

4 THE EFFECTS OF VIEWS ON EDUCATION AND LABOUR FOR BLACKS IN THE PERIOD 1948-1986

4.1 Introduction

Education policies in most countries, including South Africa, have always been greatly influenced by the economic system practised. The system of production adopted, such as Capitalism or Socialism, adapts to the environmental demands. Such environmental demands can influence the education policies to conform to the manpower needs of the country's economy. Any resistance to change in terms of relevant education policies can endanger the economic growth of a country. Resistance to change can also bring about contradictions and instability in the socio-economic and political spheres of a country. Kallaway (1984:13) argues that educational policy has to aid economic growth; economic growth is therefore a concomitant of good education.

Education for Blacks in South Africa, with its initial intention of providing manual labourers seems to have had a detrimental effect on the manpower needs of the country. The education system for Blacks was not dictated to by environmental needs, *inter alia* that of Blacks themselves, but by the ideology of the ruling class. This type of education seems to have caused a shortage of black skilled labour.

Prior to 1948 but also after the National Party's victory in the general election of the Whites-only political parties in South Africa, apartheid education and discrimination in job situations dominated the socio-economic and political spheres through acts of Parliament. The National Party forced labour education on the Blacks and used education as a means of social control. It can be argued that the National Party was the inheritor of the colonial ideology of enslaving Blacks through the imposition of manual labour.

Kallaway (1984:9) argued that within the colonial context, schools became key institutions of control so as to benefit white South Africans. Because of inequalities in the education system of South Africa, Blacks later challenged the education policies which seemed to have deprived them of their right to adequate and advanced education. Adequate education could have empowered them to participate fully and meaningfully as skilled workers in the economy of their country. Education policies since 1652 were therefore challenged by both the environmental demands and the society, especially in 1976 during the Soweto riots.

This chapter looks critically at the traditional attitude of Blacks in South Africa towards education, and also towards education for servitude. The effects of colonisation, with

reference to colonial and missionary education and the National Party's rule from 1948 to 1986, will be discussed. Under the National Party's rule the Eiselen Commission Report as well as those of the De Lange (1981), Riekert (1979) and Wiehahn (1979) Commissions will be singled out as the most important Reports to analyse for their treatment of the relationship between education and labour. A description of the collapse of apartheid will conclude this chapter.

4.2 Traditional attitude of Blacks towards education and labour before 1652, and also towards education during the Colonial era

When the Dutch East India Company (D.E.I.C) started the colonization process in South Africa, its aim was initially to establish a refreshment station at the Cape. D.E.I.C. officials came into contact with the indigenous people, initially the Hottentots. In the 18th century, white colonists in their search for grazing land, identity and independence met the Xhosas and other black tribes in the interior. The Hottentots and the black race groups had their own cultures of learning and of educating their children in order that the children's education could benefit the entire community. Initiation schools ("lebollo/bogwera" in Southern Sotho/Tswana) was the Black man's traditional schooling system for a certain age group in a community. The education of Blacks prior to 1652 was communal in nature. It was based on helping to keep herds, hunting and the cultivation of maize and sorghum, including inculcating the role of men and women in the economy, politics and social life of a community.

The communal nature of education and labour for Blacks changed as a result of their coming into contact with the white colonists. Barker et al. (1989:25) conclude that with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 the Khoikhoi's economic and social order was irrevocably shattered. The change from one form of culture to the other fragmented the social institutions of the Khoi in particular and the Blacks in general. Once their social order had been fragmented, the white settlers exploited the landless Blacks by gradually introducing wage labour and steadily subjecting the Blacks to economic dependency. The wage labour which was introduced by the white settlers and subsequent colonial governments created a situation whereby the Blacks were ultimately left without any option but to become wage labourers on white farms for their survival. According to Finnemore and Van der Merwe (1987:1) white employers created a cheap and docile labour force in RSA by employing Blacks as labourers. This meant that even the education for Blacks would in time be designed in such a way that the Blacks could become useful to the white man whose culture became dominant in RSA. Hutt (1964:11) stated that colonisation policies did not do enough to upgrade the working

conditions of Blacks educationally. He charged that insufficient planning was done to educate the natives as administrators and for eventual self government.

4.2.1 The Hottentots, education and labour

When the Hottentots met Jan van Riebeeck and his people in 1652, they lived in clans, strongly bonded by kinship. Large Khoikhoi groups usually had a chief called a *Khoeque* (rich man) who practised polygamy. He was respected by his followers. He normally settled family disputes caused by the failure of individuals to adhere to the tribal norms as well as by struggles over grazing (Barker et al., 1989:24).

Education for the Hottentots conformed with their culture because it was education for communal service. The boys were taught how to tend cattle and sheep. They were also taught hunting techniques. The techniques included making bows and arrows as well as poison which was applied on the sharp tip of the arrow to weaken the victim. Elphick and Giliomee (1980:9) explain that the Khoikhoi used iron cheaply for making spears and arrow tips. Girls were taught how to look after the young children and to make necklaces from the seeds of plants. There were also categories of communal duties to the community, especially with regard to organised feasts. Hired labour was unknown. In other words, members of the clan worked together without any reward. The Hottentots did not resent labour because to them it was a communal obligation and a cultural norm.

The traditional life led by the Hottentots was disrupted by the advent of the economic system referred to as "bartering". The Hottentots exchanged cattle and sheep for commodities of little value. These articles included tobacco and mirrors. Europeans brought commodities to the Cape such as tobacco, beads, knives, alcohol and salt for which the Khoikhoi bartered stock. In due course, the Hottentots found themselves without land and livestock (Barker et al., 1989:95).

Elphick and Giliomee (1980:23) point out that there is evidence that both company servants and freeburgers cajoled Khoikhoi into overselling and plundered them if they refused.

Before their encounter with Whites the Hottentots depended on nature for food. Everything they needed they took from nature: they hunted with bows and arrows and ate edible roots and berries. Elphick and Giliomee (1980:4) indicate that Khoikhoi economics varied with the terrain in which they lived, though they always consisted of hunting, fishing or gathering. During the period of the Dutch East Indian Company's

rule the Hottentots gradually became employees and servants of white employers on farms and performed predominantly manual labour.

The slave trade introduced at the Cape had two consequences. Firstly, it alleviated the labour problem which hampered the D.E.I.C.'s productivity. Secondly, it promoted the master and servant relationship already existing between the Hottentots and the Whites. Education was used as a mechanism to maintain this relationship.

The movements of the Hottentots were also controlled in such a way that they were not able to work where they preferred as they were indefinitely subjected to one "master" in a particular territory. Elphick and Giliomee (1980:365) indicate that colonial officials and colonial courts discriminated against the Khoikhoi in areas of life such as domicile, marriage, right of movement, taxation, landownership, etc. Curtailment and restriction of the Hottentots' movements became noticeable when the English colonial Government later issued proclamations regulating the Hottentots' movement from one employer to the other. Caledon issued a Hottentots Proclamation in 1809 which compelled every Hottentot to have a fixed and registered place of abode and to be in possession of a certificate in order to travel from one district to another. This compelled the Khoi to live on white farms as manual labourers (Barker et al., 1989:96).

The Dutch and English colonial governments accepted, as a matter of course, that their languages were supposed to be used in the process of Christianising the Hottentots, not to enslave them. However, according to McKerron (1994:157) the D.E.I.C.'s policies resulted in enslaving the heathen. Justification of enslaving heathens could perhaps be ascribed to assumptions made by Fredrickson (1981:173) about the self image of the Boers (Afrikaners) as a chosen people (like the ancient Israelites). From a Christian point of view, though, education should have been used to ensure racial equality in education and not political domination. Education ought to have been equal and accessible for all; nevertheless a school for slave-children and Hottentots was built in 1658. This was the beginning of the segregated schooling system in South Africa. For many years, it subjected Blacks in South Africa to separate education, rejected by many as inferior education preparing people only for manual labour.

4.2.2 Other black groups, education and labour in the 17th century

The expansion into the interior by Whites after 1652 led to their contact with the Xhosas and other black groups. This contact led to several wars and skirmishes resulting from the struggle for land, pasture and frontiers. When the Xhosas first met the colonists they were subsistence farmers. They also produced articles, some made of iron which included axes and hoes. Barker et al. (1989:25) mention that the Whites obtained

iron from the Xhosa, Namaqua, Damara and the Tswana. It can therefore be concluded that the Blacks possessed certain skills because they were able to forge iron to make weapons. They could also make articles from leaves, stems, grass and wood. These articles included doormats, hats and baskets.

Skills to produce such articles for household use were passed on from generation to generation using theory and practice, i.e. thinking and action. The cultivation and production of food was essentially the work of women. They weeded the fields and harvested the crops with children on their backs. Some women used to grind maize on a flat rock (referred to as "lwala" in Setswana) to produce samp. Men assisted the womenfolk with heavy work and some men were miners who toiled for iron. Others were the smiths who melted the ore to produce the blades for hoes and the sharp tips of spears. Most of the education of Blacks took place in the "mountain schools" in initiation ceremonies and rituals which were part of their "people's education". This type of education or training took three to six months and was left in the hands of experienced elderly men who also possessed knowledge of traditional medicinal herbs. After the completion of this training the graduates could interact with the older members of the community but mainly with their former schoolmates who then formed a regiment ("mophato" in Setswana). They could attend traditional feasts and could be called on to protect their communities as they had been trained in techniques of warfare (Barker et al., 1989:63).

The training of boys in warfare was harsh, accompanied sometimes by a certain amount of ruthlessness. Boys who could not persevere were sometimes cruelly treated. This cruel treatment had the sole purpose of producing strong and brave men to protect the community with greater efficacy. The values of communalism were central to their training and this contributed greatly to their future roles in and support of their community. Work was viewed as the way we relate to our world, the way we work to live and live to work (Arnold, 1993:148). This was also in the minds of the initiation school curriculum planners. The students also learned about their history and past traditions and this filled them with loyalty and respect for their socio-economic and political institutions.

Girls also attended initiation schools. They were taught how to look after the young children as well as how to care for members of their families through preparing food, grinding sorghum and making sorghum beer. After the completion of their training they were ready to get married and to run their own families in accordance with the norms and values of their society. These included respect for their husbands and to give birth to as many children as they could to extend the family units into which they were

married. The graduation for this training also ended up at the royal kraal where the king or chief could make a choice and marry one or two of the girls who were then graduating as women. This is the reason why "Bantu chiefs" had many wives.

The type of social life led by Blacks in South Africa before adopting Western culture was generally peaceful and communal in nature. Blacks worked together in groups to weed their own fields and also the chief's fields. There was no forced labour and as a result work was regarded as a pleasant and normal exercise. To the Blacks, according to Christie (1986:182), work was a central human activity. In other words, the informal education of Blacks was designed in such a way that what was learnt was to be ploughed back into the community.

The ethos of traditional labour was that it was viewed as a social bond. There was no idle society. Blacks worked freely together and did not regard labour as an imposition on them by the chief or elderly members of the society. According to Arnold (1993:148) there was personal work done for pleasure without any of the restrictions that surround work for hire. People merely work in order to survive, and survival meant producing food and clothes.

After harvesting their crops Blacks used to slaughter cattle or sheep to appease the gods and to thank them. Blacks believed that whatever they had or achieved was not through their own power but that the gods had provided them with food and had also guided them to reach their envisaged objectives. It is therefore evident that Blacks traditionally believed not in one God only but in many gods. Chiefs were regarded as owners of land. Certain duties were freely rendered by the people as a symbol of respect. This is the reason why chiefs and kings had continuous conflicts and disagreements with the missionaries. The chiefs feared, for instance, that Christianity would lure their subjects away from their authority to support Christianity. Subjects of the chief had to hoe his fields or weed his gardens or make beer and take it to him. According to Muthwadini (1990:4) these actions can be justified in terms of Biblical principles (Romans 13:5-7; 1 Peter 2:17). It is also supported by our Lord Jesus Christ who taught us to give the king his due (Matthew 22:21). It has to be emphasised that giving the king his due was not an imposition but it was in accordance with the traditional ethos of the Blacks in South Africa and in Africa as a whole, and also with the Biblical injunction to respect and revere elders and seniors. Blacks respected their leaders, elders, forefathers and ancestors. This was done, inter alia, by praying to God through their ancestors.

4.2.3 Communalism as practised by Blacks after 1652.

The history of Blacks in South Africa began to be documented only after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. Communalism was practised by them in preference to Capitalism and Individualism. Muthwadini (1990:32) pointed out that Africans believed in the saying "Umuntu ngumuntu ngomunye", meaning that a person cannot live by himself or for himself and that the concept "we" when referring to property was used. Hence the use of phrases like "this is our house or our ox". Sharing among Africans was adhered to and Blacks who resented sharing were regarded as outcasts. According to Muthwadini (1990:2) Blacks knew that one good turn deserved another ("Mabogo dinku a thebana", an idiomatic expression commonly used by the Tswana nation explaining the importance of sharing). According to Mbili (in Van der Walt, 1988:9) a black man sees himself in relation to his family:

I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am.

The sharing of Blacks is not restricted to sharing food only but labour as well. Africans generally work together by helping one another as they do in wedding ceremonies and other traditional and cultural feasts, hence the Tswana idiomatic expression:

"Kgetse ya tsie e kgonwa ke go tshwaraganelwa" (Heavier tasks need many helpers).

It is highly probable that the communal way of life among the Africans was weakened by the introduction of the individualistic and competitive Western culture. According to Western culture the concept "right" dominates relationship structures. Western societies believe in doing things because of the rights attached thereto, but for the traditional black man the concept of duty predominates (Van der Walt, 1988:10). While the concept "duty first" might be valid among Blacks in the labour market, this should not be mistaken or misconstrued to mean servitude and exploitation in the labour market simply because of their belief in honest labour. Acceptance by Blacks of labour as a duty should also not be used as a pretext to provide mainly education for labour as was done by the various colonial governments in South Africa. Western norms and values should have been introduced in such a way that Blacks could have been equipped with the skills required when they entered the world of work. Their education should always consider their needs as dictated by their environment, and not by the ideologies of the ruling class. The introduction and domination of the Western culture virtually destroyed the communal way of living of Blacks and subjected them to wage labour as demanded by the exploitative capitalist mode of production.

4.2.4 Effects of Capitalism on the lives of black South Africans

Capitalism as an economic system introduced by the Whites in South Africa demanded labour as its fuel. It was not just labour but cheap labour that was required for the accumulation of profit. The labour ethos of the Blacks changed because two cultures merged and the Western culture dominated. Capitalism was perpetuated in schools. Black children received a completely different and inferior type of education than the one received by their peer groups of the other races in South Africa. Christie (1986:182) is of the opinion that education for Capitalism creates and perpetuates inequality. Some of the purposes of the segregated schooling system in capitalist states like the RSA could have been to promote the status quo. Various methods were used by, for instance, the National Party Government since 1948, to disempower Blacks politically and economically. Usually, black children went to the worst schools, lived in rundown houses and when they grew up they had to perform the hard work, the dirty jobs that no one else wanted (Davidson, 1986:22). This type of situation was also common practice in America before the war of liberation masterminded by Martin Luther King Jr in 1965. According to Davidson (1986:22) Blacks in America, prior to this "war", were paid far less than Whites for the same labour. The situation that prevailed in America before the war of liberation is at present still prevalent in RSA and has affected Blacks economically, politically and socially since 1652, when the colonisation process began.

The Christian theory of education outlined in chapter 3 of this study is opposed to the inequalities brought about by Capitalism. Van der Walt (1988:49) attacks the evils of inequality in education and work on the basis of the following Biblical view:

The Bible teaches very clearly that all men are equal in the sight of God, that is, that all men have the same value for Him - contrary to the thinking of a Western Capitalist which divides mankind into various groups of which some are more human and others would be less human (barbarians or sub-humans).

In capitalist societies people are not equitably rewarded for the work they do but are rewarded according to their class. In apartheid RSA colour and class were used to reward workers and to educate them. Alexander (1987:4) argued that in South Africa there was a ruling capitalist class who was white, who made profit, accumulated wealth and capital by exploiting the labour of the working class. Alexander described the working class as consisting of Blacks and Whites but the white working class was treated as a privileged group and highly paid; they had power to vote, were allowed to form trade unions, were voted into office, whereas migrant Black workers lived in hostels and did semi-skilled and unskilled work.

Most Blacks in South Africa are victims of Capitalism and apartheid: they are illiterate and therefore are compelled to perform unskilled labour.

4.2.5 Effect of the monetary system on black labour and education

Wage labour was brought into the South African economic system by Capitalism as an economic system. Jobs were categorised with labels such as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Colour was used to fit people into these categories of jobs. Obviously education was necessary to create such groups of people so that wages would correspond to social background. Most skilled workers performed mental work which involved more thinking than doing. They were mostly Whites. Manual labour was meant mainly for Blacks. Fredrickson (1981:202) stated that for the unskilled and semi-skilled work, large numbers of Africans were recruited, sometimes coercively, from colonised societies all over Southern Africa. To have educated Blacks by offering them an academic type of education would have meant improving their social status, and this would have meant that they could occupy senior positions in the world of work.

Though Blacks were placed at the lower levels of the South African economy as labourers they were also subjected to heavy taxes, like poll tax. The tax system was initiated by the colonial British Governments to force Blacks into hired labour. Poll and hut taxes were introduced in the different provinces and failure to pay tax was an offence. Every African had to carry his poll tax receipt with him wherever he went (Roux, 1972:88). The introduction of tax for Blacks in South Africa meant that the Blacks were reduced to the status of people without rights in their own country. This move was exacerbated by the fact that Blacks became squatters on so-called white men's farms. Some Blacks even had to pay rent to white farm owners. Bantu chiefs could not in any way protect their subjects because there were monetary inducements which directly or indirectly coerced them to assist the white colonial government in collecting the taxes. Some Bantu chiefs were reduced to mere salaried puppets acting as tax collectors and continued in office only so long as they duly carried out the policy and orders of the white government (Roux, 1972:87). The introduction of tax therefore reduced the status of chiefs as protectors of their subjects to mere tax-collectors and puppets of the Government.

The monetary system which was introduced in South Africa for Blacks by the colonial governments was detrimental to the former. Firstly, it forced the Natives into wage employment, and secondly it fragmented their social institutions. Thirdly, the introduction of taxes also fragmented the political thinking of the Blacks because some of the chiefs who forced their subjects to pay tax were unavoidably at loggerheads with

their own people. They thus lost control and the respect which traditionally was accorded to them by virtue of their birth right.

The discovery of gold in 1886 in the Transvaal (Gauteng) intensified the question of labour supply. Blacks were lured from their homes to render cheap labour in the gold mines so that in return they could pay taxes and make a living in the monetary society which had been established by that time. Various strategies were used to strip Africans of their independent socio-economic and political livelihood. Farmers and mine owners preferred coercion to get Africans to work for them. Taxation, for instance, forced Africans to earn money to pay the taxes. Before the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, Fredrickson (1981:219) indicated, the needs of the mines and other employers of native labour were met mainly by the imposition of special taxes that required a family to earn more than its limited agricultural productivity would provide. Furthermore, the system of employing worker tenants resulted in the squatting of Blacks on white owned farms in return for labour.

The supply of cheap labour and the type of education provided for Blacks grossly affected the education and labour of generations of Blacks until the students exploded in reaction in 1976, and started protesting vehemently against the inferior type of education which they were receiving and which according to many of them was the gateway to manual labour, poverty and unfair taxation. Davenport (1991:389) mentioned that the Soweto disturbance of 1976/7 was a result of the dislike of the Bantu Education system, to which Dr Verwoerd had publicly and very explicitly referred in earlier years as education for a subordinate place in society.

4.2.6 African Socialism

Africans have a strong belief in doing things together. Their team work and the fact that they resent Individualism make them attach more meaning to Socialism. Socialism forces them to respect the social bonds between people in order to gain collectively in all their day to day activities. This might be due to the definition of Socialism which according to Van der Walt (1988:50) amounts to collectivism. In broader and more explicit terms Van der Walt (1988:17) defines Socialism as an ideology that seeks to adopt a mixture of Capitalism and Marxism with the aim of trying to unite different tribes and languages in their territories as well as organising their economies. African Socialism therefore emerged as one result of the exploitative measures brought about by Capitalism. African Socialism can therefore not be discussed without reference to Capitalism. In a preceding discussion (see 4.2.4) the effects of Capitalism were outlined. Reference was made, inter alia, to inequality in the education system of a country accepting Capitalism as the philosophy behind the production of goods, with the result

that discrimination in the labour market becomes rampant, using colour (in South Africa) as norm. The threats posed by Capitalism forced African leaders to the rejection of Capitalism and the guarded acceptance of Marxism in the hope that with such steps they could retain their identity and unite against the colonial powers which had brought Capitalism to their country. Capitalism also sowed the seeds of class struggle, a struggle which in terms of the African way of life had previously been unknown. Africans led a communal type of life. Imperialism and Capitalism, however, forced them to resort to Socialism. Van der Walt (1988:26) argues that when we discuss Socialism and Capitalism, we are actually talking of morality versus immorality, or equity versus inequity, of humanity versus inhumanity, and of Christianity versus unchristianity.

In Biblical terms Capitalism is regarded as unchristian partly because it places emphasis on social inequality. It is common knowledge that where inequalities exist equal rights for the citizens of a particular country become an illusion. Most of the African leaders such as Kenneth Kaunda (Zambian President in the seventies and eighties) and Canaan Banana, President of Zimbabwe after the introduction of black majority rule in 1980) have repeatedly defended African Socialism. Their recommendations entailed that African Socialism should replace Capitalism in Africa. According to Banana the god of Capitalism does not exist, only the god of Socialism (Van der Walt, 1988:28). Kaunda defended African Socialism from the humanistic point of view. According to Van der Walt (1988:23) Kaunda argued that Christian Humanism was the discovery of all that was worth knowing about God through our fellow-men, and unconditional service to our fellow-men was the purest form of service to God.

African Socialism has unfortunately failed in Africa, especially in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania, in the early sixties to the eighties. This failure seems to have resulted from the merging of Socialism with Communalism. Van der Walt (1988:19) argues that the failure of African Socialism is to be sought in the very effort to tie it in with an idealized version of traditional Communalism because Communalism and Socialism were clearly different visions of life. In the final analysis Capitalism and Socialism point fingers at each other. Van der Walt (1988:5) explains that Capitalism sees Socialism as the scapegoat when things go badly in the economic field and Socialism accuses Capitalism for the same reasons.

The criticism levelled at Capitalism as a "grave-digging theory" is not yet justified. Socialism has failed to replace Capitalism. The advocates of African Socialism should go back to the drawing board to trace their mistakes. In the meantime, Capitalism will continue to dominate as a means of production in South Africa and other African

countries, unless a realistic and suitable mode of production can be thought of to replace Capitalism.

African Socialism still has to prove that it can replace Capitalism. The type of education that Socialism has to adopt should not merely conform to the aspirations of African societies but should be in line with the environmental factors which are at present dominated by production. Production in African countries should not only be relevant to a smaller community but to a large extent include export and import trade. Exports and imports need knowledgeable people with technological know-how. This simply means that there is need for capital to educate children who will be able to manage the economy.

Education in African societies seems to have caused Socialism to fail because the education was informal and territorial in nature. Broadening the scope of education, especially in the development of the curriculum, could have seen African Socialism succeeding. But how could African Socialism succeed when Socialism itself had failed in a country like Germany which is an industrialised country? How can poor countries without capital succeed in bringing Capitalism to its knees? A mixture of Socialism and Capitalism seems to be the only alternative to African Socialism.

4.3 Colonial education in South Africa since 1652

4.3.1 General background

When colonisation in South Africa began after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, education for Blacks changed completely. Colonial education developed along the lines of social class. Education for Blacks was dictated to by the different colonial governments and was dominated by colonial education policies with the aim of promoting docility among Blacks. It appears as though the colonial governments at the Cape feared that equal education in the colonies would bring about equality in politics and therefore threaten white supremacy in South Africa. According to Hutt (1964:11) colonial officials sometimes came to regard themselves as a kind of ruling aristocracy and no doubt regarded educated natives as a threatening element.

Schools where such colonial education policies could be taught and implemented were built. This became clear when a school for Africans was built in 1799 near what is now known as King William's Town. Why was this school built specifically for Africans? The motive for the school was the development of an inferior social class in South Africa. The outcome of the policy of segregated schooling was social wars and conflicts that swept South Africa into chaos in later years.

The Dutch people taught Blacks the Dutch language with the aim to facilitate the process of Christianisation. The British taught Blacks their language (English) with the aim of furthering/advancing their Anglicisation policy in South Africa. This was rejected by the Dutch and one result of it all was the Great Trek in 1834. The Great Trek was the movement of the Dutch people from the South-West corner of the Cape into the interior in search of their own land where they could retain their identity, freedom and independence. Ironically, what the Dutch resented was in turn imposed by them on Blacks who were defenceless and helpless. Christie (1986:34) alleges that the British wanted to use education as a way to spread their language and tradition and also as a means of social control.

The policy of teaching Blacks the Dutch language was also a mechanism to subjugate Blacks to an inferior type of education that would promote a master and servant relationship in the world of work. According to Molteno (1984:53) the schools helped to make useful servants of them (the Blacks) by teaching them the basis of their new master's language and providing them with a limited vocabulary that could be relevant to their role in the colonial order.

The British colonial governments also had a negative attitude towards the Blacks. According to the policies of the British colonial governments, Blacks were to be subjected to white domination. Molteno (1984:50) alleges that in 1854 Sir George Grey held education to be a prime instrument in the subjugation of the indigenous (black) population. Elphick and Giliomee (1980:359) explained European domination at the Cape 1652-1820 in the following words:

Throughout our period Colonial society was dominated by a group whose members variously described themselves as 'coloureds', 'inhabitants', 'Afrikaners', 'Christians', 'Whites' or 'Europeans'.

In general, education for Blacks in the RSA was inadequate. There were no reasonable and realistic skills that went along with the education for Blacks. Not even creativity was reinforced. The type of education provided for Blacks in South Africa was contrary to what Entwistle (1970:2) indicates as the objective of education, viz. to bring an individual to a point where he can do a job, or work with such skill, intelligence, taste and responsibility that his occupation becomes a source of creative work and satisfaction. It is quite clear that low-grade labour will always be required but the argument is that a specific race group should not be singled out to perform manual labour without proof of the ineducability of all its members. It is possible to get low-grade labour from both Whites and Blacks without protecting any of the two groups

with policies that target a specific race group for discrimination, as was advocated by colonial education in South Africa.

Rose and Tunmer (1975:213) quote the A M Theal Commission (1892) Report on education in the Cape Colony as saying:

I would teach the Natives to dig the ground and make their furrows straight and also the rudiments of carpentering.

Why were the white colonists not taught to dig the ground and given the rudiments of carpentering? The answer to this question might be the fact that there was a cultural gap between white and black groups in the colonies which could not be closed overnight. But irrespective of the cultural gap that existed this alludes to the fact that manual labour was not meant for the white colonists. Was such action Biblically justifiable? The Biblical justification, according to the Afrikaners who were mostly Calvinist, was explained by Elphick and Giliomee (1980:363). Calvinists were consciously or unconsciously bound to believe that they were the elect of the Lord and the salt of the earth. It can therefore be concluded that colonial education laid the foundations for apartheid education in South Africa and was instrumental in deskilling and enslaving blacks in the country of their birth. Colonial education was thus morally and socially unjust. Entwistle (1990:10) laments that it is bad that people should be treated as machines all day long.

Missionary education followed the philosophical tenets of colonial education despite the fact that it was supposed to improve the quality of education for Blacks in South Africa.

4.3.2 Missionary education in South Africa

During the 18th century missionary schools started operating in South Africa to educate and to spread the Christian religion among Blacks in South Africa. The missionary societies which operated in South Africa included the Moravians (1792), the London Missionary Society (1799), the Glasgow Society (1821) and the Berlin Society (1834). According to McKerron (1934:159) missions established a great number of non-European schools. Lovedale College in the Cape was, for instance, founded in 1841 and although it produced most of the great African leaders like Robert Mugabe, the Zimbabwean President, it was structured along discriminatory lines. This College sowed the seeds of apartheid in South Africa. In 1824, Hirson (1981:17) alleges, pupils of different groups slept in segregated dormitories, ate at separate tables and ate different food. It is doubtful that under such circumstances Christian religious

experience and conducive learning conditions could transpire. Other schools which were established include Adams College in Natal (1853), Marianhill, also in Natal (1882), Kilnerton in the Transvaal (1855), Lemana (1906) and St Peters (1922), also both in the Transvaal. These were boarding schools.

The curricula in mission schools varied from school to school but according to Christie (1986:66) the missionaries mostly taught basic reading and writing along with the Christian doctrine. Manual work and practical training were also an important part of mission education. Confusion reigned about the type of curriculum to be provided by the missionaries. Some missionaries felt that Blacks were to receive the same education as Whites whereas others opted for an adapted curriculum for Blacks. There were those who felt that Blacks were inferior and should not have too much academic education. Such inconsistencies in the provision of education by mission schools led to many criticisms.

The main criticism of mission schools emanated from the fact that only elementary education was provided. Elementary education meant that Blacks were given very little so that they could occupy lower positions in the workplace. The lower positions occupied by Blacks meant manual work demanding less thinking skills. Christie (1986:187) explains that the more education people have, the more likely they are to do mental work. Various governors during the colonial era encouraged mission schools to subject Blacks to manual labour. According to Hirson (1981:14) Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape, advised the missionaries to pay more attention to manual education. Although the missionaries believed in the value of labour education it is true that most of the influence to subject Blacks to manual work came from the colonial governments. The missionaries tried to provide adequate education for Blacks but unfortunately they were poorly funded, with inadequate facilities, badly trained teachers and high teacher-pupil ratios. Criticisms and complaints resulted in riots in African schools, for example in 1920 in the Kilnerton Training Centre where students went on a hunger strike for more food. Accusations were levelled against missionary schools: it was alleged that Blacks were treated like slaves in boarding schools where severe disciplinary measures were taken against black students. Hirson (1981:22) pointed out that the missionaries maintained a military discipline and treated Africans as masters would treat servants. On the other hand Afrikaners accused the mission schools of bringing about equality between Black and White. Hirson (1981:26) also points out that the Afrikaner critics accused missionaries of Liberalism through their propagating the idea of equality of races and of not having sufficiently inculcated the habit of doing manual labour.

As a result of education for labour imposed on Blacks by missionary learning institutions and the colonial governments, Blacks, though not in principle averse to work, began to hate manual labour. Elphick and Giliomee (1980:17) stated that ever since Van Riebeeck's time, some Khoikhoi had worked in the Colony as cooks, aids, domestics, building labourers and despatch runners. It has been proved throughout the history of Blacks in South Africa that work was for them an accepted human activity. Labour that is imposed on people for ideological reasons is unacceptable, however. It can therefore be argued that colonial and missionary education prepared and paved the way for apartheid education in South Africa. In fact, apart from the colonial role played by the missionary institutions, the Union government to a great extent laid the foundation for apartheid in education and in the world of work. Davenport (1991:233) mentioned that Union governments were "dominated by the segregationist arguments". Apartheid therefore started long before 1948. The National Party government only consolidated what had already been planned. Fredrickson (1981:240) explained that when the Afrikaans dominated National Party triumphed in 1948 on a platform of "apartheid or separate development" previous trends in white thought and policy were carried to their logical conclusion.

4.3.3 The National Party's rule from 1948 until the abolition of influx control in 1986

The National Party won the elections in the 1948 Whites-only party-political system in South Africa and introduced the consistent apartheid policies which affected education and labour for the disenfranchised black South Africans. Barker et al. (1989:367) say that when the National Party took over power on 28 May 1948, the age of apartheid had dawned. Education was used for ideological and political reasons in order to marginalise Blacks in the socio-economic and political arena. To achieve the ideal of marginalisation of Blacks, racial discrimination was applied in schools and in industries. In 1948 the National Party government introduced apartheid which led to racial separation at all levels of life. It is this policy of separation that deprived Blacks of the right to better education and better paid jobs. Various commissions of inquiry were instituted to legitimise apartheid (Anon., 1994:40).

The first important commission, chaired by Dr W W M Eiselen, was appointed in 1948 to look into the feasibility of a separate education for Blacks in South Africa. The Commission's terms of reference and its recommendations will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter. However, it must be pointed out here that its aim was to empower the dominant white culture and to provide Blacks with an inferior type of education namely "Bantu Education". According to Hirson (1981:17) this was done in

order that Whites might take their rightful place in a racist society. For this they needed an education that was different from that provided for Africans.

Through internal and external pressure from various pressure groups, liberation movements such as the African National Congress, Pan African Congress, South African Communist Party and trade unions, in particular the NUM and COSATU, together with the United Nations, South Africa introduced other commissions of inquiry into education and labour laws in RSA. Some of these commissions were the De Lange Commission in 1980 and the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions in 1979. These commissions will also be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The majority of Black South Africans, and also Whites, resented most of the policies of apartheid such as influx control, forced removals and the 1956 Pass Laws. Hirson (1981:47) stated that the Bantu Education Act, the Native Resettlement Act, the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and Anti-trade union measures, were resisted by the African National Congress. The National Party's rule can best be explained by discussing the Party's policy of apartheid education which gave rise to "apartheid labour".

4.3.4 Apartheid education and its effects on the lives of many black South Africans (1948-1986)

Segregated education facilities had their origin in the colonial and missionary education systems. During the colonial and missionary education periods in South Africa apartheid education existed, but on a surface level, as it was not formalised until the National Party took over power in 1948. Christie (1986:52) points out that there was segregation before 1948 but that the National Party took this a step further. Education for Blacks was provided separately in order to give advantage to the Whites in the world of work. The separate education provided for Blacks was aimed at blocking the intellectual ability of the black labour force in order to exploit it socially and economically.

Bantu, Coloured and Indian education was used to dwarf the minds of black children by conditioning them to servitude (Molteno, 1984:94). The school curriculum in black schools was designed in such a way that Blacks could not participate equally with Whites in the country's economy, politics and social life. This inequality in education also meant that Blacks would become functionally illiterate and therefore become subjugated creatures. Enslin (1986:140) indicated that education for Blacks was to be organised and administered by Whites in such a way that it should not prepare Blacks for equal participation in economic and social life. Education for Blacks under

apartheid prepared them to accept the system as befitting their roles as labourers who by virtue of their inferior education would not question the system and its exploitative results. Fear of competition in the world of work between Black and White workers was strictly controlled by the application of apartheid education which brain-washed and indoctrinated Blacks instead of educating them. Curle (1973:3) pointed out that education for Blacks had the effect of holding back segments of the population, of preventing them from entering into competition with their betters, of keeping them poor and useful to the elite.

To provide a picture of apartheid education, the types of apartheid schools should be briefly outlined. Apartheid schools included Bantu community schools, state-aided and missionary schools and government schools. Most of these black schools, in particular farm schools, resembled slums because the facilities were inadequate. There were no sports fields and classrooms were in an unhealthy condition, frequently with groupings of more than three standards in a classroom.

In many cases teachers were not suitably qualified but were allowed to derail children academically, thus preparing them as cheap labourers when they left school. Textbooks were frequently obsolete, and furniture, if provided, was dilapidated. The teacher pupil-ratio in the black schools was alarmingly high. The following table of teacher-pupil ratios from 1971-1983 is supplied for Africans, Coloured, Indian and Whites (Christie, 1986:115):

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
1971	1:58	1:31	1:27	1:20
1976	1:52	1:30	1:27	1:20
1977	1:50	1:29	1:27	1:20
1978	1:49	1:29	1:27	1:20
1980	1:47	1:29	1:25	1:19
1982	1:39	1:27	1:24	1:18
1983	1:43	1:27	1:24	1:18

Table 4.1 Teacher:pupil ratios from 1971-1983

Poor teachers' qualifications linked to a high teacher pupil ratio especially in farm schools where class groupings were common, encouraged poor results and a high drop-out rate. McKerron (1934:175) argued that good results could not be expected from schools where classes of over a hundred pupils might be instructed by teachers who themselves had only passed Standard 3 or 4. The unfavourable teacher-pupil ratio and

the many unqualified teachers in classes were detrimental to the opportunities for Blacks to succeed in life. Slum schools were not so much gateways to opportunities as training grounds for failure. This is the single greatest negative achievement of apartheid education. The National Manpower Commission stated that white men constituted the largest single source of high level manpower which is not surprising for it was guaranteed by apartheid (Anon., 1989a:6).

Apartheid education was also forced on Blacks when in 1959 universities for Blacks were segregated through the promulgation of the Universities' Act (1959). In 1963 and 1964 separate education systems for Coloureds and Indians were also set up. The various segregated education systems in South Africa resulted in the establishment of many education departments offering different curricula for different racial groups. According to Christie (1986:125) there were 15 departments of education in South Africa, including those for the homeland departments.

The Blacks were further educationally disadvantaged when the black self-governing states were created under the Self-Government Act of 1959. The Act fragmented the already fragile social structure of Blacks through the migrant labour system in the industrial and mining towns of South Africa such as Johannesburg and the gold mines in the Free State and Western Transvaal. Some residents/citizens of black states who were not allowed in the so-called white areas in despair took up unskilled jobs in the bordering farms and in the industrial towns and were easily exploited by the local farmers and industrialists. Christie and Collins (1984:172) pointed out that the promulgation of the Bantu Self-Government Act (1959) provided for the establishment of separate black governments in geographically fragmented homelands. These homelands included Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Venda, Kwa-Zulu, Gazankulu, Lebowa and Kwa-Ndebele. It would appear that the creation of such Bantu homelands further promoted the apartheid policy which in turn consolidated education for unskilled labour. A migrant labour system was already in place and was regulated by the influx control measures applied by the National Party government. According to Fothergill (1991:3) apartheid education opened the way for job reservation, forced removals, separate queues and other evils of enforced racial separation. The Group Areas Act (1967) was a cruel law that haunted the lives of millions of South Africans for nearly 40 years as it denied the majority of SA citizens the democratic right as human beings to stay where they chose.

Freedom of movement, the right to choose the type of job that one wanted to perform and the right to free and relevant education were negated by apartheid. Farm workers and their children were the most unfortunate group to have been affected by apartheid

laws. Until 1986, farm schools were neglected in terms of upgrading the facilities, and farm workers were not allowed by law to join trade unions. This affected their socio-economic lives. Apartheid laws in South Africa prevented farm workers from using their combined strength to negotiate better wages and working conditions and they were not protected by the Labour Relations Act.

Apartheid education was a powerful instrument to exclude black farm workers from most job-related benefits such as overtime, and yet they could be seen working even on Sundays instead of having been allowed to attend church services. Kenyon and Howa (1986:23-24) describe the apartheid laws and lack of education which have denied farm workers their most fundamental legal rights. They reject apartheid education as morally wrong and say that its effects will in future affect the very people who benefitted from apartheid. The manpower needs of South Africa were enfeebled by the lack of a skilled and academically as well as technically trained work force. Most companies in South Africa and investors could no longer afford "on the job training" to equip Blacks with skills to improve production. It was too costly. According to Khoza (Anon., 1989b:27) in December 1989 there were 2 860 black people as against 180 000 Whites in managerial, executive and administrative positions in the RSA. This meant that apartheid education affected Blacks in their future occupations because they entered the world of work without the relevant skills demanded by the environment. Apartheid education never prepared Blacks for skilled occupations. Khoza (Anon. 1989b:6) indicated that though Blacks made up 86% of the population, they contributed only 0.1 per cent of engineers, 5.5 per cent of scientists, 6 percent of lawyers and 2.9 percent of accountants.

4.4 Trade unions in South Africa and their effect on labour and education for black South Africans

4.4.1 Historical background

The rise of trade unions for Black South Africans was a result of the discontent of the majority of Blacks about the indoctrinating type of education which forced them to become labourers, to take up menial occupations. The menial occupations to which Blacks were relegated closed all avenues to workers' rights, including negotiating with employers for better working conditions and a living wage. According to Finnemore and Van der Merwe (1987:2) the first documented trade union in South Africa appears to have been the Carpenters and Joiners Union in Cape Town in 1881. The reason for trade unions to exist is generally to protect the status of the workers, irrespective of colour and creed. In South Africa trade unions were the privilege of Whites because Blacks were excluded from belonging to trade unions, probably so that their exploitation could not be questioned.

The discontent of Blacks arising from their exclusion from participating in trade union activities later radicalised and politicised schools and affected not only the labour and the country's economy but also the education machinery which had to supply labour with the relevant manpower skills. The problem of poor labour supply through an irrelevant education system was exacerbated by the introduction of Bantu Education in 1954.

According to Friedman (1984:12) the story of mass African unionism began in 1919 when Clemens Kadile, a school teacher from Nyasaland (presently Malawi) formed the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa (ICA) among the dock workers in Cape Town. At first the SA government did not allow nor recognise trade unionism among Blacks; black trade unions were in fact suppressed through force by imprisoning the leaders of the illegal unions. Yet workers who do not belong to any trade union are easily exploited. Hence Finnemore and Van der Merwe (1987:33) define a trade union as an organisation of workers who by collective action strive to defend and advance their interests. It is an action that denotes solidarity in the work place. The working conditions of Blacks in South Africa which were negatively influenced by apartheid policy measures such as the Group Areas Act (1967) and Influx Control Act (1945) necessitated the introduction of trade unions for Blacks to defend their interests in the job situation.

4.4.2 Activities of black trade unions in South Africa

In the late 1970's black trade unions became more powerful and later forced the National Party government to recognise their existence. The Wiehahn Commission of 1979 recommended that African and mixed unions be allowed to register under certain conditions and by 1986 these unions had achieved most of their objectives (Friedman, 1984:152). The unions in South Africa, in particular the black trade unions which included TAWU (Transport and Allied Workers' Union), SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions), United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) in 1979 and Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985, changed the life in factories and the politics of South Africa. These changes included wage agreements between employer and employee unions, as well as changes in working conditions and employee benefits. Changes brought about by trade unionism in South Africa also affected education directly and indirectly, especially through stayaways which destabilised the normal education in black schools. Among the methods applied by black trade unions, Friedman (1984:3) mentions the refusal to work, and work stoppages as powerful weapons. Refusal to work takes the form of go-slows, consumer boycotts and court action, e.g. settlement of disputes by industrial courts. Some of the

black trade union activities in South Africa included, according to Friedman (1984:44), the strike of PUTCO bus drivers in June 1972 for higher wages. This strike affected education, as most teachers who commuted to work did not for the duration of the strike arrive at their work places in time. Production stagnated as workers too stayed away from work because of lack of transport. Trade unions in South Africa thus crippled the country's economy and forced the government to make changes with regard to the policies affecting labour and education.

4.4.3 Pressure of ANC, PAC and SACP on the South African government to change its racial policies

The African National Congress (ANC) was formed two years after the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The formation of this liberation organisation was prompted by the exclusion of Blacks from participating in the Union Government. According to Barker et al. (1989:263) in 1912, educated Blacks reacted to the Act of the Union by forming the ANNC (African Native National Congress), forerunner of the ANC. The ANC became very powerful as it represented the majority of black South Africans in their reaction to their plight in education and labour. In 1954, the Freedom Charter was drawn up at Kliptown outside Johannesburg. From this Charter, two clauses among the many outlined by Barker et al. (1989:388) are important for this study, namely clauses 1 and 8.

Clause 1 of the Charter affirms the right of the people to govern regardless of race, colour or sex, and to vote. This clause explains that Blacks were disempowered, marginalised in the world of work because they were not in power. Clause 8 states that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened with the introduction of free, universal, compulsory and equal education to wipe out illiteracy, and demands the removal of all cultural, sporting and education colour bars. The PAC and SACP also supported the ANC, especially by means of the pass campaign organised by the PAC which culminated in the Sharpeville shootings in 1960. These two clauses underline the fact that racial barriers and the education systems for Whites and Blacks were some of the causes of dissatisfaction with the Union Government (1910-1960) and the National Party's Republic's (1961-) efforts to maintain the status quo in South Africa.

Trade unionism and liberation forces like the ANC and the PAC changed the politics of South Africa by putting pressure on the Government to change the racial policies designed to suppress economic and political growth among Blacks. Although the Union Government and the National Party Government after 1948 tried to suppress and inhibit black economic development by refusing trade unions to operate freely in SA and by banning the ANC and other liberation forces, commissions of inquiry such as

those chaired by Riekert, Wiehahn and De Lange, advised the National Party about the policies which were no longer acceptable.

4.5 The Eiselen Commission (1949-1954): Report on the Education of Natives in the Union of South Africa

4.5.1 Background

The Eiselen Commission was instituted on January 1949, shortly after the National Party had taken over power in the Whites only party political system in South Africa. Taking into account that Blacks were disenfranchised, the Commission was from the outset compelled to comply with the wishes of the National Party Government to enforce its divide and rule tactics which the party promised the white voters. "Divide and rule" in the South African context meant that the supremacy of Whites in education and labour was to be guaranteed. These guarantees were to be reinforced through the application of the Colour Bar Act of 1911, which became official in 1920, the 1913 Land Act which was later used to support the Bantustan policy and the 1923 Native Act which prevented the settlement of Blacks in "white" South Africa. The aims of this Commission were therefore to use education as a vehicle to promote racial inequality and the justification of the then existing labour laws which prescribed that Blacks were to perform unskilled labour jobs in South Africa.

W W M Eiselen was appointed by the National Party Government as chairman of this Commission. Unfortunately the Blacks, who were in the majority in South Africa, were to be on the receiving end as policies were being formulated for them. This is clear proof that he who pays the piper, calls the tune. Mphahlele (1982:6) states that the aim of black education was to train the Bantu so that they could be useful in the economic expansion of the country. It was the wish of the white South Africans that Blacks should become obsequious or "yes men". It is within such guidelines about subordinating Blacks to white rule in SA that the terms of reference for this Commission were drawn.

4.5.2 Terms of reference of the Commission

Report UG. 53/1051 (paragraph 1) of this Commission stated, inter alia, the following as its terms of reference:

- (a) Formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race taking into consideration their past and present inherent racial qualities, aptitude and their needs.

- (b) Modify in content the existing primary, secondary, vocational education system for Natives and training of Native teachers to conform to the proposed principles and aims of Bantu education and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.

These terms of reference are questionable and without substance. How could the National Party formulate aims of education for Natives only, and not for the entire population of the country? This suggests a hidden agenda which was to benefit those who were in power to the disadvantage of the governed. Basing the formulation of the education policy for Blacks on their past and present racial qualities suggested that racial inequality was to dominate and that the Blacks were never to be taken to a rosier future as their needs were to be determined by those who called the tune. The training of teachers was to conform to the proposed principles and aims of Bantu education instead of conforming to international standards. Blacks were meant not to match their fellow South Africans in competence nor fit into the international labour market. This type of training can be described as indoctrination rather than as education because education has to prepare man to manage any situation he is confronted with. Already the terms of reference of this Commission indicate the flaws of its investigation. Mphahlele (1982:1) states that the division of education is a violation of logic and causes conflict, confusion and concern among teachers and pupils, especially Blacks.

4.5.3 Findings and recommendations of the Commission

The findings and the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission conformed with its terms of reference, especially the idea of preparing Natives more effectively for their future occupations. It appeared that future occupation referred to manual labour. This principle might have arisen from the fact that the majority of Blacks had never seen the inside of a classroom in a formal educational setup. However, educating Blacks by way of introducing them to a formal Western type of education did not mean mass education but rather quality education. The findings which related to mother tongue as a suitable medium of instruction (UG 53/1951 paragraph 765 (h)) and the admission requirements stipulated by the Commission (UG 53/1951 paragraph 848-859) were used by the Commission as appropriate facts leading to the recommendations, yet these findings proved to be detrimental to the education of Blacks in SA. If Blacks were to be Westernised and Christianised they surely needed a thorough knowledge of a language used internationally. English was such a language. In fact the Commission itself used English when preparing the questionnaire for use when visiting the High Commission territories Lesotho and Swaziland. Why then did the Commission recommend (UG 53/1951 paragraph 919) that mother tongue medium in Bantu schools was vital to the

system of their education? It is evidently true that the mother tongue is the language the child understands best, but bearing in mind that Blacks would be compelled to interact with the international community in one way or another or at some stage in their lives a sound foundation of English was necessary. The following Tswana proverb can best explain what I have tried to indicate here about the need for an international tongue:

Longong lo ojwa lo sa le metsi - meaning that it is better to teach the child (anything good) while he is still young, for when he is old it will be difficult for him to grasp and understand clearly what he is being taught.

Recommending that English be introduced in SSB class (UG 53/1951 paragraph 925) and using it as a medium of instruction in primary schools greatly affected pupils' command of the language since they studied it later in their education. Clark (1988:163) argues that poor work in the grades lowers the level in high school.

The Commission also recommended (UG 53/1953 paragraph 948(a)) that the age of admission should be 7 years and the maximum 12 years. Black children who entered school at the age of 7 had never been exposed to pre-school and it was therefore very difficult for them to cope with formal schooling. As a result of this many of them dropped out at an early age. The drop-out rate was exacerbated by the fact that facilities in black schools were inadequate and poorly funded. The high drop-out rate was, however, advantageous to the capitalists and in particular the farmers who used the drop-outs for cheap labour.

The Commission (UG 53/1953 paragraph 867-869) found that entrance qualifications for teachers in Bantu primary schools should be Standard VI and the duration of their training three years. The Junior Certificate (at present Standard 8) was an entrance qualification for a two-year course for the Bantu Primary Higher Certificate. This recommendation weakened education for Blacks as such under-qualified teachers could only train Blacks to become labourers. Many black teachers were therefore unsuitably qualified. This can be seen in the products of the Bantu schools. Hirson (1981:46) points out the training that was recommended would ensure third-class status. A badly trained teacher obviously had to produce poor results. Cady (1941:13) underscores the fact that the justification or condemnation of a system of education is largely based on the kind of fruit borne by the education tree.

The curriculum followed in black schools included gardening and handwork as subjects. The Commission recommended (UG 53/1953 paragraph 930-932) that these compulsory subjects should be aimed at enabling students to apply their knowledge after school life. Handwork, for instance, was aimed at establishing the habit of doing

manual work. Special schools were (according to UG 53/1953 paragraph 958) to be transferred to the Department of Bantu Education for better co-ordination. The co-ordination that the Commission referred to seems to have meant producing Blacks as labourers. South Africa needed the type of education that could produce innovative and creative people. This was possibly due to the gold and diamond mines. It seemed as if the Commission contended that special schools were providing adequate and relevant education which enabled the products from these schools to compete equitably with their white counter-parts inside and outside the borders of South Africa. Fragniere (1979:2) argues that man must be prepared to live with uncertainty on the basis of an education which will anticipate the realities of the future. Bantu Education did not provide such a basis. It was introduced, as Dube (1985:93) aptly put it, to handicap African children through the introduction of inferior syllabuses, inadequate learning conditions and poorly trained teachers. Bantu Education was intended to be a road to nowhere in as far as higher education was concerned, according to him. In other words the education system was misleading and deceptive as it promoted racial prejudice and hatred among different race groups in South Africa. Titus and Keeton (1966:400) say that race prejudice is one of the most serious evils in our social life. Under its emotional drive men attempt to justify cruelty, violence and numerous other forms of inhumanity. By introducing a racially-based education, the Eiselen Commission defended such evils of social life.

When the National Party accepted the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission they did not realise what Fragniere (1976:41) said, viz. that natural inequalities were no reason for accepting artificial inequalities founded on privilege. At the time of the introduction of Bantu Education the Whites were a privileged group and Bantu education was used to protect the privileges they enjoyed by receiving a high quality education for good jobs.

The type of education and some of the subjects offered were biased. Hence Moulder (1990b:108) states that the bias towards an academic education led to a shortage of people with technical and professional skills. Most black South Africans were frustrated by the education system they had received since 1954. The majority could not read or write and those who could, knew very little as the system of education provided them with very poor knowledge. It failed to protect them from the harm brought about by ignorance.

Simon (1993:29-30) explains that millions of South Africans lived frustrated and difficult lives because they could not read. Simon also mentions that ten million black South Africans are functionally illiterate. Illiteracy costs business and taxpayers millions of

rands each year in errors, accidents, delays and cost overruns. Kenyon and Howa (1986:26) complain that workers (referring mainly to black South Africans) are trapped by a hopelessly inadequate education. It will remain an unsolved mystery whether the South African government knew or did not know that adequate education was a basic human right.

The churches also strongly criticised Bantu education because it was based on race and colour. Education seems to have lacked Christian "flavour". According to the comment of the Episcopal Synod of The Church of the Province :

We have repeatedly affirmed our belief that it is morally wrong to follow a policy which has for its object the keeping of a particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority. Because we are convinced of that we deplore the Bantu Education Act (SABRA, 1955:37).

With reference to the Christian theory of education (chapter 3 of this study) Christians have a legitimate right to demand Biblical objectives for education. These include faithful service to God through service to one's neighbour and through preparing the youth for a meaningful life in future. Bantu Education never lived up to such Biblical expectations because it was contaminated by colonial and apartheid ideologies which supported racial discrimination and subordination of other race groups as well as dominating them socially, politically and economically. According to SABRA's Report (1955:36) the Methodist Church's critique was that the Bantu Education Act was a policy which aimed at conditioning the African people to a predetermined position of subordination to the state, which was incompatible with the Christian principles for which the church stood.

4.5.4 Conclusion

The Eiselen Commission, with its findings and recommendations which paved the way for the Bantu Education system in 1954, completely changed the school setup in South Africa. This change from the missionary education system to Bantu education brought about indoctrination rather than education. Christie (1986:23) argued that in South Africa schools helped to keep society unequal. Blacks in South Africa never accepted Bantu Education as a relevant system of education, but it was imposed on them by the National Party government. This imposition was later challenged. Strong objections to Bantu Education were seen and heard in 1976 when Soweto students took to the streets to demonstrate against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and inferior education.

4.6 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Legislation affecting the Utilization of Manpower excluding the Legislation administered by the Departments of Labour and Mines (RP. 32/1979)

4.6.1 Background

In 1979 and prior to the appointment of the Riekert Commission on 18 August 1977, the National Party Government experienced problems with regard to manpower and labour relations. The RSA's labour legislation could no longer hold water in the face of the country's ailing economy. Acts related to discrimination, such as the Black Consolidation Act (1945), threatened the stability and politics of the country. The shortage of skilled labour and barriers emanating from apartheid's labour laws such as the Group Areas Act needed speedy reform or total abolition. The Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions were appointed as a result of these considerations.

4.6.2 Terms of reference

The terms of reference of the Riekert Commission were supposed to have vigorously shaken the apartheid tree so that the bad fruit should fall and decompose. Not all the bad fruits fell, however. Paragraph 1.1 of RP 32/1979 names acts which mostly affected Blacks in the world of work. These included the Black Labour Act, 1964 (Act 67 of 1964), the Group Areas Act, 1967 (Act 88 of 1967), the Black Employees In-service Training (Act 25 of 1945). These needed modernization.

Acts administered by the Department of Labour and Mines were excluded. These acts were, however, crucial to the fundamental changes of the manpower supply in the country. If the SA Government had appointed the Commission in good faith, the Acts relating to the Department of Labour and Mines should also have been a focal point. Now that they were not, the findings and recommendations which were made were meaningless. Events during 1977-1986 proved that the labour laws promulgated since the colonial era had affected Blacks greatly through impoverishing them as well as marginalising them in all spheres. No living wage was paid to Blacks in the South African mines. Finnemore and Van der Merwe (1987:3) state that the Chamber of Mines had agreed upon a low maximum wage to be paid to black workers. Any company paying more would be fined. Instead of reforming education first, which would have simplified labour problems, the Government resolved to reform some Acts such as the Black Employees' Training Act (Act 86 of 1976). Including this act in the Commission's terms of reference indicates that education should have been reformed first or at least two different Commissions could have been appointed jointly, one on labour and the other one on education. Bray et al. (1986:36) advise that manpower

planning should ensure that educational output was related to economic needs. Why was it then that matters related to mines were not given top priority? This hiatus discredited the Commission's terms of reference.

Dr P J Riekert was appointed as the only member and Chairman of the Commission. This Commission, although it could possibly achieve its goal, was not truly representative of all persons involved. Some experts from the labour departments and education sectors, also some Blacks could have been drawn to serve on the Commission.

4.6.3 Findings and recommendations

The Commission's findings and recommendations to a great extent tried to address the manpower legislation which haunted Blacks for nearly 36 years. The Government seemed to have thought that by repealing oppressive/outdated labour acts problems would be solved. This was not the case however, though the findings of Riekert's Commission brought some hope to millions of Blacks who were still being oppressed by the legislation which the Commission referred to (RP 32/1979 paragraph 1.9) as matters falling outside its scope. Such matters included certain aspects of section 10 of the Blacks Consolidation Act (Act 25 of 1945), and the principles underlying the Group Areas Act (Act 58 of 1967).

The findings pertaining to remuneration (RP 32/1979 paragraph 2.59-2.77) indicated that there was a difference in wages for skilled and unskilled workers and that the education level of the working population was low, especially that of female Black workers. The recommendations with regard to these findings were minimal. The Commission made recommendations with regard to training only and shelved the unpopular question of gender inequality. The Commission (RP 32/1979 paragraph 4.478) recommended the transfer of the training of black workers in terms of the Black Employees' In-Service Training Act (1976) to the Department of Labour. The argument here was that in 1978 the Department of Bantu Education changed its name to "The Department of Education and Training". Why did the Commission not recommend that the Department of Education and Training be reformed in order to produce relevant manpower instead of merely transferring the problem to the Labour Department? It is strange to discover that the Department of Education and Training was still functioning on the basis of the Black Education Act 1953 (Act 47 of 1953) (RP 32/1979 paragraph 3.342) and yet the Commission ignored this irregularity.

The Commission failed to address legislation affecting labour through disempowering Blacks in the world of work. Hirson (1981:41) mentioned that the demand of Africans was mainly for "an education that would allow them to play their full part in commerce

and industry". This demand surely necessitated the Commission's attention, yet it was not addressed satisfactorily. All in all the Commission did address relevant issues, such as the Black Labour Act (1964). The Commission (RP 32/1979 paragraph 4.14) realized that the Black Labour Act (1964 Section (b)) which bound a recruited labourer to an unspecified employer, gave rise to criticism and should be repealed. Paragraph 4.15 of the Report also recommended that Section 13(b) of the Black Labour Act (1964) should be repealed. Ironically, while the Government accepted most of the Commission's findings and recommendations, some acts which impeded manpower supply still remained in place, especially in most of the farming communities in South Africa. These include The Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1956 (formerly the Industrial Conciliation Act) which was the key regulator of industrial relations between workers and management in South Africa (Swilling, 1986:25). Despite the LRA's primary aim which, inter alia, included the promotion of collective bargaining, the farm labourers never bargained on the basis of this Act. Kenyon and Howa (1986:25) state that the law prevented farm workers from using their power to negotiate better wages and working conditions. They were thus not protected by the Labour Relations Act.

With regard to the Blacks Consolidation Act, 1945 (Influx Control) the Commission found as follows:

Section 10 (1)(a), (b) (c) or (d) of the Act is of discriminatory nature as there are no such restrictions in respect of Whites, Coloureds and Indians (RP 32/1979 paragraph 7.56).

In paragraph 4.204(e) the Commission recommended that Section 10 (1) (a), (b), (c) qualifications should be transferable.

Although influx control was abolished following the recommendation of this Commission, the harm that had been done to black South Africans in terms of labour will not easily heal. Many Blacks have remained poor and uneducated because of the pass laws (influx control). Black parents could not work or get employment where they wanted in order to educate their children.

4.6.4 Conclusion

The Riekert Commission, with its findings and recommendations as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, was the gateway to a rosier future for Blacks in South Africa. Although doubts remained about Acts which were labelled "matters falling outside the scope of the Commission", that which the Commission investigated made sense, benefitted Blacks in South Africa and also improved South Africa's international

relations. What remained to do was the complete abolition of all legislation, affecting the manpower supply in South Africa. The repeal of the Blacks Labour Act (1964), and of the Blacks Consolidation Act (1945) (Influx Control) were signs of the collapse of apartheid laws in South Africa. The scars, however, remained.

4.7 The Wiehahn Report of the Commission of Inquiry into labour legislation (1979)

4.7.1 Background

Labour unrest in South Africa, especially after the 1976 Soweto riots, hastened the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission. Prior to 1976 the workers had waged a struggle for the improvement of their working conditions, but they operated illegally without a recognised body like a trade union. Jowell (1979:4) indicated that in 1971-72 a series of strikes in Durban signalled that black workers could and would use their collective strength to improve their condition outside of a legal framework. These strikes suggested that the Government was virtually powerless to restrain workers from such illegal action on a large scale.

Historically, the Dutch and British colonial Governments at the Cape from 1652 onwards governed South Africa and benefited greatly from the unskilled labour force provided by Blacks and consolidated by these Governments through the provision of an inferior type of education in segregated schools. In the period 1976-1979 South Africa needed a shift from its apartheid labour policies to more realistic policies which could conform to the needs of the growing economy. The growing economy needed a skilled black labour force to ensure industrial peace as well as labour. The Commission stated (RP 47/1979 paragraph 2.14) that the word **labour** at the time of the Commission's investigation denoted manual labour or blue collar hourly-paid labour or unskilled work.

The Wiehahn Commission which was appointed on 8 July 1979 under the chairmanship of Prof. N.E. Wiehahn, was meant to supplement the previous Commission on labour legislation under the chairmanship of Dr. P.J. Riekert in 1978. It would appear therefore that the Riekert Commission had not gone far enough to address labour legislation, and even if it had, the Government was reluctant to apply Riekert's guidelines and advice. Jowell (1979:1) indicated that there were six points from the Riekert Commission's Report which the Government had not modified. This included the improvement and productivity of manpower and the promotion of safety and welfare of workers such as fair wages.

4.7.2 Terms of reference

Industries in South Africa needed a skilled manpower force in the late seventies for their economic growth. Blacks could not help to rescue the sinking economic ship because of certain laws which inhibited their educational and skills training processes. The Commission's terms of reference were, from the outset, supposed to include an in-depth investigation into labour, education and closely related matters, such as economics. The Commission (RP 47/1979 paragraph 1.1) stated that the Commission was to investigate the field of economics, politics, social relations, education and religion. The fact that education was mentioned in the investigation of these fields gives an indication that good education was seen as a gateway to an improved life. The Commission explained (paragraph 1.2-1.5) that industrialization in South Africa had led to an increased demand for labour, particularly skilled labour. The fact that improvements in the educational and training standards of all population groups were to be investigated is also mentioned in the terms of reference of the Commission.

It was mentioned in the introductory paragraphs of the Commission's report (5.1(c)(i)) that the apartheid labour policies were to be modified and some of them abolished for the sake of stability and peace in the industrial world of South Africa. Acts which were to be investigated included the Industrial Conciliation Act (Act 28 of 1956) which made provision for certain types of jobs to be reserved for persons of a particular racial group, and the Black Labour Relations Act of 1953 (Act 48 of 1953) 1953 and trade unionism for Blacks in South Africa.

4.7.3 Findings and recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission (1979)

The Wiehahn Commission acknowledged that there were problems and contradictions in South Africa's labour system. The Government was to be advised on matters hampering good labour relations. Some of the labour practices which in particular affected the black working population of the RSA included the Department of Labour's modus operandi. According to the Commission (RP 47/1979 paragraph 2.21) the Department of Labour performed administrative and regulatory functions. It would appear, then, that the Department of Labour was performing minor functions instead of concentrating on issues hampering the growth of the country's economy. The Commission therefore recommended (paragraphs 2.17 and 2.45) that the Department of Labour be changed or renamed to the Department of Manpower, partly with the hope that it would adequately address the manpower needs of the country. The new Department of Manpower should be advised by the National Manpower Commission (NMC) on matters related to labour. The appointment and constitution of this Commission would be at the discretion of the Minister.

The NMC could have functioned equitably were it not that the Minister was to use discretionary powers. This procedure would be biased and would favour Government policies. Friedman (1984:159) mentions that the NMC was dominated by Government officials. This created an imbalance in the decision-making process and the resolutions of the NMC.

It became clear during the investigations by the Wiehahn Commission that the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 (Act 28 of 1956) and the Black Labour Relations Act of 1953 (Act 48 of 1953) which excluded Blacks from most of the fair labour practices were no longer in the best interest of the country. Trade unions were already operating and gaining momentum. The Commission indicated (RP 47/1979 paragraph 3.23) that unregistered black trade unions were in line with the rules of common law. There was no point in refusing them registration under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956.

One of the many other motivating factors which the Commission deemed fit for black unregistered trade unions to be allowed to register, was given in its findings (RP 47/1979 paragraph 3.35.16). In this paragraph the Commission stated that certain black trade unions were being incited from overseas. It was for this reason that it became difficult to continue refusing them to operate legally on South African soil unless the South African Government was prepared to accept the repercussions which could be expected, inter alia, in the form of sanctions. A trade embargo could, for instance, be imposed by international bodies such as the International Labour Organisation.

Jowell (1979:4) pointed out that the continued exclusion of Blacks from recognised trade union membership was not only socially unjust but it could also lead to undesirable consequences of which industrial unrest was the least. This type of unrest had already been mentioned in the introductory paragraph to the Report of this Commission. The Commission recommended (RP 47/1979 paragraph 4.67) regarding unfair employment practices that the proposed legislation should make specific provision for the prevention of discrimination in employment procedures, such as those based on sex or marital status.

One of the recommendations made by the Commission was the acceptance of registered black trade unions (RP 47/1979 paragraph 4.5). Trade unions and those with mixed membership should be allowed to practise without restrictions. With this acceptance of black trade unions the Government of the RSA opened up the doors for better labour relations. Many employers and employees were to benefit from this endeavour.

The subsequent White Paper (RP/47/1979) accepted without reservations some of the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission, inter alia the establishment of the

National Manpower Commission, recognition of the principle of freedom of association as a basis for trade union membership for Blacks, the abolition of job reservation which entailed repealing section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act (Act 94 of 1979) together with the opening of the facilities in factories and in shops and offices to all workers.

4.7.4 Conclusion

The Riekert and the Wiehahn Commissions, although being instruments of the Government by virtue of the fact that they were not independent, being appointed by the Government, greatly influenced labour legislations in South Africa in a positive manner.

The achievements of these two Commissions were, among others, the abolition of statutory forms of job reservation, the abolition of legal restrictions in job situations, in particular the replacement of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956. With the acceptance of the Wiehahn Commission's recommendations the acceptance by Government of long overdue changes in the industrial relations system of South Africa paved the way for equality of Blacks in the workplace. This was achieved through the granting of trade unionism to Blacks. What remained was revisiting the education system in South Africa. Blacks also needed relevant and equal academic as well as technical knowledge in order to improve the quality of manpower supply in South Africa, in the final analysis for the improvement of the country's economic growth.

Benton (1984:99) points out that skills and dispositions are provided not on the job but outside the sphere of production as such, i.e. in the family and primarily in the schools. The education system in South Africa needed a speedy overhaul so that the changes that took place in the labour system through the Wiehahn and Riekert Commission Reports could be consolidated. The De Lange Commission's recommendations, in particular that of a single education department to supply equal opportunities to all, could have helped to improve the balance between education and labour in South Africa. Unfortunately the principle of equal education for equal opportunities was rejected in a Government White Paper on Education in 1981. The changes that occurred in labour were fruitless and worthless as long as changing the education system of the RSA received no attention.

4.8 The HSRC/De Lange Commission Report (Investigation into Education in the RSA (1981))

4.8.1 Background

Dissatisfaction about the type of education for Blacks which produced inferior manpower culminated in the June 1976 Soweto riots. Students took to the streets to demonstrate *inter alia* against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in some school subjects, for instance Mathematics and Social Studies. Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was not, however, the basic cause of the students' revolt in Soweto; the whole system of education referred to as Bantu education caused resentment as far back as 1954 when the ANC marched in protest against the introduction of Bantu education on the basis of the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission (1949-1954). Bantu education was rejected for dehumanising Blacks and impeding them from assuming good jobs. The action of the students, which resulted in damage to schools and other Government property, including the mass resignation of teachers in 1977, took the Government by surprise and forced it to make hasty decisions. The Education and Training Act (1979) did little to pacify the students or bring the riotous education situation under control. Christie (1986:268) points out that in an effort to respond to the 1976 and 1980 school boycotts and complaints made by business people about the shortages of skilled workers the De Lange Commission was appointed in 1981 to investigate education in the RSA. Repressive state apparatuses like the police and the courts had failed to prevent changes in the curriculum in black schools. According to Kallaway (1984:24) the De Lange Commission looked at the education and training crisis in the black schooling system, especially in relation to the supply of manpower.

4.8.2 Terms of reference

In June 1980 the National Party Government (which in 1949 appointed the Eiselen Commission) requested the Human Sciences Research Council to make an in-depth investigation into all facets of education in the RSA. Paragraph 1.1 of this Commission's report outlines the guiding principles for a feasible education policy in the RSA in order to allow for the realization of the inhabitants' potential and to investigate a programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups.

Prof. J. P. de Lange was appointed Chairman of this Commission. The Commission was appointed in terms of the guiding principles mentioned, but the question that remained to be answered was about the time wasted between 1976 and 1980. Why did the Government wait for damage to property by the students in 1976 and school boycotts which nearly brought education to a standstill in 1976-1981? The 1976 riots and school

boycotts destabilized education in most parts of the country by affecting and weakening the economy of the RSA. South Africa's international relations also weakened in that period. It seems as if the Terms of Reference of the De Lange Commission had been intended to undo what the Eiselen Commission had done to education and labour for black South Africans. In paragraph 1.1(c) of the HSRC Report it is indicated that the Commission was also to investigate machinery for consultation and decision-making in education. This request could not be addressed as long as Blacks were left out of the decision-making process in the party political system of the country.

4.8.3 Findings and recommendations

The Commission's eighteen work committees formulated various principles. Paragraph 2.2.2 states that Work Committees recommended several principles of education, also a single Ministry of Education, basic education, vocational and guidance services. Later it increased the said principles to 19 and then reduced them to 12. The uncertainty about the fluctuating number of principles formulated raised suspicion that the Government might have been trying to manipulate the Commission. The Commission made its recommendations after having sent the principles to institutions such as the churches and government departments for comment.

4.8.4 Provision of education

The provision of education in the RSA, especially for Blacks, did not have a sound foundation. Pupils who entered schools without pre-school knowledge experienced problems in adjusting to the formal learning situation. This type of arrangement benefitted the apartheid structure in the sense that it prepared people to be labourers right from the first day of formal schooling. Paragraph 4.8.2 contains the Commission's findings about the provision of education for Blacks in SA: it was that there were shortcomings in the present structures for the provision of education in the sense that they did not satisfy the rightful demand for education as the facilities were limited.

The Commission recommended that education be provided in three phases, namely pre-basic, basic and post-basic education, and the first two phases were to be compulsory. In a way the provision of compulsory education was a problem inherited from the old Bantu Education because the Eiselen Commission had failed to differentiate between compulsory education and compulsory attendance. The Eiselen Commission recommended compulsory attendance, a step which failed to upgrade education in black schools. Compulsory free education seemed to be the remedy for this and the De Lange Commission must have thought that it would increase production, the quality of service, and improve the lives of many South Africans who would then

become skilled and more easily employable. Christie (1986:268) mentions that business people were complaining at the time that the education system did not meet the needs of the growing economy. If the White Paper based on the De Lange Commission on Education's Report had accepted the notion of compulsory education for all race groups in South Africa, it would have come as a great relief to the business sector who was spending much money in the training of Blacks in order to equip them with the necessary skills.

With regard to Mathematics and Science as key subjects in learning the Commission found that tuition in them was unsatisfactory. In paragraph 4.9.2 the Commission recommended that the existing Maths and Science syllabuses were to be revised.

Most of the advice of the De Lange Commission fell on deaf ears, in the form of rejection in a White Paper of the Commission's recommendation 4.17.2 regarding a single Ministry responsible for the broad educational policy of the RSA which would address the inequalities in the RSA system of education. Mabogoane (1991:11) indicated that one education department was the first and crucial for credibility of Black Education. Failure by the Government to accept the De Lange Commission's recommendations might have resulted from the fact that most Afrikaners feared that this would bring about equality in jobs and social status. Christie (1986:270) remarked that the Conservative Party saw the De Lange proposals as a threat to Afrikanerdom.

4.8.5 Conclusion

The De Lange Commission's recommendations were in a way in line with its terms of reference which, inter alia, focussed on making available education of the same quality for all population groups. Quite lamentably, the Government issued a White Paper rejecting the core and fundamental recommendation of a single education department in the RSA. It seems therefore that the National Party Government was not sincere in appointing this Commission but was only paying lip service to reform. The objectives of the De Lange Commission seem to have centred around issues of minimising and diluting the international pressures which had wrecked the country's economy through sanctions. To reduce the labour unrest and school boycotts which had increased since the 1976 Soweto riots the National Party followed the strategy of appointing the De Lange Commission to investigate the instability in Black Education. Alexander (1987:154) regards the De Lange Commission as a defensive response of the Government to defuse the dangerous situation that had developed in the schools in 1976 and 1981. Christian National Education principles also played a role in the Government's rejection of the De Lange Commission's recommendations which seemed likely to bring equality between Black and White in the RSA. According to Christie

(1987:270) the Government's White Paper stressed the Christian National Education principle as the basis for all education in South Africa.

4.9 Collapse of apartheid education between 1976-1986

Internal and external factors pressurised the South African government to accept the reality of politics and the socio-economic situation in the country. This was due to the fact that apartheid education weakened the stability of the country through racial policies which frustrated the governing authorities and the governed. The economy of the country suffered greatly as a result of pressures from within and the fact that South Africa was isolated by the international community and in particular the world body, i.e. the United Nations Organisation. Internally organisations which were termed terrorist structures such as the African National Congress, South African Communist Party, Pan Africanist Congress and the trade unions (inter alia the Congress Of South African Trade Unions) brought apartheid to its knees. The students' organisations also put pressure on the NP government, especially since 1976.

4.9.1 The ANC, PAC and SACP's roles in fighting to eradicate apartheid in SA

The African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party rejected apartheid policies and the exclusion of the Black people of South Africa from active participation in the decision-making processes. Resistance was shown by these organisations through boycotts, in particular against the education system which was designed to enslave Blacks. This type of education has already been discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter. Christie (1986:85) pointed out that one of the forms of African opposition to Bantu Education was a schools boycott organised by the ANC in 1955. The boycott was suppressed by the National Party government through its state apparatuses - the police and the courts. The arrest of the leaders and their harassment did not stop the black South Africans from demanding a relevant education system which would equip them with skills for better employment opportunities.

The ANC, PAC and SACP had always tirelessly waged the struggle against apartheid. The arrest of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other leaders ended in the notorious "Rivonia treason trial". It ended with life imprisonment of these leaders at Robben Island. This move to imprison the leaders of liberation movements was one of the NP's strategies to avoid equality in education and labour. Oliver Tambo and other leaders skipped the country and fought from outside the RSA borders. The struggle was reinforced through ANC and PAC military wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and APLA (Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army). Many students also skipped the country

before 1976. These included musicians such as Miriam Makeba and Dollar Brand. While in exile these musicians continued to shake the apartheid tree with their influential musical records. Their records were banned but were still smuggled into the country.

4.9.2 The role played by students to help eradicate apartheid and racial policies in apartheid SA

There were school boycotts in South Africa before 1976. These included some sporadic class boycotts at Kilnerton and Lovedale in 1920. These boycotts shocked the authorities and although trivial changes were introduced the struggle continued. In 1976 the Soweto Students' Action took South Africa and the world by surprise with a well planned revolt against Bantu education. This revolt brought not only the schools to a standstill but also destabilised the social, economic, political and religious institutions and thus made life unbearable in South Africa. Hirson (1981:9) mentioned that the revolt led by pupils in 1976-77 altered the nature of politics in South Africa as it led to the closing of schools, alcohol outlets, stopped Christmas festivals, boycotted examinations, and to the resignation of teachers in 1977. The Soweto Urban Bantu Council and Bantu School Boards were forced to resign as they were labelled puppets of the regime.

Again the government (NP) applied its laws through state apparatuses like the police and the army to try and bring the situation to normality. Many students were killed, some maimed and others fled the country to join the liberation movements, namely the ANC and PAC, in the neighbouring countries of Botswana, Lesotho and Zambia. There they trained as guerillas and were sent back to the RSA to overthrow the apartheid regime.

Dube (1985:97) stated that the killing of children in 1976 led to a mass exodus of African children from South Africa to the bordering states of Tanzania, Mocambique, Zambia and Angola. Solomon Mahlangu, one of the students who fled the country and came back as a trained guerilla, was arrested during the Gogh Street shooting and sentenced to death at age 21. This type of action led tot the demise of apartheid as it created enemies outside as well as inside South Africa's borders.

School boycotts were intensified by the formation of a student body known as COSAS (Congress of South African Students, no longer the SSRC (Soweto Students' Representative Council)) in 1976. COSAS started burning schools, destabilising normal schooling and defied the authorities by taking the law into their own hands. Moledi (1991:4) reported that COSAS occupied white schools to force the education authorities

to accede to its demands of creating effective learning conditions in black schools. This is also the type of internal pressure exerted by the students to shake the walls of apartheid in South Africa. It was as though the children had told their parents that "we are going to act, not as the conquered by playing a subservient role". Paton (August 1988:27) indicated that conquest had to be undone, and referred to 1976 as the time when Blacks, through their children, said to Whites: "You can't do this to us any more". After many years of the struggle against apartheid which supported an education system which was designed to produce labourers, students vowed to fragment apartheid education and to replace it with an education for equal opportunities.

Teachers who were known to be supporters of the ruling class's ideology, also helped to shake apartheid from the educational point of view. Black school teachers who were manipulated by the colonial governments in South Africa, including the Union Government between 1910-1960 and the Republican government between 1961-1986, made demands which were tantamount to the eradication of apartheid education. Teachers' docility was rejected by students, who started accusing them as agents of the evil education system which for many years had caused hardships and subjected Blacks to servitude and forced them into a "yes man" type of situation. Luti (1991:6) described the anger of 40 000 Black teachers going on the march, demanding recognition of their own union and the establishment of a single education system, teachers who, according to South African Democratic Teachers Union's General Secretary Randall van den Heever demanded improvement of their salaries, more teachers to be employed and the building of more schools.

Pressures from the students, mainly COSAS, and teachers' organisations such as the National Education Union of South African, later the South African Democratic Teachers' Union, destabilised teaching in Black schools with the hope of bringing about relevant education which could impart higher order skills to the students. Education for such skills would, according to them, bring about equality in all job related situations, irrespective of colour. The 1976 Soweto riots which spreaded like wildfire in South Africa increased international pressures on South Africa, and this helped to change policies leading to job discrimination in work places.

4.9.3 Pressure by the international community and the World Council of Churches (WCC)

South Africa's neighbouring countries, in particular Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mocambique, also played a major role in the collapse of apartheid policies in South Africa. These countries gave many South Africans, young and old, refugee status. Refugees were trained in various camps by the ANC and the PAC and they later

engaged in guerilla warfare. The National Party government spent millions of taxpayer's money to fight these so called "terrorist" organizations in cross-border raids. These were expensive expeditions, both financially and in terms of loss of lives. The most serious threat for apartheid seems to have been the decolonisation process in Mocambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. After the liberation of these countries by forces such as Frelimo, Unita/MPLA and ZANU/ZAPU respectively, South Africa remained the only colonial power, since Namibia was already on the verge of independence on the basis of the United Nation's resolution 435. Barker et al. (1989:368) mention that the collapse of the Portuguese colonies of Mocambique and Angola threatened the apartheid structures and that Prime Minister John Vorster introduced the concept "detente", which meant extending a hand of friendship to Mocambique and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Not even Prime Minister Vorster's "detente" could, however, sustain apartheid policies.

The international community through the various United Nation agencies, warned South Africa on several occasions about her continued practice of apartheid policies. According to Tarrow (1987:244) the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid in 1973 (Article 1), decreed apartheid as a crime against humanity and declared criminal those who committed apartheid.

The United Nations adopted various measures to force South Africa to abandon its apartheid laws. These measures included the expulsion of South Africa from the World Body after a walk-out by United Nations member states. In 1974 South Africa was barred from participating in the United Nations General Assembly and also there was a walk-out of African representatives and their allies when South Africa's Foreign Minister mounted the podium to address the Assembly (De Villiers, 1975:22). Ultimately, in 1974, the Credentials Committee rejected South Africa's right to be at the United Nations. The United Nations ruled through a vote that South Africa was not fit for membership of the world organisation and was expelled.

South Africa was not only expelled from the United Nations but also from the Commonwealth of Nations because of her apartheid policies. De Villiers (1975:48) stated that in 1960-61 the Canadian Labour Congress forwarded a brief to their Prime Minister for the Union of South Africa to be dropped from the Commonwealth because of its apartheid policies. With this type of pressure South Africa was left isolated by the entire world community. More pressure was mounted on South Africa in sport. For instance, De Villiers (1975:124) mentions that in 1960 South Africa was expelled from the Olympic Games.

The World Council of Churches (WCC) also mounted pressure on South Africa because of her apartheid policies by calling on the international community to apply sanctions, especially in oil and arms. For many years the WCC supported liberation organisations with funds to fight apartheid. De Villiers (1975:111-117) indicated that the WCC supported the ANC, the PAC and SWAPO as early as 1970 to fight white oppression. At Utrecht in 1972 the WCC doubled the funds for its Programme to Combat Racism. Apartheid had no chance to survive under these pressures. Sanctions, expulsion from participating in the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations (i.e. isolation) must have played a major role in bringing apartheid in SA to its knees.

4.9.4 Relinquishing some of the apartheid policies by the National Party (1986)

The National Party government seems to have been pressurised by both the internal and external organisations such as the United Nations and student movements. Political change became necessary to stabilise education and labour in South Africa. Apartheid had become too costly and unbearable. South Africa had lost friends in the economic and political spheres and was forced to firstly admit the past apartheid wrongs and to change its racial policies. In education, Government officials blamed the past apartheid policies for the failure of black schools to educate and to produce a skilled manpower force for the country. In the *City Press*, Mabogoane (1991:11) wrote that the DET had admitted that there was a big crisis in black education which it could not resolve on its own and that its Director-General, Dr. Bernard Louw, had given DET's Verwoerdian policies the blame for its failure.

The Group Areas Act (1967) and forced removals hampered industrialisation in South Africa. Industrialisation needed a skilled labour force and black South Africans who were disempowered and marginalised in the socio-economic and political spheres impeded the industrialisation process. McNally (1988:53) warned that SA could ill afford the Group Areas Act because the Act was a major constraint in the urbanization process which was necessary for the industrialization process and the maximisation of employment.

The Group Areas Act left many people destitute, landless and subjected to poor living conditions. They were removed far from their workplaces, they were dispossessed, frustrated, impoverished and remained unemployed for decades. Holtzhausen (1991:19) states that former Cabinet Minister Piet Koornhof had confessed that forced removals were wrong, and asked for pardon and forgiveness from the Mfengu people of the Eastern Cape. The fact that some DET officials and Cabinet Ministers confessed the wrongs of apartheid was a clear indication that apartheid was on the verge of collapse.

It was not only affecting Blacks but Whites as well in businesses and other places of employment, where skills were needed.

4.9.5 Conclusion

Although the total collapse of apartheid occurred in the 1990's it will still take many years of reconstruction, and for the wounds to heal. These wounds are prevalent in education which is still unequal, and also discriminatory with regard to labour. Moledi (1991:6) quoted in *The Sowetan* an HSRC publication which said that apartheid scars would not heal because the mere scrapping of apartheid laws would not automatically ensure South Africa's transformation. The former unequal education system has led to unequal labour practices in South Africa. South Africa has wasted time by using delaying tactics to abolish apartheid. Many talents have been left untapped and it might be too late to begin the process of addressing equality in education for all the South Africans.

It has surfaced in this chapter that education in South Africa had been used to legitimise ideologies of inequality and class structure from 1652 to 1986. Through internal and external pressure in the early sixties by the liberation organisations (such as the ANC and the PAC) and the international community various governments in South Africa tried to effect cosmetic changes. Changing the Department of Bantu Education in 1979 to the Department of Education and Training was of very little significance. It was in name only. Education for Blacks remained the same and still trained Blacks to fail. Nkomo (1991:8) quotes Prof. Willem Kleynhans, former UNISA head of Political Sciences, who summarised the effect of labour on education as follows:

The application of draconian apartheid legislation has left an indelible mark on black people who could still be subjected to the same inhuman conditions for decades despite the abolition of these laws.

Prof. Kleynhans also mentioned that it would take time for Blacks to forget the inhuman manner in which they had been treated by the government - the impact of this would remain for decades in their minds because of the scars and wounds left by apartheid.

The period 1976 to 1986 may be regarded as a decade of change in RSA history. In 1986 the National Party decided, under pressure, to abolish some of the apartheid policies by following up the recommendations of some Commissions of Inquiry. Because of the delimitation of this research paper, this research cannot go beyond 1986, but greater changes were still under way to solve the education and labour problems in the RSA.

The next chapter focusses on an empirical study which was conducted. Interviews were conducted with people of historical weight about the effects of labour theories on education for Blacks during the apartheid era.