

6. REPORTS REVEALING FLAWS IN THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING SYSTEM OF BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA (1976-1984)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at bringing to the fore the contributions of commissions of inquiry pointing out the flaws that exist/existed in the education and training systems of Blacks in South Africa. Commissions of inquiry that were responsible for the implementation of the policy of apartheid in education, viz: the Native Education Commission (U.G. 53/1951) under Eiselen and the Commission of Inquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities (1953-1954) under Holloway, as well as the results of the implementation of their recommendations have been looked at at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. These are discussed in chapter 4.

There were many commissions of inquiry that have looked into the causes of the disturbances following in the wake of the establishment of Bantu Education. Among them was the Cillie Commission (RP 55/1980), that looked into the riots in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976. There was also the Van der Walt Commission (1984), that investigated the disturbances that took place in the Vaal Triangle in 1984. Such Reports have shed more light on the grievances that Blacks had about not only their inferior education system, but also their plight in the country in general. Apart from education, there was discrimination in industry and commerce. This destabilised the economy of the country.

Bendix (1989:177) discusses the effects of discrimination by stating that: "There is no doubt that discriminatory practices add to imperfections of the labour market. They lead to over-supply of labour in certain areas and an under-supply in others. This results in shortages in certain spheres which cannot be filled by the stock of workers from another group. Unemployment levels become unequally distributed since, instead of being spread throughout the total population, there is high unemployment among one group only. This may eventually result in socio-political upheaval."

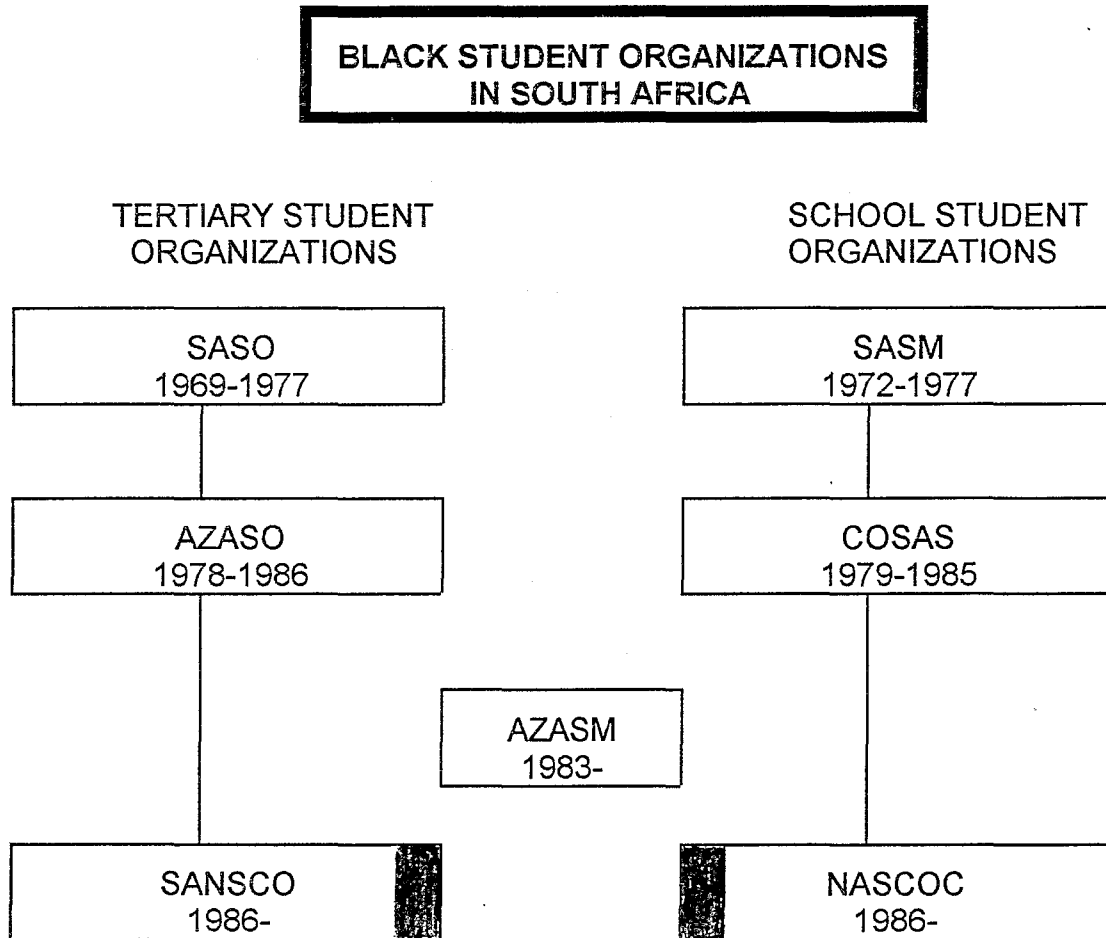
6.2 Historico-cultural background

This socio-political upheaval that took the form of boycotts, stay-aways and other forms of civil disobedience, was experienced in the mid-70s. The war against the education system for Blacks was waged by students, teachers and parents.

The teaching profession had always been represented by associations such as the Transvaal United African Teachers Association (TUATA), Cape African Teachers Association (CATA). These were recognised by the Government and they used non-violent means of opposing the system of education. As early as 1972, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) criticised TUATA for their lack of militant strategies to attain their goal (Hyslop, 1990:110). There seemed to be a need for a change of strategy among the teachers.

Hyslop (1990:111) comments on the growing militancy among teachers: "It was not until

Diagram 6.1



AZASO	Azanian Students' Organization
AZASM	Azanian Students' Movement
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
NASCOC	National Student Co-ordinating Committee
SANSCO	South African national Students' Congress
SASO	South African Student Organization
SASM	South African Students' Movement
■ ■ ■ ■	Extent of Breakway from UDF-aligned
■ ■ ■ ■	Student Organizations

Source: Naidoo, 1990:126

1980 that a real potential teachers movement emerged with the formation of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), which has developed as a militant education organisation which sees the struggle for educational change as part of the political struggle against apartheid."

This period also saw the rise in student militancy both at secondary and at tertiary levels. Naidoo (1990:124-125) asserts that because of the decline in the economic output of the country, capital began to protest about the educational budgetary policy of the state. There was a need for technically trained Black people. As a result capital became involved in financing the establishment of technical centres and schools in urban areas.

Naidoo (1990:125) also states that as a result of the change in the system of financing the education for Blacks, the number of schools almost doubled between 1970 and 1985. This growth in the school-going population among Blacks was not "complemented by a concomitant growth in available teaching resources". The situation in schools for Blacks was explosive as the teacher-pupil ratio shot up.

As the students became increasingly militant, the Government responded by banning the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and South African Students Organisation (SASO). These were immediately replaced by the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) for tertiary students established in 1978, and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) for secondary school pupils, established in 1979 (Naidoo,

1990:125).

Parents also organised themselves in order to oppose the system of education for Blacks in the country. This led to the formation of the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) in 1985. In their second conference in March 1986, slogans like "Liberation before Education" and "People's Education for People's Power" emerged.

Sporadic incidents of violence became common as the spirit of resistance caught on. One example is the murder of the deputy mayor of Sharpeville on 3 September 1984. Schooling in most urban areas almost ground to a halt in the 1980s. These coincided with the rent boycott as well as opposition to the new constitution (110/1983).

Summarising the mood of the people at that time, Moosa and Cindi (1984:3) write: "Events in the Vaal complex are not divorced from the country-wide upheavals, against rent increases, Local Authorities Act, school boycotts and the attendant demand and rejection of the sham new deal by the Black people (tri-cameral Parliament). All these represent Black dissent and opposition to all forms of legislation that is designed to dispossess them of their inalienable heritage - the land."

The mood which seems to have started at the Vaal soon spread to the rest of the country leading to the closure of most schools and Black universities, suspension of rent increases, a wave of detentions, examination boycotts etc.

Alexander (1990:155) expresses the fear prevalent then that the schools' boycott of 1980 was threatening to be more disastrous, economically, socially and politically, than the riots that took place across the country in 1976. Nasson (1990:148) also expresses the fear that the "state schooling system (had been) placed in a state of siege". The system of education for Blacks was being criticised because it meant "inferior standards, understaffed schools, equipment shortages and overcrowded classrooms". This was seen as a deliberate design of the apartheid philosophy.

As Turok (1991) avers: "Apartheid has seriously undermined African communities by depriving them of the richness derived from a sound education system."

Teachers, students and parents were not only opposed to the system of education for Blacks in the country, but to the general policy of the National Party. There was therefore a need to link the struggle for a decent education with the political struggle waged by the liberation movements.

Hofmeyr (1990) believes that any educational strategies that were to be adopted had to be linked to wider socio-political strategies". The classroom became a political battleground as student organisations became affiliated to liberation movements, leading to many students illegally leaving the country to join the ANC and PAC, which were then banned organisations in South Africa.

Mokoape (1991) summarises the situation of that time by asserting: "If we are

committed to eradicating White education and Black education because they have blighted our country then we must be committed in the first place to eradicating the White minority racist regime that spawned them."

All these events heralded a need for the Government to go back to the drawing board. The apartheid system and Bantu education had been rendered invalid and unworkable. As a result, the Government responded by employing a 'total strategy' to 'address' some of the issues involved. Commissions of Inquiry like the Riekert Commission (R.P. 32/1979), that looked into the utilisation of manpower; the Wiehahn Commission (R.P. 47/1979), that looked into labour legislation; and the HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981), that investigated a viable education system for all the inhabitants of the country, were appointed by the Government.

Kallaway (1988:21), commenting on the need for reform, believes that: "The task of these various Commissions was to devise a series of mechanisms for 'modernising' apartheid in order to make it more acceptable, at least to sections of the South African communities, and also to the international community. The co-ordinated task has been to formulate political and institutional frameworks through which the state could attempt the twin strategies of co-option and control of the black population ... The aim is not simply to create a division between urban and rural blacks, but to encourage the building up of a 'stable middle class' excluding migrants and homeland residents, which would become a buffer between the urban masses and the white political structures."

An attempt was made by the Government to implement this strategy of reform by using the different mentioned commissions of inquiry. As far as it was concerned, the implementation of their recommendations would bring about the desired peace and stability in the country. Unfortunately, as far as the Blacks were concerned, a total scrapping of the apartheid policy was desirable, and anything that fell short of that would be regarded as window dressing and cosmetic. After the 1976 riots, the Government responded by appointing the following Commissions of Inquiry:

6.2 The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the riots at Soweto and other places in the Republic during and after 1976 (R.P. 55/1980)

6.2.1 Introduction

The Government appointed Judge P.M. Cillie to investigate the causes of the 1976 riots in the country.

6.2.2 Membership

The chairman and sole member of this Commission was Mr. Justice P.M. Cillie, who was at the time Judge President of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

This membership lended itself to Heard's (1990:7) criticism that: "Judges are not

expected to have a 'political' profile in public. They are rightly, cloistered individuals; keepers of a law profile. They should be kept as far as possible away from the flailing clutches of drowning politicians ... But non-judges can often handle commission jobs as well ... As commissioners they (judges) are largely divorced from that environment."

6.2.3. Terms of Reference

Judge Cillie was instructed by the Government: "To inquire into and report on the riots at Soweto and other places in the Republic during 1976, and the causes which gave rise thereto" (Report: R.P. 55/1980: Par. 1.1.1).

These terms of reference required of the Commissioner to make an investigation and to state the facts as they were. It would then be up to the Government to decide, after the report had been completed, what to do in order to remedy the situation.

6.2.4. Findings

Judge Cillie made reference to a number of causes in his Report. Although most of the grievances dated back years and were related to the apartheid policy as practised by the Government, the Commissioner felt that the immediate cause was: "... the policy on the medium of instruction in Black Secondary Schools and the application of that policy, the organised resistance to its application, the official handling of that resistance and the failure of officials and policemen to foresee the imminent eruption in Soweto"

(Report:R.P.55/1980: Par. 556).

The policy on the medium of instruction that he refers to reads: "In the primary classes up to standard six, the pupils' mother-tongue was still to be used as the medium of instruction. In the secondary classes, the mother-tongue was to be used in non-examination subjects ... while equal use was as far as possible to be made of Afrikaans and English in the content subjects" (Report:R.P.55/1980: Par. 557).

The following were also found to be causes of riots in the country. Bantu education was criticised because it was not free and compulsory as was the case for Whites.

There was a chronic shortage of teachers and class-rooms. The community had no say in the education of their children. Most decisions were imposed by the Government without consultation with the relevant parties in education. White teachers who were employed in Black schools did not use the same facilities, e.g. the staff-room with their Black colleagues.

There was also dissatisfaction among the Blacks on the homeland policy. It frustrated them and left them with feelings of resentment, resistance and a desire to revolt.

According to the Commissioner's Report, the influx control regulations were another source of dissatisfaction and unhappiness that could make people react illogically and vandalistically. In Mossel Bay and Stellenbosch, there was added dissatisfaction about

the Group Areas policy. Bantu Affairs Administration Boards and Advisory Boards also had their share of frustration among the Blacks to contend with. The Urban Blacks demanded:

- (1) a say in the Government
- (2) citizenship rights
- (3) ownership in residential areas
- (4) an end to discriminatory laws

"There is no case where these matters, jointly or separately, gave rise to rioting. Nonetheless they created a mood of dissatisfaction and rebellion. In this frame of mind people easily resort to rioting, especially if there is no democratic means of redress available to them" (Report:R.P.55/1980: Par. 602).

"Discrimination, which has always been considered unjust, has engendered not only dissatisfaction but also a great hatred in many. This dissatisfaction and hatred were some of the main factors that created the milieu and spirit of revolt ..."
(Report:R.P.55/1980: Par. 604).

The Commissioner reported that, although there was no evidence that the lack of proper housing facilities was one of the causes of riots, the general frustration and attendant discomforts of being without a home, could cause rebelliousness among the residents.

The low salaries earned by Blacks and the disparity in salaries between the racial groups were all contributory factors.

There was also discontent among Blacks about transport services (Report:R.P. 55/1980). Theidents, together with traders, strongly criticised the limited trading facilities in urban Black residential areas especially in Soweto. The lack of certain amenities further contributed to the frustration among Blacks. Although race relations in the country were poor, they could not be blamed for causing the riots.

Judge Cillie discovered that the lack of a proper communication system was a direct cause of the riots. At the same time there were local grievances, like the detention of certain pupils, that contributed to the spirit of rebellion.

He further claimed that there was a general lack of discipline among the Black communities. There was no parental control as the parents were at work most of the time. The teachers were unable to discipline the children. The community had no respect for the police. The children also lacked self-discipline and self-control (Report: R.P. 55/1980: F 320). Agitation and incitement are cited in the Report as some of the immediate causes of the riots.

The Commissioner found that, although intimidation was not a cause of the rioting, "It was a powerful instrument in the hands of the planners and initiators of the riots... by using this powerful instrument the rebellious elements caused rioting to erupt and continue"

(R.P. 55/1980: Par. 625-626). The Commission found that the inability of the police to foresee the imminent riots in Soweto before June 16 and to take counter measures was a concurrent circumstance that gave rise to the riots. This meant that the police had to bear joint responsibility for the outbreak of the riots. The Force was unprepared to prevent or deal with a contravention of the law. The direct cause still remained the organisation of an unlawful procession (Report: R.P. 55/1980: Par. 627).

The Cillie Commission further stated that the publication of reports on riots, incorrect reporting, publication of grievances, excessive use of papers and denigration of certain institutions like the Bantu Education Department and Police Force had an indirect effect on the people.

On the day of Dr. Henry Kissinger's visit, there was serious rioting and Mr. B.J. Vorster's visit to Kimberley was also disrupted. There was dissatisfaction with the migrant labour system, job reservation and unemployment. There was a strong sense of solidarity with the people of Soweto that caused the riots in other places (Report: R.P. 55/1980: Par. 637-639).

In summary then, the Commissioner said: "The factors which combined to give rise to the first riots were the application of the policy of the medium of instruction in Black Secondary Schools, the organised resistance in Soweto to the failure of the education officials and the police, who did not see the danger coming, to take precautionary measures."

"The riots were continued by the organisers of demonstrations, boycotts and strikes, by the distributions of inflammatory pamphlets, by the inciters' speeches, and by rioters who wanted to take part in the violence and looting or who wanted to bring about chaos to paralyse the Government."

"Several other factors ... were not direct causes of the eruption and continuation of the riots, but they contributed to the rioting. Simply, their influence was not equally strong or equally far-reaching; nevertheless, jointly or severally they served to create a state of mind that was receptive to the provocation to the riots" (Report:R.P. 55/1980: Par. 641).

The main finding of this Commission seemed to be that Blacks were generally dissatisfied with the policy of apartheid. This was the root cause of all the events that took place in 1976.

6.2.5 Effects of the riots on the education policy for Blacks

The riots proved the collapse of the Bantu Education system that was established in 1953. They pointed to a need towards urgently addressing some educational aspects in the policy for Blacks in the country. They led to the passing of the Education and Training Act (90/1979). The aim of the Act was: "To provide for the control of education for Blacks by the Department of Education and Training and to provide for matters incidental thereto" (Education and Training Act 90/1979: Par. 1).

The Act placed the Minister of Education and Training in control of the Department. He was expected to consult with the newly-created Council for Education and Training and to determine policy with this council. The Council of 20 members was to be appointed by the Minister himself.

He was given powers to establish, erect and maintain schools. All schools were changed to public schools. The Minister was to establish councils, committees, boards and other bodies to help in the running of these schools. Schools were to be registered by the Department.

The Minister was entitled to making grants-in-aid or subsidies and loans to State-aided Schools. He also had the duty of appointing, promoting and discharging teachers or any other personnel in public schools. The secondment and transfer of teachers was made part of his duties. He had to determine the teachers' salaries, salary scales and conditions of service, as well as pension rights and retirement benefits. Requirements for appointment of personnel were laid down and provision was made for temporary and part-time appointments. Teachers were not allowed to perform remunerative work outside their employment (Education and Training Act 90/1979).

The Minister was given powers to spell out conditions for the recognition of a teachers' association. He could also establish a Teachers' Council for Education and Training. Schools that fell under the Department of Education and Training were liable to inspection. The Minister could also institute courses for education, instruction or

training of persons in schools. The Act empowered him to establish an examination board and to be responsible for examinations. He would determine the schools calendar, including holidays and periods of instruction. He further had powers to declare compulsory school attendance in certain areas.

He could give financial assistance to people who needed it. Restrictions were put on people who were not authorised to visit the schools (Education and Training Act 90/1979).

Health Services could be made available at public schools in consultation with the provincial secretary. Requirements for legal action being taken against the Minister were also laid down. All pupils at public schools were to be excluded from the Worker's Compensation Act (30/1941). Lastly, this Act meant the repeal of the Bantu Education Act (47/1953), together with a number of Acts that were Amendments to this principal Act of 1953.

It can therefore be concluded that the Government, realising the unworkability of its apartheid policy, sought to reform it. The changes that were brought about by the repealing of the Bantu Education Act (47/1953) and the passing of the Education and Training Act (90/1979) extended the powers of the Minister, but did not get rid of the Bantu education system. The policy of segregated educational facilities still applied. For the Government, there was a slight shift from total apartheid to total reform. Whether this change would be acceptable to the Black people of this country remained

to be seen.

The Act did not dramatically change the education system for blacks in the country, but simply modernised apartheid in line with the Government's latest reformist attitude.

6.3 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into legislation affecting the utilisation of manpower (excluding the legislation administered by the departments of labour and mines) (R.P. 32/1979).

6.3.1. Introduction

The Government appointed Dr. P.J. Riekert to look into the problem of the utilisation of manpower in the country.

6.3.2 Membership

Dr. Riekert, Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister and Chairman of the Economic Advisory Council of the Prime Minister, was appointed the Chairman and sole member of the Commission.

The member was in a powerful and relevant position to address the issue of the utilisation of manpower in the country because of his involvement in labour issues and academic qualification. Simultaneously, the membership of the Commission suffered

from the same flaws as other Commissions i.e. lack of representativeness and consensus on crucial issues by the people affected by the commission's report themselves.

6.3.3. **Terms of reference**

The Commissioner was instructed: "To inquire into, report on, and make recommendations in connection with the under-mentioned legislation, and the related regulations and administrative practices:

- (a) The Development Trust and Land Act (18/1936)
- (b) Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (25/1945)
- (d) Black Labour Act (67/1964)
- (e) Group Areas Act (36/1966)
- (f) Environment Planning Act (88/1967)
- (g) Black Affairs Administration Act (45/1971)
- (h) Black Employees In-Service Training Act (86/1976)
- (i) Community Councils Act (125/1977)
- (j) and also other Acts excluding those administered by the Department of Labour and Mines;
- (k) as well as ordinances of provincial administrations and by-laws of local authorities;

in so far as it relates directly or indirectly to any economic aspect of the utilisation of manpower, and with a view to the elimination of bottle-necks and other problems experienced by both employers in the utilisation of labour" (Report: R.P. 32/1979: Par. 1.1).

The terms of reference were very clear, though reductive in their focus on Acts. The utilisation of manpower was not an isolated problem, but a result of the socio-economico-political structure of the country. All these forces had to come into play if the problem was to be addressed effectively.

6.3.4 Findings and Recommendations

The Commissioner found that while there was an increase in the Black labour force, there was a decrease in the White labour force. This labour force was concentrated in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand-Vaal Triangle (PWV) area of the country. The system of migrant labour was growing and it had affected the community system.

He noted that the general movement from primary to secondary and from secondary to tertiary levels of education that was prevalent among the Whites, Asians and Coloureds, was still in its early stages among the Black section of the population. In his opinion, the Whites were fairly spread in the labour market. The other three race groups were concentrated in the occupations of service workers, farm and forestry workers and production and transport workers. There was no fair distribution in the

labour market. He found that the public sector was dominated by Whites (Report R.P. 32/1979).

In his Report, Riekert also saw a need to accommodate women in the labour force. This could be achieved by the removal of all sexist laws and the readjustment of working hours to suit women. Child-care centres were also to be provided.

He noticed a trend among Blacks towards urbanisation. Consequently, there was a need to create employment opportunities for them in the Black states to obviate the growing rate of urbanisation (Report R.P. 32/1979).

According to him, there seemed to be a general increase in wages, while the gap in salary between skilled and unskilled labourers was narrowing. There was, however, less productivity per worker. He pointed out that Blacks and Coloureds generally had a lower educational level when compared to Whites. This demonstrated an urgent need for adult training in literacy and numeracy. There was a shortage of labour in the professional, technical and artisan fields.

He felt that a National Co-ordinating Council for Manpower Matters should be established, so that it could collect data and design a statistical information system in consultation with other bodies.

He further suggested that laws prohibiting the performance of certain jobs by Blacks

should be reviewed. The Commissioner noted that the number of Blacks who were arrested for contravening the influx control measures was abnormally high. The offenders were accommodated at aid centres for negligible offences. Such centres could be phased out if the laws were reviewed (Report R.P. 32/1979:Par. 4.63).

He observed that punitive measures against employers who employed Black workers unlawfully should be strictly applied. They should be sentenced to very high fines or longer prison sentences. Such employers should also bear the costs of sending such labourers back home where they belong. The Commissioner recommended the appointment of a Standing Committee on labour legislation. Its duty would be to review and update labour legislation in the country.

In reviewing the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (25/1945), he suggested that influx control should be maintained, but the method of controlling it should be modified. It should be done on the basis of the availability of work and proper/approved housing (Report:R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.204).

He suggested that employers should be encouraged to use local labour in preference to imported labour as far as possible. The Government should build sufficient rehabilitation centres in the White areas so that crime and idleness could be avoided. At the same time, it should be possible to repatriate Blacks without them having to commit an offence first. When an employer wanted to import labour, then the following conditions should be applicable:

- "(1) a firm offer of employment
- (2) the availability of approved housing
- (3) in the case of contract workers who are being imported temporarily, the non-availability of suitable local work seekers" (Report: R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.280 (f) (1)).

He further elaborated that the Community Councils Act (125/1977) should be made part of the Black Communities Development Act (4/1984), while the Black Services Levy Act (64/1952) should be repealed. The Masters and Servants Law (26/1926), operational in the Transvaal and Natal, should be repealed as it was outdated. The Government should retain its labour agreement with the Black independent states. In education the Commissioner looked at the Education and Training Act (90/1979) and recommended that the training of Blacks should fall under the Department of Labour. The National Co-ordinating Council for Manpower matters should also be integrated with Department of Labour. It should include representatives from all interested departments, national employers and their organisations. This body would be charged with the duty of advising the Minister of Labour on issues of policy. It would also have to liaise with other bodies like the HSRC on labour issues. The employers would be given the responsibility of training their employees, the Government would in turn offer tax reductions and other concessions to encourage them. In this context, a need existed for the establishment of industrial centres by the Industrial Councils (Report R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.428(a)-4.432).

When the Black Employees In-Service Training Act (86/1976) was passed, eight such training centres were established. The Commissioner felt that these centres should be used on a broader basis. Training of employees should also include some training in trade unionism. Black employees who have undergone such training should be given due recognition by their employers (Report R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.478).

On examining the Group Areas Act (36/1966), the Commissioner suggested that transport subsidies should continue to be given. Employers should be allowed to erect houses for their employees. He added that: "The Group Areas Act, 1966, must be so amended that the restrictive provisions on acquisition, ownership or occupation by disqualified persons in specific demarcated areas in the central business districts of cities and towns not be applicable to buildings, land and premises in such areas which are used exclusively for trading, commercial or professional purposes" (Report R.P. 32/1979: Par. 5.27).

Concerning the training institutions for adults, it was felt by the Commissioner that in future the community, employers and organised labour should have a say.

The movement of citizens over common borders e.g. from Transkei, Bophuthatswana etc. should be strictly monitored. Blacks who wished to build their own houses in the urban areas should be given leasehold rights. The Government should also subsidise them, as they come from a lower income group.

To all these recommendations, the government responded by stating that: "The underlying objectives, viz. the simplification of legislation and administrative procedures, the elimination of unjustifiable discrimination between various population groups, the maintenance of internal security and industrial peace, the retention and development of the free market system with a view to achieving more efficient utilisation of all the available resources, including labour, are whole-heartedly supported by the Government" (White Paper:T/1979: Par. 3).

From the recommendation of this Commission, it is apparent that it also sought to reform glaring apartheid legislation, but not to remove it (apartheid) completely. It aligned itself with the homeland policy of the government and attempted to bring labour utilisation laws for Blacks on par with those of other racial groups, without dramatically changing the apartheid system itself.

6.4 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into labour`legislation (R.P. 47/1979)

6.4.1 Introduction

The Government appointed Prof. N.E. Wiehahn to look into laws that effect labour relations in the country.

6.4.2 Membership

Prof. N.E. Wiehahn, Chairman - a member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council since 1977. Professor at the University of South Africa.

Prof. P.J van der Merve - University of Pretoria academic.

Dr. E.P. Drummond - SEIFSA director.

Mr. C.W.H. Du Toit - chairman FCI labour affairs & SACCOLA.

Mr. T.I. Steenkamp - chairman AHI labour affairs Committee.

Mr. R.V. Sutton - chairman ASSOCOM labour affairs Committee.

Mr. A.I. Nieuwoudt - president SACLA.

Mr. J.A. Grobbelaar - TUCSA.

Mr. J. Grobler - general secretary Artisan Staff Association.

Mr. T.S. Neethling - general secretary Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Mr. N.J. Hechter - Dept of Labour legal draftsman.

Mr. G. Munsook - TUCSA unionist, SAIC member (Indian).

Mr. C.A. Botes - TUCSA unionist (Coloured).

Mr. B.N. Mokoatle - academic in Wiehahn's UNISA Institute (Black).

"Wiehahn, a former railway worker who had begun academic life at the University of Port Elizabeth, the country's newest and least influential seat of learning, was appointed Botha's adviser at the end of 1976. He was virtually unknown and his elevation was largely unnoticed. But, from May 1977, when he was appointed chairman of a commission to examine all laws administered by the Department of Labour, he began a rise which soon installed him as a folk hero among employers and Government reformers ... the commission's membership (did not) suggest that it would recommend

sweeping reform. To be sure, it was the country's first multi-racial official inquiry - three of its members were black. But none spoke for African workers and most commissioners were pillars of the labour establishment: they represented the major employer associations, established unions and Government departments, the 'triple alliance' which consistently resisted emerging unions, several were known opponents to African Unionism" (Friedman 1987:149-150).

Friedman (1987:151) believes that the choice of the members was strategically designed to yield certain results - support for the reform initiative of the Government. He further states: "Botha insisted that its members were appointed as individuals who could make a special contribution to the search for a better labour system. It so happened that most of these people represented an important constituency whose support the Government's plan needed. The three national employer associations - the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), Association of Chambers of Commerce (ASSOCOM) and (the) Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) were there as was SEIFSA and the mining industry; besides TUSCA and SACLA, both the influential White led metal unions and the large block of registered White unions who belonged to neither body, had men on the commission - even its black membership seemed to have been worked out by a formula for there was precisely one African, one Indian and one Coloured person. The only groups with an interest in labour changes who were not represented were women and African workers, whose support the Government was assumed not to need."

In giving examples of the type of people who were chosen as Commissioners, Friedman (1987:170-171) writes: "Several commissioners were identified with labour relations policies which resisted African unionism. Drummond presided over SEIFSA's continuing attempt to supplant unions with liaison committees; Sutton and Steenkamp had been leading advocates of 'Company unionism'; and Van der Merwe was the author of a plan to channel African unionism through the 'homelands'. Hechter had drafted most of the laws which sought to replace unionism with committees including the 1977 Act. Among the unionists, only the TUCSA officials were publicly committed to African union rights - and their antipathy to emerging unionism was well known."

Even Mokoatle, the only African in the Commission, was an academic in Wiehahn's UNISA Institute.

6.4.3 **Terms of reference**

Prof. Wiehahn and his associates were given instructions by the Government: "To inquire into, report upon and make recommendations in connection with the existing labour legislation, namely the

- (a) Industrial Conciliation Act (28/1956)
- (b) Bantu Labour Relations Regulations Act (48/1953)
- (c) Wage Act (5/1957)
- (d) Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act (22/1941)

- (e) Shops and Offices Act (75/1964)
- (f) Apprenticeship Act (37/1944)
- (g) Training of Artisans Act (38/1951)
- (h) Bantu Building Workers Act (27/1951)
- (i) Electrical Wireman and Contractors Act (20/1939)
- (j) Workmen's Compensation Act (30/1941)
- (k) Unemployment Insurance Act (30/1966)
- (l) Registration for Employment Act (34/1945)

with specific reference to:

- (i) the adjustment of the existing system for the regulation of labour relations in South Africa with the object of making it provide more effectively for the needs of our changing times;
- (ii) the adjustment, if necessary, of the existing machinery for the prevention and settlement of disputes which changing needs may require;
- (iii) the elimination of bottle-necks and other problems which are at present being experienced within the entire sphere of labour; and
- (vi) the methods and means by which a foundation for the creation and expansion of sound labour relations may be laid for the future of South

Africa" (Report:R.P. 32/1979:Par. iv).

Friedman (1987:149) comments on Wiehahn's uncharacteristic rise to glory. Being a stranger in the field of labour relations, he was nevertheless soon appointed adviser to the then Minister of Labour.

The terms of reference isolated a few Acts for investigation. This had various advantages and disadvantages. It is the contention of this researcher that, while the isolation led to a sharp focus on specific Acts, it made the Commissioners ignore other important facets of the problem. It also isolated the Acts from a broader socio-economico-political spectrum which influenced attitudes and labour relations. The paradigm of apartheid which was the super-structure under which all other aspects fell, had been proven a failure. The terms of reference required of the commissioners proscribed any adjustments to, the apartheid policy. The whole paradigm needed to be replaced by another. Looking at the problem piecemeal, and failing to replace the super structure could not solve the economic problems that the country was experiencing at that time.

In this instance the terms of reference were trying to paper cracks, instead of uprooting the causes of unsound labour practices and poor labour relations. From the survey of literature it would seem that, in South Africa, labour relations tend to be race relations; i.e. relations between the White masters and the Black labourers. Therefore, to address the issue of labour relations without looking at the causes of poor race relations

is an ineffective course of action. To impose recommendations on the employers and employees is also unacceptable labour practice.

6.4.4 **Recommendations**

The first recommendation of this Commission was that the name of the Department of Labour should be changed to the Department of Manpower. After this, the setting up of a National Manpower Commission had to be given priority. Such a Commission would have representatives from the State, employers and employees. The Wiehahn Commission also laid down the duties of such a body of people.

The principle of freedom of association was to be respected as a basis for trade union membership. The word employee had to be extended to include all labourers of the different population groups. As a result, the Government was asked to register trade unions and employer organisations provisionally (Report R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.28-4.29).

The Commissioners recommended the repeal of Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act (28/1956). This meant the abolition of work reservation for particular population groups. They also recommended that the Mines and Works Act (27/1956) be amended so that provision could be made for the establishment of the Industrial Council System in the mines as well. It was also recommended that the Industrial Conciliation Act (28/1956) and the Black Labour Relations Regulations Act (48/1953) be consolidated into one statute, under the title Industrial Relations Act (Report R.P.

32/1979: Par. 4.73).

Concerning apprenticeship and industrial relations training, the Commission felt that any person should be eligible for indentureship as an apprentice. Public centres should therefore be established for such training, especially among the Blacks. Trade unions, employers' organisations and their federations should get encouragement from the State to train their members in industrial relations. Adult education programmes should also be vigorously pursued and extended to all employees (Report R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.13-4.138).

The commission believed that the question of separate facilities in factories should be addressed in relation to the changes in social attitudes and practices, as it was regarded as a sensitive issue. Consultation in this regard was crucial. The Commission also recommended the repeal of the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act (22/1941).

Concerning Social Security, the Commission felt that earnings in the Unemployment Insurance Act (30/1966) should be increased. The earnings should also be the same for all population groups.

The Apprenticeship Act (37/1944) was also looked into. It was felt that the National Apprenticeship Board should liaise with the Minister of Manpower Utilisation when rules concerning apprenticeship in the country were suggested. Applications for the

indenturing of apprentices should be handled by apprenticeship committees. Black apprentices would be trained in terms of the Black Employees In-Service Training Act (86/1976) (Report R.P. 32/1979:Par. 4.13-4.138).

Existing facilities would have to be used for the theoretical training of apprentices. Incentives needed to be generated for the attainment of higher qualifications by the apprentices. Trade test committees would also be a necessary structure. The Commissioner also gave priority not only to the proper training of apprentices, but also to the greater utilisation of designated agents of industrial councils. It suggested that there should be approved trade test centres for all population groups. It was necessary to revise the apprenticeship qualifications and apprenticeship conditions. The effect of military service on the training of apprentices was not thoroughly investigated by the Commission. Employers' organisations and their federations had to provide proper accommodation to apprentices upon training. Industrial training schemes for apprentices had to be campaigned for. A National Training Board was recommended by the Commission so that it could promote the establishment of training centres in the country (Report R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.13-4.138).

The Commission recommended that the Black Building Workers Act (27/1951) be repealed. Provision should be made though for the training of trainees currently receiving such training. Control should be exercised over the Black building workers through industrial council agreements. There should also be regulation of conditions of employment of building workers outside the scope of such industrial council

agreements mentioned above.

The Commission addressed the problem of general industrial training in the country. Training efforts and requirements for such training should be identified. Then they should be co-ordinated and standardised within the self-governing and independent Black states. The National Manpower Commission was to consider matters that relate to military training and the introduction of a levy system to promote such training. The National Apprentice Board should be re-structured into a National Training Board towards the aim of co-ordinating and promoting all aspects of industrial training. The role of the Commission for Administration with regard to the public sector needed to be defined. The scope of apprenticeship committees and their designation needed to be broadened. Industrial Training committees had to be established in those industries where apprenticeship committees were not in operation (Report R.P. 32/1979: Par. 4.13-4.138).

The Commission contended that the sheltered employment scheme could be extended to include all population groups. Workshops for the blind should be subsidised and extended to include members from all population groups. Employers should be encouraged to employ handicapped people. There was a need to modernise the Sheltered Employment Scheme. Control of Sheltered Employment should be done through legislation.

The government's attitude towards these recommendations was encouraging. It stated

that: "Viewed as a whole, the commission's findings and recommendations constitute what is regarded by the Government as a largely acceptable policy and procedural framework for the orderly evolvement of an expected era of dynamic development in the labour sphere ... The Government's general aim in regard to manpower is that the country's workers, irrespective of race, colour or sex, must be developed, utilised and conserved to the optimum. The development of manpower implies the continual upgrading to the highest possible level of working ability of the total work force with due regard to the individual talent and interest and the present and future needs of the South African economy" (White Paper 5/1979: Par. 2.1 and 3.1).

6.4.5 **Conclusion**

Like the Riekert Commission, the Commission left the basic structure of apartheid intact, but attempted to regulate labour relations in the country, perhaps with the aim of stabilising the economy by averting the numerous strikes by labourers.

Du Toit (1983:19-20) comments on the total strategy of the government thus: "The National Party, historically the political expression of Afrikaner nationalism, no longer can or wants to 'go it alone'. Realising that it lacks the political base, as well as manpower, needed to impose its policy and ideology on South African Society as a whole in changing demographic and economic conditions, the Nationalist Party leadership has embarked on a quest to find a variety of allies of convenience; the military, the English business community, the homeland leaders, the political elites of

the 'Coloured' and Indian communities and possibly a Black labour aristocracy of 'urban insiders'. To make this strategy work at all some features of the old apartheid order must be abandoned ..." Hence there was talk of reform. It is the contention of this researcher that one cannot simply modify an unworkable paradigm. One needs to replace it with another, workable one.

These Commissions did much to alleviate the plight of the Black person in South Africa in terms of recognition of certain human rights that he had been denied all along, but still left a lot to be desired in terms of levelling the playing field for the Black person and involving him in the decision-making strategy of the country. Hence, Foster (1983:53) declares that: "... the constitutional details must be seen in relation to the reform package as a whole, including other recent schemes in the educational, labour, manpower and social arenas. This reformism is largely characterised by technical manipulations rather than real attempts at structural change, and reflects a growing instrumentalist pattern of legitimation."

6.5 The South African Human Sciences Research Council investigation into education (1981)

6.5.1 Introduction

The Government had tried to bring about reform in the field of labour utilisation and labour relations, and had to address the problem of the provision of education in the

country. It charged the HSRC to design a blueprint for education in South Africa.

6.5.2 Membership

Prof. J.P. de Lange - Chairman - Rector Rand Afrikaans University.

Prof. A.N. Boyce - Rector, Johannesburg College of Education.

Dr. S.S. Brand - Head, Financial Policy, Department of Finance.

Dr. R.R.M. Cingo - Inspector of Schools, Department of Education and Training Orange Free State.

Dr. J.G. Garbers - President, Human Sciences Research Council.

Mr. J.B. Haasbroek - Director, SA Institute for Educational Research.

Dr. K.B. Hartshorne - Centre for Continuing Education, University of the Witwatersrand.

Prof. J.H. Jooste - Director, Transvaal Education Department.

Dr. P.R.T. Nel - Former Director, Natal Department of Education.

Prof. A.C. Nkabinde - Principal - University of Zululand.

Mr. R.D. Nobin - Inspector of Education - Indian Affairs.

Mr. M.C. O'Dowd - Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

Mr. A. Pittendrigh - Director, Natal Technikon.

Dr. P. Smit - Vice President for Research Development - Human Sciences Research Council.

Mr. F.A. Sonn - Director, Peninsula Technikon President - United Teachers Association of South Africa.

Mr. J.F. Steyn - Chief Secretary - Federal Council of Teachers Association.

Prof. N.J. Swart - Vice Rector - Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

Mr. L.M. Taunyane - President Transvaal United African Teachers Association.

Dr. P.J. van der Merwe - Deputy Director, General Department of Manpower.

Prof. F. van der Stoep - Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria.

Prof. N.T. van Loggenberg - Dean, Faculty of Education, University of the Orange Free State, Chairman, South African Teachers Union for Whites.

Dr. R.H. Venter - Director, University Affairs Department of National Education.

Prof. W.B. Vosloo - Head, Department of Political Science and Public Administration - University of Stellenbosch.

Prof. R.E. van der Ross - Principal, University of the Western Cape.

Miss C.C. Regnart - Westerford High School.

Prof. S.R. Maharaj - Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Durban Westville.

Davies (1988:359) states that the Soweto Committee of Ten, by refusing to be on the Commission, gave it a very bad start. The Blacks doubted if the Committee would be impartial in view of the fact that there were establishment figures in it. The National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) rejected the Commission because they felt that:

"(1) the demands of black students were by now so well established that the commission must therefore be a 'stalling tactic' aimed at defusing conflict and providing some relief to industry by tinkering with the education system:

- (2) the totally unrepresentative nature of the main committee which contained neither popularly recognised community leaders nor students;
- (3) the function of the commission was to align education policy with the aims of total strategy, and to divide black people by means of bestowing concession on the middle class and exercising repression control over the working people." (Davies, 1988:359-360)

While the smallness of the number of Blacks on the Commission was disturbing, it was even worse to realise that the ones who were there had long since been co-opted and could consequently not represent people at the grass-roots level.

6.5.3 Terms of reference

The Government gave the following instructions to the HSRC: "Your Council (HSRC), in co-operation with all interested parties, must conduct a scientific and co-ordinated investigation and within 12 months make recommendations to cabinet on:

- (a) guiding principles for a feasible education policy in the RSA in order to:
 - (i) allow for the realisation of the inhabitants' potential,
 - (ii) promote economic growth in the RSA, and
 - (iii) improve the quality of life of all the inhabitants of the country

- (b) the organisation and control structure and financing of education
- (c) machinery for consultation and decision making in education
- (d) an education infrastructure to provide for the manpower requirements of the RSA and the self-realisation of its inhabitants, and
- (e) a programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups.

The investigation must be conducted in the light of, among other things, the present educational situation, the population composition in South African society and means that can be made available for education in the national economy. The investigation must cover all levels of education, i.e. pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 1.1).

The terms of reference given to the Committee are broad and acceptable in that they demand of the Commission to come up with an education system that will cater for the needs of the individual and those of the state. They do not refer to colour, creed or sex as being educationally relevant in the drawing up of such a policy. They aim at improving the quality of life of the inhabitants, as well as ensuring the growth of the country's economy. They also aim at making education accessible to all the inhabitants of the country.

However, the terms of reference neglect to state that there were contemporary imbalances that needed to be addressed in order to achieve the aim of, for example, making education accessible to all its inhabitants. This would raise the need for affirmative action by the state in order to level the playground for the benefit of the Black child who had been grossly neglected under the system up to that point.

The fact that the terms of reference suggest that the Commission should look at the current education system and the different population groups in South Africa casts doubt on the objectivity of the Government and its genuine desire to solve the problem because race should have been considered irrelevant, and the education system of that time should have been completely overhauled.

As stated in the terms of reference, the HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981) was required to formulate guiding principles for the provision of education in the RSA. After broad consultation the following principles were agreed upon:

- "1. Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant irrespective of race, colour creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the State.
2. Education shall afford positive recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and languages of the inhabitants.

3. Education shall give positive recognition to the freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisation, in society.
4. The provision of education shall be directed in an educationally responsible manner to meet the needs of the individual as well as those of society and economic development, and shall, inter alia, take into consideration the manpower needs of the country.
5. Education shall endeavour to achieve a positive relationship between the formal, non-formal and informal aspects of education in the school, society and family.
6. The provision of formal education shall be a responsibility of the state provided that the individual, parents and organised society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter.
7. The private sector and the state shall have a shared responsibility for the provision of non-formal education.
8. Provision shall be made for the establishment and state subsidisation of private education within the system of providing education.
9. In the provision of education the process of centralisation and

decentralisation shall be reconciled organisationally and functionally.

10. Effective provision of education shall be based on continuing research" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 1.3).

6.5.4. Findings

In reviewing the validity of the demand for education, the Commission cautioned that a society should not consider education as the single factor contributing to liberation in a country, although there was a relationship between the quality of education provided and the quality of life of a community.

"What influence the system for the provision of education has on a country's future, and the strength of that influence, is determined either by how well that system of provision meets the real needs of society or by the extent to which it is in disharmony with these needs" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.1).

A thorough study of the demographic patterns of a country should precede any attempt at providing for education. It was found by the Commission that the population of the RSA comprised 67,2% Blacks, 18,7% Whites, 10,7% Coloureds and 3,3% Asians. The birth rate among Blacks was increasing, while it was decreasing among other population groups. The Commission anticipated an extremely rapid process of urbanisation among Blacks, since only 37% of them were urbanised by 1980. This

meant that provision had to be made for more schools in urban areas. Black children were mainly concentrated at primary school level (79,34%). The Commission found that the percentage of pupils who started schooling in 1963 and completed the 12 year cycle was as follows: 58,40% for Whites; 22,30% for Asians; 4,40% for Coloureds and 1,96% for Blacks. This showed a very high drop-out rate among the latter two population groups, and had serious implications for manpower development in the country. It meant that there were serious shortcomings in the provision of education for those two groups by the state, and abnormally high differences in state provision for different population groups (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.2).

In this light, this researcher must reiterate that any document intended to address the education system in the RSA had first to concern itself with the removal of imbalances caused by a history of neglect through the apartheid system. The Government's failure to incorporate and consider demographic data in their effort to provide education for its citizens had led to over-provision of education facilities for Whites and under-provision of education facilities for Blacks. Hence, there was talk at the time of unutilised and under-utilised White schools, as opposed to over-crowded Black schools.

The Commission found a desperate need to train more teachers, especially for Black schools. They found that Whites were over-represented at tertiary level institutions and in white collar jobs. The serious drop-out rate problems among Blacks and Coloureds necessitated the provision of non-formal education programmes at primary, secondary and post-secondary levels (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981).

The HSRC/De Lange Commission believed that there was a demand for pre-school education among South Africans because of: environmental deprivation that is prevalent among all population groups; lack of school readiness among other children; high drop-out and failure rates among Blacks in particular; the presence of learning problems among children. The Commission further stated the need for basic, compulsory and free education. They quoted the comment made by the English Academy of Southern Africa that: "... any educational system which fails to give priority to the teaching of the basic linguistic and communicative skills, is simply hobbling the pupil at the start of the race. His ability to comprehend, learn, articulate his needs and organise his responses in respect of all other subjects and skills will be commensurate with his command of the language in which they are taught" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.3.2).

The Commission therefore concluded that the primary education provided at that time did not provide basic education. Free and compulsory education had to be extended to include all population groups, but the compulsory school leaving age should also not be too high, crippling the child's progress.

It was found that post-basic education needed not only to be differentiated but also sophisticated. The Commission identified shortages in skilled manpower to show where a need existed for vocational training and education. The South African education system was criticised for emphasising an academic value system to the detriment of manual work and practical skills. There was also a significant lack of modern science,

technology and management skills among a significant number of South Africans. A large percentage of the children grew up in environments where these resources were lacking. This made the learning of science and technology very theoretical and devoid of insight. Education therefore never achieved its aim of developing skilled manpower. This made the study of Mathematics and Physical Science extremely complex and as a result they were unpopular, despite the need for people trained in these subjects.

In respect of teaching languages the Commission identified the following as really problematic:

- "* The use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction and the divergent problems that this creates for different groups of people.
- * Pupils' inability to communicate properly even in the first language after they have matriculated.
- * The ability of a large number of pupils to express themselves in writing leaves a lot to be desired.
- * Where the medium of learning is not the mother tongue, particular problems are experienced. Efforts to rectify these problems at a later stage in the [pupils' educational career are often expensive and unsuccessful.
- * Environmentally deprived pupils experience linguistic and other related problems which at present are not being satisfactorily handled within the educational structure.
- * Finally, Black pupils are required to master three languages while generally

speaking other pupils are expected to know only two" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.3.3.5).

The HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981) identified a need to provide education for children with special educational needs. These were categorised as: environmentally deprived, scholastically impaired, handicapped (aural, visual, physical, mental and neural) as well as highly gifted children. It cited a number of difficulties prevalent in the system of providing for children with special educational needs as it was then conceived, e.g. lack of professional staff, identification, evaluation and diagnosis of the problem areas. The Report emphasised a need for an effective support service for both the pupils and the teacher. It identified a need for a curriculum service that would ensure differentiation and co-ordination in the provision for education. The present system fell short in its curriculum practice because of ignorance, "inequitable distribution of curriculum services, tendency towards bureaucratisation, problems with co-ordination in curriculum specialists, administrative decisions concerning curriculum matters, contributions by teachers towards curriculums on the meso-level and macro-level" etc. (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.4).

The report could not over-emphasise the need for an effective school guidance service. It stated that: "The aim of such a system should be to educate pupils in accordance with their potential, to orient them in this regard and to give them the necessary guidance so that they can themselves make educational choices that will enable them to develop their potential to the full" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.4.2.1).

A school guidance programme should thus consist of a general guidance and career guidance component. The present system was found to be inadequate and ineffective for a number of reasons. Among others, it was found that some principals were ignorant about the value of guidance in a school, guidance teachers had very little experience, there were inadequate facilities for the provision of the subject, there was little time allocated and few inspectors of schools were qualified in guidance.

The HSRC/De Lange Report (1981) recognised the need for educational technology in education and listed a number of advantages this technology held for the learner. Unfortunately, the system at that time provided inadequately for such an education in the class-room. Educational technology was seen as unco-ordinated and lacking in proper control and organisation. There was no organisation that was responsible for recommending hardware and software equipment. There were also no facilities or trained personnel in this field.

It was further found that there was a dire need for the provision of health services in schools. The Commission discovered that schools for White children were adequately provided with such services, in comparison to schools for Black children. There were shortages of nurses and doctors. The system made no effort to involve the community, and the state budget for health services was found to be inadequate (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.4).

The need for professionally qualified teachers could never be over-emphasised. The

Report also identified a backlog in the education for Blacks which had a high teacher:pupil ratio of 48,47 compared to 20,16 for Whites; 27,21 for Asians; 29,52 for Coloureds. This showed a serious need for well-qualified teachers in schools for Black children, as the rate at which they were trained then proved to be inadequate.

The HSRC/De Lange Report (1981) noted a shortage of teachers in the following subjects: English, Afrikaans, Latin, French, Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Technical education. The fact that there were shortages of staff and that some of them were not properly qualified, meant that there was a need for the in-service training of teachers. The service conditions and circumstances of teachers needed to be revised to allow for increased recruitment of suitable candidates. A number of factors made the teaching profession an unpopular choice. These included non-competitive salaries, excessive bureaucratic control, low status and image of profession, lack of mobility, unfavourable publicity when their conditions of service were negotiated, etc. The Report recommended that the status of the teaching profession should be enhanced. The training should be improved with co-operation between various Colleges of Education for the different population groups (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.4).

Concerning the financing of education, the HSRC/De Lange Commission believed in principle, that there should be parity of financing between different individuals and that the state and the individual should help finance education. The HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981) found that in the present education system, Blacks were under-represented at all levels of education. The Commission therefore stressed the

need for parity in Government expenditure without compromising standards.

Different standards were adhered to by different education departments in the country, in terms of the provision for sites, buildings and transport for educational purposes. The Report criticised the laborious method employed to obtain a site. The need to sometimes share facilities and for transportation to and from school, especially among Blacks, was noted. Centres for non-formal education also required serious attention. Schools could be adapted and used as community centres (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981).

Looking at the management structures of the country's education system, the HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981) found that it was managed by a complicated bureaucratic structure with very inadequate consultative mechanisms. It was unco-ordinated, there was a lack of proper planning and extreme centralisation. The Commission noted that there should be a rationalisation of management at tertiary level. Importantly, the Report also stated that: "... there appear to be serious problems with regard to the acceptability of educational practice in the RSA. This acceptability is related to two factors: in the first place, the acceptance by the 'users' of the authority responsible for the establishment of the education system; and in the second place the involvement of the 'users' in decision making-processes" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 3.8.2(g).

6.5.5 Recommendations

(1) Educational structure

The Commission recommended a three phase structure of education, namely, pre-basic, basic and post-basic. The first phase would equip the child with school readiness skills, the second one would aim at providing him with literacy and numeracy skills, while the last phase would ensure differentiated education.

It was also recommended that the first nine years of schooling should be made compulsory. Education should also be free. Provision should be made for children to have formal education after six years of compulsory education and to enter non-formal education structures. The child who leaves the system should do so only with certification. Certain outlet points were therefore identified. The curriculum should be differentiated to cater for different individual pupils and be subject to constant revision. Career oriented education should be extended (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.4-4.5).

(2) Natural Sciences and Mathematics

The Commission recommended that a general revision and updating of the syllabi were essential for the promotion of these subjects in schools. Teachers should be offered in-service training to build their confidence and competence in the subjects. Tertiary institutions should become more involved at secondary schools. The employment of regional subject advisors could prove beneficial (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par.

4.9).

(3) Technical and Vocational Guidance

Career education should be provided simultaneously with academic education. The training of teachers in technical and vocational guidance streams should receive priority (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.10).

(4) Medium of instruction and the teaching of languages

While mother tongue instruction was perceived as the best medium for education, the language used should facilitate the pupils' access to higher levels of education, where the pupil should be capable of employing a different medium of instruction with great flexibility. In this regard the Commission offered three options:

- (i) that the vernacular be used in the initial stages and gradually introduce either of the official languages;
- (ii) either of the official languages should be used from the start throughout the scholastic career of the child;
- (iii) use of the mother tongue for the duration of compulsory education only. In this option the future medium of instruction can be taught as a subject from an early age.

The learning of three languages (mainly by Black pupils) was completely discouraged. Promotion of language teaching through special recruitment, selection and training of language teachers, improvement of training facilities and opportunities for such teachers and a revision of the process of examination of language instruction was recommended (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.11).

(5) Children with special educational needs

The HSRC/De Lange Report recommended: "The establishment of an infrastructure within the main stream of education with a view to effective identification, evaluation, diagnosis of and assistance to children with special educational needs" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981:155).

Teachers should be trained to be able to diagnose such children and provision should be made for them to receive assistance within the school system. Professional staff outside the school system should work with the schools. More teachers should be trained (at post-graduate level) in remedial education, school guidance and counselling. Suitable programmes were also needed for gifted children. Schools should encourage more parental involvement. A section for Evaluation and Guidance at Co-operative Educational Service Centres should be established. This would employ different professionals from various fields to provide a multi-professional approach to the provision of these services (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.12).

(6) Supportive educational structures

There were services that needed to be incorporated into an education system to complement the activities and programmes provided at schools. The following were identified by the HSRC/De Lange Report (1981) as essential: curriculum services, guidance services, educational technological services and school health services (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.13).

(7) Training of teachers

The recruitment and selection of the teaching corps was an essential duty of any education authority. The South African Council for Education should therefore be charged with the duty of drawing up broad recruitment and selection guidelines. Training institutions should be placed where there was a shortage of teachers. To address the shortage of teachers in technical subjects, technikons should be allowed to train teachers. The Report recommended a general improvement in teacher training and continuing training for teachers. Their conditions of service should encourage professional growth, keep them happy and be negotiable (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.14).

(8) Financing of education

There should be parity in expenditure by the central Government for all citizens

irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex. Backlogs that existed within certain education systems like lack of school buildings and facilities, high teacher: pupil ratios, poorly qualified teachers etc. should be addressed by the Budget as a matter of urgency (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.15).

(9) The provision of grounds, buildings and transportation

Research should be undertaken by one national body to determine the exact educational needs of each geographical area, while a computerised national inventory of school building facilities should be kept to facilitate national planning. The Group Areas Act should not be allowed to influence the utilisation of schools. Housing and transportation should also be given priority by the education department (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.16).

(10) The management of education in the RSA

Education management should be divided into three levels to facilitate a balance between centralised and decentralised control of education.

At the first level of control, the Report recommended a single Ministry of education. The Minister would be assisted by the South African Council for Education which would consist of all groups from providers to recipients of education. It would have specialist advisory committees, namely: Committee for Curriculum, Examinations, Entrance and

Certification Requirements; Committee for Higher Education, Committee for Non-Formal Education, Committee for Research, Development and Co-ordination and others. The second level of management would be responsible for providing education in a specified geographical area. At the head of this level of management, there would be a Director as well as a Statutory Second Level Council which would represent all the inhabitants of that area. A Second Level Department of Education should be established.

The third level of management was the local level. Circuit education officers and principals were charged with this responsibility. Parents, local school districts and teachers were to have a greater say in decision-making at this level (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 4.17).

(11) A programme to attain education of equal quality for all inhabitants

The HSRC/De Lange Report (1981) firmly stated that: "The pursuit of equality basically involves the desire to adhere to a particular social ethical concept regarding the structure of a society, namely that the right of every individual to receive equal treatment in the social structure should be recognised and guaranteed ... In terms of contemporary Western civilisation norms it does however imply the postulate of a common humanity and the right every person has to expect that organised society will acknowledge the intrinsic value of individuality and promote the realisation of these values" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 5.2.1).

In the light of the above, the provision of education for each and every individual so that the individual receives his 'rightful share' can be addressed by introducing: "formative religious education ..., the maintenance and elaboration of cultural values ..., raising the material standards of living ..., the development of innovative and adaptive abilities with regard to the demands of cultural change ..., the improvement of inter-personal relationships ..., the cultivation of positive civil attitudes and the promotion of the overall quality of life" (HSRC/De Lange Report/1981: Par. 5.2.6(a)-(g)).

The recommendation of the Commission raised a great deal of expectations, especially in terms of moving towards one education department. The recommendations were realistic and challenged some of the basic tenets of the apartheid system.

6.5.6 Effects on Government policy

The Government responded with intransigence to the recommendations of the HSRC/De Lange (1981) investigation. Behr (1988:58) reports that the Government insisted on its policy of Christian National Education as formulated in the National Education Policy Act (39/1967), which in effect means that each population group should have its own education department and its own schools established within designated areas. The recommendation for a single Ministry of education was thus rejected and the Group Areas Act was upheld. Therefore, any recommendation which did not fit in with the constitutional framework at that time was regarded as undesirable, and could never be implemented.

In the Government White Paper on the provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa, 1983, a number of recommendations made by the HSRC/De Lange Report (1981) were rejected, while others were accepted. The following were guide-lines laid down by the government in its consideration of the above-mentioned Report.

- * "- the Government believes in the Christian nature of education as well as in its National character as enacted in the Education Policy Act (39/1967),
 - it believes in the current legislative provision made by it in respect of other population groups (This is a rejection of the recommendation made for a single Ministry of Education for all inhabitants of the country - RPM);
 - it believes in the freedom of choice for the recipients of education as long as they remain within their designated schools
 - the recommendations of the HSRC Report should fit in with the current legislation if they are to be implemented (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 3.1-3.5).
- * The structuring of education management at the first level of Government."

The Government insisted that there a distinction should be made between general and own affairs. The setting of norms and standards in financing education, salaries and conditions of employment of staff, norms and standards for syllabi, examinations and certification were considered as general affairs. Legislation emanating from these

aspects accepted as general affairs would only affect Blacks staying within the borders of the Republic of South Africa. Negotiations would be made with the national states where necessary. All correspondence institutions which also catered for Blacks would be allowed to carry on under the auspices of the White education department (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 4.1.2).

Instead of accepting the principle of a single Ministry of Education, the Government decided that there should be a Minister of Education for each of the different population groups, as well as a fifth Minister who would be superior to all four and administer general affairs (Government White Paper/1983: Par. 4.3.2).

In addition to the establishment of the South African Council for Education (SACE) as recommended in the HSRC/De Lange Report (1981), the Government suggested an additional Universities and Technikons Advisory Council (UTAC) which would give advice on tertiary education to the Minister. Advice regarding salaries and conditions of service for staff would be accepted from the Committee on Educational Structures (CES) and the Research Committee on Educational Structures (RECES), which would be formed in co-operation with the various Ministers of Education. Other bodies that would render help in education would be the Committee of Heads of Education (CHE), the Committee of University Principals (CUP) and the Committee of Technikon Principals (CTP). The Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) would continue with its duties and functions. The Government recommended that the HSRC should be permanently attached to the certifying council (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 4.42-4.8.2).

The government said that it regarded the provision of special education as an own affair. The Department of Education and Training was charged with the duty of co-ordinating the budgets of the self-governing states.

* The structuring of education management at the second level of
Government

The Government made no commitments here, since it claimed that the matter was under discussion. In respect of Whites, Coloureds and Indians, the respective Houses would have to make the final decisions on their own executive education structures. Regarding Blacks, the Government reported that their education system had already been decentralised and differentiated into seven geographical regions with a Chief Regional Director at the head. The regions were in charge of planning, budgeting, provision of stores, subject advisory services and in-service training (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 5.2).

* The structuring of education at the third level of Government

At this level of Government, the different education authorities should be completely autonomous, although the Government, in principle, accepted that there was a need for parent representative bodies at school level. The development of state-aided and Farm Schools was left to the various Education Departments, as it was regarded as an own affair. However, the question of subsidising private schools was still under consideration. The Government felt that the provision of non-formal educational activities should be the duty of technical colleges, while it could only encourage other

institutions that were providing these activities (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 6.2).

* Provision of education

With regard to the provision of education, the Government did not respond to all the recommendations of the HSRC/De Lange Report (1981). It simply stated: "The Government considers it desirable merely to select those aspects that have to do with general policy matters and to comment on or adopt policy positions in regard to them. The remaining recommendations require consideration by education specialists and will be referred for the necessary attention to the statutory advisory body (SACE) that is to be established, and the Universities and Technikons Advisory Council (UTAC) and the executive education authorities, as the case may be" (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 7.1).

However, the Government accepted that there was a need to finance pre-basic education, although it could not make it compulsory. It also accepted the bridging module of withdrawal following basic education. The horizontal flow between formal and non-formal education was also regarded as fairly reasonable, though its practicability was in doubt and the issue required referral to experts in the field.

The Government accepted responsibility for providing education to its citizens but could not commit itself to providing it for free. The parents would have to supplement educational costs by payment of fees. It also did not commit itself to compulsory

education, as recommended in the HSRC/De Lange Report (1981). It stated that nine years compulsory school attendance was an acceptable goal for each child. Those communities that wanted to implement it, were free to do so (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 7.6.2-7.7.2).

While the HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981) recommended that tertiary institutions should be given complete autonomy in their admissions regulations, the Government felt that there was a need for it to exercise broad control over the composition of their student corps.

The Government accepted the recommendation of the HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981) that there was an urgent need to address the question of the shortage of science and mathematics teachers, and that this area should receive serious attention. However, it differed from the Commission regarding the provision of technical and vocational education. In contrast to the commission's suggestion, it believed that basic knowledge and certain skills should be inculcated in all the pupils in the course of their general formative education. This should be done before they choose a certain career-oriented course (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 7.9.2-7.10.2).

The Government accepted that the mother-tongue was an ideal medium of instruction, and it would be upheld as such for Whites. However, Blacks would have to choose between their mother tongue and converting to English and/or Afrikaans at the onset of schooling, or later, after the introductory phase.

The HSRC/De Lange Commission's (1981) recommendations on the curriculum, guidance and school health services were completely acceptable to the Government. It needed more information, based on research, with regard to the provision of educational technology services. It differed, however, with the Commission on the question of the use of school buildings. The Government had no wish to contravene the provisions of the Group Areas Act by making available under-utilised schools for another population group. It upheld the principle of separate schools and separate residential areas (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 7.14.2-7.18.2).

The Government acknowledged the part to be played by the private sector in the training of their staff. It desired their participation in decision-making through the various bodies created. (e.g. SACE and UTAC (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 7.19)).

Concerning the provision of equal education for all the people of South Africa, the Government responded by stating that it was already in the process of implementing the eleven principles of the HSRC/De Lange Report (1981) for the provision of education in the Republic of South Africa. It also accepted the request for continued research in education in different fields (Government White Paper 1983/Par. 7.12.2).

An analysis of recommendations accepted and rejected by Government, shows that as long as the recommendations did not directly challenge the constitutional arrangement in the country, they were acceptable, but those that would lead to constitutional reforms

were rejected. Whether this was in the interest of the inhabitants or the country is subject to inquiry, but it gives a racial connotation to the word 'feasible' as used by the Government in the terms of reference given to the HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981). It raises the controversial question: is it possible to provide 'separate but equal' education in a given country? The terms of reference were therefore quite misleading in that the Government referred to the provision of an equal quality of education, but emphasised that it should remain separate.

Van Zyl (1992:xiii) evaluated the Government's response ten years after the HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981) had tabled their findings thus: "It was found that new legislation enabled the implementation of the recommendations on educational principles and management - but in a predetermined political dispensation."

6.6 Report on the investigation into education for Blacks in the Vaal Triangle following upon occurrences of 3 September 1984 and thereafter (1984) (Van der Walt)

6.6.1 Introduction

The Department of Education and Training wanted to normalise schooling in the Vaal Triangle in 1985. It therefore set up a Commission of Inquiry.

6.6.2 Membership

Prof. Tjaart van der Walt was appointed by Dr. Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education of Co-operation, to investigate "into the circumstances in the residential areas of the Vaal Triangle with a view to doing everything in its (DET) power to normalise the education situation in the interest of the local Communities" (Report/1984: Par. 1.7).

Since South African society was bedevilled by issues of race and colour, the fact that the sole member of the Commission was of a different race from the users of education under investigation, can be regarded as a factor that limited the effectiveness of this commission.

Firstly, as an 'outsider' in the community, he might not be aware of the dynamics of the social life of the people in the townships under investigation. Secondly, when interviewing witnesses, who would obviously be of a different race and colour, he might not earn their confidence, and thus fail to have access to important information crucial to the investigation. Black people viewed White interviewers in general with suspicion. Although they might participate to the satisfaction of the interviewer, there were socio-cultural barriers that were at play consciously or subconsciously.

6.6.3 Terms of reference

The aim of the investigation was: "to establish, in very limited time and at first hand, what goes on in the hearts and minds of the inhabitants with a view to doing everything

possible to make 1985 a normal school year, and to prevent the youth of the Vaal Triangle from falling still further behind their peers elsewhere in the country in so doing becoming a more fertile area for misguided agitation" (Van der Walt Report:1984:1).

It is difficult to imagine how the investigator would determine what was happening in 'the hearts and minds of the inhabitants'. To effect this would require mutual trust between him and the inhabitants, and a relatively high degree of confidence in and support for his cause. The inhabitants needed to believe in him and in what he was doing. They needed to believe that he could solve their problems in order for them to get wholly involved in the process. As an individual, the investigator was not in a position to offer solutions to all the problems experienced by the society. There was also the danger of him being viewed as a patronising White liberal, which could create a very negative attitude towards him. This could hamper the investigation process.

The phrase 'making 1985 a normal school year' was also misleading, since Blacks viewed their "normal" education with scepticism and contempt. They rejected it and did not regard it as 'normal', but referred to it frequently as education for servitude (Huddleston, 1956:177). The term 'normal' was thus very relative in the South African context. Furthermore, ensuring that the pupils in the Vaal Triangle did not fall behind their peers elsewhere in the country could not solve the problem underlying why they were behind in the first place. The Commissioner would be looking at the symptoms and not addressing the cause. Simply making sure that they went back to school in 1985, was looking at the problem superficially. It might offer a temporary solution.

While one recognises the fact that the pupils would be better off if they were at least at school, one should also look at the holding power of the school system for Blacks.

Lastly, while one admits that if the pupils are not in school they might be agitated and manipulated, whether this manipulation and agitation would be 'misguided' as the investigator claimed, remains a matter of personal opinion. At this point already, the investigator seems to be taking sides in the matter.

6.6.4 Findings

The Commission found that although the problem manifested itself through the education system and schools, it ran far deeper. It was essentially a political issue. When the investigator interviewed members of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) they cited to him the following as grievances of the student body:

- (i) the prefect system which was to be replaced by a Student Representative Council;
- (ii) the use of corporal punishment in schools;
- (iii) the age restriction imposed by the Government in schools.

However, there were other reasons that led to the violence and disruption of schooling in the area. It was found that Black pupils felt inferior to their White counterparts, who were perceived as receiving a better quality of education. This was both unjust and

belittling to their human dignity (Van der Walt Report/1984:21-25).

The schools themselves were not environments conducive to learning. The facilities were very poor, there was a lack of equipment and books, the class-rooms were over-crowded, the teacher-pupil ratio was high and they were frequently taught by incompetent teachers who were sometimes underqualified.

The poor matric results in schools for Black children were hardly encouraging. A conflict arose between raising the standard of education and fear of failure if standards were raised. This caused tension and resulted in emotional and irrational outbursts, as happened on 4 September 1984. There was a high drop-out rate among Blacks resulting in the escalation of mischief and thuggerism in the township (Van der Walt Report/1984:9-25).

Blacks felt that they were excluded from the decision-making structures and that there was no proper communication between them and these structures. Black teachers also felt inferior to their White counterparts. Principals in schools for Black children felt inadequately trained to manage crisis situations.

The dire need for parental and community involvement in schools was identified. The Black child needed vocational guidance to be able to make career choices. The conduct of teachers was found to be inappropriate. There was a total neglect of extramural activities in schools. The HSRC/De Lange Report of 1981 had raised the

hopes of many Blacks for a single ministry of education, but Government intransigence resulted in disillusionment (Van der Walt Report/1984:9-25).

In conclusion, the investigator admitted that there were a host of causes to the problem of non-schooling which lay beyond the schools themselves. Any corrective action should therefore be comprehensive, although the schools remain a 'strategic starting point.'

6.6.5 Recommendations

The Commission suggested that inspectors of schools, principals and teachers should join hands in convincing the parents and the children that the children should go back to school. The pupils should be given time to complete activities of the 1984 academic year before they embarked on academic activities for 1985. This was necessary to allay fears that because they had lost so much time, they would certainly fail (Van der Walt Report/1984).

6.6.6 Conclusion

The findings of the Commissioner pointed beyond the school towards permanent solutions to the problem. They pointed to the unjust laws of the country. As remarked earlier in this chapter, the solutions to the Vaal Triangle problems were beyond a one-man Commission of Inquiry, but needed concerted State, capital, community and

international effort to bear fruit. Therefore, the recommendations made were very superficial and were nowhere near providing a lasting solution. The Commissioner did not mention practical steps to be taken in implementing these recommendations. The problem was simply too big to require such simplistic 'solutions'.

6.7 Effects of the recommendations of the commissions of inquiry on the South African Society

Davenport (1991:422) contends that: "The shattering experience of the Soweto disturbances had induced in the Department of Bantu Education a mood of determined but extremely cautious reform."

The substitution of the Bantu Education Act (47/1953) with the Education and Training Act (90/1979) had immediate but superficial effects on the education for Blacks in the country. According to Davenport (1991:422) it helped by: "lowering the level of instruction through an official language to standard 2, and not insisting on both official languages; by making school education largely free, by enabling White private schools to admit Blacks after special registration. Teachers were given freedom to establish their own associations, which could criticise the system without risk of being arraigned for misconduct".

The strategy of introducing reforms was referred to as the 'total strategy' of the Botha regime (Kallaway, 1988:20-25).

Kallaway (1988:24) contends that to understand this strategy, we need to look at the Wiehahn, Riekert and HSRC/De Lange Commission Reports, whose main aim was to modernise apartheid and make it more acceptable both at home and internationally. In this light, he states: "What Wiehahn and Riekert did for the establishment of a reformist initiative in labour relations and for control of the labour supply, De Lange has attempted for education, training and the supply of 'manpower'".

The failure of Riekert's approach to the problem of urbanisation, the disillusionment suffered by Blacks with Wiehahn's report and the intransigence of the Government in implementing the recommendations of HSRC/De Lange Commission (1981), all led to despair and defiance. The gradual granting of concessions, e.g. leasehold rights to urban Blacks, the appointment of Regional Services Councils, the establishment of the Development Bank of South Africa, were but drops in the ocean.

However, not all the recommendations of the De Lange Commission were rejected; some were implemented and there was a joint effort by both the Government and the Private Sector to address the issues raised by the HSRC/De Lange Report (1981).

Davenport (1991:423) states that the Government decided to increase the budget of the Department of Education and Training and to build more schools. Black pupils were to be supplied with free books and stationery. While pre-primary school facilities were being expanded, the Government was also in the process of introducing compulsory education for Blacks. Conditions of service for Black teachers as well as their initial and

in-service training were being upgraded. Technical education was introduced on a massive scale in Black townships. By the end of 1981, sixteen technical centres and 4 technikons (Umlazi, Pietermaritzburg, Pietersburg and Mabopane) had been built for Blacks. The Vista University Act (106/1981) established a racially exclusive university in Black townships, instead of opening the older universities to Blacks. The latter were subjected to the quota system of admission of other races.

A number of South African Companies like Anglo American, De Beers, South African Breweries, Barlow Rand as well as the international Governments like Switzerland, Germany, the USA, Netherlands and the United Kingdom started programmes of funding the establishment of schools and education facilities that would help improve the state of the education for Blacks in the country.

Davies (1988:357) believes that the Government introduced what he called the 'carrot-and-stick' strategy to punish those areas/individuals who were continuing with riots, boycotts etc. and reward trouble-free areas with reforms like selective compulsory education. It was becoming clear that despite the recommendations made by Cillie, Wiehahn, Riekert and De Lange the state was not prepared to move away from the traditional apartheid framework, but was merely granting concessions to appease the masses. This realisation led to the rejection of the whole strategy of piece-meal reformism rather than the appeasement of the majority of Black people.

6.8 Conclusion

Davies (1988:365) therefore concludes: "What is certain is that, to date, the 'total strategy' has been an inadequate response to the challenges being faced by capital. Capital restructuring problems remain, black trade unions continue to swell; and the internal activities of the liberation groups have been intensified ... On the education front, the demand for highly-trained black labour power remains high, and student dissent within and without educational institutions is endemic. Unmistakable signs of continued student militancy are now on increased level of support for the ANC within schools and universities, such as COSAS (Congress of South African Student Organisation) as compared with their predecessors banned in 1977."

The Government's policy of 'total-onslaught' was met by even greater resistance from within and without the borders of the country. According to Alexander (1990:155), other reasons for change were the "... changes that have occurred through economic and social development (from export-oriented secondary industries, rapidly increasing urbanisation, the entire population with the consequent growth of the domestic market for manufactured commodities, the expansion of the tertiary sector, bottlenecks in the supply of skilled labour, etc.) and through the decisive political developments in Africa and in the world, the South African ruling class has found it necessary to move away from discrimination based purely on race."

Therefore the failure of the 'total strategy' meant going back to the drawing board. Pampallis (1991:302-305) believed that this realisation of failure contributed to the split in the National Party, resulting in the replacement of P.W. Botha with F.W. de Klerk as

state president, culminating in the popular February 2, 1990 statement. This paved the way for democratic elections to take place in South Africa in April 1994.