

THE STAR - 15 DEC. 1984

## Comparison shows matric papers 'fair and equal'

— by —  
Susan Fleming

Contrary to popular opinion, black matriculation papers were of a "basically" equal standard compared with those written by white students. They were also fair, according to a leading Johannesburg educationist.

At the request of *The Star*, Dr Isaac Kriel, principal of Damelin College, and his senior staff members compared the matriculation standards of the Transvaal Education Department (TED) and the Department of National Education (DNE), which sets examinations for black pupils.

In the study, Dr Kriel looked at five subjects, English second language, geography, history, mathematics and biology.

"From looking at these papers I concluded that the black matriculation papers were not inferior to the TED," he said.

Although the examination papers set by the two departments were basically equal, there were differences in some papers, said Dr Kriel.

For example, the DNE's higher grade mathematics algebra paper was a lot simpler than the TED's and, according to Dr Kriel, only one question, worth two percent of the total mark, required any insight.

But some DNE papers, such as the geography theory, were more demanding than their TED counterparts.

"The DNE geography paper covers the syllabus thoroughly and there were sufficient interpretative questions for the better pupils. The top candidate would find the DNE paper more challenging and interesting than the TED paper."

Dr Kriel criticised the DNE for requiring black pupils to cover 10 themes in one history paper and said the TED's history requirements were far more satisfactory.

"The DNE paper requires candidates to dispose of 10 major themes in a single 3-hour paper whereas TED pupils have two separate papers.

"Spreading the history syllabus over two separate examinations is preferable as the candidates have greater scope to indicate their knowledge."

The history papers from both departments contained heavy political undertones.

For example in both the DNE and TED history papers, questions on separate development were phrased in such a way that only the positive aspects of the scheme had to be examined.

Dr Kriel pointed out that the DNE made a far greater distinction between higher and standard grade papers.

"The TED's move to narrowing the gap between higher and standard grade is not a good one. The higher grade candidate is usually seeking university entrance, while the standard grade candidate is not."



# 'As bad as Robben Island'

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

THE STAR  
15 DEC. 1984

Life for three United Democratic Front leaders holed up in the British Consulate in Durban was like being on Robben Island, says Mr Billy Nair, the only man to walk away free from the building this week.

Mr Nair spoke to *The Star* yesterday of the three months he and two other UDF men, Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Paul David, spent in a tiny room in the consulate.

"It was as horrendous as being in jail, the only difference was that it achieved something concrete," he said.

Both Mr Gumede and Mr Davis were arrested when they left the consulate and were charged with high treason.

"We did what we did to focus world attention on detention without trial and to force the South African Government to withdraw section 28 detention orders against us. We achieved both objectives," Mr Nair said.

Billy Nair knows what he's talking about when he speaks of Robben Island — he spent the past 20 years of his life on the island after being convicted in 1964 of sabotage, a charge he still denies.

He told of increasing pressure from the British Government to force the three men out of the building and into the arms of the Security Police.

"We exposed the *mala fides* of the South African Government when three of the original six men who sought refuge in the consulate walked out, and were instantly detained.

"British officials said they did not believe the Security Police would arrest us in or around the building if we left. After discussions among ourselves we decided to test whether they were right, and three men left.

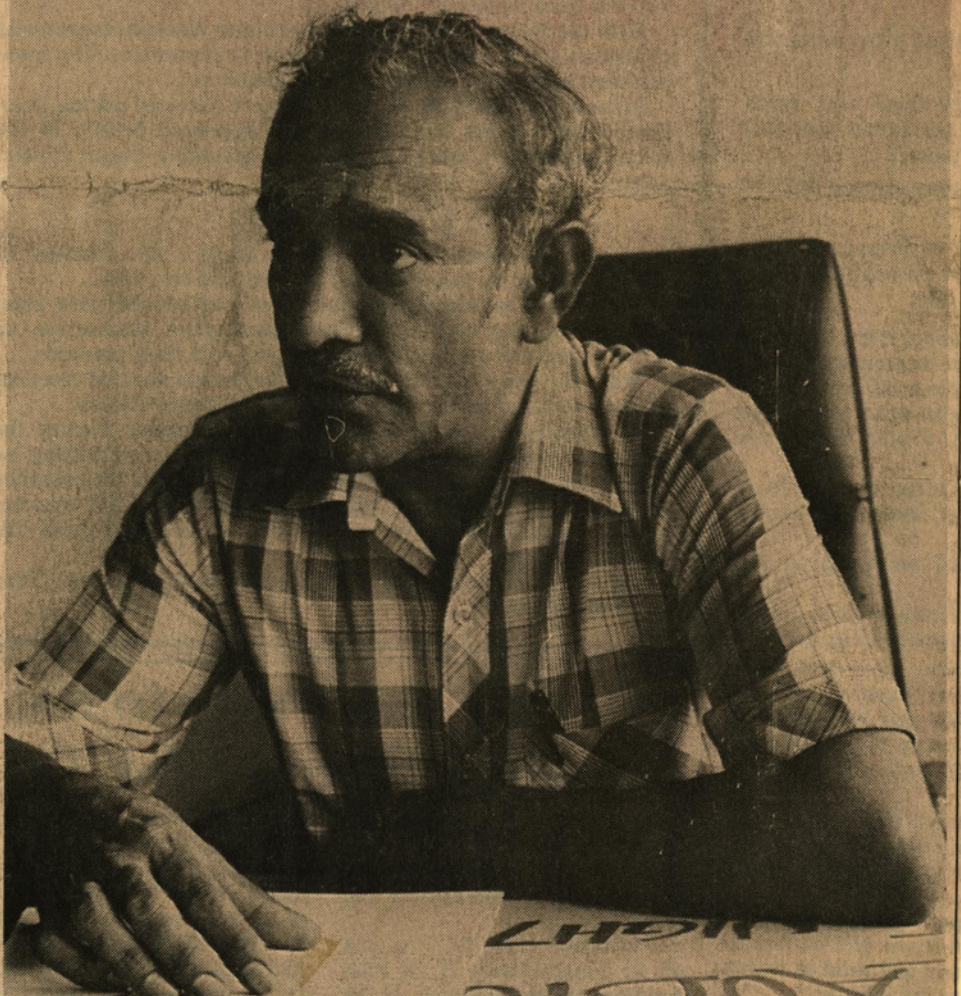
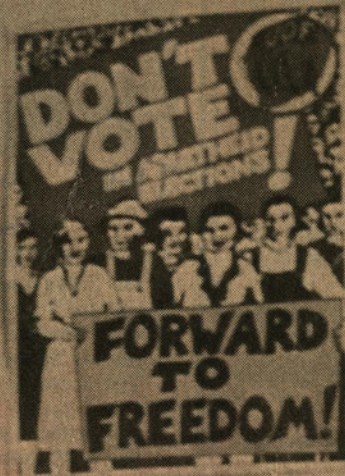
"We also wanted to expose the double-dealing of the South African Government which did not send the Coventry arms smugglers back to Britain to face trial because, they said, the British Government was hiding us.

"Three of us left but the South Africans still did not return, which exposed the lie," Mr Nair said.

"To link the two cases was absurd. The four South Africans were facing criminal charges while we faced detention without trial."

He said the British Government had made life increasingly difficult for the UDF men. The consulate staff was under orders not to provide anything for the men but the basics.

"They provided a portable chemical toilet, which we tried not to use too much, and allowed us the use of two small sinks at the end of a passage where we could clean ourselves every night. We were not allowed to use this facility during the day."



Mr Billy Nair, seated under a United Democratic Front poster, yesterday talked about his self-imposed ordeal in the British Consulate in Durban.

Picture: Sarel van den Berg.

## FAMILY SUPPORT

The food for the men came from their families and supporters on the outside. The men slept on the floor.

Mr Nair denied that the presence of the men in the building necessarily disrupted the normal functioning of the consulate.

"The office we occupied was a small reception area with seven chairs, a carpet, two tables and some book-

shelves. All the other offices of the consulate could have functioned normally. I think that by claiming we were disrupting the consulate's routine, the British Government hoped to add even more pressure," Mr Nair said.

"It was not necessary to transfer all their activities to Johannesburg."



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He said the consulate staff were, in general, friendly and that the three men had cordial relations with them.

"There were allegations that we were fugitives from justice and should either come out or the British should throw us out. This is absolute nonsense, we were seeking refuge from detention without trial and the instant the Government withdrew our detention orders we left the consulate."

He said the men knew it would not be a pleasure to live in the consulate.

"I think we expected most of what happened to us, but we were determined to sit it out and make our point against detention without trial — and we succeeded in doing that very well," Mr Nair said.

"We forced the Government to withdraw the orders, that's what we set out to do."



## Steve Nkatlo elected Mayor of Dobsonville

By Revelation Ntola

Mr Steve Nkatlo, who has featured in civic politics for 12 years, has been elected the new Mayor of Dobsonville.

He succeeds Mr Don Mmesi, a local businessman whose house and shop were petrol-bombed two months ago.

Another veteran civic leader, Mr Freddie Mohajane, who is a leading unionist, was elected Deputy Mayor — a position previously held by Mr Nkatlo.

Mr Isaac Mashao, a local headmaster, was elected to the management committee.

Mr Steve Kgame, a former journalist, retained his position as chairman of the management committee.

In his maiden speech, the new Mayor said he was willing to meet representatives of any "anti-establishment" organisations to discuss the future of Dobsonville.

"I am approaching my new position with an open mind and a willingness to talk to anybody, at any time, and anywhere," said Mr Nkatlo.

He was aware Dobsonville consisted of people of different shades of opinion and that it was vital for the council to be willing to accommodate every view.

"We all need each other, and together we can achieve a lot without necessarily entering into a battle about who is wrong and who is right," said Mr Nkatlo.

He pointed out that there was a critical housing shortage in Dobsonville and that the building of more sub-economic houses would be his first priority.

"It is my dream that every person in Dobsonville will eventually have a house, and that living conditions in the township will improve radically."

Mr Nkatlo said he would try his best not to increase rents and tariffs.

"It would be unfair to impose more taxes on our people, especially in the present economic climate."



● Regina Mundi gathering outlawed

● Prohibition in Jo'burg, Krugersdorp

# UDF meetings banned

THE STAR - 15 DEC 1984

## Staff Reporter

Weekend meetings of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and organisations supporting its aims have been banned in the Johannesburg and Krugersdorp magisterial areas.

The bannings were announced on radio and television yesterday evening.

The ban affects a UDF meeting which was to have taken place on Sunday at Regina Mundi Catholic Church, in Soweto. Dr Allen Boesak was to have spoken at the gathering.

The banning of Johannesburg meetings was an extension of an earlier ban imposed on a protest meeting organised by the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) on Thursday night in Fordsburg.

## Hurried switch

It was banned by the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr George Schoeman.

The meeting was hurriedly switched to Laudium in Pretoria, where it drew about 700 people.

Speakers included the only free man of the Durban Six, Mr Billy Nair of the Natal Indian Congress, and two men released from detention on Monday, Mr Terror Lekota, and TIC vice-president Dr R A M Salojee.

The Johannesburg ban is effective until 8 am on Monday and in Krugersdorp until 6 pm on Sunday.

UDF officials were not available last night to comment on the ban imposed on their meetings.



# Bleak future for black schooling

by  
Susan Fleming

While this year's black matriculation papers have been labelled "equal and fair" by a prominent educationist, the quality of black education is slipping.

Despite vigorous attempts by the Department of Education and Training to improve the quality of education, the downward trend in black matric results has not been halted and the failure rate last year was even higher than in 1982.

In a recent article in *Indicator South Africa*, a publication issued by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, former director of education planning at the DET and member of the De Lange Commission, Dr Ken Hartshorne, said the 1983 matric results showed that black education had deteriorated further and its quality "put at an even greater risk".

In 1978, 76 percent of black Standard 10 candidates had passed their examinations. By 1982, this figure had dropped to 50,8 percent and in 1983 the situation deteriorated further and only 48,3 percent of the candidates passed.

Of the 4 407 successful candidates last year, 59,5 percent achieved an E aggregate; 35,4 percent a D; 4,6 percent a C; 0,5 percent a B and one candidate, from Gazankulu, had an A-aggregate symbol.

Last year 92,8 percent of white candidates passed their examinations while 86,7 percent of Indians and 71,3 percent of coloured candidates passed.

This marked sag in quality and standards in black education is shown by the fact that while one out of every two white and Indian pupils who passed gained matriculation exemption in 1983, only one out of five coloured and black pupils achieved the same standard.

In 1978, 33 percent of black

Standard 10 pupils achieved matriculation exemptions and by 1982 the figure had dropped to 10,5 percent. Last year 9,9 percent — the lowest percentage in more than 20 years — gained matriculation exemptions.

Dr Hartshorne attributed this drop in quality and standards to a "crisis in the teaching force".

This crisis, he said was brought on by the "explosion"

of pupils in senior secondary school classes.

The poor competency of both teachers and pupils in English, now the medium of instruction at secondary schools, has also contributed to the deterioration of black education, he said.

This year's matric results could be more seriously affected than in previous years because of widespread boycotts and dissatisfaction by black pupils about the quality of edu-

cation.

Because of the lack of legal channels of expression, the schools have been used by pupils to express discontent.

The education situation is made even more volatile by the discrepancy in per capita expenditure on pupils from different racial groups. Although the DET's budget has grown by more than 2 000 percent since 1972, this was not enough to decrease the gap in per capita ex-

penditure.

The shortage of teachers and the low level of qualifications add fuel to the fire and about 52,5 percent of the teachers in black schools do not have matriculation certificates.

These low qualifications have ironically resulted in less being spent on black education than on white — five times more is spent on a white pupil than his black counterpart.

In an interview with *The Star* a few months ago, the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said this discrepancy arose because black teachers were less qualified than their white counterparts.

An amount of between R1 200 and R1 300 a year is allocated for a white child and R200 for a black child.

Dr Viljoen said about 80 percent of any education budget was spent on salaries.

"Black teachers are predominantly underqualified and so they are paid less than the white teachers — this is why less money is allocated to black education," he said.

But, the DET has focussed a lot of its money and time on improving black teacher qualifications, Dr Viljoen said.

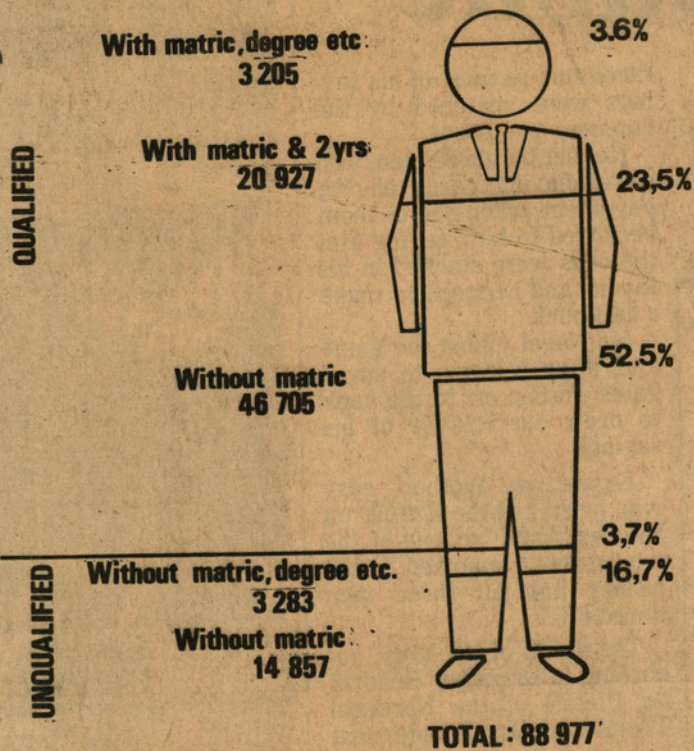
"The department is running in-school training programmes to enable all teachers to achieve Standard 10. For those teachers who have reached Standard 10, Vista University has arranged for decentralised campuses to be placed in the townships.

"These campuses will enable teachers to achieve a teacher's diploma which will be equivalent to the white teacher's qualification."



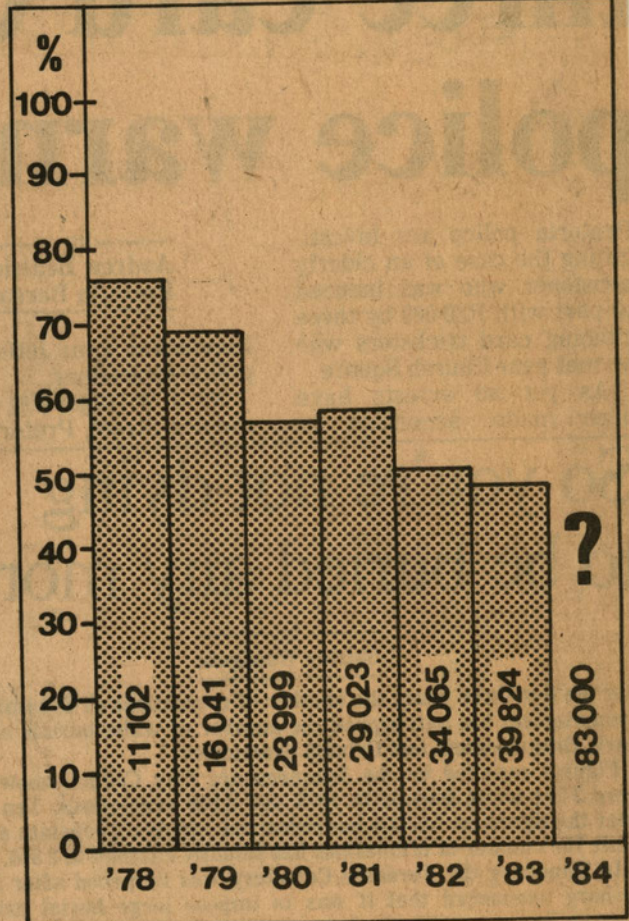
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## QUALIFICATIONS BLACK TEACHERS (RSA) 1983



The quality of black education has been attributed to the poorly qualified black teaching force. Out of 88 977 teachers in 1983 only 3,6 percent of these had a matric and held a degree. And 52,5 percent did not have a matric at all.

● Information for graphic supplied by the Department of Education and Training.



This bar graph shows the decrease in the percentage of black candidates passing the matric examination. (The inset figures indicate the number of pupils writing matric.) In 1978, 11 102 black pupils took the matric exam — 76 percent of these passed. In 1983, 39 824 candidates wrote the exam and only 48,3 percent passed.



## Sibanyoni is new Atteridgeville Mayor

THE STAR - 15 DEC. 1984

By McKeed Kotlolo

The Rev E M Sibanyoni is the new Mayor of Atteridgeville.

Mr Sibanyoni (73), who told reporters that he only had a Standard 5 education, yesterday beat Mr S M Mahlangu, the former Deputy Mayor who was tipped to win the post, by 2 votes. Mr Sibanyoni got five votes to Mr Mahlangu's 3 votes.

The mayoral seat was left vacant after the resignation of Mr Z Z Mashao a month ago. Mr Mahlangu was nominated to temporarily occupy the position until the election.

Mr J Mathebula, a newcomer to the council, beat the well-known TV3 personality Mr Podu Mamabolo by five to three votes to become Deputy Mayor.

Both the Mayor and his deputy were also elected respectively chairman and deputy of the management committee. The management committee consists of four members.

Sixteen Atteridgeville youths who were arrested during demonstrations against the town council appeared briefly in the local magistrate's court on charges of attending illegal gatherings.

### ARRESTED

The youths were arrested shortly before the election of the new Mayor by police in a private car and two vans.

Police first arrested two youths and confiscated their placards before the rest of the protesters gave themselves up to the police and got into the waiting van with their placards.

When the two vans left, the protesters inside shouted freedom slogans and sang all the way to the nearby police station.

Eyewitnesses said the local station commander warned the protesters before their arrest that they were committing an offence by gathering along Komane Street opposite the entrance to the town council offices. He allegedly gave them five minutes to disperse after which he ordered his men to arrest those still demonstrating.

The 16 had their case postponed to next Tuesday. They were all remanded.



# Study on SA views THE STAR 15 NOVEMBER 1983 has good potential

By Tyrone August

The Johannesburg-based Human Awareness Programme has published a simple and easy-to-read analysis of the research done by the German Arnold Bergstraesser Institute in South Africa between 1974 and 1977.

The research, set out as "The Narrow Margin: How black and white South Africans view change," is updated with the findings of the Buthelezi Commission of 1981 and other surveys.

The scientific nature of the research lends some validity and measure of accuracy to the findings. Much of it conforms to current political analyses.

Other findings, however, contradict popular political opinion. This places the political activist in a dilemma. In some areas he seems to be out of touch with grassroots political thought.

An example is the finding that 75 percent of Africans in Natal and the Witwatersrand prefer a capitalist economic system to a socialist economic system. Is this really true?

And if it is, does this mean the African National Congress, the recently-formed United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee are all out of touch with the hearts and minds of blacks?

This is disturbing, as it implies that black leadership is out of step with the people it claims to represent. However, this finding may be incorrect because of the way capitalism and socialism is defined in the questionnaire.

The differences between the two are singled out rather simplistically as (1) whether respondents are prepared to take personal economic risks, (2) whether the means of production should be owned privately or by the state, and (3) whether everyone should have the same income.

This is a farce of what socialism is all about. The authors of the book also realise that even South Africa, in fact, also has elements of a socialist state.

South Africa has several state-owned companies (like Iscor and Escom), and owns the railways and airways. It therefore does have control over some of the means of production.

Another problematic finding for the activist is that almost half of so-called urban blacks favour a form of consociational power-sharing as the second-

best solution if a non-racial unitary state cannot be achieved.

This is a federalism in which blacks and whites will share power equally so that neither group is dominated. However, this would only be apartheid dressed up differently.

In South Africa the federal government will be structured along racial lines, in other words group differences will be entrenched as the federation would be along racial lines.

It is therefore hard to believe that such a high figure of "urban blacks," who vehemently oppose grand apartheid, would be prepared to accept a more subtle form of apartheid.

These are examples of some of the problems with the research findings. There are, of course, findings which are of interest and which coincide with popular political opinion.

Examples are that 79 percent of blacks believe whites should stay in South Africa; that 72 percent believe in an opposition to any government; that 58 percent support demonstrations as a political weapon; and that 82 percent believe in universal franchise.

However, the research does not really tell us anything new, and the validity of some findings is questionable because of the nature of the samples chosen.

For instance, the Bergstraesser Institute only interviewed people in the Witwatersrand and Natal. Is this perhaps why Chief Gatsha Buthelezi received more support than any other black leader?

It is well known that historically the Cape has traditionally been a stronghold of the ANC, especially the Eastern Cape. This brings into question the finding about which black leader is admired most.

It also raises the question of whether this did not affect the overall results. Then the research is more specific to blacks in those areas than to all blacks throughout the country.

However, as a summary of the research done by the Bergstraesser Institute, the book is a very useful document. It is also illustrated well, which further helps to explain the text.

But, unfortunately, perhaps the book is nothing more than a summary of the institute's research. The validity of some of the research findings is debatable.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi



# ILANGA LITHI...

Azibuye <sup>15 Nov.</sup>  
<sup>1984</sup>  
emasisweni!

UNDUNANKULU waKwaZulu, uChief M.G. Buthelezi, ukhulume iqiniso okufanele noHulumeni wamaBhunu kanye nabobonke abamaMhlophe baseSouth Africa balemukele lapho ethe khona izindawo zaseMpangeni naseRichards Bay kwakufanele zifakwe kwelaKwaZulu ukuze nalo lithuthuke ngezomnotho. UChief Buthelezi usho lokhu ngesikhathi ekhuluma kusiShayamthetho saKwaZulu ngalelisonto. Kwakuvele kuliphutha khona kwasekuqaleni ukuba zombili lezizindawo zingafakwa ngaphansi kwezwe laKwaZulu.

Kuliqiniso elingephikwe ukuthi zombili lezizindawo uNdunankulu waKwaZulu akhulume ngazo ziyingxenye yezwe laKwaZulu, ngakho ke akufanele uHulumeni wamaMhlophe anqwahe nazo. Njengoba ziyingxenye yezwe laKwaZulu kufanele nomnotho wazo ubengowaKwaZulu. AbaMnyama abaningi bakuthatha ngokuthi kungumhobholo ngasohlangothini lukaHulumeni wamaMhlophe ukungaziniki izwe laKwaZulu.

Kuyisenzo esibi futhi esingasobe semukeleka nanini sokuba uHulumeni waseSouth Africa wephuce abamaMnyama zonke izindawo ezinithile kuthi ezilugwadule nezingenawo nomncane umnotho lona azinike abamaMnyama. Kufanele kwaziwe ukuthi akubajabulisi abamaMnyama ukwephucwa zonke izindawo ezinomnotho abangaziphilisa ngawo kodwa zinikwe abamaMhlophe bodwa.

Njengoba eshilo uChief Buthelezi, akwemukeleki ukuthi kubengosomabhizinisi abamaMhlophe bodwa abadla izithukuthuku zamaMnyama ngoba lokhu kukhinyabeza ukuthuthukiswa kwendawo yaKwaZulu nezinye izindawo zamaMnyama kulelizwe.

Ngaphandle kwaseMpangeni naseRichards Bay ziningi nezinye izindawo ngokomlando nangokwenda-  
buko okufanele ngabe zingaphansi kwezwe laKwaZulu kodwa ezinqwahe nezinye izinhlanga. Kuyaziwa futhi ukuthi umnotho otholakala kulezizindawo usiza kakhulu abamaMhlophe. Sesifikile isikhathi sokuba zibuyele emasisweni.



# Timing — and now SA is in the rough

THE DAILY NEWS 15 Dec 1984

AS all good golf pros will tell you, timing isn't everything. But it sure helps.

It sure has helped the cause of black Americans in recent weeks.

And it sure helped deliver what is perhaps the most serious diplomatic setback South Africa has yet experienced at the hands of Americans — the daily demonstrations at the South African Embassy in Washington and at consulates across the country that have been the catalyst now marshalling Americans behind an anti-apartheid banner as never before.

None of the separate events that helped create this phenomenon had any direct relationship.

But each was sufficiently interrelated for them to coalesce into the movement that, spreading like a prairie fire, has galvanised Americans of all hues and political persuasions into an angry, emotional political force whose full weight has yet to be felt — as much in Washington as in Pretoria.

Consider the timing.

Firstly, the November elections that put President Reagan back in the White House.

He was elected without any thanks to the black vote. Blacks voted against him. Back in the White House, his debt to them was precisely nil.

Even the Rev Jesse Jackson had failed to deliver any meaningful gains for America's blacks. The Jackson campaign rhetoric over, all that was left for them was a resoundingly defeated Democratic challenge — and the prospect of even more Republican cuts in the inner-city job and anti-poverty pro-

**A combination of chance circumstances could have permanently altered America's relationship with South Africa. RAMSAY MILNE, of the Daily News Foreign Service, reports from New York...**

grammes on which so many American blacks depend.

It was a low point for all black aspirations. It was a point low enough to inspire Mr Randall Robinson, of Trans-Africa, the organisation that has organised the well-drilled, highly organised and well publicised anti-apartheid demonstrations that are now part of every American's daily newspaper "read" and nightly scannings on television, to declare: "We were down so far, we had to do something..."

This does not suggest that Mr. Robinson's first concern was for the plight of South African blacks.

Only 10 days earlier, the Rev Jackson had staged a demonstration outside the South African Embassy in Washington and the media had paid scant attention.

At that point, these and other expressions of black political aspiration looked rather like resurrections of old-time civil rights demonstrations.

What transformed the situation for Mr Robinson was timing: the coincidental award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu, who was in the United States at the time

on an extended — and largely unnoticed — visit.

The coincidence projected Bishop Tutu into becoming the most sought-after personality in America. The outspoken views he has expressed on the South African situation have been no different from those he frequently expresses at home. But they seemed like heaven-sent dynamite to the US black lobby that badly needed something to ignite its own cause.

The word, of course, spread as the Press and television lionised Bishop Tutu while simultaneously focussing on the anti-South African demonstrations that had become — starvation in Ethiopia and death and horror in Bhopal, India, notwithstanding — a daily staple.

The talk, though, was not so much about "constructive engagement" with South Africa, the policy about which many of his critics (now including even some of his own conservative congressmen) are berating President Reagan, but the one word that is capable of uniting almost any cause: Apartheid.

If racial discrimination of that order is indefensible in South Africa, it is regarded in America as an outrage.

The fact is that what has gone wrong for South Africa in the past few weeks is that large numbers of Americans, black and white, who otherwise would be more concerned about their own affairs, have been brought face to face with a moral issue that many would have preferred to keep at arms length — way out there in Africa, 10 000 km distant.

It is perhaps too late to wonder where US policy towards South Africa might have been if (a) the black vote had been significant in the November elections or (b) if Bishop Tutu had not been in the US when he received word of his Nobel Prize award or (c) if Mr Randall Robinson had not organised his demonstrations when he did.

The reality is that new forces are now at work and Washington's view of Pretoria may never be quite the same again.



Washington police confront demonstrators outside the South African Embassy.