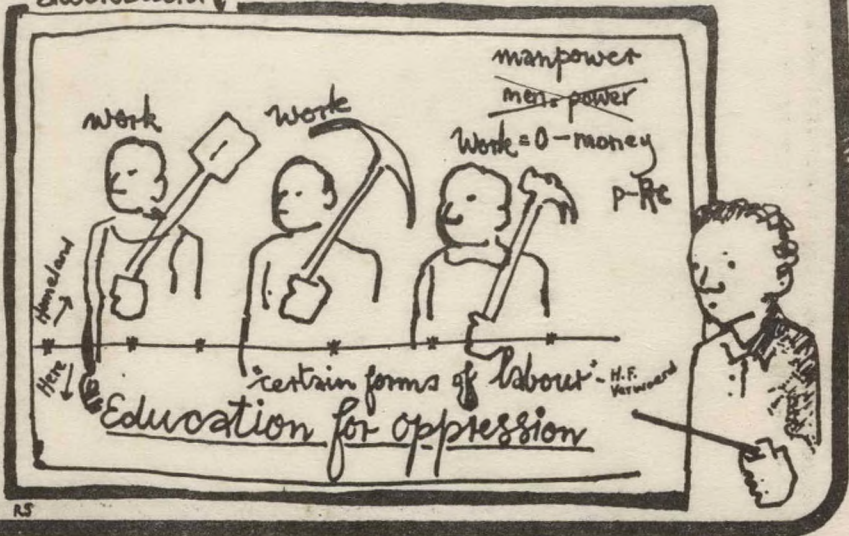


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AFRICA
Number 17
Spring 1980
PERSPECTIVE



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STATEMENT ON THE IMPRISONMENT OF GUY BERGER

The editorial collective of "Africa Perspective" would like to draw the reader's attention to the detention and subsequent sentencing of Grahamstown university lecturer, Guy Berger to 4 years imprisonment under the Internal Security and Publications Acts. Guy has for some years been associated with "Africa Perspective" as our local organiser in Grahamstown and we wish to express our gratitude for the work he has contributed to this journal. It is through this association that we have come to know Guy as a person with a strong sense of the social injustice in South Africa and as a person with deep democratic convictions. Our knowledge of Guy leads us to express the fullest confidence in his commitment to a just future for all South Africans. While voicing our concern, however, Guy's internment can come as no surprise in the context of the South African situation wherein the repressive and undemocratic state daily sentences thousands of South Africans to terms of imprisonment. It is with this understanding that we commit ourselves in solidarity with Guy Berger in his social isolation.

NOTE TO READERS

We wish to apologise for the late publication of this edition of AP. All efforts are being made to bring AP back on schedule. The reader will also please note that it has been unavoidably necessary to increase the price of AP to R1.00 due to increased production and distribution costs. AP is a non profit publication and as such its existance and growing autonomy is dependent upon your support.

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Cover drawing by Ruth Sack

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contributions

"Africa Perspective is a journal produced by a staff-student group at the University of the Witwatersrand. It is intended to provide a forum for students, researchers and interested parties both on and off campus, who are working in all areas related to African studies. The editorial collective therefore welcome contributions which should be sent to the address below.

In order that the journal should become a reliable resource publication, the editorial collective would like to be informed of recent research work, publications, seminars and workshops at all universities so that this information can be published in forthcoming editions. Organisers of seminars and workshops are invited to use the journal to make information available

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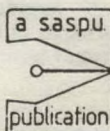
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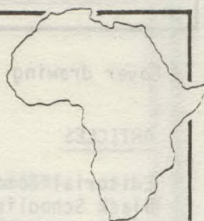
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Editorial Comment



The collapse of the South African schooling system that was manifested in the riots and boycotts of 1976-80, and the ongoing "manpower crisis" in the industrial sector, are deeply rooted in the political economy of the apartheid society. The riots themselves, and the frequent attention being paid by industrialists and government officials to the need for supplementary educational services to patch up the machinery of state education, have helped to focus the attention of white South Africa, and indeed of the outside world, on the educational and employment problems that have long formed part of the everyday life of black students, parents and teachers. To put it another way, this particular series of crises has brought to a head one of the major (if often neglected) aspects of the history of colonized man in Southern Africa and pointed to the centrality of the schooling system in that condition. As never before the school itself has become the focus of intensified struggle, temporarily replacing the political rally or the factory floor as a major arena of contention.

The grievances that were articulated by students' and parents' representatives, and by community leaders, at the height of the crises, provide an important perspective in an examination of that situation. The grievances were to change in emphasis over time, but those expressed by the Committee of 81 in Cape Town during 1980 managed to capture the essence of what was seen to be at stake by those who were most intimately involved in the events. The protest was against:

- racist education and the organization of education into racially separate departments of education
- disparities in educational spending on different colour groups
- an inferior education that was preparing students for what they saw as a "cheap labour force for capitalism"
- unequal facilities in schools
- unequal pay for teachers
- the dismissal of teachers on political grounds
- lack of textbooks and/or inferior textbooks
- the denial of the rights to free assembly and the consequent lack of autonomous student councils
- free access to school grounds by the police
- police detentions of pupils, students and teachers
- the fact that it was necessary for students to obtain ministerial permission to study at institutions of higher education
- failure to repair damaged schools

To the extent that these demands place the issue of educational reform within the broader context of demands for equality by South Africa's black population, they represented very little that was new, standing as they did in a tradition that could be traced back to the nineteenth century. They differed from the earlier tradition in the emphasis they gave to the ideological aspects of the schooling system - "the dismissal of teachers on political grounds"; the use of "inferior textbooks" - and in their reference to the use of the repressive apparatus of the state (the police and the army) to ensure that "discipline" was maintained in the schools. Even more important, these demands emphasized the linkages between the classroom and the workplace in quite explicit terms by including a protest against "an inferior education that was preparing students for what they saw as a 'cheap labour force for capitalism'".

These demands went beyond the earlier rhetoric of "equal education for all" or "education as a fundamental human right", and to the extent that they articulated an awareness of the ideological "social control" function of schooling, and its linkages to the capitalist labour market, they bypassed the whole 'liberal' education tradition that is dominant in the society at large. In so doing they reflect many of the assumptions of the contemporary 'revisionist' study of the political economy of education. (1)

As Colin Collins points out in the first article of this edition of Africa Perspective, dedicated to the question of Black Education in South Africa, the study of education in this country has to date been dominated entirely by the liberal convention, and has in consequence taken place within the context of a set of unquestioned ideological presuppositions. His work points to the limitations of the liberal approach, and attempts to link the study of schooling in South Africa to the broader debates that have characterized the study of the political economy over the past decade. He points to the urgent need for a reinterpretation of our educational history in the light of the perspectives opened up by recent attempts to explain such issues as the nature of capitalist development, the nature and form of the state, labour structures, ideology, and working class life and resistance, if we are to come to understand the nature of the present "educational" crisis with any degree of precision. There is therefore an urgent need for a reinterpretation of the educational history of South Africa in line with the developments that have taken place in the social sciences since the 'seventies.

Collins offers some tentative suggestions regarding the directions that such an enquiry might take and attempts to periodize the evolution of black education within the context of the demands of an expanding industrial labour market in the twentieth century. In so doing he links those changes to the earlier structures established by mission education and is able to reveal the continuities between the pre-and post-1948 era within the field of education.

Richard Levin's piece picks up the story where Collins leaves off, seeking to establish a framework for understanding the problems posed for contemporary analysis by the "new wave of struggles emanating from the educational structures" in the post-1946 period. In particular, he seeks to explore the special circumstances during the latter part of the 'seventies which gave rise to the sustained challenge to the State that arose from the classrooms of SOWETO, Langa, Guguletu, and a hundred other townships and country areas. He sees these events as part of a conjuncture of internal and external political pressures and as a reflection of the changing relations of exploitation within industry. The linkages between education and employment are once again explicitly drawn, and the changing nature of the labour process is seen to be a major component of the crisis of unemployment which was a major factor behind the student revolt.

What emerges clearly from this paper is that piecemeal reforms to the existing educational systems are unlikely to have any dramatic effects on the underlying structural issues that gave rise to the crises of 1976-7 and 1980, since those crises were only partially imbedded in the context of the schooling system itself. The roots of the crisis lay in the nature of the political and economic structures of capitalism that had come to characterise South African society over a lengthy historical period.

The other two papers demonstrate a very different set of perspectives on the study of education in South Africa, and pinpoint important gaps in our knowledge of the history of major 'alternative' ventures in education for blacks during the present century.

Tom Lodge makes an important contribution to our understanding of the response to Bantu Education during the early 'fifties - a topic that has been strangely neglected. His careful exploration of the nature and context of the School Boycott in the Eastern Cape and the East Rand, and of the dynamics of national vs. grass roots involvement in the African Education Movement, helps us to grasp the political significance of schooling at that time - a significance that seems to have been largely lost on the Black political leadership.

The collapse of this important attempt to resist the extension of state power in the arena of education represented a major watershed in the history of black education, for thereafter no 'alternative' educational ventures were allowed - yet these events must clearly be seen as part of the background to the events of the 'seventies.

Finally, Adrienne Bird's lengthy history of the Night School Movement for blacks on the Witwatersrand represents a major contribution to our understanding of the 'informal sector' in education. The aims, methods and content of that initiative, free from any form of state control in the early years, were forged by the necessity for worker education within the context of the organizational strategies of the ICU and the CPSA. What is perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the article is the way in which Adrienne Bird traces the ideological conflicts within the Night Schools Movement, and the way in which these traditions are manifested within the various literacy programmes operating at the present time.

The sad history of the rise and decline of the Night Schools Movement gains considerable significance when seen against the background of the current boom in "supplementary education" - now funded and effectively controlled by private enterprise, and shaped to meet its manpower 'needs'. It is doubtful whether the term 'alternative education' can really be applied to many of these contemporary efforts to take education out of the schools, especially if they are compared with the 'grand tradition' that is the subject of this essay.

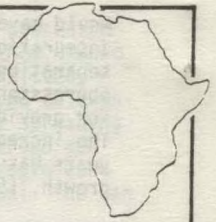
It is hoped that this edition of *Africa Perspective* will help to generate further discussion and investigation in the field of education in South Africa, and the editors would like to invite further contributions on this topic.

Footnotes

1. Dale R. et al (eds) Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader (London 1976)
- Bowles S. & H Gintis Schooling in Capitalist America (London 1976)
- Young M. & Whitty G.(eds) Society, State and Schooling (Lewes, Sussex 1977)
- Corrigan P. (ed) Capitalism, State Formation and Marxist Theory (London 1980)

Black Schooling in South Africa:

Notes towards a reinterpretation of the schooling of the indigenous peoples in South Africa



Colin B. Collins

In a work distinguished by its one-sidedness, Harrison M. Wright attempts to set out the two major positions concerning the history of South Africa. (1) Until about 1970, virtually every publication on the Republic was written from the liberal viewpoint. (2) During the last decade, however, this interpretation has been increasingly challenged by a radical viewpoint. Both viewpoints are summarised by Wright. He asserts that for the liberals, the Afrikaners are the enemy of a liberal ideology; since their assumptions of complete political control in 1948, their doctrine of apartheid has constituted the countervailing ideological force to liberalism. For the liberal the historical reasons are clear:

"The Afrikaners; from a variety of influences early in their history had developed by 1800 an unusual degree of cultural and social exclusiveness and a core of anti-progressive attitudes. In the Africans on the Eastern frontier, they had met a far larger population and a far more resistant culture than those of the first non-European societies they had met, the "Hottentot" (or Khoikhoi) and the "Bushmen" (or San). By 1800 the long series of frontier wars, that along with the trade and cultural interactions, characterised 19th century European-African relations generally, had already begun. Britain arrived to stay in 1806 with a new and growing industrial society and with the new and dynamic economic, political and social ideas of a rapidly changing Europe." (3)

This interpretation explains the major events of the 19th century as a clash between the liberal ideas introduced by the British and the exclusiveness of the so-called frontier mentality of the Afrikaner. Despite the assistance given to the liberal forces by "the naturally integrative tendencies of economic growth and cultural interpretation", the illiberal and unconstructive racial policies were to win out and "the election of 1948 represented the political triumph of the most extreme right-wing Afrikaner ideology - the descendant of the old Afrikaner attitude - over economic and social realities."

Counterposing the interpretation is the radical viewpoint. During the last decade, a great number of articles, books and theses have been written about South Africa from within this paradigm. (4) Although it is not possible to outline this view in any detail, its main elements are simple. For radicals,

"Capitalism everywhere seeks the cheapest labour possible. In South African circumstances labour cheap enough for capitalism's needs could in the past and even now be obtained only by coercion, by the application of various kinds of political, legal and economic pressure. The reason that the history of the last 100 years is not, as the liberals

would have it, a history of the struggle between economic and social integration on the one hand and racial oppression and political separation on the other, but is because in South Africa racial oppression and political separation have been the essential means for providing the cheap labour that the capitalists must have. The increasing racial and political oppression of the last 100 years has come about because of not in spite of capitalist economic growth."(5)

For radicals, the history of South Africa can be explained in terms of class analysis. For them, history is done best by examining the relationship of groups competing for ownership of the means of survival and the kinds of ideologies used to rationalise the situation of the predominant group.

This radical interpretation has not covered the entirety of South African history as has the liberal tradition.(6) This situation is even more pronounced in the sphere of the history of education or schooling in South Africa. With the exception of some Afrikaans work, all of the best known texts on South African education are written in the broad liberal paradigm.(7) This is especially true of the history of schooling among the African peoples of South Africa.(8) In its most succinct form, the liberal history of African schooling sees the main event in such schools as being the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. In that year, it is alleged, the Nationalist government introduced this apartheid measure whereby Africans would be forced backwards into the tribal entities and into menial vocational education for the purposes of control and oppression, thus contradicting the integrationist and liberal/academic tenure of the previous owners of the African schools namely the English-speaking missionaries.(9) Although there is almost nothing written in the radical paradigm on African schooling (10), the work done on the paradigm itself is voluminous.(11) In essence, the radicals maintain that the ruling classes, in the interest of maximising profits, need to reproduce the special kind of labour force needed at a particular period in history. One of the ways - by no means the only one - of reproducing such a labour force who will possess the appropriate skills and attitudes is by way of schools.

What follows is not an elaboration of the radical paradigm but the application of some of its more simple tenets to the pre-1953 history of indigenous schooling in South Africa. As will be seen from such an analysis, the Bantu Education Act will emerge not as a radical break with missionary schooling but as part of the ongoing saga of labour reproduction, although admittedly with different dramatis personae.

EARLY SCHOOLING

Because the general tone of schooling had been set before the Dutch colonizers met the African peoples in 1770, it is necessary to describe the early schooling instituted by the colonizers. During the first one and a half centuries of colonisation, the settlement of Dutch colonists at the Cape of Good Hope possessed certain very definite characteristics. Removed from its motherland by months of sea-voyage, it was somewhat austere in character, mainly agricultural in its economy and definitely religious in tone.(12)

In this period, the small colony bartered with the Khoi-Khoi (Hottentot) people, occasionally intermarried with them and, by spreading eastwards gradually took over their grazing lands. As they spread, their attitude towards the nomadic cattle-owning San (Bushmen) people was less ambivalent; at best Bushmen were to be avoided, at worst shot as vermin.(13)

These two indigenous peoples were relatively small in numbers and presented little obstacle to the colonists taking their grazing lands from them. What they did not achieve in skirmishes and by resolute occupation (assisted, occasionally, by the usual offerings of beads :) the white-introduced chicken-pox epidemics of 1713, 1755, 1767 did the rest. By 1770, when the spreading white farmers were coming into first contact with a much more numerous and better organised indigenous people, the Africans, the Khoi-Khoi people were either integrated, killed or had disappeared into the northern Cape; the San people had become the desert dwellers of the Kalahari.

Another group of non-colonists was much more important. By the end of the 18th century the Cape Colony had an equal number of slaves and white citizens.(14) Imported from such places as Madagascar and Malaya to work as unskilled labourers on white farms or, in rare instances, as artisans on farms or in the towns, they formed a highly significant group within the early colony. By 1658, a school had been established for slaves in Cape Town. That first school and others established to teach the early slaves already demonstrated many of the characteristics that were to predominate the school system for indigenous peoples in South Africa. The characteristics of the curricula of these schools were that they were religious in orientation rather than being industrial or vocational in style. Thirdly they were increasingly segregated in race. A fourth characteristic could be added namely that although most of the schools were run by missionaries during this period, the State had a keen interest in and control over them.

The religious character of the first school for slaves is evident from an entry in Van Riebeeck's diary for 17th April, 1658.

"Began holding school for the young slaves ... to stimulate the slaves to attention while at school and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised each a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco ... "(15)

This first and the subsequent slave schools (as also those for settler children) were primarily for the purpose of teaching, by rote, the prayers and hymns needed to participate in the church services of the day. With slaves, however, a labour characteristic is also in evidence. In the same entry Van Riebeeck records

"All this was done in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for some days to bring everything into order, and to bring these people into proper discipline in which at present they appear to promise well." (16)

This learning of hymns and psalms together with an understanding of the bible directed the early slave schools into schooling with broadly academic as opposed to industrial bias. The colonists felt ambivalent about having the slaves in school. Some saw the value of the obedience and discipline engendered by school atmosphere, rote learning and the encouragement of such biblical attitudes as respect for superiors and authority. Others, however, saw the dangers, namely that a future generation would make demands beyond its place in society. There was thus some unease about the education of slaves in the early Cape Colony. This led to the situation in which most ignored the state injunction to send their slaves to school.

"The Government made no attempt to enforce these regulations and the majority of the colonists saw no reason why slaves should be educated. Child labour was much used by owners." (17)

By the beginning of the 19th century, the colonists, in the main, needed unskilled labour. The early religiosity of the colonists which had led to the creation of slave schools to enable them to procure entry into the Christian reality was tempered by the more pragmatic considerations of labour reproduction. The result was that very few slaves went to school. By 1830, there were some 30 000 slaves in the colony. Yet,

"it was estimated in 1823 that 1162 slave children were attending the free and mission schools in Cape Town and in 1825 that 73 were at school in Stellenbosch and not more than 320 in other country villages. Their attendance was most irregular." (18)

A second characteristic should also be noted. Despite the religious/academic quality of the early slave schools, a trend towards segregation had been felt very early in the schools at the Cape. Some of these schools were comprised of settler as well as slave children. Yet Professor Behr records that

"the first rumbling of a policy of segregating the European and Non-European children into separate schools made itself felt in 1676 when the Church expressed the desirability of having a separate school for the slaves. The Political Council received the request sympathetically, but ruled that the best among the Non-European children were to continue attending the existing school until such time as suitable provision could be made for the Non-European children." (19)

Patterns in the schooling of slaves were thus set at a very early time in the Cape Colony. Religion, accompanied by the three R's to be given to the slaves, if not exclusively, certainly predominantly to instil obedience and discipline; an increasing unease that the price for the induction of such attitudes would, in fact be contradictory and take the slaves, and especially the children, away from their unskilled labour. In addition, an early appearance of segregation to maintain the class distinction between slaves and owners. It should also be noted that very little attempt was made to teach the slaves trades except for minimal attempts in Cape Town where such artisan work was needed.

These patterns were also apparent in the early schools among the Khoi-Khoi people. A new feature is also in evidence - one which has characterised the education of indigenous people until the present time, namely that it was pursued by church organisations in the interests of proselytizing. As early as 1737 the Moravians or United Brethren with headquarters in Saxony, sent out a missionary to work among the Hottentot people. His purpose was to evangelise, to bring the people to recognise Christ as Saviour. As with all missionaries among indigenous people, this was not a simple process. It also meant abandoning their culture and their mode of subsistence. To put it in a most significant and enigmatic form,

"The Moravians taught the Hottentots to forgo their nomadic way of life, to build cottages, to realize the dignity of labour and the need for discipline and regular habits and to grow corn." (18a)

What is evident from this description is that the missionaries included in their Christian package a set of western values and assumptions. What is equally clear once again is the early opposition to schooling by the farmers followed

by limited approval. The Moravians restarted a particular mission station,

"... in spite of opposition and hostility on the part of the colonists who resented the fact that they treated the Hottentots as friends and fellows and proposed giving them an education that was not available to the Burgher children. Antagonisms mounted when the Hottentots began leaving the farms (where they were employed as labourers) to go to Baviaans Kloof. Later, however, the attitudes of the farmers began to change as they discovered that the Hottentots who had been trained at the mission made better employees than the rest." (19a)

Other missionary societies followed the Moravians to work among the Khoi-Khoi people. Chief among them were the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society. Even well into the 19th century, almost all of the Hottentot children being educated were in missionary schools.

During this time, the state looked upon such endeavours with approval. Sites were granted to the missionary bodies and their work encouraged by the authorities. It was not, however until 1841 that the first State grants were given to mission schools. Grants of R60 a year were to be given to schools near Cape Town to augment teacher salaries. This also introduced a note of control. Such schools were to be inspected by the Department of Education, secular subjects had to be included in the curriculum besides the usual religious teaching and the English language had to be taught and, when possible to be used as a medium of instruction. These grants led to an increase of such mission schools.

"In 1844, there were 21 State aided schools with an enrolment of 3329 pupils. By 1860, there were 123, with more than 141 000 pupils enrolled." (20)

This pattern of mission schools among the Khoi-Khoi people is important. The missionaries were part of the colonizing forces. As the whites moved eastwards, they took over the grazing lands of the indigenous peoples. Many of the Khoi-Khoi being so deprived had to find agricultural work on the white farms. They became part of the small settlements established as villages and farm units where they worked as unskilled labourers. It was the mission schools who tamed this labour force by providing an ideology of obedience, discipline and servitude. They helped the Khoi-Khoi into the colonist culture by enabling them to be more docile and effective unskilled workers within it. This is not to say that such a process was uppermost in the minds of the missionaries; it was obviously not. But the effects of what the missionaries did was certainly to produce such workers and the white farmers, as has been noted, were grateful to them. In turn, the state recognised this leavening effect, providing property and eventually state-aid to assist these schools. The need for such control became especially evident after the emancipation of the slaves in 1833.

"Between 1834 and 1838, some 35 745 slaves were emancipated at the Cape. Some of them migrated from farms to towns and villages or to missionary institutions. Others became vagrants, squatting on government or private land, while numbers went to the outskirts or beyond the frontiers of the colony to start farming on their own. The need for more schools to instil social discipline became acute." (21)

AFRICAN SCHOOLS

The Cape government introduced state-aid to mission schools in 1841. But, by then, the missionaries had turned their attention to the more numerous African people. By that time, too, the Cape Colony administration was concerned with the incorporation of African land and with the increased conflict that this brought about. Schooling was an important element in the incorporation. In 1854, for example, the Governor, Sir George Cathcart made the following statement to the British Colonial Secretary;

"The plan I propose ... is to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes ... by employing them upon public works, which will tend to open up the country; by establishing institutions for the education of their children ..." (22)

And again;

"... we should try to make them a part of ourselves, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short, a source of strength and wealth for this colony, such as Providence designed them to be." (23)

And so Cathcart's letters continued. The Africans must be drawn into the white economy. They must be calmed down by schooling, they must be changed from inveterate enemies fighting over the same land into our friends, servants, and consumers of our goods and producers for our markets. Schooling was viewed as a means to achieve these effects. When the Cape Colony was granted Representative Government in 1854, fairly substantial amounts of money were placed at the disposal of missionary institutions for schooling purposes.

There was not, however, complete coincidence between State and Church aims concerning "native" schooling. A statement by the Cape Colony's Superintendent-General of Education, Langham Dale (1859 - 1892), in 1868 expresses this discontinuity :

"The ministers of religion are apt to regard education from a narrow and exclusively religious point of view, so that the training of children for the occupations of practical life is made in many cases subordinate to that instruction in the catechism and the tenets and services of religious bodies which is likely to influence them in after life and keep them within the pale of the church." (24)

This difference between missionaries and State authorities concerning African education needs to be noted. The main intention of the missionary was to make the African people Christians in the particular mould of a special denomination. This schooling consisted of an acquisition of the three R's adequate enough to attain a meaningful participation in church services and in bible reading. Any furthering of schooling beyond a very elementary form was for the extension of the church as a structure; this was done by extending primary into secondary schooling needed to produce black missionary teachers and black clergymen. For these reasons, missionary schools had an academic bias, albeit of a very low level.

There are further side effects of missionary schooling, associated with moral training. In missionary schools, the Africans were taught to drop their "heathen" ways and to become the junior partners of white culture. They were also taught the value of such virtues as obedience, discipline, and industriousness. Physically, in attending schools, many of them were drawn off their pastoral land to become gardeners or servants around the mission station.

Towards these latter side-effects of missionary schooling, Dale and other administrators had no objections whatsoever; on the contrary these effects are the main reason for State subsidies. But he and others were concerned at the fact that the curriculum content of missionary schooling did not in all cases fit the African into his place in that particular society. He was particularly concerned with the higher schooling being given to a select few.

"To the educated Kaffir there is no opening; he may be qualified to fill the post of a clerk in a public office or mercantile house, but either there is no demand for such persons or prejudice operates against persons of colour being so employed. To give a higher education to Kaffir boys and then to leave them isolated from their own people in thoughts and habits and to some extent in language, and without any prospect of useful and settled occupation in another sphere of labour is only to increase the existing temptation of the so-called school Kaffir to fall into the vices of the low Europeans with whom they come into contact. We require native teachers without that over-refinement which elevates the individual too much above his fellows." (25)

The language used and sentiments expressed here are very similar to those used and expressed in the Eiselen Commission of 1949 some 80 years later. The needs of the state vis-a-vis the black population under the mercantile capitalism of this period were not that dissimilar from the early industrial capitalists who acquired power with the support of white mine-workers and semi-skilled Afrikaner workers in 1948. For the British ruling class of the 1860's and the Nationalist government of the 1950's, the educational objectives were roughly similar: a low three R's schooling for a increasing number of African scholars; a higher education only to reproduce the schooling systems by teacher training; a low level of manual training to enable Africans to take their lower-place in society and a generation of attitudes such as obedience and discipline in order that they should remain docile labourers (on the farm in the 1860's and in unskilled or semi-skilled labour in the towns in the 1950's). For both groups the most important schools were those in which Africans were trained to do work in keeping with their place in society. To that effect, Dale proposed a series of grants to schools which would encourage the teaching of needlework to girls and carpentry, shoemaking printing to boys and which could also create blacksmiths, gardeners and domestic servants." (26)

On his retirement in 1891, Dale had some prophetic things to say on the topic of school curricula. For example, he wrote that

"What the Department wants is to make all the principal day schools places of manual industry, as well of book instruction ..." (27)

It should be noted that at this point the great majority of African labourers were being trained outside the schooling system. These were the African labourers and peasants who were being forced off their land firstly by the intervention of the Poll and Hut Tax which forced them into a cash economy - and, secondarily by the progressive acquisition of more land by whites. This labour was rigidly controlled by the Masters and Servants Act of 1854. (28)

To some extent schooling goes counter to the interests of white farmers who needed unskilled blacks on their lands and, increasingly, servants in the small towns. Dale is concerned about this:

"Labour, especially agricultural, is needed; but will the educated native leave his home and take service, especially in the western districts. If not, the crowding together of educated

natives, living without a trade or regular habit of daily employment, must tend to mischief and social disturbances." (29)

In the last analysis, however, the interests of church and state should not and are not at very considerable variance as they tend to promote and reproduce the kind of labour needed by the mercantile capitalist social formation of the time.

"The influences of Christian teaching ... must work together with the school instruction and the handicrafts; and, when the children leave the school and the workshop, the directive intelligence of the European clergyman is wanted to keep them in the way of temperance and industry." (30)

But, in a way reminiscent of all promoters of schooling under early mercantile capitalism, the doubts do remain :

"Knowledge is power even to them, but it may be a power for ill." (31)

This period of colonisation under mercantile capitalism was brought to an end by the opening up of the diamond fields during the 1870's and the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, which initiated the share of industrial capitalism in Southern Africa. One obvious effect was the rapid urbanisation of all races and, more specifically the African people who were needed as cheap labour in the cities, firstly as mine-workers and, later, more especially from the 1930's onwards, as factory workers.

A first educational effect was that the African school system was rapidly expanded as the need for at least semi-literate workers grew. As South Africa was not yet a unified state at the beginning of this period, the expansion can be noted as they occurred in the four political entities of the Cape Colony, Natal and the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Of these States, The Cape, being the most economically advanced, had the greatest number of African pupils in schools. The figures are as follows :

1865	-	2 827	
1885	-	15 568	
1891	-	25 000	
1921	-	110 519	(32)

In Natal, the other British colony, the Crown had initiated a form of segregation whereby Africans unwanted by white farmers were to be kept in their locations and reserves where they were to be ruled insofar as possible under native customs and laws. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was administrator of these reserves.

In general terms, white opinion in Natal was less favourable and more pessimistic towards Africans than in the Cape. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the report of the "Native Commission" of 1881. Inter alia, the fears of the whites concerning the ill-effect of schooling on the blacks in producing "cheeky Kaffirs", who are unwilling to work was far more emphasized.

For the rest, the pattern in Natal was much the same as the Cape. Early missionary penetration was assisted by increasing state aid. Despite this, a very small proportion of Africans were educated by the time of Union in 1910. In 1912, for example, there were 232 elementary schools and five industrial centres which between them had 18 000 pupils. Most of the pupils were in their first two years of schooling. (33)

The pastoral Afrikaner people of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State did not view schooling as a means of reproducing cheap labour in those two states. For that reason, no financial aid was given to the rather meagre attempts on the part of missionary societies to set up schools in the two republics. In the Transvaal, despite the discovery of gold, there were only slightly more than 6 000 pupils being schooled in 1903. The Orange Free State had far fewer.

Within the two republics, black labour was recruited more directly. After the Difaqane wars, for example,

"The Government required each location chief to pay taxes in cattle and to provide manpower on demand. Men thus conscripted would be allotted to farmers to work for not longer than a year at a time, at the wage of one heifer for a year's work; or they might be used as ancillaries in military campaigns ..." (34)

Although expansion of African schooling was recorded during the last two decades of the 19th and then in first two decades of the 20th century, growth in enrolments were still relatively small compared to the overall African population. The reasons became evident in the 1920's - increasing central control over African education and the establishment of the principle by the central South African Government that, in the main, Africans should finance their own schooling.

"The two Acts (No 5 of 1922 and No 41 of 1925) need to be considered together for they created two principles : African taxation became a central and not a provincial government matter and any expansion of African education beyond the level reached in 1922 had to be financed out of taxation paid by Africans themselves. These principles remained in force for the following 20 years until 1945." (35)

The results of such a measure were devastating. The annual costs of education per pupil between 1930 and 1945 were as follows :

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Africans</u>
1930	£ 22.12.10	£ 2.2.8
1935	£ 23.17.2	£ 1.18.6
1940	£ 25.14.2	£ 2.4.4
1945	£ 38.5.10	£ 3.17.10 (36)

And, although the method of subsidising African education was changed by Act No 29 of 1945, the inadequacies of financing of African education were still in evidence as the Bantu Education Bill was introduced :

<u>1953</u>	<u>Per Pupil</u>	<u>Per Head of Population</u>
Whites	£ 63.18.5	£ 13.9.5
Africans	£ 8.19.11	£ 0.17.10 (37)

The slow progress of African education as also the degree to which it was missionary controlled should also be noted :

"In 1905, there were only 73 900 African children attending school in South Africa or 2.1% of the total African population. None of these was in post-primary classes ...
 ... By 1925 there were 206 623 African pupils representing 4.1% of the population, 3 725 of them being in post-primary classes ... there were then 2 646 schools for Africans, 24 training schools for teachers and 24 industrial schools or departments." (38)

This position improved somewhat as can be seen from the following figures :

<u>Year</u>	<u>African pupils</u>	<u>% of African Population Receiving Education</u>
1930	284 250	4.9
1935	351 908	5.5
1940	464 024	6.6
1945	587 586	7.7 (39)

By 1945, however, 76% of African children were in the first four years of schooling and only 3.34% of pupils were in secondary classes.

In 1926, the distribution of schools was :

	<u>Mission</u>	<u>Government</u>
Cape	1 625	1
Natal	487	66
Transvaal	396	1
Orange Free State	194	-
	<hr/> 2 702	<hr/> 68
		(40)

Except in Natal, this ratio between mission and government schools was to persist until the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

Thus the period of early industrial capitalism in South Africa engendered a slowly growing black schooling system. Increasingly the system became controlled by the central state which perceived no need to pursue educational objectives much beyond those that had emerged during the previous two centuries of colonisation. By the mid-thirties, South Africa was becoming an industrial country and manufacturing was gaining importance. Peasants were streaming into the towns. The whites among them were being protected by apprenticeship acts and the Africans had to take the least skilled work in the mines and factories. Comparatively few rural Africans and almost no African workers in the cities were schooled. Those who were being schooled received a very elementary and general education. The missionaries continued to propagate their own church structures by training African clergymen and teachers (a large proportion of those in secondary schools ended up in these two professions). In summary,

"It is clear that the growth of schooling, at any rate that for black people, was not initially stimulated by any need for skill training which might have arisen from capitalist production. Generally the level of skill required was low and both on the farms and in the mines, what skills the workers had to have, could most adequately be learned by training on the job. The manual training that even those who went to school received, tended to be manual labour rather than in any specific skills. Concerning trade and any such higher level skills, these were not to be developed by black people in terms of the operation of the colour-caste system." (41)

In 1936, the first national committee on "Native" education was set up. This "Welsh Committee" makes highly significant linkages between schooling and the labour process.

"Just as elementary education for the masses in England was strenuously opposed by the ruling classes even as late as the nineteenth century because of the economic and social inconvenience it might cause, so we find in the history of South Africa a similar attitude on the part of the white man towards the education of the natives ... the introduction of elementary education on a wide scale amongst the 'masses of heathens' might cause 'social inconvenience' and might even be dangerous." (42)

In these words the Welsh Committee recalls the attitudes of many colonists during the last half of the 19th and early part of the 20th century. But the committee goes further and acknowledges that :

"... the two social orders for which education is preparing white and black are not identical and will for a long time to come remain essentially different. It is not that the aim is the same and that only the methods to be used are different. The ends themselves are different in the two cases." (43)

The Committee then acknowledges that schooling is only a small part of a given social formation, and that economic forces prevail.

"Should education lead or follow the social order ? The school is only one of the agencies which impinge upon the native and is therefore distinctly limited in its influence ... They forget that there are other powerful agencies at work e.g. the white man's commercial systems and all the regulatory and punitive functions of the government in connection with native taxes, pass fees, cattle, crops and crimes. The Committee therefore feels it will not be quite honest to avoid stating clearly that a full liberal philosophy is not at present applicable to native education." (44)

In the Committees Report, the whole question of the state being concerned with the control and exploitation of the black people is quite clear. That two "orders" exist and cannot really be changed is acknowledged. That schooling cannot change the situation is also stated. That schooling should change the situation is not really acknowledged but is rather presumed in very general terms.

The attitude of this Committee to the two orders is best described when the following argument is presented :

"On the one hand ... any rational system of education should make provision for vocational training leading on to occupations which will give employment and a source of livelihood to a considerable proportion of the population. On the other hand any such policy ... would in the present structure of South African economic conditions, lead to competition of Native tradesmen with Europeans, which is at present prohibited ..., or to a dead-end of unemployment for the Native." (45)

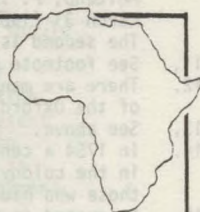
There is no need to produce any further data to show that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was not a radical deviation from the enlightened liberal policies of the preceding generations. The pattern, changing according to the particular character of the different ruling elites, in essence remains the same. Indigenous peoples are schooled to discipline them and make them better workers in the lower unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. A generalised academic schooling is given at a mainly rudimentary level; anything more would generate "cheeky Kaffirs" with rising expectations that go beyond their station in life and society. Vocational schooling is mainly manual labour but increasingly becomes more sophisticated as manpower needs increase but only insofar as these improvements do not conflict with the work possibilities of the white colonists. And although the missionaries did not always agree with these policies, the effects of what they did were largely consonant with the interests of the colonists. In content and style, Bantu Education did not significantly differ from much of the pre-1953 missionary endeavours. The differences that did occur such as the increasing emphasis on central control, on primary schools and on the rural sector need to be seen in terms of the new ruling classes attitude towards the constant thread of the schooling of the colonized, namely the reproduction of a docile and subservient labour force.

NOTES

1. Wright, Harrison M. The Burden of the Present: Liberal-Radical Controversy over Southern African History : David Philip (1977)
2. The last in this long series of comprehensive liberal analyses was the two volumes of :
Wilson, Monica and Thompson, Leonard (editors) The Oxford History of South Africa.
Vol 1 South Africa to 1870, Oxford University Press (1969)
Vol 2 South Africa 1870 - 1966, Oxford University Press (1971)
3. Wright, H M op. cit. p. 8
4. Much of this material originally appeared in "The Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries." These series commenced in 1970 and were put out by the University of London Institute of Commonwealth Studies.
5. Harrison, H M op. cit. p. 20
6. A good deal of this literature has been summarised in :
Hartwig, M and Sharp, R. The State and the Reproduction of Labour Power in South Africa. African Studies Association of Australia, Canberra Conference, November (1979).
7. Some of the best known texts would be :
Pells, E G. Three Hundred Years of Education in South Africa. J L van Schaik (1966)
8. Surprisingly there have been almost no full length works published on indigenous or African education in South Africa. The exceptions have been some five theses written in the United States during the period 1970-1975. Within South Africa, the best known works (both monographs) would be the fact finding works of Murriel Horrell.
Horrell, M. African Education : Some Origins and Development until 1953. Institute of Race Relations (1963)
Horrell, M. A Decade of Bantu Education. Institute of Race Relations (1964)

9. See Horrell as above.
10. Except for two unpublished articles :
Molteno, F. The Schooling of Black South Africans : An Historical Overview. March 31 (1980) University of Cape Town
The second is by A Kraak and was also written at the University of Cape Town.
11. See footnote 6 above.
12. There are many descriptions of the early colony. See, for example Volume 1 of the Oxford History of South Africa cited above. (Chapter 5).
13. See above.
14. In 1754 a census showed that there were 6 279 slaves and 5 510 Europeans in the colony. By 1834, there were 35 745 slaves in the Cape - excluding those who had been freed.
15. As quoted in Muriel Horrell; The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652 to 1970. Institute of Race Relations p. 3 (1970)
16. Ibid, p. 3.
17. Ibid, p. 10.
18. Ibid, p. 10.
19. Behr, A L. Three Centuries of Coloured Education. Ph.D. Thesis, Potchefstroom University. p. 75 (1952)
- 18a. Horrell, M. The Education of the Coloured Community. p. 6
- 19a. Horrell, M. op. cit, p. 6 (emphasis my own)
20. op. cit. p. 11
21. op. cit. p. 11 (emphasis my own)
22. British Parliamentary Papers, Cape of Good Hope, 1854
As quoted in :
Rose, B and Tumner, R. Documents in South African Education. A D Donker, p. 204
23. Ibid, p. 205
24. Cape of Good Hope Parliamentary Proceedings, 1869. As quoted in Rose and Tumner, op. cit. p. 211
25. Ibid, p. 208
26. Ibid, p. 207
27. Cape of Good Hope. Proceedings of Parliament 1892. Rose and Tumner, op. cit. p. 211
28. By the middle of the 19th century, the white colonizers had already taken over many of the traditional African grazing lands. Many African farmers were thus forced to seek work on white farms. As the century progressed and especially after the discovery of diamonds and gold, an increasing number of Africans were needed as cheap labour in the mines. This process was assisted by taxing the African peasants on registration and on a number of huts they owned, thus forcing them into a cash economy. This flow of labour was controlled by the Masters and Servants Acts and then later, by a series of Apprenticeship Acts designed to protect white workers from black labourers.
29. Cape of Good Hope. Proceedings of Parliament, 1892. Rose and Tumner, op. cit. p. 212
30. Ibid, p. 212
31. Ibid, p. 212
32. Cook, R A W. Non-European Education in : Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa. Oxford University Press, p. 350 (1949)
33. Pells, E G. 300 Years of Schooling in South Africa p. 141-142
34. Muriel Horrell, African Education up to 1953 p. 23
35. Ibid, p. 33
36. Ibid, p. 33
37. Ibid, p. 33
38. Ibid, p. 28
39. Ibid, p. 28
40. Ibid, p. 29
41. Frank Molteno, op. cit. p. 12 and 13
42. Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935. Chaired by W T. Welsh. Rose and Tumner, p. 231
43. Ibid, p. 232
44. Ibid, p. 233, 234 (emphasis my own)
45. Ibid, p. 232.

Black Education, Class Struggle and the Dynamics of Change in South Africa since 1946



Richard Levin

Abstract

The new wave of struggles emanating from the educational structures of Apartheid South Africa pose fundamental problems for contemporary analysis.

What is the relationship between educational institutions and capitalist social functions? How does student revolt relate to class struggle as a whole: does student protest lead to higher forms of class struggle or does it die out under the dictates of time and repression?

By situating a discriminatory educational system within the specificity of the South African social formation; examining the particular phenomenal forms which educational structures have assumed as a reflection of the unifying totality of the essential capital relation of exploitation, and revealing the articulation between these forms and the concrete rhythms of historical development, this article represents a modest attempt to come to grips with some of these problems: the huge revolutionary potential unleashed by successive waves of student unrest over the past four years provides a crucial area which current analysis cannot overlook.

CAPITALISM AND EDUCATION

Although a number of attempts have been made to locate educational institutions within capitalist society (1), few - if any - have related schooling to the social formation as a whole. Althusser has focussed on the ideological instance of the classically-conceived social formation and its relationship to education, showing how the latter constitutes an ideological apparatus of the state which functions to secure the reproduction of the relations pertinent to capitalist development. In formulating a Marxist conception of the state, Althusser distinguishes between state power as control of the state, and the state apparatus as the form of the state which secures the needs of a particular balance of class forces. The state functions to ensure the reproduction of the condition of production crucial to capital and these are divided into the reproduction of the forces of production and the reproduction of the relations of production. Reproduction of labour-power and manpower skills are under capitalism increasingly conducted outside the point of production. The education system here performs the dual function of reproducing the necessary skills for the reproduction of capital as well as ensuring subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its practice (2).

Althusser views the state from the perspective of reproduction and in dealing with the state apparatus, draws a distinction between the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). The former comprises the government, administration, courts, police, army, etc. while the latter comprises a set of heterogeneous cultural institutions including schools, religion, the family, trade unions etc. The former functions by violence, the latter by ideology. Maintenance of class power is achieved through the exercise of hegemony by the dominant class within the ISAs which become not only the object, but moreover the locus of forms of class struggle.

Reproduction of the relations of production are ensured through a dialectical interaction whereby the RSAs ensure the relations of exploitation, the ISAs the reproduction of the relations of production, while the ruling ideology facilitates an harmonious relationship between the RSAs and the ISAs. Despite the fact that all ISAs contribute to the reproduction of the relations of production, they are overdetermined by the educational apparatus which assumes a position of dominance amongst the ISAs under capitalism. This assertion enables Althusser to conclude that the crisis faced by educational institutions throughout the capitalist world adopts a political dimension, because the schools - in constituting the dominant ISA - play a determinate role in the reproduction of the relations of production in a mode of production whose very existence is threatened by heightened class struggle.

Althusser's formulations appear problematic when subject to close scrutiny, however. A distinct economism is manifest in his implicit assertion that a homogenous bourgeoisie asserts its hegemony over the power bloc and asserts its ideology which is determined at the economic level. For Poulantzas, the latter problem can be overcome by viewing the state's functioning as the locus of the political struggle between classes and their fractions i.e. the dominant class is not conceived of as a monolithic body, but is rather heterogeneously stratified. The ISAs (including educational institutions) can then be seen in terms of their functioning to secure the needs of the hegemonic fraction of the bourgeoisie where the dominant ideology must contain both primary exacerbations in the social formation as well as secondary antagonisms within the power bloc itself (3).

Althusser's thesis furthermore fails to elucidate the specific relationship which educational institutions have with the economic level of the social formation. Hussein has focussed on the labour market as providing the crucial link between education and the economy, for the sale of labour power, its terms of sale and access to occupations provide the locality of capitalist social differentiation (4).

While educational qualifications serve as the basis for occupational distribution, the latter is determined outside the education system by the specific historical needs of capital. Under capitalism the direct producer is separated from the means of production so that the purchase of commodities implies either the ownership of the means of production or the sale of labourpower. A further feature of capitalist relations is the separation of the unit of consumption from that of production, so that there is a change in the role of the family which can no longer be the site of the training of the labour force. The shift of training to educational institutions results in universal education where education attempts to co-ordinate the demand and supply of various kinds of labour.

This would imply that it is not the relations of production which are reproduced by educational structures, but rather the social division of labour (5). This assertion is exemplified through the existence of a non-correspondence between the division of labour and the relations of production where classes and the division of the labour force into functional groups do not of necessity bear a direct relationship. The classes of wage-labour, capital and petit-bourgeoisie do not necessarily correspond to the divisions of the labour force into managerial/non-managerial, skilled/unskilled etc. categories. However, it can be strongly contended that education does provide an important mechanism in class differentiation, so that at a concrete level education becomes instrumental in the determination of class relations.

It is suggested that a thorough conceptualisation of schooling and education in capitalist society must build on the foundations of Marx's great scientific discovery of the law of value through which he was able to penetrate the phenomenal forms which capital assumes on the surface of society in order to expose the fundamental essential social relations of production without which a social formation would be incapable of reproducing itself. Indeed, the distinction between essence and forms of manifestation is crucial for an understanding of the social formation: the superstructure is not conceived of as a separate body of relations determined by the economy (6) .

Rather the focus of analysis should rest on the dialectical interaction between essential relations, their manifest forms and the concrete historical movement to which these forms give rise. When considering transformations and transitions from one mode of production to another, Marx emphasises that "...a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic condition of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophical - in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out..." (7)

In order to fully grasp the significance of educational institutions in capitalist society it is therefore crucial to provide a rigorous expose of the accumulation process, the fundamental capital relation of exploitation and the forms in which it appears at specific conjunctural moments in the trajectory of various social formations. At this level of analysis, education articulates with these relations through the operation of the labour market and functions to reproduce the division of labour as well as secure the occupational distribution pertinent to capitalist relations of production. This relationship, which can be determined scientifically, is vital since it is primarily the level of development of the productive forces that will determine both quantitatively and qualitatively the nature of the educational system. Secondly, at another level, the educational system - in constituting a specific apparatus of the state - should be viewed as a form of manifestation of the essential contradictory capital relation, where the state functions, albeit problematically, to secure the needs of capital in general. For Holloway and Picciotto, the struggle waged by the state to secure the objective conditions of existence essential to valorization constitutes the core of the class struggle whereby

capital in attempting to overcome the various barriers which it erects for itself, remains firmly within the limits set by its own crisis-ridden, constantly restructured course of development (8) .

Discovering the form cannot in itself, however, reveal the concrete rhythm of the process of class struggle which must be discovered through scrutinising the dialectics of form and content. This is realised through an examination of the relationship which different classes bear with respect of the state apparatus and the different concrete forms of manifestation of the class struggle. Educational institutions must in this regard be analysed insofar as they function to serve the needs of capital-in-general, a process which in itself is contradictory as witnessed in the dialectical interplay between educational reproduction and class struggle.

Remaining essentially social in character, educational structures ostensibly serve to fulfil the reproductive functions outlined above, but simultaneously constitute the site of different forms of class struggle and in so doing, furnish potential avenues for revolutionary change. Moreover, through education's centrality in the process whereby forms of consciousness and ideology are reproduced, primarily in the interests of different sections and alignments of capital, the struggle waged by students against the dominant ideology poses a decisive challenge to the state which along with intensified class struggle emanating more directly from the fundamental exploitative capital relation, could provide the fatal rupture leading to socialisation of the means of production and a total revolution in the existing articulation of forces and relations of production. The specific conditions which could effect such a rupture in the South African formation are outlined towards the end of the paper.

A discussion of Black Education in the post World War II period must therefore provide a direct account of the specificity of the capital-relation in the South African formation and the peculiar political and ideological forms which this essential relation has assumed on the surface of society. This is facilitated through an examination of a specific conjunctural moment in the trajectory of the crisis-ridden course of South African capital which provides a point of departure for an exegesis of the efforts of the state to overcome the imminent contradictions of the accumulation process, inter-alia through its creation of a distinct structure of black education. These interventionist attempts which collectively amount to an onslaught on the black proletariat in order primarily to secure control over the circulation of labour through its redistribution and repulsion, constitute a concrete process of class struggle. In focussing on the institution of "Bantu Education" this paper will attempt to show how as an ideological apparatus of the state, it has served to both mediate and evolve the development of the contradictory capital-relation in the context of the South African formation.

Before elucidating the forms which the manifest crisis took in the forties, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the particularity of the development of the capitalist mode of production in the South African formation. This will facilitate an understanding of the relationship of the social totality to its constituent parts: the relationship between educational structures and the unifying totality of the South African capital-relation.

CLASS STRUGGLE AND CRISIS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORMATION IN THE FORTIES

The process of primitive accumulation triggered off by the penetration by merchants' capital of Southern African pre-capitalist formations gave birth to an African rural proletariat. This trend accelerated dramatically with the discovery of minerals in the late nineteenth century and raised considerably the demand for cheap black labour-power. Pressure was brought to bear on the states of all territories which were later to comprise South Africa, to actively intervene in the process of creating a large-scale labour force. In conjunction with country-wide hut and poll taxes and what can be described as a generalised all-out assault on the South African peasantry, the Transvaal state reinforced a system of independent recruitment launched by the mine-owners through the legislation of various laws aimed against labour for breach of contract. A system of migrant labour evolved to lower the costs of the reproduction of labour-power which served to diminish the wage, since the locus of reproduction remained within the partially self-sustaining pre-capitalist social formations.

Significant to note here is that in contradistinction to the process of white proletarianisation, black proletarianisation in this conjuncture was only partial, which helps to account for the peculiar racial state form that evolved with the foundation of the union in 1910 (9). This semi-proletarianisation of the African workforce meant that the majority of wage labourers were not "free" in the classical sense to dispose of their labour power, so that definite barriers impeded the extension of "freedom" and "equality" to the mass of black South Africans. Particular juridico-political forms within the pre-capitalist formations were bolstered up by capital and the state, and certain tribal chiefs were co-opted. As we shall observe, it was in the face of an escalating political threat levelled largely by a fully proletarianised African work force that the state developed a vast array of strategical measures including the development of "Bantu Education" to maintain the contradictory South African state form, itself inextricably bound up with the requirements of South African capital accumulation.

The period between 1910 and the Second World war was marked by major transformation in the make up of South African capital. The initial impetus towards accumulation came from mining with a consequential structural uneven development where agriculture and manufacturing lagged far behind. The early twenties saw an increasingly direct state intervention in the economy, particularly in the sphere of secondary industry, a tendency that was to increase in the subsequent decades. The abandoning of the gold standard in the early thirties following the Great Depression saw the further rapid development of manufacturing industry which along with agriculture enjoyed state protection during the "fusion" period (1933-39). The latter two decades also witnessed a transitional phase in the development of capitalist agriculture, and the forties was marked by a shift from agriculture labour tenancy to capitalist settled wage-labour. The crucial implication of these general statements is that by the end of the Second World War, a fully developed and sizeable African

proletariat had emerged "freed" in the classical sense from the means of production, and hence forced to sell its labour power on the market as a commodity. Furthermore, the process we have outlined was one characterised by intense class struggle which was to burst forth even more violently in the forties and subsequent decades.

The post World War II period which forms the focus of the analysis was one of crisis whereby capital and the state found itself confronted by a militant African proletariat in addition to a progressive mass movement whose demands exceeded the mere extension of bourgeois "democratic freedom" to the mass of the population, but as the struggle unfolded, pressed for demands which undermined the contradictory and peculiar forms that South African capitalism assumed on the surface of society. In order to give due justice to the struggle emanating from the primary contradiction of the capital relation, it is necessary to see contradictions within capital-in-general as being overdetermined by the struggle between capital and labour. This does not imply that capital-in-general comprises an undifferentiated homogenous bloc, but rather seeks to explain the material interrelationship between different capitals and the limits and constraints placed on state activity by the wider process of capital accumulation.

Furthermore, in "rising" from the abstract it can be shown that the South African state does bear a dynamic relationship to classes and fractions determined both by concrete economic conditions as well as historical class relations.

Indeed, the post World War II crisis was brought to the surface primarily by the chief contradiction of the capital relation. Whereas between 1930 -39 a total of 26 254 non-whites struck the corresponding figures between 1940 -45 were 52 394 while between 1933 and 1964, the black proletariat increased by half a million with a small and decreasing migrant proportion (10).

By 1945, there were more than 150 000 members of the Non-European Trade Union Council (NETUC) and about 40 percent of African workers in commerce and industry had been unionised (11). The African Mineworkers' Union (AMWU) was estimated to have a membership of 25 000 by 1946. The war-time boom caused a massive influx of Africans to the cities, migrating in large measure from white-owned farms, and housing shortages led to squatting movements in Johannesburg. Other struggles included two bus boycotts in Alexandra Township in 1943 and 1944, and in spite of War Measure 145 legislated by the Smuts government in 1942 to ban all strikes, 60 illegal strikes occurred between 1942 - 45 (12)

The culmination of these working class struggles came in 1946 when the AMWU pressed for basic wage increases as well as housing for their families, thus undermining the system of migrant labour. The state reacted forcefully, arresting the NETUC, AMWU and Communist Party (CP) leadership, and employed armed police to suppress the 70 000 miners who came out on strike.

The post - 1920 period was moreover characterised by periodic unrest in black schools throughout the country. These struggles were generally

directed against the prevailing harsh conditions of poor food, enforced manual labour and the stringent punishment meted out by teachers. The formation of the Congress Youth League (CYL) of the ANC in 1943 saw the attempt to win recruits at the University College of Fort Hare, but although student strikes often occurred in response to outside events, they were not called for by political organisations. Nevertheless, the access which students had to the wider struggle often spurred them into action. In August 1946, a serious riot broke out at Lovedale, and in the unofficial commission of inquiry set up under Douglas Smit, evidence was led that students involved had responded to a call to support the African mine-workers in their 1946 strike (13).

The Lovedale strike was followed by a number of strikes in the Cape and Transvaal, that culminated in the sitdown strike at the Bethesda "Bantu" Training College near Pietersburg at the end of 1946.

The cumulative effect of these war-time struggles brought about what Laclau has designated as a generalised ideological crisis (14), explaining the necessity for a reconstitution of an ideological unity and affected the oppressed and exploited classes as well as the ruling strata. With regards the former, this ideological unity was brought about by an ANC recharged with the militancy of its Youth League.

For the latter, the process was more complex in that the essential contradiction was not merely manifest in an ideological form, but also realised in the form of a political crisis: in short a crisis of the state. The rapid proletarianisation of Africans posed a direct threat to both mining and agricultural capitals. Whereas the demands of industry encompassed a more skilled workforce in the towns, mining depended on the familiar system of migrancy. Agricultural capital on the other hand, whose dependence on settled wage labour had grown, found it increasingly difficult to pin down a cheap labour force which as we have seen was migrating into the cities in search of better paid industrial jobs. A contradiction or set of conflicting interests groups emerged within capital-in-general whose difficulties centred on the problem of the location of the industrial reserve army. Whereas industry saw the need for its concentration in the urban areas, mining and agriculture pressed for its location in the rural areas.

These contradictions do not in themselves constitute class struggle, but instead were brought to the surface by a process of class struggle. Capital-in-general is characterised by a material interrelationship of differentiated capitals whose common interest lay in raising the mass and rate of surplus-value. Differences between individual capitals concerned the strategy whereby this was to be achieved. The central class struggle emerging from the fundamental relations of exploitation, in taking the form of an ideological crisis favoured the balance of forces of Afrikaner Nationalism so that 1948 saw the emergence of the National party and the constitution of fresh political forms of the essential social relation.

BANTU EDUCATION AND THE CRISIS OF STATE POWER

These forms can be understood inter alia through an examination of the implementation by the Nationalist government of Bantu Education which along with the enactment of various legislation such as Influx Control, Bantu

Authorities and Group Areas Act, aimed to control the rapid influx of Africans to the towns as a result of the war-time boom. Education here constitutes a key strategy in so far as repressive legislation in itself is insufficient and must be accompanied by specific forms of ideological manipulation aimed at the legitimisation of state policy. The Sauer Report drafted in 1947 primarily to deal with the problem of the rapid influx of Africans to the towns, was also a sophisticated statement on the concept of "apartheid", and referred to the long-term dangers of integration and loss of group identity.

Stressing the urgency of the institution of rigid controls on the movements of Africans, the commission viewed the reserve areas as the "core" of the African's nationhood. Apartheid in action has thus corresponded to an attempted reconsolidation and restructuring of the decaying pre-capitalist modes of production and has been concretised in the "independent Bantustan" policies which have been pursued.

In January 1949, the government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Dr W Eiselen whose terms of reference included the following: "The formulation of the principles and aims of education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude and their needs under ever-changing racial conditions are taken into consideration." (15)

The Eiselen Commission tabled its report in 1951, and despite the fact that it noted that Africans were totally opposed to any kind of education specially adapted "for the Bantu", the Commission affirmed the separate existence of black education and considered that Bantu education would have a central and dynamic role to play in the development of a specific "socio-economic policy" planned for the African people.

In 1951, the Bantu Authorities act was passed in Parliament providing for the establishment in the Reserves of tribal, regional and territorial authorities. Amendments to the Urban Areas Act in 1952 provided for the implementation of Labour Bureaux while a more systematic and comprehensive system of documentation, further underlined the desperate attempts on the part of the state to control and allocate the supply and flow of labour-power. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed whereby the major recommendations of the Eiselen Commission became law. The essential unity of purpose in the passing of these laws was made explicit by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd, whose statements serve to illuminate the dialectical interaction between manifest forms such as educational structures, and their inner connection: the fundamental capital relation of exploitation:

".....education (will now) have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and Native Community. The school must equip (the "Native") to meet the demands which economic life will impose on him... There is no place for him above the level of certain forms of labour" (16)

Speaking of the hitherto existing form of African education, Verwoerd's comments underline the role of education as a distinct form of class formation:

"Education has served to create a class of educated and semi-educated persons without the corresponding socio-economic development which should accompany it.

This is the class which has learned to believe that it is above its own people and feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilised community of South Africa, ie the Europeans, and feels frustrated because its wishes have not been realised." (17)

By this Act, all formerly run mission schools were to be deprived of government subsidies if they refused to come under state control. In 1954, the State's yearly contribution to African education was fixed at R13 million and excess expenditure were seen in Verwoerd's announcement that it would be Departmental policy to employ women teachers in primary schools, and that new salary scales for teachers would be less favourable than those existing at the time.

It is our contention here that the legislation and implementation of Bantu Education itself signifies a process of class struggle. Its institution represents the assumption on the surface of society of a specific political-ideological form of the essential contradictory relations of exploitation; a form which arises through the shifting dynamics of class struggle as an outcome of the dialectical interplay between form and historical content as manifest at the level of appearance. Legislation is enacted by the agents of bourgeois production in order to contain the phenomenal contradictory forms of the capital relation, but this action is unable to overcome the all-embracing contradiction of these relations. Hence although legislation may be effective in containing class struggles over short-term periods, the long-term contradictions to which they give rise should not be underestimated. Bantu education does not merely provide an ideological mode of manipulation in the wider attempts at controlling the circulation of labour-power, but in itself becomes a political strategy aimed at the subjugation of the black proletariat, a strategy which was employed under conditions of bitter class struggle and which gave rise to fresh struggles that themselves could only be temporarily contained. Thus the attempt at stifling the growth of a black "middle class" through ideological control constitutes a decisive error on the part of the state which contemporary Total Strategy attempts to overcome, within its own terms of reference.

In order to fully understand the introduction of Bantu Education in the 1950s and its effects, it is crucial therefore to examine it in relation to the class struggle in its historical concreteness as a material manifestation of the crisis-ridden course of capital accumulation.

BLACK EDUCATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL FORMATION 1950-54

The rate and patterns of South African capital accumulations in the post World War II period were conditioned and regulated by its relationship to accumulation on a world scale. This is reflected on the one hand by the lack of uniformity in economic growth rate (18), and on the other hand by the modification of its structure in order to facilitate a high rate of surplus value. The latter has involved the global tendency towards concentration and centralisation with the widespread emergence of monopoly capital. The dynamic sector has been the manufacturing industry which has displayed a consistent rise in its organic composition concomitant with a higher concentration and centralisation of capital, a process which has accelerated the formation of a large industrial reserve army of labour.

The 1950s in South African history were characterised by an all-out attempt on the part of the state to crush all forms of black resistance which took the form of rural-based revolts and urban mass action. The Nationalist Party's victory in the aftermath of the 1946 black mine workers' strike had a militating influence on a ANC recharged with the radicalism of its Youth League, and in 1949, it adopted a Programme of Action against the state calling for boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and any means of non-cooperation which would bring about the oppressed majority's aspirations of the right to self-determination. In 1950, the beginnings of mass action were seen with a May Day stay-away initiated by the CP in protest against the proposed Suppression of Communism Bill. The stay-away was to become one of the major tactics of the ANC, and has characterised the liberation struggle to the present day. In 1952-3 a series of passive resistance campaigns were launched by the ANC to which the state replied with what has become a routine of systematic violence, intimidation and brutal repression in conjunction with numerous arrests, interrogations and detentions. Resistance of Bantu Education was initiated in 1954 with a boycott that experienced initial success on the Witwatersrand and by April 21, it was estimated that some 10,000 children from different centres on the Rand were out of school (19).

The ANC's attempts to set up independent schools were thwarted by the police on the basis of the Bantu Education Act and Congress' response was to form a series of "cultural clubs" which were suppressed in similar fashion. Verwoerd's response was the expulsion of about 7 000 students who persistently refused to return to school, although they were later re-admitted on condition that there would be no further boycotts.

In June 1955, in what represents the singularly most democratic meeting in South African history, a Congress of the People was called in Kliptown by a number of progressive organisations under the aegis of the ANC. A Freedom Charter was adopted, certain clauses of which significantly undermined the foundations of South African accumulation and provided a basis for wider demands which could overturn the articulation of the forces and relations of production upon which the South African relations of exploitation rest.

Calling for a redistribution of the land amongst those who work it, along with the nationalisation of the mines and a general redistribution of the country's wealth, the Freedom Charter struck at the core of South African capitalism. The ten point programme's call for equal education underlines the notion that this demand can only be fully realised in conjunction with wider political-economic demands. It was around this time that the African Education Movement (AEM) was formed and survived under mounting government harassment until 1960. The members and leaders were banned and subject to constant state scrutiny and were hence forced to import informal education since the state had a monopoly of formal black education.

The state's clampdown continued and 1956 saw the beginning of the lengthy Treason Trial of 156 of the Congress Alliance leaders which finally ended in 1961 with the acquittal of all the accused. The ANC suffered a further set-back when internal wrangles broke out between those who supported the Freedom Charter and its avowed non-racism under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, and the Africanists who resented the behind the scenes activities within the ANC of white communists.

The South African Communist Party (SACP) had reconstituted itself underground in 1953 with its membership in the Congress of Democrats as part of the Congress Alliance. In 1959, led by Robert Sobukwe, the Africanists broke with the ANC to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

In the meantime, the struggle within educational institutions continued to grow as black students continued their protest against racist education. Adams College under the headmastership of Reverend E Grant, opposed the Bantu Education Act, and it wasn't long before the government forced its hand by seizing control of the institution. It was renamed the Amamzimtoti Zulu Training College and most of the staff were replaced by government employees. Discontent spread to the student body who initiated a passive resistance campaign in response to a white teacher's striking a black worker. Students were arrested and expelled, and in 1960, 50 students walked out in protest at the standard of tuition. At Fort Hare, the CYL continued to take the lead and in 1955, following the institution of a commission of inquiry into conditions on the campus, the whole SRC resigned and students boycotted the graduation ceremony (20).

The logical follow up to the Bantu Education Act, as part of the state's offensive, was the passing of the Extension of University Act in 1959. This prohibited the continued registration of black students by the "open universities" which then - as now - comprised predominantly white student bodies. Fort Hare was to be open to Xhosa-speaking Africans only, and two new tribal colleges Turfloop (Northern Transvaal) and Ngoya (Zululand) were opened. So-called "Coloureds" were redirected to the University of the Western Cape, and "Indians" to the University of Durban Westville. Protest was largely symbolic, and the University of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand unveiled plaques proclaiming their commitments to the ideal of an "open university" and introduced annual "academic freedom" lectures. Staff and students at Fort Hare passed strongly worded resolutions, and the state reacted by purging staff members including the Vice-Principal, ANC member Professor Z.K. Matthews, who was forced to resign.

In 1960, a number of students were refused re-admittance and the SRC was forced to disaffiliate from Nusas (21). The impending student reaction was stemmed when students were forced by the authorities to sign a declaration of acceptance of the college regulations. Bantu Education had been implemented and mother tongue instruction was introduced in all African primary schools, while The Extension of the University Act had extended Bantu Education to all levels of African education.

At the end of 1959, the ANC decided to protest once more against the pass laws. They decided to begin their campaign in April 1960, but the PAC preempted these moves by beginning a similar protest before the ANC's was due to begin. Peaceful marches were conducted and people surrendered themselves to the police without their passes. At Sharpville, police reaction was violent and the Vereeniging "Skietkommando" fired on the crowd of 3 000 demonstrators killing 69 and wounding 180. In Langa the police fired on a crowd of 6 000, killing six.

The national stay away that followed was brutally suppressed and the declaration of a state of emergency by the state resulted in the detention of hundreds.

The Cape Town townships were cornered off and the police and army conducted systematic waves of terror against the inhabitants. Under these conditions of mounting resistance and unrest, the ANC and PAC were banned and driven underground from where they continued their struggle. In May, Mandela called for a three day stay at home and demanded a national convention be called. The whole country was seething with discontent. Zeerust women led a mass pass burning protest while the peasants of Sekhukhuniland, Pondoland and Zululand opposed the Bantu Authorities. In the early '60s, police in helicopters killed 30 demonstrating Pondo at Ngquza hill in Lusikisiki district, and later arrested 4 769 Africans in bringing a three-year fight against the implementation of Bantu Authorities to an end (22). The ANC launched a campaign of sabotage having mounted a secret armed wing "Umkhonto Wesizwe" MK in December 1961, while the PAC involved itself with Poqo, a frankly terrorist organisation (23).

A formidable array of repressive machinery was constructed to destroy opposition in the country. Legislation included the Sabotage Act, the Unlawful Organisation Act and the 90 day detention act - the precursor of the Terrorism Act. In July 1963, the police descended on a Rivonia farm near Johannesburg arresting the entire leadership of Umkhonto Wesizwe including Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and Goldberg all of whom received life sentences in the ensuing trial. Those who escaped the police net regrouped overseas and began to conduct the struggle from exile. This left a vacuum which was filled by ideas and organisations emanating from the black campuses, and which the state attempted to fill with its own ideologues: the "homeland leaders".

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS: REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM OR AMORPHOUS PHILOSOPHY?

The early 60s were marked by the efforts on the part of black students to affiliate to NUSAS, a move which was generally opposed by the Cape-based Non-European Unity movement.

Formed in 1924, NUSAS had never really been able to break with the white liberalism, and despite progressive elements with its ranks, was incapable of evolving as a radical organisation. In 1968, in spite of a rising militancy in NUSAS, the black student body led by Steve Biko broke away and founded the South African Students Organisation (SASO). This action saw the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the seventies inspired largely by the ideals of SASO which held that black, coloured and Indian students should organise on their own. Their ideas were reflected in the preamble to the SASO constitution written in July 1970:

"whereas we, the black students of South Africa, having examined and assessed the role of black students in the struggle for the emancipation of the black people in South Africa and the betterment of their social, political and economic lot, and having unconditionally declared our lack of faith in the genuineness and capability of multi-racial organisations and individual whites in the country to effect rapid social changes ... do commit ourselves to the realisation of the worth of the black man, the assertion of his human dignity and to promoting consciousness and self-reliance of the black community". (24)

SASO began to involve itself in the literacy campaigns and community projects initiated by the University Christian Movement (UCM)

Black resistance in the seventies was sometimes characterised by Black Consciousness in action, and 1972 saw the foundation of the Black Peoples' Convention with its subsidiary, the Black Community Project (BCP). Appealing for a feeling of solidarity amongst the oppressed black masses, Black consciousness ideologues strove to fuse consciousness and action into a single dynamic force which would pose a decisive threat to the state.

"We have to be unified by our common desire to take the initiative in deciding and determining our future and that of future generations of black South Africans. We have mutual knowledge of the ways in which we have been deprived of this right. In their temporal dimensions, black consciousness and solidarity must mean something more than sheer nostalgia. In their present and future thrusts, they must mean the birth of a new creativity. It needs no gainsaying to point out that this must be a broadly-based type of creativity covering all the significant sectors of our existence". (25)

In April 1972. O.R. Tiro, a former SRC president of Turfloop, presented a speech to assembled students, in which he criticised discrimination in education and the entire apartheid system. This led to his expulsion in early May with an ensuing boycott of lectures followed by a closure of the university. The boycott spread to other black campuses and by June all lectures at black universities had been disrupted. Attention in the press was diverted to the white universities where NUSAS launched a "Free Education" campaign which the police crushed forcefully and effectively stemmed militant white student action for years to come.

The impetus in 1973 came from black workers as working class activity reached hitherto unprecedented levels in reaction to the crippling price increases. An estimated 100 000 African workers were involved in strikes in 1973, germinating in Durban and spreading across the whole country (26) The situation was exacerbated by the shooting of more than 170 black miners by police during this period leaving about 500 injured. Black students held prayer meetings and SASO condemned the shooting while campuses carried their protests to Anglo-American headquarters. Turfloop students "couped" their SRC for not organising a protest. The wider Southern African liberation struggle began to impinge on the trajectory of black South Africans resistance and the overthrow in April 1974 of the Caetano government in Portugal created the impulse for BPC and SASO action. September 25 was declared a day of nationwide pro-Frelimo rallies but the state was quick to act and the Minister of Police banned all BPC-SASO meetings for a month. In Durban at Currie's Fountain, a crowd gathered in support of Frelimo, but was dispersed by police dogs and baton wielding policemen, while a Turfloop student protest meeting was similarly disrupted. Twelve BPC-SASO leaders were subsequently arrested and remained in detention throughout 1976.

Secondary school black students were not inactive during this period, and a number of student organisations were formed, the most important of which was the South African Student Movement (SASM) that was initially constituted in Soweto, but rapidly gained a following throughout the country. Originally formed as the African Student Movement in 1970, it reconstituted itself as SASM in 1972 after having made contact with schools in the Eastern Cape and Eastern Transvaal. Despite the close ties which SASM maintained with SASO, the 1976 Secretary General Tebello Motapanyane denied that the movement was an offshoot of SASO.

Evidence will suggest rather that through close ties between its leadership and the ANC, SASM had a rather different orientation.

1976 - STUDENT REBELLION

In the year 1975-76, immediately preceeding the Soweto student rebellion, it was reported that the increase in defence spending by the South African state exceeded the total allocated to African education: in 1973-74 R485 was spent on the education of every white child while R28 was spent on the education of every African child (27). We have seen how in 1970, the government began to slowly lift the ban on the private funding of black education. This led to donations of large sums of money being allocated by Anglo American, the Johannesburg City Council and the Bantu Welfare Trust, while TEACH was launched by the "Star" to collect funds for building class rooms. These efforts failed, however, to deal with a growing shortage of accommodation for students entering secondary schools, a problem which had become acute by 1976. The situation was further exacerbated when the Minister of Bantu Education announced in 1976 that half of the curriculum was to be taught in Afrikaans. The latter step was to provide the immediate cause of the June '76 uprising.

These developments took place against a background of a decisive escalation of the anti-imperialist struggle in the subcontinent. At the end of 1975, the South African defence force launched a campaign into Angola in an attempt to halt the advance of the MPLA in the Angolan Civil War. The assault, strategically and militarily proved disastrous and South Africa, facing international isolation, was forced to retreat. This was interpreted as a major defeat by the South African majority who saw pictures of white prisoners of war in the hands of the MPLA. Concomitant with the problem of workers' struggles and bus boycotts that had proliferated in Natal in particular, a new mood of militant assertion emerged among the oppressed black population who began to perceive that their white rulers were not in fact invincible. At the same time, the economy entered a recession and in 1976, industrial activity dropped significantly. Prices soared as inflation ate up black wages. Food prices rose at a rate of 30 percent so that in May 1976, the poverty datum line in Soweto was estimated at R129 05 a month - 75 percent higher than it had been in November 1970. The average black family's earnings were estimated to be R75 permonth (28).

In March 1976, Thomas Mofolo Secondary School in Soweto had Afrikaans imposed on it, and immediate student protest was quelled by police disciplinary action, but the discontent spread rapidly to Naledi High and Orlando West High School.

On June 13, SASM decided to hold a mass demonstration against the imposition of Afrikaans and formed an Action Committee consisting of two delegates from each school in Soweto, a body which was to become known as the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC). On June 16, 200 000 Students converged on Orlando Stadium in what was intended as a peaceful demonstration. The police opened fire and Hector Petersen, a 13 year old student, became the first of many victims of the 1976 rebellion. Student response was violent and vehicles belonging to the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) were burnt and its offices destroyed. Beerhalls, liquor stores, a bank and an hotel as well as several post offices suffered a similar fate.

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