

THE EDUCATION CRISIS AND APARTHEID.

A paper prepared for the VII National Education Council, December, 1988,
by the National Youth Section.

The Education Crisis (EC), that ^{has} been gripping South Africa for the past few years is but an aspect of the general crisis that has become characteristic of that country. The nature of the crisis is indeed multi-causal. However, for the benefit of our paper here, we'll confine ourselves to the educational aspect of the crisis, specifically the period 1986-1988. The EC in South Africa is nothing new, at least insofar as the Black Struggle is concerned. What can be considered new in this crisis is its endemic and pervasive nature. As early as the beginning of this century black education was plagued by crises.

The Wellington Movement.

In 1920, the Wellington Protest movement was launched by Blacks in the Transkei. This Movement rejected all institutions which served as instruments of European domination. The Movement was led by Elias Wellington Buthelezi, otherwise known as Dr. Butler Hansford Wellington. His bone of contention was: the mission schools were imposing alien cultural values and ideologies on African children, thus divorcing them from their traditional beliefs and conditioning them to accept subservient positions in a European-dominated system. Wellington then launched a campaign for the establishment of schools which would be under the control of the people, not foreign agents. This campaign was short-lived. The schools set up by Wellington as an alternative to the racist schools failed to take off. The Movement collapsed. Yet, for the failures registered here, the Movement did project a fact that was to be the dominant issue in whatever EC to follow: viz, the people, in our case, the blacks, had to have a say in the education system set up for their children.

This principle was further elaborated by the African National Congress when it launched ^{the} "Resist Apartheid Campaign" in 1955, as part of the nation-wide protest against the Bantu Education Act and its provisions. To give an effective rebuff to this Act, the ANC formed what was known as the Africa Education Movement. School Clubs were formed, where children were to be offered progressive education, as compared to the inferior instruction advocated by the Act. What the ANC was doing in

effect, was to try and set up alternative schools, with an alternative curriculum that would foster progressive ideas in children. The scheme collapsed in the wake of the resultant repressive measures unleashed by the government.

Black Consciousness.

The Bantu Education Act called for the setting up of various ethnic universities. The irony was that it was precisely these universities which bred a spirit of resistance to the very ideals the Act sought to promote. Blacks felt challenged to assert their identity and pride as black people. Boycott followed boycott. In 1973, for instance, a three month long boycott ensued at the University of the Western Cape because of poor student-teacher relationships, a preponderance of white over black lecturers, oppressive rules and regulations and lack of university autonomy. As the boycott intensified, a "Peoples' Free Education Front" was launched to promote the idea of a free university bound to no state ideology. When the boycott could not be resolved, about 1,000 students walked off the campus as a mark of protest, and pledged to set up a free peoples' university. This was in July 1973.

The 1976 Upheavals.

These upheavals became the water-shed of the education crises that had accumulated to date. As the upheavals gained momentum, it became clear that the EC was an aspect of the malaise that was afflicting the entire body politic in South Africa. It became equally clear that the resolution of this crisis was inseparable from the resolution of the entire crises gripping the country: economic, political, social, racial, etc. The government tried to evade the issue by appointing commission after commission, intensifying repression, killing opponents, maiming, forcing activists into exile, etc. To date, the national crisis remains, indeed, it is worsening. Like-wise, the EC is persisting.

Twelve years after the Upheavals, the whole edifice of the Bantu Education Act is in shambles. The government is perplexed. It has run out of options. Its only solution: repression, and yet repression.

Below, we consider the specific trends this EC has assumed in the past 2 - 3 years, how the people, the Mass Democratic Movement as well as the Liberation Movement, have responded to this ongoing crises. Our conclusion is that the efforts that are now afoot, launched by the democratic

forces above, can not on their own dislodge the apartheid regime. What they can do indeed, is to make a vital contribution towards the destruction of apartheid. This observation is not merely academic. As will be shown below, the EC has been distorted by some forces inside our country to divert the essential issue facing the racist regime: the dismantling of apartheid and surrender of power to the oppressed majority.

The National Education Crisis Committee. (NECC).

The ongoing EC described above, came to a head, when in early October, 1985, the Soweto Civic Association called a meeting. The meeting was subsequently banned and some of its organisers detained. The SCA persisted however. On 13 October, a large meeting was called in Diepkloof. The meeting mandated a Parents' crisis committee (the SPCC) to arrange a meeting with the DET in order to discuss the ongoing crisis. The DET resorted to various subterfuge. The end result was that no meeting, at least a productive one, took place. The SPCC took the matter into its hands. Within 4 weeks it had organised an event of national importance, viz, the first National Consultative Conference (NCC) at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg.

In its analysis of the EC, the NCC identified the following areas, inter alia:

- Bantustan education.
- The role of teachers.
- Detention of students and parents.
- Peoples' Education: the need to develop it.

The resolution on Bantustan Education reads, inter alia:

"The Conference resolves to fight against bantustan education departments and to support teachers in their struggle against these agents of apartheid." This resolution was not incidental. The bantustans do indeed play a very crucial role in the EC: Just consider the following:

- 73% of all the "African" secondary school students are in the bantustans;
- 70% of all African schools are farm schools.
- African matric results in the bantustans dropped from 68% in 1977 to 47% in 1981. (WECTU Founding Conference, 29/9/85, from paper titled: Political Economy of Education in South Africa.):

This picture becomes dismal indeed when one compares the literacy rates of the urban and rural black populations (especially Africans). (See chart attached, No. 1). To delve deeper into this development, we will dwell a bit on just one bantustan, viz Kwa-Zulu. This is one bantustan, out of the whole lot, that has excelled itself in trying to emulate its masters. It's been doing just that in the field of education. The progressive South African journal, Works in Progress, No. 18 and 19, 1987, ran an interview with the Inkatha Youth Brigade. A striking sentence emerged from this interview, when the Inkatha Youth Brigade said: " Inkatha has a lot of power and is in a position to do a lot of things other little organisations cannot do against the state... Just what some of those "lot of things" are were reported by the New Nation on 10/2/88:

- the NECC reported that between 7,000 and 10,000 pupils in Kwa-Zulu had refused the principals' demands to register after obtaining a R2 Inkatha membership card;
- between 500 and 1,000 students were being expelled daily;
- in Claremont (a suburb of Durban), a member of the ecumenical church agency, Diakonia, said that schools were overcrowded with students flooding to what they called one of the last "liberated" areas in the province.
- the UDF Natal spokesman, Lechesa Tsenoli called on Oscar Dhlomo, the bantustan's Minister of Education and Culture to take immediate action against " principals in Kwa-Zulu schools who are blatantly black-mailing students into joining Inkatha."

We thus see that the situation has worsened.

Conference also resolved:

To call on all students to return to school on 28 January, 1986, throughout the country. The slogan: "Liberation now, education later", was changed to: " People's education for peoples' power." This was indeed the theme of the Conference.

Not the whole country responded accordingly however. While in other areas students started trickling back to classes, other places, especially the major industrial areas, were hesitant. These were Soweto, Pretoria, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. In Natal, 3 high schools were boycotted. By September, the E. Cape, 10 primary and 10 schools closed for the rest of the year due to no registration of pupils or no attendance at all.

IN Soweto, at almost all secondary schools no lessons took place. In Natal, the Lamontville High School registered low attendance. The government's response was typical: the DET transferred teachers from 33 closed schools. The NECC intervened. It reiterated its call for the government to give control of the schools to the community: "We want to resume the duty of setting syll~~abus~~es... education itself must rest in the hands of the community and boycotts will be a thing of the past."

This pattern of confrontation changed somewhat for the better in 1987, with school attendance improving. However, this trend has been adversely affected in 1988. Speaking in an article in the Indicator of South Africa, published by the University of Natal, Dr. Ken Hartshorne, a leading SA educationist, said in May this year: "The situation in black schools in urban areas remains fragile and vulnerable, despite the welcome return to school last year. Pupils and teachers at black schools are often present in the flesh, but not in spirit, because attitudes have not changed and the fundamental issues of separation, discrimination isolation and white domination have not been addressed in an effective way."

This observation was confirmed by other sources. We thus hear, for example, Mr. Andile Joas of the Democratic Teachers' Union saying, also early this year: "The education in the W. Cape was following the same pattern as in 1985. This forecast was echoed by a spokesperson of the western Cape's Students' Congress, who said: "The situation at schools was volatile and ^{anything} could happen." Indeed, there has been a spate of violent incidents in the W. Cape areas like Athlone, Bontheuwel, Elsie's River, Mitchell's Plain and Mannenburg. Unlike in 1985, this time, teachers have joined their students in making demands like: supply of text-books, removal of security forces from schools, reinstatement of dismissed teachers, etc.

Similar reports could be cited from many other parts of the country. And the government's response has always been the same: harassment and victimisation. Dr. Hartshorne in the article quoted above, concludes:

" The return to school, is achieved, not by the Department's persuasion, or pressures exerted by the government's security apparatus but by negotiated decisions taken by black student and parent bodies, with the support of educational, community and political organisations within and outside South Africa."

Yet, even the mere fact of some students returning to classes once again highlights the grave situation education in South Africa is in. A typical indicator is the matric results of the past 3 years of so. However, it would be a grievous mistake to speak of bad Black matric results over so brief a period. The whole story should be traced way back to the Bantu Education Act of 1953. A brilliant analysis of this man-made phenomenon was made by Elmon Mathonsi, in his book: Black Matriculation Results: A Mechanism of Social Control. This was originally Mathonsi's Masters of Education thesis. It was published, alas, posthumously, because he died tragically in a car accident in December, 1987. The book investigates the trend in African matric results from 1953 to 1983.

The central theme of Mathonsi's thesis is this: the DET (previously, the Department of Bantu Education) matric results are, in one way or another, manipulated to ensure inferior education standards and credentials for the African community. He argues that, to do this, the DET relied on 4 main strategies. He identifies these strategies as:

- The "class-room strategy", that is the high teacher-pupil ratios, the high drop-out rate, poorly qualified teachers and discriminatory expenditures;
- The "carelessness strategy", which refers to particular forms of carelessness when matric papers are marked. He cites here, for example, teachers unqualified in the subjects they are marking, teachers allegedly drunk during marking, friends and relatives of senior examiners being given preference as markers, and senior examiners racing through as many as 150 papers in one night;
- The "Authoritative decision strategy", which refers to the undemocratic non-representative structures of the DET which allows it to make decisions without consulting black leaders or educationists;
- The "ideological strategy", which manifests itself in the political and constitutional development in South Africa.

Viewed against the backdrop of civil unrest that has plagued black education since 1985, Mathonsi's research makes chilling reading indeed. As stated above, the black matric results of the past 3 years are a grim, if useful pointer in this regard. For better elaboration of our discussion here, we'll start from 1985. At the beginning of that year, 25,584 pupils were enrolled in standard 10 in DET schools; 24,231 registered for the senior certificate examination, but in the end, only 10,523 wrote the examinations, of whom 4,897 passed (see annexes 2 and 3). This overall pass rate represented 46,5% of those who wrote, but only 19,1% of the original standard 10 enrolment; matric passes represented 12,6% of those who wrote, but only 5,2% of the beginning of the year enrolment. In other words, only 1 out of every 5 pupils of the original enrolment passed standard 10 (senior certificate), and only 1 out of every 20 added up with a matric pass (exemption). (This data is taken from Dr. K Hartshorne's article "African Matric Results: THE Disintegration of Urban Education," which appeared in the Indicator SA, Spring edition 1986).

Scrutinising the figures for the bantustans, as shown in the above annexes, the situation is not that better, either. Indeed, in annexe 3, for example, we note that the national enrolment was 107,022, of which 39,645 passed, i.e. 46,4% of those who wrote and 37,0% of the original enrolment.

The comparative figures for whites for the same year, were:

Candidates: 57,964.

Total passes: 53,229.

Proportion: 91,8%.

(Source: INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS SURVEY, 1986, Part 2).

The results for 1986 were as follows:

	African	White.
Candidates:	89,235	64,349.
Total passed:	46,397.	59,864.
Proportion:	52,0%	93,0%.

(Source: same as above.).

What are the implications of this staggering wastage of human resources? An "education vacuum" will result not only in the townships, as Dr. Hartshorne argues, but in the homelands as well. And indeed, Mthonsi's thesis puts it loud and clear: racist education will have achieved its objective, viz, the ensuring of the perpetuation of racist rule over a servile half-educated majority.

One of the Conference resolutions demanded the unbanning of COSAS, as well as the immediate release of all students, teachers and parents detained then. In October 1986, the DPSC published figures which showed that about 25% of the people detained under the emergency regulations were students. COSAS was banned early in 1986. Yet, notwithstanding all this harassment, the youth and students of our country rose up to the challenge. In March, 1987, in Cape Town, unbeknown to the regime, 250 youths' delegates and observers launched the S A Youth Congress SAYCO, with an initial membership of 500,000, scattered over over 9 regions:

- South and eastern Transvaal.

- Orange Free State.

- Natal.

- Northern Cape.

- Eastern Cape.

- Border.

.- South and Western Cape.

SAYCO's legal existence lasted until February this year, when it was restricted with 17 other organisations. Yet within these 11 months when it had access to legal space, SAYCO managed, besides giving direction to the student youth at this critical moment, to:

- help in the launching of the "Save the Patriots" campaign (i.e the Sharpeville 6), in August last year;
- participate in the successful May 5-6 stayaways last year protesting against the whites-only election;
- participate in campaigns for the lifting of the State of Emergency;
- " " " " unbanning of the ANC;
- " " Living Wage Campaign of COSATU.
- formed the Young Pioneers organisation, which catered for youngsters of ages between 6 and 15.

As a spokesperson of SAYCO said soon after the restrictions were announced: "Our preparation, our birth and our growth are taking place under extremely difficult conditions, very hostile to our objectives. But we manage to keep ourselves together." This resilience of spirit was amply demonstrated by, e.g. the formation of yet another student organisation on June 15 this year- Southern Transvaal Students' Congress (STRASCO). STRASCO states that its primary task is to contribute to the provision of a programme for the mobilisation of the school-based youth movement. One can only concur in the Weekly Mail's view that: "STRASCO's launch is one of many indicators of the persistence of the black education crisis and widespread militancy among school-age youngsters."

If the students have been one of the many indicators of the persistence of the black EC, the other is without doubt the teachers. Teachers have of course played a crucial, if supportive role in the students' struggles, as indeed in the national liberation struggle as a whole. Yet, it is also a fact that teachers as a professional stratum in our society, have been quite passive. The reasons are not far to seek. Teachers are prohibited by the government from participating in politics. As recently as June 6 this year, the Citizen reported: "The Minister of Manpower is considering introducing legislation which would make it clear once and for all that teachers are not allowed to become members of trade unions." On the other hand, the same paper quoted the Minister of National Education as saying: "Unionism will detract from the professionalism of teachers and I am sure that the overwhelming majority of teachers were against the idea." These statements clearly show that not only are teachers prohibited from participating individually in politics, but they are proscribed from coming together to express their views and grievances like any other workers' collective.

It was precisely this imposed apoliticalness that the NECC diagnosed as the core of the teaching profession's passivity. It was pointless to talk of resolving the EC if the role of teachers was not going to be crucial. The Conference therefore, gave considerable attention to the role of teachers in the current crisis. Some of the tasks facing teachers, according to the relevant resolution, are:

- Teachers must work for teacher unity;
- Teachers should become involved in community struggles;
- Teachers should help students in the formation of SRCs;
- Teachers should work closely with students and parents in dealing with

the EC. Etc, etc.

In 1987, Jay Naidoo, COSATU's secretary-general, addressed the annual general meeting of Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU). The core of Naidoo's address was:

- Every sector of the community was organising itself across the nation: youth, students, women and workers. But not the teachers.
- There's a proliferation of progressive teachers' organisations in South Africa to-day, but they exist as separate (sometimes antagonistic) entities,
- Teachers have yet to learn the lessons of unity from the shop floor.
- COSATU was strongly urging WECTU to commit itself to the ideal of a single, national teachers' union.
- COSATU would willingly assist wherever possible with the realization of this goal.

COSATU's appeal was given fuller and broader significance at the historic conference on teachers' unity in South Africa, held in Harare in April this year, where the ANC played a leading role. Further progress was made in this direction at the Cape Teachers' Professional Association conference in July this year, when it adopted the Freedom Charter. This move brought closer the possibility of the formation of a national teachers' union. This conference brought together a number of teachers' associations, including WECTU. Nevertheless, even on the modest basis of forming themselves as associations or unions, teachers have already contributed immensely to the resolution of the EC, remote as the final resolution is. The following may be noted:

- Teachers have played and continue to play a leading role in the People's Education projects;
- They are busy in student counselling and the formation of Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSA's);
- They have confronted the state, sometimes successfully, in defending their colleagues against government harassment. We may mention here the land-mark victory scored by WECTU when it won a court case that decided against the forcible transfer of teachers in the Western Cape, last year.

Early this year, the National Education Union of South Africa convened a press conference in Johannesburg, where it strongly condemned the DET for trying to render progressive teachers docile and submissive. It revealed that the DET, in its campaign was:

- harassing teachers and students;
- retrenching teachers and freezing their posts;
- adamant in refusing to repair school buildings;
- continuing to suppress democratic structures like the SRCs and PTSA's;

On the other hand, it should be noted that NEUSA scored a major last year when it negotiated with the Mabuza government to win the reinstatement and demands of striking KaNgwane teachers.

Yet much remains to be done. The NECC puts the whole issue succinctly when it states: "The priority of our national democratic struggle at the present juncture is still to mobilise and to organise our people in a broad front against the apartheid state. Such mobilisation and organisation is currently evolving on a sectoral basis - workers, youth, women, etc., - and teachers, as a key sector of our struggle, need to take this strategy seriously."

Peoples' Education

Without doubt, the most prominent and ongoing result of the EC is the birth and development of the concept of People's Education (PE). It is not the aim of this paper to explore in detail the various ramifications of PE: Our task here will be to focus on this concept insofar as it relates to our discussion here, viz the EC. However, it should be borne in mind that this concept is not entirely new. We have noted above how the ANC in the early 50's set up alternative forms of schooling to counter the introduction of Bantu Education. We saw how these efforts were frustrated by the government. However, the ideal lived on. After the 1976 Upheavals, the ANC was flooded by young people who wanted to further their education. Although the ANC was able to find placement for these youngsters, the crucial challenge remained: Was the ANC going to do something about the crying demand to find an alternative educational curriculum to the inhuman Bantu Education system, that had already done so much damage?

The answer was Somafco. Comrades, this education council meeting is convened specifically to deal with the development of Somafco. Next year we will be marking the 10th anniversary of its foundation. The success that this school has become is there for every one to see. We won't go into that here. Instead we will discuss, in brief, the content of the curriculum taught there.

This curriculum is based on the following principles of the Freedom Charter; " The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace." Somafco has produced the first text-book on peoples' history. Somafco has innovated on various aspects of instruction, in the search for a peoples' curriculum. The search continues. Indeed, it is these efforts done in Mazimbu that have greatly helped our people at home to make their own searches in peoples' curriculum. Nevertheless, the challenges ahead are quite formidable. The ANC does not know all the answers. We have to work together with our people inside the country to ensure that when apartheid does finally collapse, we should be ready with alternatives to the racist education system.

The National Consultative Conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1985 and the subsequent conference that took place in Durban in 1986, dealt at length on the concept of PE. When one analyses the resolutions that emerged from these conferences, the following salient points emerge regarding PE:

1) Rejection of apartheid education.

PE recognises apartheid education as an inseparable aspect of the apartheid state. As Father Mkhathshwa said: " Education and other structures of society, whether economic, political or social structures as a whole, are completely intertwined and therefore it is almost ridiculous to wage a struggle for democratic education and ignore the forces that are at work in the society."

2) The goal of a non-racial democratic future.

ONE OF THE primary aims of PE is that it should enable the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepare them for participation in a non-racial democratic system. This is the political purpose.

3). Control and empowerment.

The call for "People's Education for People's Power" is in essence a call for an education system which would enable people to have control over their own lives. The black people have been denied their right to self-determination, to control their own country. People's Power would restore the right.

4) The values instilled: Collectivity and Creativity.

According to one of the resolutions, PE will be education that :
" eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis."

5) The importance of organisation.

The resolutions called for an education that " allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which enable them to enhance the struggle for People's Power in all its forms."

6) United Action.

The importance of united action by parents and students was stressed at the conference. Thus, not only students and teachers were to be involved, but parents and the community in ^{which} the education institution is based.

7) Beyond the schools.

By stressing parental and community involvement in education, the idea was promoted that education is not solely an activity which takes place in schools but one which affects all people in all spheres of life.

PE has led a very tumultuous life from its very inception, precisely because of its progressive content. As recent as July this year, the Minister Of Education and Development Aid, said: " The Department of Education and Training would not tolerate any educational content with a revolutionary element in its schools." He added: " People's Education was being used by militants to turn education into a revolutionary weapon. The DET had already acted against teachers and headmasters involved in people's education, as well as against bodies from outside the schools facilities for these purposes." Thus, PE is anathema to the government.

Another serious blow to the development of PE was the banning of the NECC early this year. Indeed, the NECC had been the prime mover behind most PE projects.

Yet, these drawbacks, notwithstanding, PE has taken root in our country and some successes have ^{been} scored. We may mention here the following:

- the voluminous, pioneering work done at the Universities of Western Cape and Wits.
- the various debates and discussions that have sprung all over the country around PE.
- the politicising effect of PE on the people, especially in history and political economy.

We noted above that some forces inside the country have sought to usurp the EC for their own reactionary purposes. For the sake of brevity, we'll quote only two instances here, viz: Inkatha and Mobil Oil.

Inkatha and PE.

Inkatha has propounded a concept called "Ubuntu-Botho". We won't go into the philosophical underpinnings of this spurious concept.

Suffice to note that it is supposed to uphold traditional African values, or as it is said sometimes, the "Africanness" of the African people. In the Kwa-Zulu bantustan, the Department of Education and Culture, has laid down policy that all schools under its jurisdiction must teach "Ubuntu-Botho" as a subject from the first year to matric.

This also applies to Colleges of Education.

This information is obtained from Praisley Mdluli's article that appeared in the journal, Transformation, No. 5, 1987. It makes interesting reading, this article.. It is titled "Ubuntu-Botho": Inkatha's people's education."

According to this concept, the history of the liberation struggle in our country, during this century, centres around the ANC. But be careful, there's a catch here. According to this version, only those leaders of the ANC who came from Natal are mentioned. The Makgathos and the Xumas are not mentioned to the young minds.

According to "UBUNTU- BOTHO"s version, the history of the ANC ends in 1960, when it was banned. After this, the only mention of the ANC is couched in terms like: "The ANC-in-Exile", or "Tambo's ANC". Nothing is said about the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Indeed, the children are told that the armed struggle is counter-productive, it will only bring more suffering. Similarly, the UDF and COSATU don't exist, according to this interpretation of our history. Mdluli makes a strong case that this reactionary "people's history" is bound to cause serious problems for the democratic forces fighting apartheid in SA.

Mobile Oil.

On the other end of the spectrum of reaction, stands the likes of the Mobil Education Trust, a brain-child of the US transnational giant, Mobil Oil. The Trust was established in 1986. According to the booklet issued by this body, "The basic philosophy of the Trust is to support or promote initiatives that will impact on the current structures of SA society and help SA develop into a non-racial, democratic society based on the principle of freedom of association." And also, "The Trust and its subsidiaries are not party political bodies and will not take nor will activities imply a taking of any party political position." The Trust's philosophy was further elaborated by one of its senior employees in a recent interview. This was Jane Hofmeyer, Education Consultant to the Trust. She said, among other things: "I anticipate that the influence of People's Education and alternative education will mean that many private sector programmes will possibly even have to introduce aspects of People's Education that the community wants." Hofmeyer goes on to say: "The private sector must pressure Government to bring about structural changes in education, the political systems and the economy that will enable the reconstruction of the Black education system." And also: "The demand for alternative education and especially people's education will continue and so will the hostility towards capitalism and the socialist orientation among Black pupils." And so the business sector and the government must intervene and give PE another direction, lest it leads Black pupils to socialist ideas.

One would like to conclude this paper by quoting from Zwelakhe Sisulu's address at the 2nd National Consultative Conference held in Durban 2 years ago. He said: "The struggle for PE can only finally be won when we have won the struggle for people's power. We are facing a vicious and desperate enemy, an enemy which wants at all costs to maintain a system of racist domination and exploitation that includes Bantu Education. Any gains we make are only finally guaranteed when that enemy is finally defeated once and for all." Indeed, only then will we see the end of the education crisis now plaguing our country.

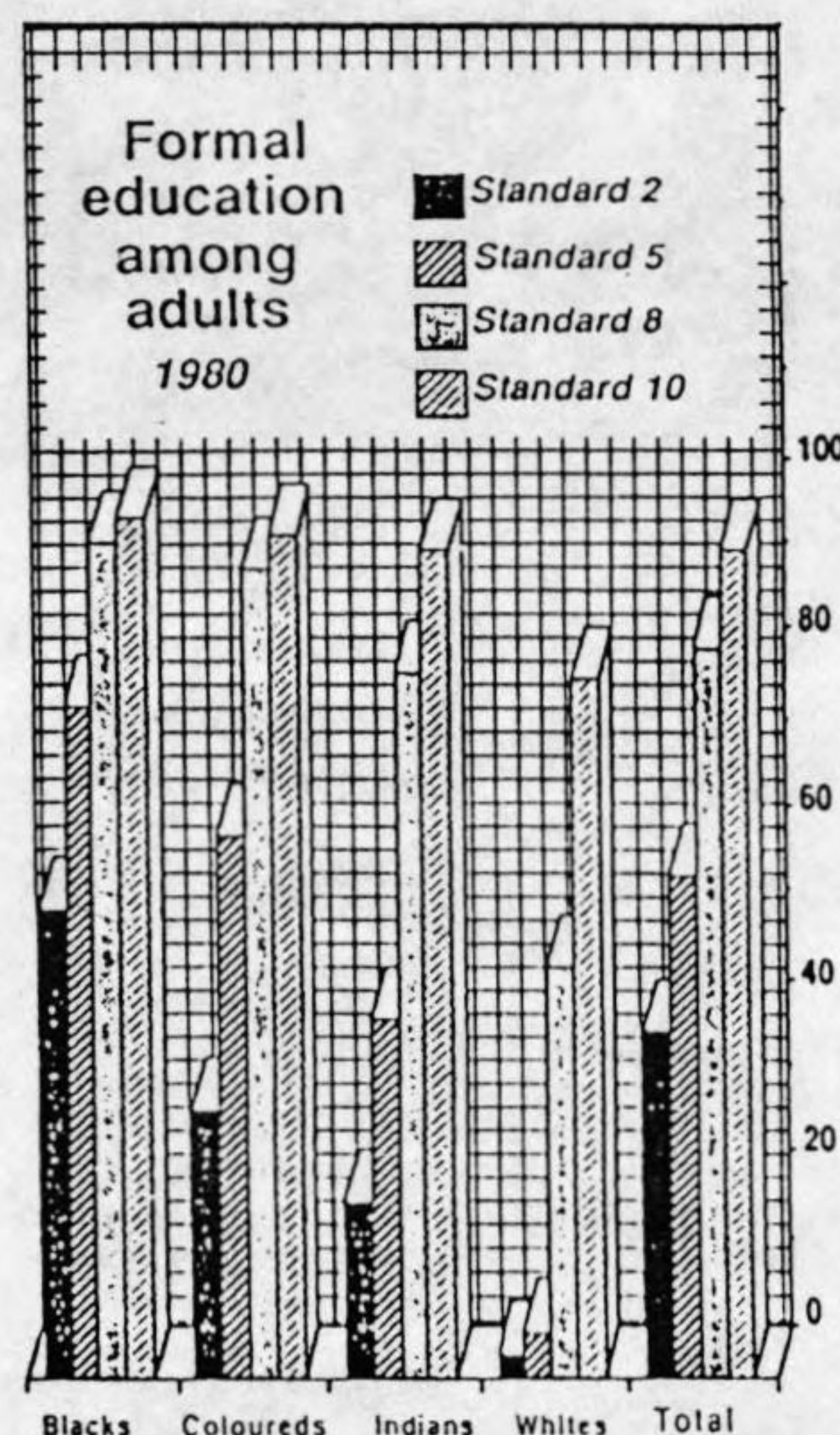
..... MAKHAYA MOSIA, Lusaka.

Illiteracy in South Africa

There are substantial variations in literacy levels in South Africa, which depend not only on race and age but also on sex and on level of urbanisation. People who are older, rural dwellers and female are less likely to be literate regardless of race. The illiteracy of older Indian women is particularly pronounced when compared to that of younger Indian women and to Indian men.

It will be seen from the figures that as the demographic profile of South Africa changes i.e. as SA becomes more urbanised, and as the younger, more literate sectors of the population mature, the literacy rate will improve.

In calculating the extent of illiteracy amongst adult South Africans we have to face the problem of defining "literate". The estimates below were made by C.S. Ellis of the HSRC's Institute for Educational Research. The calculations are based on the assumption that an individual who has completed standard three is literate and, conversely, an individual who has not completed standard three is illiterate. This definition is, as Ellis points out, problematic as factors like the availability of textbooks and stationery, the standard of teaching, the actual number of hours spent in school and the physical condition of scholars influence the adequacy of spending this amount of time becoming literate. Below we present tables of literacy rates as determined by



Highest level of literacy attained as a percentage of population. Standard 2 is considered the minimum level of literacy required to qualify as 'literate'.

ANNEXE NO 1.

Literacy profile of Whites.

Age Group	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
20-24					
Total	350 775	30 918	189 044	192 649	381 693
% Literate	99.04	97.88	98.90	98.99	98.95
25-34					
Total	649 249	732 813	359 651	363 411	723 062
% Literate	98.98	98.23	98.97	98.84	98.91
35-54					
Total	953 031	122 972	538 435	537 568	1 076 003
% Literate	98.75	98.32	98.75	98.65	98.70
55-64					
Total	309 301	43 613	166 932	185 982	352 914
% Literate	98.41	98.16	98.51	98.25	98.38
65 +					
Total	335 807	39 422	152 230	222 999	375 229
% Literate	96.09	95.94	96.54	95.75	96.07
Grand Total	2 598 163	310 738	1 406 292	1 502 609	2 908 901
% Literate	98.56	97.93	98.56	98.26	98.41

Literacy Profile of Indians.

Age Group	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
20-24					
Total	76 260	5 153	39 797	41 616	81 413
% Literate	97.66	94.02	97.87	97.02	97.43
25-34					
Total	129 111	7 853	66 176	70 788	136 964
% Literate	95.93	89.65	97.43	93.83	95.57
35-54					
Total	162 702	11 209	85 806	88 105	173 911
% Literate	83.78	70.63	92.81	73.30	82.93
55-64					
Total	35 300	2 730	18 220	19 810	38 030
% Literate	57.54	41.06	78.34	36.13	56.35
65 +					
Total	20 913	1 607	10 759	11 761	22 520
% Literate	37.43	22.65	56.26	18.18	36.37
Grand Total	424 286	28 552	220 758	232 080	452 838
% Literate	77.56	71.56	82.12	77.96	77.91

Literacy Profile of Coloureds.

Age Group	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
20-24					
Total	240 451	67 259	147 404	160 306	307 710
% Literate	90.68	59.25	83.25	84.32	83.81
25-34					
Total	353 030	96 706	213 921	235 815	449 736
% Literate	87.64	50.82	79.16	80.23	79.72
35-54					
Total	389 551	107 835	237 562	259 824	497 386
% Literate	80.17	38.03	70.30	71.71	71.04
55-64					
Total	94 989	25 047	55 409	64 627	120 035
% Literate	67.28	27.01	57.91	59.71	58.88
65 +					
Total	74 686	21 437	40 653	55 470	96 123
% Literate	47.12	16.80	38.32	41.85	40.36
Grand Total	1 152 707	318 284	694 949	776 042	1 470 991
% Literate	81.45	44.10	72.91	73.77	73.37

Literacy Profile of Africans.

Age Group	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
20-24					
Total	709 596	845 228	755 561	799 263	1 554 824
% Literate	84.14	60.49	71.96	70.65	71.29
25-34					
Total	1 207 221	1 179 479	1 229 063	1 157 637	2 386 600
% Literate	77.93	47.57	64.40	61.36	62.93
35-54					
Total	1 295 025	1 331 262	1 342 712	1 283 575	2 626 287
% Literate	65.97	29.81	49.64	45.56	47.65
55-64					
Total	274 821	377 245	299 538	352 528	652 066
% Literate	47.54	16.09	32.55	26.61	29.34
65 +					
Total	198 384	404 060	255 224	347 220	602 444
% Literate	29.89	9.27	18.62	14.17	16.06
Grand Total	3 881 998	3 940 223	3 881 998	3 940 223	7 822 221
% Literate	53.05				

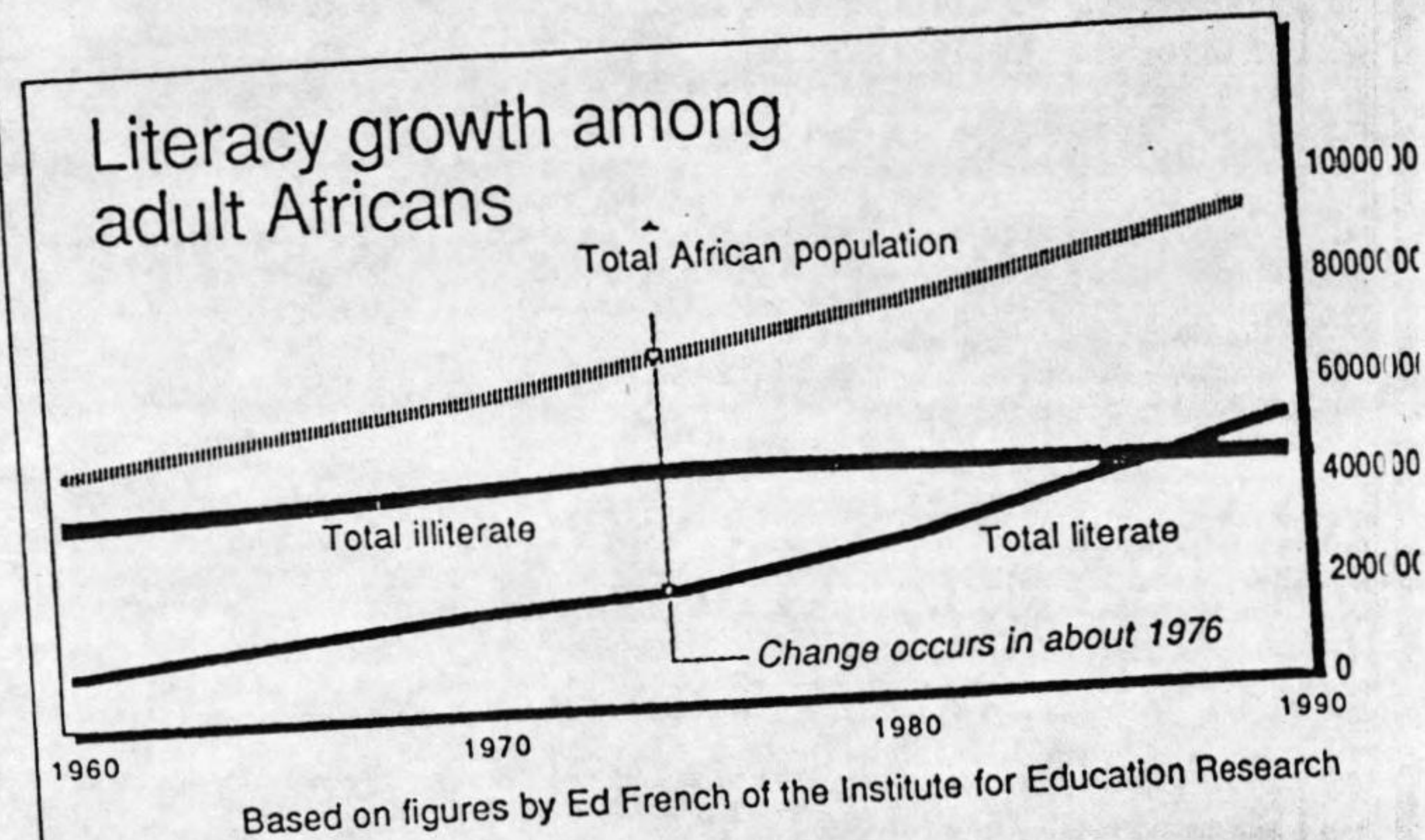
SUMMATION:

	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Total pop.	7 860 203	4 794 748	6 203 997	6 450 954	12 654 951
# Literate	6 442 000	2 033 397	4 242 988	4 232 409	8 475 397
% Literate	81.95	42.40	68.39	65.60	66.97

* The figures exclude those who failed to specify their education achievements in the census.

(Source: C.S. Eills of HSRC's Institute for Educational Research. Work in progress.)

Despite the improving literacy rate of South Africans as a whole the number of illiterate adults continues to increase as the expansion of literacy has not been sufficient to outstrip the growth of the population. The graph below illustrates this tendency.



AFRICAN MATRIC RESULTS

The Disintegration of Urban Education

By Dr Ken Hartshorne, leading educationist and former member of the De Lange Commission

In his annual overview of African matriculation results for Indicator SA, Dr Ken Hartshorne warns of the possibility of an 'education vacuum' developing in many urban townships, and suggests possible alternatives.

DET is losing any authority to influence the education crisis in many urban townships

The recent official closure of 33 African schools, many of them high schools, brought a new element of desperation into the rapidly deteriorating relations between the Department of Education and Training (DET), and its teachers and pupils. The situation had already been exacerbated by the introduction of a security apparatus into black schools in July, and the detention of the secretary-general of the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA), who has since been released. The subsequent closure of schools indicates that the security control measures have not in fact succeeded, and that DET is losing any authority to influence the education crisis in many urban townships. Against a backdrop of endemic civil

unrest, many urban African schools have become 'no go' areas for departmental officials. With the closures, it is probable that DET policy has stepped onto a slippery slope which can lead only to the shut-down of more schools. Responsible estimates suggest that about 250 000 African pupils who enrolled at the beginning of 1986 were out of school by the final term.

High Attrition Rate

At the standard ten level the position is likely to be even worse than in 1985. At the beginning of that year 25 584 pupils were enrolled in standard ten classes in DET schools; 24 231 registered for the senior certificate examination, but in the end only

URBA

Table 1

AFRICAN MATRIC RESULTS, UPDATE 1984/85

	Department of Education & Training		'Self-governing' Homelands		'Independent' Homelands (TBVC)		NATIONAL TOTALS	
1984 (revised data)								
CANDIDATES	18 146 ¹		38 965 ¹		29 081 ¹		86 192	
PASSES: Matriculation	2 154	11,9%	3 596	9,2%	3 977	13,7%	9 727	11,2%
PASSES: Senior Certificate	6 932	38,2%	13 605	34,9%	11 684	40,2%	32 221	37,4%
TOTAL PASSES	9 086	50,1%	17 201	44,1%	15 661	53,9%	41 948	48,7%
1985 (provisional data)								
CANDIDATES	10 523 ¹		43 502 ²		31 273 ²		85 298	
PASSES: Matriculation	1 327	12,6%	4 329	9,9%	4 543	14,5%	10 199	11,9%
PASSES: Senior Certificate	3 570	33,9%	14 695	33,8%	11 181	35,7%	29 446	34,5%
TOTAL PASSES	4 897	46,5%	19 024	43,7%	15 724	50,2%	39 645	46,4%

NOTES ON SOURCES:

- 1 Data from DET Annual Report: p335. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1985.
- 2 Data from Education and Manpower Production, No6: p14. Research Institute for Education Planning, UOFS, 1985.
- 3 Data from Hansard 1986, Parliamentary Questions: Col 1276.

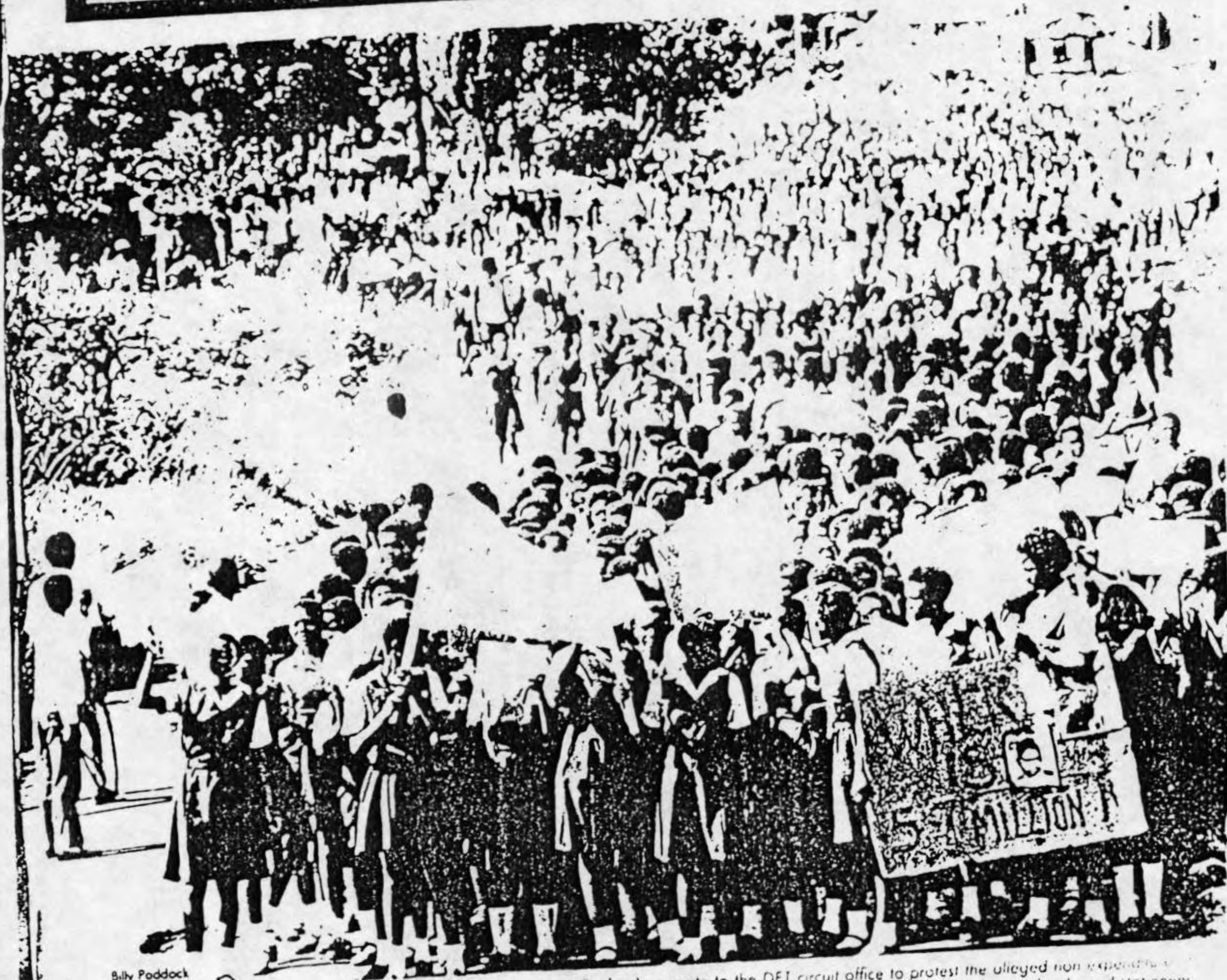
ERRATUM: See Indicator SA Urban Monitor, Vol 3 No 3, Table 1, p19.

Data for Independent Homelands and Self-governing Homelands were transposed - headings of columns should be interchanged.

Table 2

SENIOR CERTIFICATE/MATRICULATION 1985

DEPARTMENT	Std 10 Enrolment March 1985	Wrote Examination	Passed Matriculation		Passed Senior Certificate		TOTAL PASSES		
			No	%	No	%	No	%	As % of Enrolment
Education and Training (DET)	25 584	10 523	1 327	12,6%	3 570	33,9%	4 897	46,5	19,1
Transkei	13 279	12 853	1 440	11,2%	3 709	28,8%	5 149	40,0	38,8
Bophuthatswana	11 169	10 498	1 600	15,2%	4 409	42,0%	6 009	57,2	53,8
Venda	4 953	4 668	1 250	26,8%	2 153	46,2%	3 405	73,0	68,7
Ciskei	5 226	3 254	253	8,1%	908	27,9%	1 161	36,0	22,2
Gazankulu	4 617	4 323	578	13,4%	1 872	43,3%	2 450	56,7	53,1
Katigwane	1 974	1 671	207	12,4%	747	44,7%	954	57,1	48,3
KwaNdebele	1 818	1 681	140	8,3%	592	35,2%	732	43,5	40,3
KwaZulu	20 991	19 592	1 579	8,0%	5 570	28,4%	7 149	36,4	34,9
Lobowa	15 578	14 479	1 605	11,1%	5 328	36,8%	6 933	47,9	44,5
OwaQwa	1 833	1 756	220	12,5%	586	33,4%	806	45,9	44,0
TOTALS	107 022	85 298	10 199	11,9%	29 446	34,5%	39 645	46,4	37,0



Billy Paddock

February 1986: Pupils march through KwaMashu (near Durban) en route to the DET circuit office to protest the alleged non expenditure of R5,7m set aside for text books and stationery.