There are two important reasons:

1. Many candidates did not write the complete examination in November but only individual subjects. Their candidacy will be duplicated i.e. reflected in the figures for November and March respectively, as shown by the excess of 885 between columns 4 and 1 above.
2. It is known that even amongst candidates who pass in November (normally) are some who re-enter in March to obtain better symbols or secure matriculation-exemption for university admission purposes.

[Source: Administration: House of Representatives, Department of Education and Culture.  
Report: SC Examination Nov 1985 dated 30:04:1986 and Supplementary SC Examination  
March 1986 dated 12:05:1986.]

TABLE 4

## SENIOR CERTIFICATE RESULTS, 1982-1984: A COMPARATIVE TABLE

Year		Candidates	Passes	%	NUMBER OF		Matriculation exemptions	%
					A-aggregate symbols			
1982	RSA ('Coloureds')	10 207	6 868	67,3	26	0,3	1 096	16,6
	Cape ('Whites')	14 621	13 594	92,9	418	2,9	6 361	43,5
1983	RSA ('Coloureds')	11 076	7 894	71,3	28	0,25	1 679	15,2
	Cape ('Whites')	14 646	13 520	92,3	470	3,2	6 323	43,2
1984	RSA ('Coloureds')	14 138	10 381	73,4	29	0,2	2 108	14,9
	Cape ('Whites')	15 309	14 006	91,5	407	2,6	6 328	41,3

[Sources: Statistics for 1982: Educatio IX (3) 2nd Qr 1985, quoting H.D.Herman

Statistics for 1983, 1984: Administration: House of Representatives, DEC Report:  
Senior Certificate Examination November 1985: Table 2.

Cape Department of Education: Report of Director of  
Education for 1983 and 1984.]

## APPENDIX 8

## People's Education for People's Power

Johannesburg 28-29 December 1985

## Resolutions (Selected)

## 2. On Statutory School Committees

This conference notes:

that statutory parents' committees at schools are the agents of the state and carry out the work of the oppressive, apartheid education system throughout South Africa.

Therefore resolves that:

- 1) parents should not be members of statutory parents' committees at schools
- 2) progressive parent-teacher-student structures are formed at all schools so that
  - a) parents, teachers and students can come to understand each other's demands and problems
  - b) interaction can take place between different schools to develop the education struggle to higher levels.

## 3. On the Role of Teachers

This conference resolves that:

- 1) teachers should work actively with students towards the formation of democratically elected S.R.C.'s
- 2) teachers should work closely with students and parents in dealing with the current education crisis
- 3) teachers should become involved in community struggles and help set up PTA's in all schools
- 4) education programmes for teachers which bring out the history of progressive teacher's struggles, the role of the teachers in the community and the role of teachers should be conducted
- 5) teachers should work to unify all teachers in a single, progressive teacher's body
- 6) meetings of teachers should be called in all areas to give student and parent organizations an opportunity to address them on the education crisis.

## 7. On Student Organization

This conference notes:

- 1) that the banning of COSAS is an attack by the state on student organization, unity and mobilization
- 2) that the struggle for a unitary, non-racial, democratic education is an integral part of the struggle for a unitary, non-racial and democratic society, free of oppression and exploitation
- 3) that the struggle for democratic SRC's is an essential part of the democratic struggle within the schools.

Therefore resolves:

- 1) to intensify the campaign to unban COSAS
- 2) to implement democratically elected SRC's in all schools and tertiary institutions
- 3) to forge close links between student, worker and community organizations and to co-ordinate action in these different areas
- 4) to strive to establish regional and national co-ordination in the student struggle
- 5) to strive in co-ordinated campaigns to publicize the legitimate, democratic demands of students
- 6) to endeavour to take the struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa into every school and hence into every home
- 7) to seek consciously to break down artificially created racial barriers
- 8) to encourage the different student organizations to unite in action

9. On People's Education - 1

This conference notes that Apartheid education

- 1) is totally unacceptable to the oppressed people
  - 2) divides people into classes and ethnic groups
  - 3) is essentially a means of control to produce subservient, docile people
  - 4) indoctrinates and domesticates
  - 5) is intended to entrench Apartheid and Capitalism.
- Therefore, we resolve to actively strive for people's education as a new form of education for all sections of our people, declaring that people's education is education that:

- 1) enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the Apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial, democratic system
- 2) eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis
- 3) eliminates illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation of any person by another
- 4) equips and trains all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power in order to establish a non-racial democratic South Africa
- 5) allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organizational structures which enable them to enhance the struggle for people's power and to participate actively in the initiation and management of people's education in all its forms
- 6) enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their work place

10. On People's Education - 2

This conference notes that the implementation of programmes to promote people's education is an urgent

matter.

Believing this:

- 1) all student-teacher-parent and community based organizations must work vigorously and energetically to promote people's education
- 2) all programmes must enhance the organization of all sections of our people, wherever they may be
- 3) the programmes must encourage critical and creative thinking and working methods
- 4) the programmes must promote the correct values of democracy, non-racialism, collective work and active participation.

Hereby resolves:

- 1) that the recommendations of the commission on people's education be referred to the incoming committee for use as a guideline for the formulation of programmes to promote people's education at all levels
- 2) that all local, regional and national structures mobilise the necessary human and material resources in the first instance from within communities and regions and then from other sources.

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#### INTERVIEWEES (ANONYMOUS)

1. Educationist - non-formal sector
2. Executive member: Teachers' organisation
3. University lecturer
4. Senior student and executive member: Student organisation, UCT
5. Student victim of police whipping
6. Student, detainee
7. Concerned parent, detainee