

# IZWI base TOWNSHIP



## New schools are being built in Alexandra But Bricks won't hide Bantu education



# EDUCATION UNDER BAAS-SKAP

7 million Rands will be spent on new school buildings in Alexandra, according to Mr J Rousseau, of the Department of Education and Training. It is a lot of money. But people say, 'New bricks don't change Bantu Education!'

A school is not a matter of brick and cement. It is made of human beings and the relations between them.

If these relations were being rebuilt, we would be excited. But there is no change in the relations of 'baas-skap/slaaf-skap' we have had in South Africa for four hundred years.

What we will see in Alex is a new exterior to the same old system.

What we want is a NEW EDUCATION, and a NEW BREED OF TEACHERS, and a NEW SYLLABUS. When we have those, there will be no problem about buildings. We would be happy with school under a tree, if it was real education.

It is human beings co-operating with human beings, not brick cemented to brick, that makes school solid and enlightening.

Six years have passed since the students' uprising of June 16. Has anything changed? What are the conditions of bantu education today, as they affect millions of South African pupils in their everyday lives?

That is the question IZWI sets out to examine in this issue.

# CONFLICT WITHIN THE SYSTEM

## Schooling and Education are not always the same thing

School in South Africa is provided by the state to carry out a certain task. You might think that the task should be 'education'; but that is only part of it. If we take the case of schools for the children of the black working class (ie Bantu Education) we will see that the task is in fact quite complicated.

## Opposed aims

On the one hand the state wants children to be educated. They are better able to carry out their tasks in the economy if they can read, calculate, understand Afrikaans, do book-keeping and so on. Therefore schools provide information and teach pupils to think. They are centres of education. But this is also seen as a possible danger. As Verwoerd put it in 1954, "There is no place for him (the black person) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour." An educated person is a difficult person. He is critical, alert, conscious of injustice, and quite capable of ruling instead of being ruled. The state in South Africa does not want that kind of person, if he is at the same time black. It wants a capable worker, not an educated freeman. And so the task of schooling is also to prevent education. On the one hand school is there to educate: on the other hand it is there to interfere in education

It must waken curiosity: but it must sooner or later discourage initiative. It is designed to produce ability, but at the same time subservience. The product is, ideally a trained and willing workman.

These two aims, to educate and to subdue, are both present in the bantu education system, although they are opposites. Because of this contradiction school is in some ways a risk for the authorities. They might succeed, but they might also possibly fail in their objective, depending on which of the alternatives is the stronger in any particular case. If school produces a competent and willing worker, the state gains. But it loses if school produces an educated, inquisitive and confident human being.

## Alternatives

The opposites exist at every level of the school system and influence the behaviour of everyone involved, from the bottom to the top.

- Teachers either educate pupils OR they suppress them.
- Principals make their schools either centres of learning OR mental prisons.
- Parents either encourage their children to develop enquiring minds OR they force them to obey the authorities blindly.
- Pupils either learn to grapple with problems OR they become demoralised.

Often these alternatives are a bit mixed and confused. For example, you might find a teacher who is partly willing to educate but partly behaves in an authoritarian way; and a struggle takes place between these tendencies.

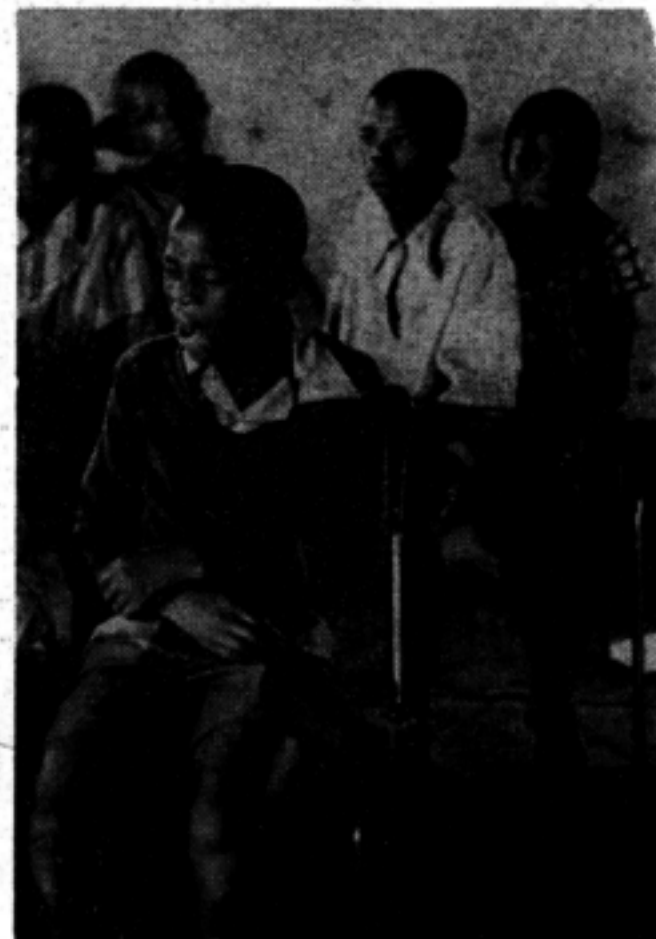
## Rage

Such struggles produce tension. Pupils who want to develop their minds are enraged by efforts to suppress them. Teachers who want to teach properly are frustrated by obstructionism. Headmasters who wish to liberate the intellect are humiliated to have to serve

the system. People with progressive minds do not want to be 'another brick in the wall'. Tension thus leads to anger and rebellion. There has been a lot of resistance, a lot of challenge, from pupils and from other ranks, over the years.

## Our duty

We must strive to understand in detail how this split, this contradiction in the education system may be perceived. No-one can turn his back on school. But because of the division we have described, it is possible for each person involved in the schools system to work out a way of strengthening education and opposing tyranny.



In this issue of IZWI LASE TOWNSHIP we offer information and analysis of some aspects of bantu education, and we provide brief accounts of struggles that have been waged over many years against colonial schooling in South Africa. This school system, which is designed to manage a conquered workforce, is under attack by those who intend to develop a democratic education



# History

It is said that the first school in South Africa was for slaves, in the Cape in 1658. These people, stolen from West Africa, were no doubt taught to understand orders given in Dutch, to say 'Ja Mynheer' and to water vegetables. However, there was resistance. They boycotted school and hid in a cave in Hout Bay. It took several days to find them and fetch them back to their desks.

The principal was instructed to offer rum and tobacco to those who co-operated; but they ran away again, and eventually the school had to be abandoned.

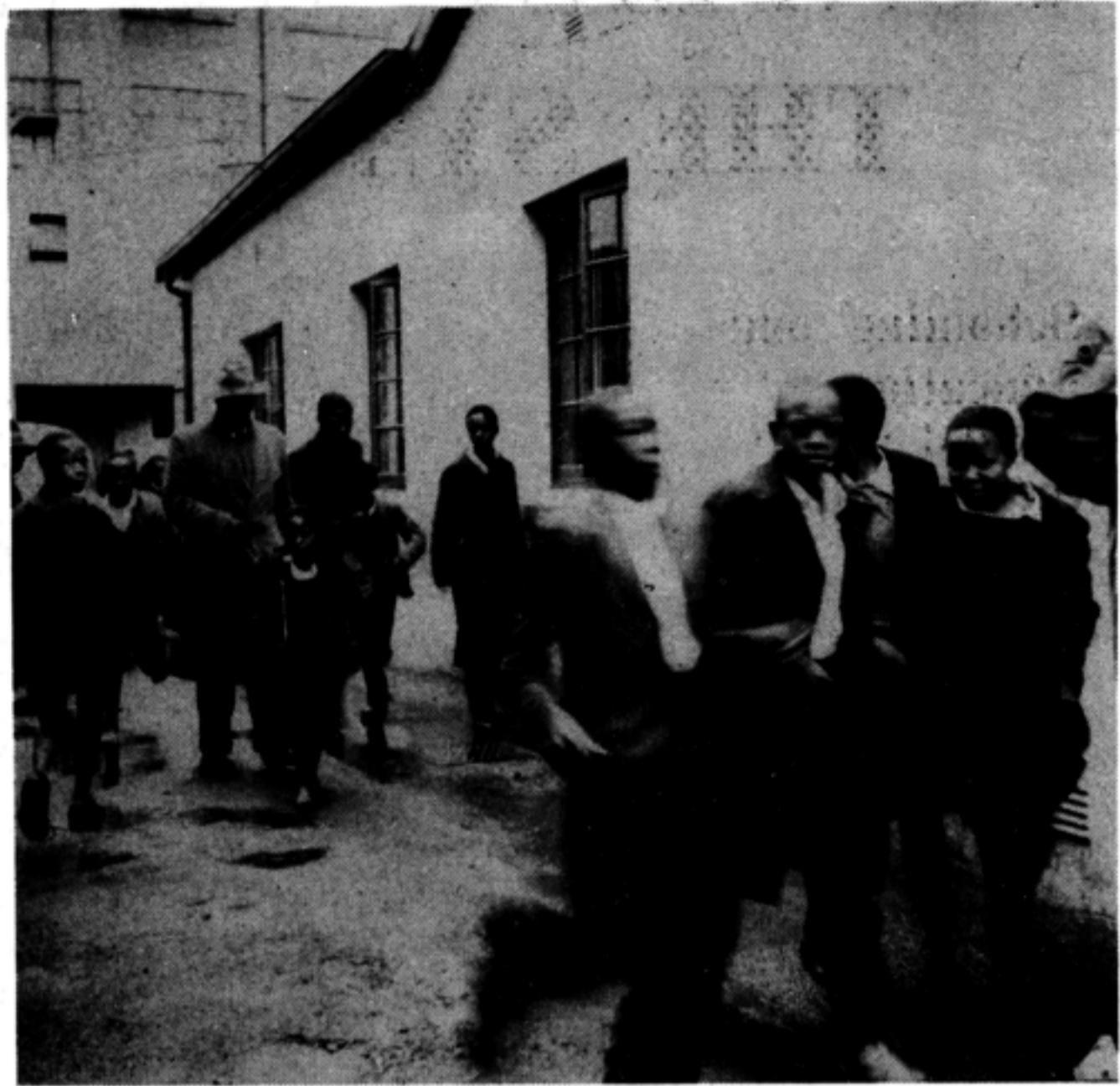
Not much has changed since 1658 except that slavery and bribery have become less obvious.

## Missionary education

Until 1953 schools were run mainly by missionaries. Junior schools had a variety of syllabuses, while the syllabus for secondary schools was the same for blacks and whites. It was set by the Provinces. There were some quite famous schools for Africans, like Albert Street, St Martins, Adams College, Lovedale etc. However, these schools were few and could cater for few. From early in this century there have been demands for the provision of free education for all as a duty of the government. State education was introduced when the Nationalists came to power in 1948 – but in a form not wanted by the people.

## 1953

Before 1953 there were protests and resistance at schools here and there, perhaps because of authoritarian teachers, or because popular teachers were fired (as happened in a school in Benoni), or because of poor food or some other such grievance. It was only when schooling became centrally organised that resistance also took on a national form. Thus the resistance we are going to describe started after 1955 and was directed against Bantu Education.



The architects of bantu education were Verwoerd and Eiselen, whose idea was to provide 'Education for Natives as a Separate Race'. It was part of the Nationalists retribalisation policy, meant to shove Africans into the framework of the bantustans, where they would be controlled by tribal authorities (ie a class of Africans bribed to suppress their people). The policy of apartheid was to be partly physical (worn-out patches of ground to be called National States) and also mental; that is, Africans were to be taught to accept their status as 'foreigners' in their own land. Bantu education was introduced as an instrument of apartheid.

## Resistance

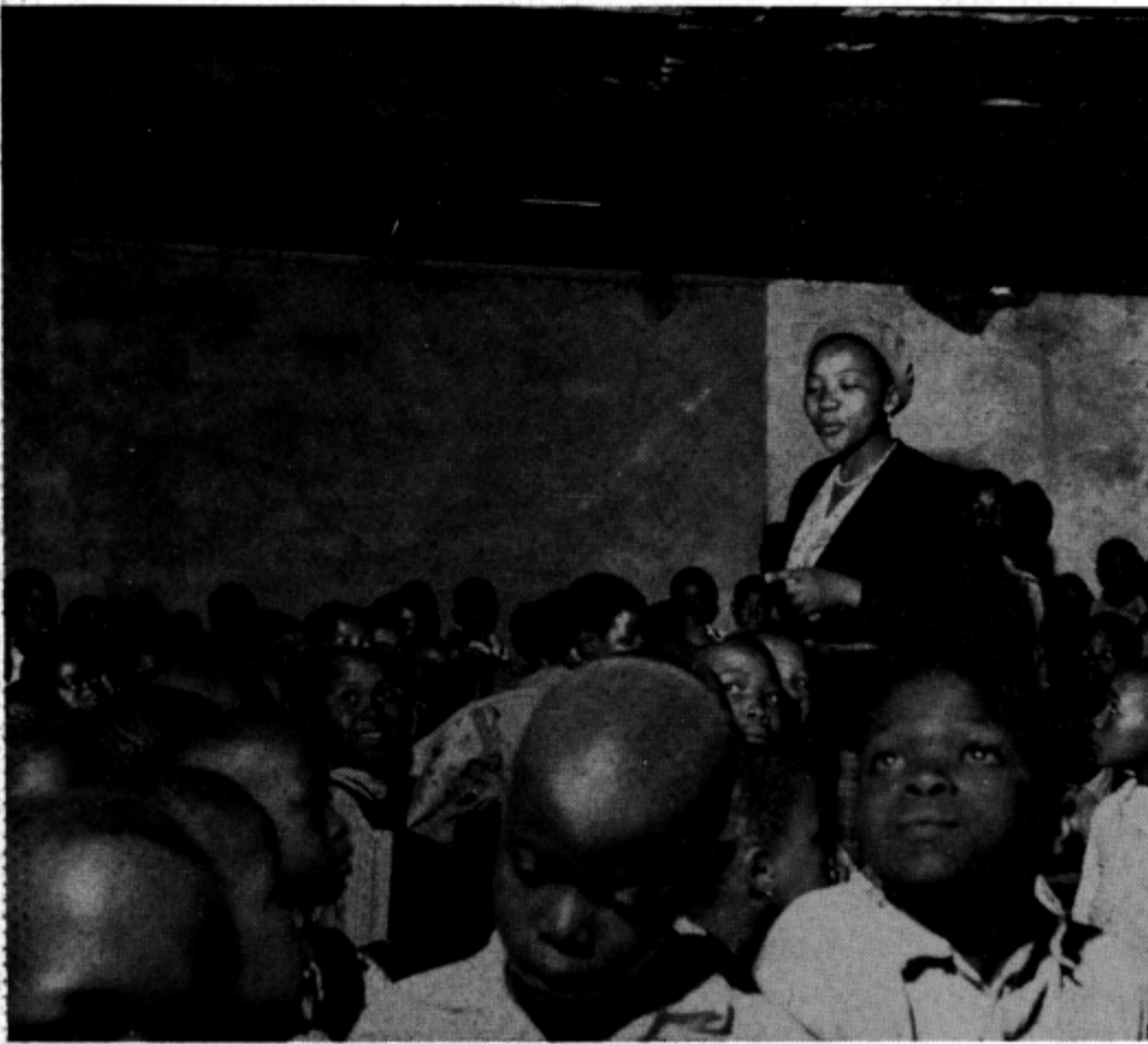
Powerful and repeated resistance has been mounted against apartheid and against its education strategy, from 1953 till today, and it is certain to continue until bantu education is scrapped. It is significant that teargas has now taken the place of tobacco and rum as a means of persuading Africans to tolerate colonial education.

## School boycott 1955

*"The ANC conference unanimously adopted a resolution in Durban today calling on parents to withdraw their children from junior schools indefinitely from April 1 in protest against the Bantu Education Act." (Rand Daily Mail 20.12.54)*

The ANC organised resistance to the implementation of bantu education when the new syllabuses were introduced in 1955. Their plan was difficult to carry out, and in the end it proved unsuitable. We will describe what happened in Alexandra and East Rand townships. There were also boycotts in the Cape.

On Tuesday 12th April children were kept away from schools in Benoni Old Location, Katlehong, Germiston, Brakpan and Alexandra. By the following



Culture Club, in a shed, East Rand township, 1955

## African Education Movement

AEM tried by all means to make the Cultural Clubs successful. In rejecting bantu education and in starting a new form of education, AEM desired to achieve a full development of pupils, a development of their personality, not just their power to work for a boss. They had enlightened ideas, e.g. one of their principles was, "Trust the children — let them take responsibility for themselves." Robert Resha, ANC President of the Transvaal, said in an interview, "The need for Cultural Clubs has long been there: we would have started them even if there was no bantu education."

But in fact the clubs could not replace formal schooling for very long. Education needs a pretty large organisation, which AEM could not provide. Moreover their aims were in conflict those of the state, and they had to withstand the state's destructive power.

The alternative schools and clubs were harassed by state police. Drum reporters describe the sort of thing that happened often during these times:

*July 1955: "Five teachers were arrested in Germiston location for allegedly conducting an 'illegal' school. It was also alleged that this school was attended by boycott pupils who had been banned from State school."*

Monday the boycott had spread to Western and Newclare and then by Friday to Moroka/Jabavu and Sophiatown. In the third week of the boycott, nearly 7 000 children were absent from school. Verwoerd waved the sjambok, threatening to ban children from school altogether if they did not return to their classes. And indeed he carried out this threat. Thousands of pupils were barred from school: many schools closed down, over a hundred teachers were fired. (So much for Verwoerd's interest in education!)

The ANC now faced two problems: what to do about the schooling of pupils who had boycotted and were in consequence banned from schools — and how to keep children off the streets.

education syllabus. Thirdly, Cultural Clubs were set up. To avoid being forced to close, these clubs had to offer 'informal' instruction, that is, they had to educate without seeming to do so. Pupils were given games to play with stones, that introduced them to the ideas of arithmetic; they were told stories, to acquaint them with literature, and so on. The controlling group was called AEM (African Education Movement). A permanent organiser, J Hadebe, a former school teacher from Alexandra, was appointed.

## Cultural Clubs

Some children went to private schools, but these were too expensive for most. A number of independent schools were set up, but these were illegal in terms of the new regulation that schools had to be registered, and must teach the bantu



An arrested teacher. His Culture Club was suspected of being a school! 1955



*November: "About 30 police stormed the Nabadula Hall in Benoni, blocking all entrances and surrounding the entire building. The 370 children trembled at the show of rifles, Sten-guns and batons, but Miss Muriel Mkwanazi, the leader who had been leading them in song, calmed their fears and got them singing again.*

*Mr Matime was arrested. . . When it was the turn for the children to give their names and addresses, Beauty Moroane ordered them not to comply with the wishes of the police, leading them in Congress songs. . .*

*The older children volunteered to go to gaol with Mr Matime and Beauty Moroane. The police shoved all into the van."*



In Alexandra, two independent (and illegal) schools were broken up by the police in June. Many children enrolled at Haille Selassie School. This private school had existed for five years. In 1955 its enrolment increased by 1 000 children. The principal applied for registration, but it was not granted. The school was forced to close.

## Rebellion 1976

The events that began in June 1976 show that bantu education has not succeeded in stupefying African pupils. They were conscious enough and organised enough to cause secondary education in South Africa to collapse, at times totally. Protests, gatherings, marches, boycotts, the destruction of Administration Board buildings and liquor outlets, continued through 1976 and 1977. During this time the state abandoned its strategy of miseducating pupils and shot them outright instead. The rebellion started as a protest against an increased use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction. But clearly there were many other causes. It is not to be forgotten that the children who rebelled are the children of black workers who are oppressed politically and exploited

economically. Everything the black worker population endures, is endured also by their children. Resistance is a product of oppression. Hence the school issue came to include more general social issues.

### The stay-away

Workers stay-away demonstrations were organised by pupils for the 4th August, for the 23rd to 25th August, and for the 13th to the 15th September. At the end of April in the following year, students led a campaign against rent increases, which was successful and which led to the collapse of the Soweto UBC.

It cannot be said that there were direct educational gains from the rebellion. Many pupils lost several years, being without schooling; some schools were closed down; hundreds of teachers left

### The lesson of '55

Despite the boycott, and the subsequent attempt to establish clubs and develop an alternative form of education, the ANC resistance to bantu education in the fifties failed. By 1960 the Clubs were no longer functioning.

In retrospect we can see more clearly that such a boycott, involving primary school children, could not succeed. As a protest, as a form of politicisation, a temporary withdrawal of pupils from school made sense. But as a sustained boycott it was doomed to failure. Parents need schools for their children: children need schooling: it is impossible to establish an alternative school competing with state schools. These are lessons that have been well learned by many progressive people.

the profession. The basic objectives of bantu education have not been altered. They cannot be altered without at the same time the state accepting that it cannot rule. The state must oppress the workers and propagandise students of the working class, if it wishes to continue in power.

## Identify yourself

Nevertheless, the June '76 uprising has done a lot to waken people in South Africa to the realities of power and the state's willingness to use it to enforce its domination. An outright confrontation of this sort serves to make people take up positions — they cannot conceal what they believe in — and thus they identify themselves. Behind the teacher, the principal and the department, there are guns. Within the classroom there are spies. The 'system' is black as well as white. It is a system of worker control and mind control. As for the changed name of the department, it merely means that there is a new emphasis on technical and commercial training in the syllabus. Education has not been improved, but merely made more useful to the economy.

## Western Cape Boycotts 1980

Like other blacks, the pupils of the Western Cape are abused by a rotten schooling. In April 1980 they organised on the common ground of short term demands aimed to improve the school system. They protested against the abuse of corporal punishment, enforced wearing of uniforms, shortage of teachers and their unfair dismissal, lack of textbooks, the prohibition of SRCs. For a short while teachers provided support, but this did not last very long. Teachers are not in a position to challenge the department, and they do not feel themselves to be on the side of the working class when times are really hard. On the other hand pupils did succeed in gaining the support of parents. This is important because it means strengthened organisation when pupils and their parents (ie workers) are united. Despite the customary brutality of the police, killings, threats, beatings and detentions, these boycotts were sustained and effective.

## Some Comments

- 1658 The first school in South Africa was for slaves, in the Cape in 1658 (Molteno)
- 1825 *"The school for the children must eventually be of advantage to us, as they teach them to speak, read and write in English. They will, if taught industrious habits, be useful as servants. It was altogether an interesting sight, so many little black creatures brought into a state of civilization and improvements."* (Mrs Philipps, 14 July 1825)
- 1858 *"The Natives are to become useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short, a source of strength and wealth to this Colony, such as Providence designed them to be."* (Sir G Grey, about 1858)
- 1860 *"The first industrial school was established at Salem and the results, Shaw suggested, 'will prove highly valuable in promoting civilization among the native tribes and thereby securing the safety and welfare of the Colony.'* " (Quoted by J Cock)
- 1868 *"The spread of civilization by school-instruction and the encouragement of industrial habits among the Natives in the Border districts, are of importance to the political security and social progress of the Colony"* (1868 Dr Dale, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape)
- 1880 *"The training of boys and girls in the various native institutions in the Colony, Transkei, Tembuland and Basutoland, has been systematically carried on. The boys receive an elementary education and are trained to general industrial habits, gardening etc. The girls are taught to do domestic work including cooking, washing, mending..."* (1880 Report of Superintendent of Education.)
- 1905 *"... education ... has had generally a beneficial influence on the Natives themselves, and by raising the level of their intelligence, and by increasing their capacity as workers and their earning power, has been an advantage to the community."* (SANAC 1905)
- 1936 *"The education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society."* (Report of Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935-6)
- 1949 *"More schools were wanted after the freeing of slaves in 1834, to cope with the children who were turned free with their parents and ... the need to extend social discipline over the new members of a free society."* (Cook, in Hellman Handbook, 1949)
- 1952 *"Missionary-controlled education has played an important part in subjugating the minds of the people and in this way ensuring the continuance of White domination."* (Nosipho Majeke 1952)
- 1970 The 1970 census shows 58% of the black population over 15 had no educational qualifications, and only 15% had qualified with std 5 or above. There was a 52% dropout rate of pupils before they had learnt to read and write.
- 1981 *"More than 125 000 blacks left school unable to read or write in SA and the 9 National states last year."* (The Star 1981)
- 1982 *"Because of the serious shortage of skilled manpower, the DET will introduce technical subjects in black schools from 1982", Dr F. Harzenburg, Minister of Education and Training said yesterday — (The Star 16 Oct 82)*



# Letters

## Izwi

I was very impressed with your magazine, especially with the letter to the Editor concerning education. I am an ex-teacher and I would like to share my experiences with your readers.

Like most black pupils, while I was at high school I did not know what I would like to become if I had the opportunity to further my studies. I had dreams of becoming a doctor who would serve my community – but not the way doctors normally do today, not with the motive of making profit out of sick people. My matric results were not good enough for me to gain entrance into one of the universities in this country, which, as you know accept a very limited number of black pupils who have gained distinctions in matric. For black students, it is not possible to gain distinctions easily. We have few schools, underqualified teachers, a lack of textbooks and other basic educational necessities. Hence black students cannot easily gain the required distinctions.

At school we regarded our teachers and principals with mixed feelings – on the one hand they were our teachers and guides, while on the other they were regarded as being part of the System that oppresses our people. We reasoned that since they were in the pay of the department they would enforce the laws of the department. The caning for unfinished homework is something that still gives me nightmares. Because we saw public servants as being sell-outs, the last thing that I wanted to do after matriculating was to become a teacher. But since my academic matric pass was not good enough for doing medicine (and for getting a bursary of course) I decided after speaking to some friends to get a diploma in teaching. These friends indicated that one could do much to help the pupils as a teacher, eg one could teach them, say History according to the syllabus requirements and also give the true people's history.

Text-book history hides the role which Blacks have played in South African history. It teaches that progress and civilization come with the coming of the 'white man' to South Africa. But you can show, for example, that it was black workers who dug the wealth out of the ground, built South Africa roads, cities, dams, worked the farms etc. I then decided to do teaching because it is necessary for our children to know the truth.

When I went to teach we had a principal at the school who could rightly be described as a mad man. He was fanatical about preparation for lessons being done in a specific way from which the slightest deviation was not allowed; he beat the children mercilessly for not having the school uniform on every day, he walked unannounced into classrooms and took our lesson. We as teachers were not allowed to sit except at breaks. He regularly sent around the departmental circular stating this. The final straw came for me in my second year of teaching in 1977. I was teaching Geography to a standard 8 class when he walked in. When I referred to 'Namibia' he went stark raving mad. He ranted on about agitating etc., and he told the children that as the Principal he commanded them to refer to Namibia as South West Africa until such time as it became independent.

I then decided to resign from teaching. There were other grievances like very low pay, strict adherence to syllabi that bored the children, etc, but I persisted despite them because I felt that some good was being done.

A. M.

The whole system has to change. Education should cater for the needs of the people and not for the system. I therefore ask you to print something in your magazine about the kind of education system that would benefit the people. Also please expose the present system for what it is – a factory for producing unquestioning disciplined robots, workers who will benefit the ruling class economically.

## Izwi

I was interested in the article on advertising which appeared in your last edition. The writer made it clear that the high cost of advertising is not really paid by the factory owners. It is paid by you and me. We have to pay high prices for products, and our money brings the factory owners massive profits and pays the cost of advertising those products.

If we look at what happened to the prices of certain goods in Mocambique after it was liberated, we can see how wasteful advertising is. In Mocambique the cost of medicines has gone right down, while in South Africa the prices of medication have been raised.

One of the policies of the FRELIMO government of Mocambique was to put an end to the advertising and fancy packaging of medicines. Because medicines are now available to poorer people in Mocambique, many serious diseases have become less common than they used to be.

E. I.

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**IZWI LASE TOWNSHIP** is published by Ditshwantsho tsa Rona. It offers notes and views about events of today and of the past. Though mainly concerned with Alexandra, because that is the home location of Ditshwantsho, we hold that Alexandra is but a part of South Africa, and shares in the general struggle in this country. We reject the ghetto status of the township, and we reject strategies that attempt to divide it from other parts of the nation.

It is necessary to understand society in order to change it. We invite the public to participate in this paper, by carrying out research and by contributing discussion.

Letters, articles, comments and enquiries should be sent to our address:  
**PO Box 720, BERGVLEI, 2012.**

The editors of this edition of IZWI are responsible for all general comments on Education.

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# Terror and unreason

## (Daily events in a black school)

### Alexandra Secondary

Since we published a letter from a student about conditions at Alexandra High (Izwi April '82), many more students have contacted us to express their views.

*"I left Alexandra High School because my teachers were lazy, they did not come to classes. Some of them were not qualified, they taught subjects they did not know.*

(This pupil transferred to a school in Tembisa)

*"Our Geography teacher Mr More is lazy and he cannot teach. All he does is read to us from the textbook, and sometimes tries to explain difficult words. We might as well read the book on our own." "Its a waste of time going to school Especially when they are practicing for choir. Sometimes, if there is a competition the whole damn day you hear singing and no-one gets a chance to work. This may go on for weeks."*

(This pupil left the school and now studies privately for his matric)

*"There is a lot of beating and assaults. Teachers sjambok pupils violently for small things, like uniform. In the morning some teachers spend their time in the yard waiting for late-comers whom they want to beat up. Sometimes they waste three periods like this, basking in the sun. Pupils come late because they know the first periods are wasted anyway."*

*"For tie, the vice-principal goes from class to class checking. He assaults brutally anyone who has no school tie on. For uniform prefects go from class to class. Anyone without uniform is taken to the domestic centre. Any kind of jersey except a school jersey is taken away until you buy the school jersey. The prefects keep these jerseys, sometimes you never see them again. It is said they got lost. I don't say the prefects steal them, but I think they are responsible, since they are the ones who confiscated them."*

*"The disrupting of studies during school hours is a thing that disgusts many students. Sometimes films are brought, which are of no benefit to us, we feel we could do without them. But the teachers seem to enjoy these times. If we try to keep away from the films, and stay in a classroom to study, we encounter problems, because we are told the classrooms must be locked. We really wonder what there is in our classes, to be protected from stealing."*



Caning pupils in the yard of Alexandra Secondary



One of the windows that was NOT fixed with R5 000 00

*"Sometimes we are made to pay money for certain things, but we don't know what happens to that money. Like in 1979 we had to pay R5,00 each, they said it was for improvements to the buildings. But nothing has been improved. There is no sign that the money has been used. And it must have been more than R5 000,00, for there are over a thousand pupils. A girl complained last year, saying she was cold, so why hadn't at least the windows been fixed. The teacher said she had better not try to be a clever . . ."*

*Also, we pay R4,00 sports fee, but most of us don't even play a sport. And if we go with the team to Soweto to watch a game, we still have to pay R1,00 for transport. I can't see where they have spent R4 000,00 on anything to do with sport."*

The same comment was made in reference to woodwork:

*"Students who take woodwork have to pay R3,00. We have hardly any tools, so that maybe 40 of us have to work with two planes. Most of us just watch while two students use the planes on a plank, without producing anything useful. Out of three periods, one is spent watching others do some planing, as I said, or running away from the teacher who wants you to carry a plank, so as to show we are busy, the other two periods are spent cleaning the classroom, and this is*



not done by everyone, for before the three periods are over most of the students have already left. You would think they would be able to buy tools, as they get perhaps R300,00 every year from pupils."

"A certain boy I know made a speech on 'What I want to be, and why.' He said that he wanted to be a teacher, because there was a lot wrong with the teaching at school and he would improve matters. It was partly a joke. His teacher was furious and threatened to get the boy expelled."

The threat of expulsion must be taken seriously at Alexandra High

### Sordid history of expulsions

It is said that in 1980 a girl student was fired after her teacher reported that she had kissed her boyfriend in a shop, while still in school uniform. In the same year another girl was fired because she made a public complaint about uniform enforcement. She came from a poor household, and could not really afford the full uniform. Regardless of what might become of her, or how her life might be spoilt, or how much her mother might have invested in her education, she was fired.

### Recent attempts

In July two students were expelled. They had been away from school. It is reported that a violent scene took place in the principal's office, students demanding the return of the pupils. Some pupils even loudly called upon the principal to resign. Neither the parents nor the students were prepared to accept these expulsions. This is probably why both pupils were re-instated.

### Is it legal ?

It will be seen from the Regulations printed in this issue of IZWI, that expulsion is an extreme punishment, and there are procedures that have to be

followed by the principal. If he does not follow these, or if his act is unreasonable, he can be forced to re-instate the pupil expelled.

### Meanwhile, at Minerva ...

These stories do not come from one person. They were compiled from accounts submitted by several pupils, who were present, or who heard about the events shortly afterwards. The editor has put them in the form of direct speech for the sake of convenience, and to convey the living experience of pupils when they are bullied by unreasonable and incompetent teachers.

Many people, hearing these stories, would feel that the sooner such teachers are re-educated the better. It is a misfortune that they have the power to aggravate pupils and waste their time. 'Teaching' of this kind does a great deal of harm.

AUGUST 1981

The headmaster told us at assembly that anyone who was late as from that day would be locked out of the school premises and she/he must return home.

The day after the announcement some students were late. Some of them went back home but others remained. They stood at the gate and forced their way in. They were 27 in number, only boys.

They had a meeting at the toilets. One of the teachers caught them. They were called to the office and had a meeting with the whole staff. The head master told them that because they wouldn't obey the orders of the school they were expelled. He also wrote letters to their parents telling them to come to school so they may solve their children's matter.

The parents of twenty-two boys came but those of five didn't. The twenty-two boys were severely punished. The vice principal said those whose parents had come could attend school but those whose parents did not show up, they were seriously expelled.



The boys came to school and told the staff what made them not to return home is that they would lose lessons. They also told them that it is better to be late than never. They said what made their parents not to come to the school is that the employers would fire them.

The boys did not show up for four days. we were very angry at that and we decided that we are also not prepared to learn if the other students were not re-admitted. We came to an agreement about that.

It failed because most of the students attended the classes. On the fifth day the disciplinary committee teachers came to our classes and asked for all the boys involved in the group of seven students.

When we were still astonished at what was happening we heard noise outside our classroom. The students came in. They were very angry. One of them attacked one teacher who was on the disciplinary committee. He punched him very hard. The other student took a desk and threw it on him, the electric globe broke in pieces.

The teachers who were not attacked instructed the boys of our class to help the other teacher but the boys just sat down as if nothing has happened. They went outside still fighting. Then the other teacher stopped them.

### WEDNESDAY 18 AUGUST 1982

'Some of us did not go to the early morning class (6.45 to 7.30). In the second period of the morning our teacher came with a stick, to punish those who had been absent. Though many of us tried to raise our difficulties in coming so early in the morning, he would not listen, and all students were punished (lashed with the cane). Several students said to the teacher that early morning class was not compulsory, but the teacher said that everyone must attend, like it or not.

Anyway, its useless getting to this class (business economics) because the teacher is useless at his subject. Even if we get into the class, its a waste of our time.'

### THURSDAY 19th AUGUST

'In the first period of this day our Biology teacher assigned us to go to the library and search for more information about Human Physiology. At the end of the period we went to the classroom, being 3 minutes late, because we had to replace the books we were using. The History teacher was waiting outside the classroom, and he told us to go back to the library because we have wasted his time, and he had prepared the chapter we were going to do. It was quite amazing because we had wasted only three minutes out of 45; and also because anyway he always comes to class unprepared and reads direct from the text book, from the first line to the last line without explaining anything. Our biology teacher tried to talk to him that he should forgive us for wasting 3 minutes, but he kept on saying 'Go back to the library.' So we spent these two periods discussing history amongst ourselves. Actually we learned much more this way without the teacher.'

## Musi High

A news report about this school appeared in The Sowetan in February

'81. Classes had been boycotted in 1980, when the pupils had presented a list of grievances. The following year a second boycott seemed likely. The pupils had many grievances against the principal and staff. One complaint was that the principal, Mr A.R. Redmead, was a racist. Another was that he seemed unable to keep good teachers for long.

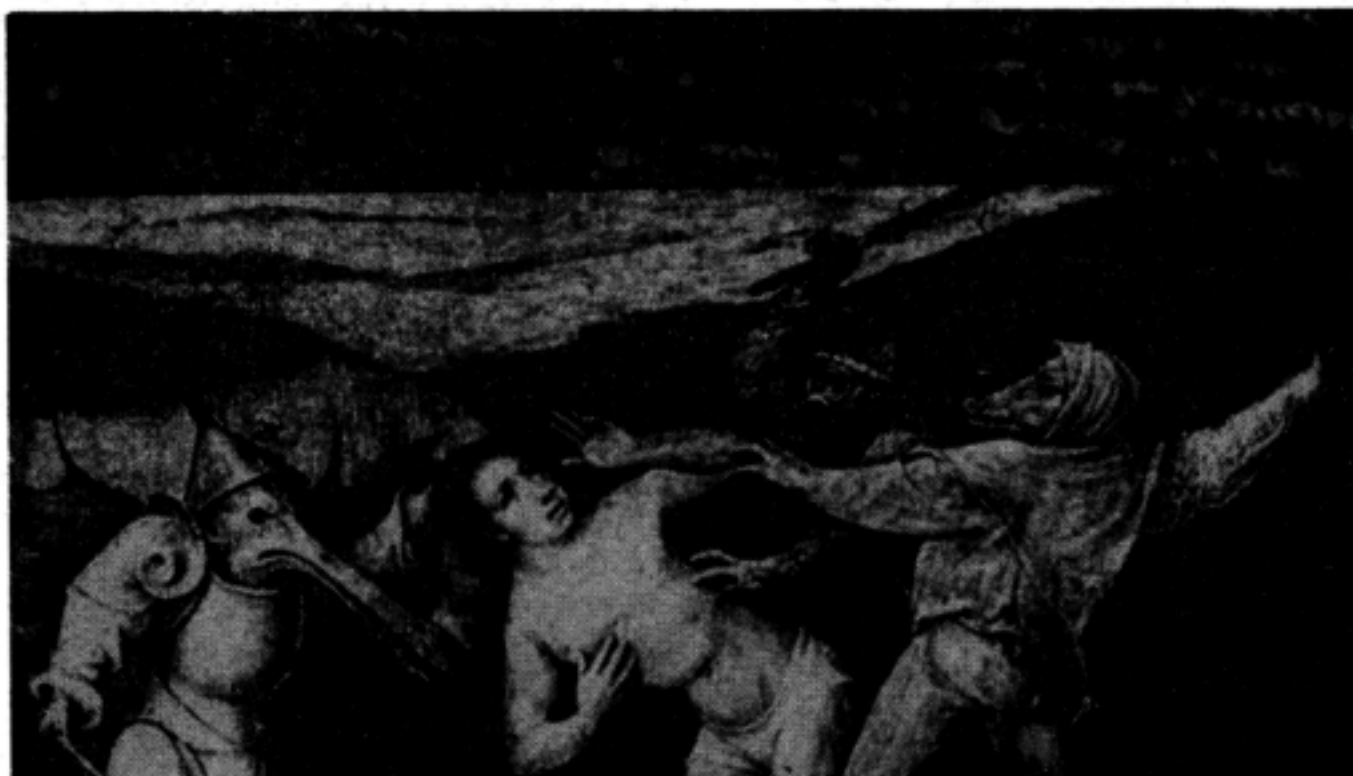
What are things like at this school in 1982?

It is said that a disciplinary committee has been established, consisting of three teachers. This triumvirate is said to be aggressive, and that there is a lot of beating going on. Someone commented, "They seem to pick on pretty girls, especially." Recently a young girl was unable to write because her hand was swollen after she had been caned.

At present students are angry because the school is closed at night and they cannot work there. They used to study through the night, but the principal has ordered that the gates must be locked at night. The first time they were locked, a fence was broken down. Now the principal says that he intends to lock the gates because the fence was broken.







Teachers have always been enthusiastic

# Violence in School

*Two students are each blind in one eye after allegedly being beaten by teachers. Lawyers are considering legal action. (The Star 23.11.81)*

Assaults and beatings are frequent in bantu education schools. Pupils are lashed on the open hand, over their shoulders, on their heads. They are 'benched', that is held over a bench and whipped. They are insulted and threatened (also, legally speaking, assault), intimidated and expelled.

Two things must be said about this violence. Firstly, it is produced by the authoritarian structure of bantu education. This will be explained in section 1. Secondly, there are regulations laid down by the department about how discipline must be applied. Pupils can claim protection from violence by their teachers or principal. We will discuss this in section 2.

## SECTION 1

*"The principal has been firing teachers at random, leaving students without teachers. And when he replaced the teachers he had fired, he always replaced them with inexperienced teachers", a student leader said. (The Sowetan 30.3.82)*

Many principals rule autocratically. They do not consult, but impose their decisions on the school. They insist on blind submission. They believe that they may hire and fire teachers, and that they can likewise expel pupils whenever they want. This is not normal behaviour. Elsewhere in the world it is actually quite unusual for people to behave in this stupid way.

*Pupils refused to be beaten by three teachers who had given other students 15 or more lashes with a cane for not being present at studies . . . They said Mr Sontshi (the principal) told them to leave the school as they were being expelled. (Daily Despatch 4. 11.78)*

Arrogance and tyranny of this nature can be found at any level of the school system. Pupils are terrorised by prefects and teachers; teachers by the principal; the principal by a circuit inspector; the inspector by the department in Pretoria. Nor does it stop at the level of the department. There too you find big fish eating little fish. The boss-boy, Dr Harzenburg, Minister of Education and Training, was himself recently fired for not saying 'Ja my baas' to P.W. Botha.

The entire evil is a consequence of starting with Authority at the top and pressing downwards (oppressing), each level bossing the one below. Society cannot function under dictatorship.

## A better way

The true basis of society is democracy, where matters are discussed and decisions made among the people themselves. They know what suits them and how they need to live. By discussion, by cooperating, people keep the social process healthy. Education is an important aspect of society, and it belongs to the people. So long as it is a means of dominating people, it will be corrupt and unacceptable. Education will only recover once it is in the hands of the people themselves, for them to decide how it is to be arranged.

Education governed by a minister, as in bantu education, is domination. It is another form of the pass laws. It is another form of bantustan. It is mental apartheid.

*Professor Mphahlele said there was no consultation in the running of black schools. Instead, authorities prevailed upon each other, from the Minister down to the teacher in the classroom, each with subordinates taking orders and nothing else. He said it was time blacks disentangled and decolonised their minds. . . . (Sowetan 15.3.82)*

## SECTION 2

The department publishes 'regulations' from time to time. Regulations governing the control and treatment of pupils were published in May 1981. These lay down when, why and how a pupil may be punished, and they set limits to this punishment. It is possible for any person at school to get protection by asking for these rules to be obeyed.

We are printing the rules about corporal punishment and about suspension and expulsion. If any pupil, teacher or principal goes against these regulations, he is doing a wrong and can be brought to justice. If a pupil is beaten, insulted, threatened or fired in any way against regulations, he can get protection

against his assailant. A teacher who lashes a pupil on the head or the shoulders or the hand, is breaking regulation 6 (6), and he is guilty of assault. A teacher who hits a girl is breaking regulation 6 (3), and is guilty of assault. A teacher who threatens or insults a pupil is guilty of assault.

If corporal punishment is not recorded in the way laid down in regulation 6 (9), the rules have been broken and the person beaten can demand an enquiry by the department. As for suspension or expulsion, these are very serious punishments indeed and may not be imposed frivolously. A principal may want to expel a student, but he is not allowed to, unless the student did something very very serious as described in the regulations. This part of the document is quite difficult to understand. It would be best for any student who feels that he or she has been suspended or expelled unfairly, to phone a lawyer to get advice. (See the article on Legal Resources Centre p 16).

For teachers too there are remedies if they feel that they are being unfairly treated. Teachers can be transferred or dismissed for certain reasons in some circumstances; but these too are regulated. Unfair dismissal, for instance, is not permitted. Teachers who might have queries or complaints should seek advice from NEUSA (See the article on NEUSA on p 18). It is of course a pity that one should have to refer to a set of regulations to get protection from rough treatment. Beating and oppressing children at school is a harmful and stupid way of behaving and it should not happen at all.

How is it possible for people involved in the school system to be progressive? Anything that tends to restore decision making to democratic organisation, is progressive.

A principal who gives as much weight as possible to the wishes of his teachers, the parents and the pupils in his school, is progressive. A teacher who respects his pupils and tries to encourage their initiative and self-esteem, is progressive. A pupil who supports democratic organisations is progressive.

# Regulations for schools under the Department of Education & Training

Extract from official Regulations printed in Government Gazette.

## DISCIPLINE

6. (1) If any pupil conducts himself at school in such a way that his training, the good name of the school, the maintenance of order and discipline at the school or the proper continuation of the work of the school is harmed or could be harmed, disciplinary measures can be taken against him, which may include—

- the imposition of work as a punishment by the principal or a teacher authorised by the principal for that purpose;
- withholding of privileges by the principal or teacher authorised by the principal for that purpose;
- the administering of corporal punishment in terms of subregulations (5) to (9); and
- expulsion from school in terms of regulation 7.

(2) Disciplinary measures shall be administered in a reasonable and discerning manner, shall have reference to the offence which has been committed and shall serve mainly as a measure in the interests of the pupil and for the maintenance of discipline and the good name of the school.

(3) In no case shall corporal punishment be administered to any girl.

(4) Corporal punishment may be administered only in cases of gross neglect, truancy, insubordination, wilful damage to property, flagrant lying, theft, dishonesty, assault, bullying, indecency or similar offences.

(5) Corporal punishment shall be administered in isolation by the principal: Provided that any other member of the staff may administer corporal punishment in the presence and with the approval of the principal.

(6) Corporal punishment shall be administered only on the buttocks with a cane not exceeding 75 cm in length and 1.2 cm in diameter, or a leather strap of not less than 2.5 cm in width, and with due regard to the age and physical condition of the pupil and in no circumstances in such a manner as to cause permanent bodily injury.

(7) The number of strokes that may be administered during one day shall not exceed four.

(8) Corporal punishment shall under no circumstances be administered to any pupil with a serious physical disability.

(9) Any punishment inflicted or imposed shall be entered in a punishment register, recording—

- the name of the pupil;
- the nature of the offence;
- the punishment imposed;
- the number of strokes inflicted and the instrument used for the purpose, in the case of corporal punishment;

) the date on which punishment is inflicted or imposed;

) the name of the person who inflicted or imposed such punishment; and

) the name of the person, if applicable, under whose supervision the punishment was inflicted or imposed.

## SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION

(1) If a pupil conducts himself in such a way that, in the opinion of the principal, the continued attendance of such pupil will be detrimental to the welfare of the school as a whole or to that of any of the pupils, the principal shall without delay inform in writing such pupil's parent or legal guardian of such conduct and state that on any recurrence of such or similar conduct such pupil will be liable to be expelled and report the case to the circuit inspector or controlling body, as the case may be, accordingly.

(2) On recurrence of the conduct referred to in subregulation (1) or any similar conduct by such pupil the principal shall confront the pupil about his conduct and afford him the opportunity to present his side of the case in writing, or verbally, in the presence of a teacher or other witness and after consideration of the pupil's side of the case the principal may suspend him from school.

Notwithstanding the provisions of subregulation (2) the principal may after consultation with the circuit inspector or controlling body, as the case may be, immediately suspend a pupil from the school if he commits an offence which in the opinion of the principal seriously prejudices or can be prejudicial to the maintenance of order and discipline at the school.

Upon the suspension of any pupil under subregulation (2) or (3)—

- such pupil—
  - shall without delay depart from the premises of such school and, unless the principal has directed otherwise, from any school hostel; and
  - shall not, save for the purposes of an enquiry hereinafter provided, be on the premises of such school, including any playground;
- the principal shall forthwith—
  - notify the parent or legal guardian of such pupil in writing of the suspension and of the reasons therefor; and
  - submit a full report to the circuit inspector or controlling body, as the case may be.

(5) The circuit inspector or controlling body, as the case may be, may, after further inquiry, if he deems it expedient, order the expulsion of such pupil or take such other steps as are deemed necessary.

(6) Notwithstanding the provisions of subregulations (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5), the circuit inspector or controlling body, as the case may be, may summarily expel any pupil from the school if such pupil—

- intentionally or negligently violates any regulation made in terms of the Act;
- is on or outside the buildings or on or off the premises of the school, conducts himself in a manner which, in the opinion of the principal or the circuit inspector, is or could be seriously detrimental to the maintenance of order or discipline at the school;

(7) Any appeal against the expulsion, by the parent or legal guardian of any pupil, from—

- a Government school or a community school, may be made to the Director-General and the decision of the Director-General shall be final; and
- a school situated on a farm or on mine, factory, or hospital premises, may be made to the controlling body and the decision of the controlling body shall be final.

(c) intentionally damages, destroys, uses or appropriates property of the school or any other person or body;

(d) intentionally violates any examination regulation or instruction;

(e) wilfully refuses to obey a legitimate instruction given by the principal or a teacher authorised for that purpose by the principal;

(f) intentionally gives false information to the principal or any teacher;

(g) is convicted in a court of an offence which, in the opinion of the principal or the circuit inspector, is sufficiently serious to warrant disciplinary action;

(h) incites or instigates or procures a fellow student to violate any regulation or instruction made in terms of the Act;

(i) takes part in or instigates a boycott of classes or functions or takes part in or instigates protest marches, sit-ins or any riotous action;

(j) commits an act of insubordination;

(k) possesses or uses a habit-forming drug without a prescription from a registered medical practitioner.



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(j) commits an act of insubordination;

(k) possesses or uses a habit-forming drug without a prescription from a registered medical practitioner.

# About Teachers

*"Teachers must realise that they are servants, that they receive their salaries from those who rule and as such must obey the laws," said Mr Prozesky, Regional Director of Bantu Education in Transvaal (The Star 14.6.55)*

Many thousands of people work in the education department — secretaries, inspectors, researchers, officials of various kinds, Deputy Ministers, Ministers and also teachers. It is only with the teachers that pupils are in direct daily contact. You can see then how important the teacher is. Everything that the whole department tries to accomplish is mainly done through this person who is in front of pupils and talks to them throughout the day, every day at school. Pupils know little of what lies up there in the department. They are occupied with their lessons and with the one who stands in front of the class, doing something called teaching. We have said that bantu education has two opposed aims, to educate and to oppress. So we must ask how these aims are carried out by teachers.

What is most obvious, is that most teachers in the system are highly authoritarian. Why? How does it happen?

It happens like this. The teacher comes from a background of bad teaching, and bad teacher-training (See the article called 'In Defence of Teachers') When he is given a post at school, he is put in front of 40 pupils, and told to teach them. They soon see that he does not know his work and that they will gain very little from him. They feel frustrated and annoyed, and they get troublesome. The teacher then decides that since the class is hostile, he will be hostile too, and defeat them. First he threatens, then he produces a cane, then he assaults a pupil with it. From then on he hates the class and they hate

him. He is determined to dominate or destroy. He forgets that these are children and pupils in front of him. He treats them as if they were enemy prisoners.

Teachers who share this experience band together to help one another. If the principal allows this to develop it means that he is part of it. He becomes the leader of the authoritarian teachers, and thus dominates his school by violence. In this way an important objective of the government is obtained. Black adults are used to control black pupils and make them fit for their future as servants of South African capital. It is, on a small scale, the same principle that is at work in the bantu-stans, where people like Matanzima and his brother became overseers to beat up anyone who opposes Pretoria.

## A horrible place

A school run by oppressive teachers and an authoritarian principal is a truly horrible place. Good teachers find that they cannot stay there, either because the atmosphere is so bad, or because they refuse to act in the way the other teachers are acting. Soon it is only the worst teachers who remain. There are always teacher shortages at this type of school, which makes it even harder to keep discipline. Prefects have to be used to terrorise other pupils and keep them in order. Every classroom now has its spy to report rebellion to the office. Pupils are harassed by fear and mutual suspicion.

## Beating tradition

But it is hard to break the spirit of pupils. Out of desperation the principal now allows assaults and expulsions. These prove that the teachers are incompetent and that they cannot maintain discipline. Some teachers justify their wicked behaviour. They claim to be above pupils. "What do you know?" they say. "Talk to me after you have got your matric." Some claim

that they are entitled to beat up pupils, either because they have been asked to do so by parents or because it is 'a tradition'. They say, 'African children expect to be beaten: it is traditional'

A teacher we spoke to about this commented, "How can they say beating is traditional. Is pain a tradition? Only bad teachers carry a sjambok. I would advise any pupil, if your teacher carries a sjambok, assault him. He deserves it."

Many teachers try to control students by threatening to fail them. It is said that a teacher at Alexandra High uses this phrase, "Your passing is on the tip of my fingers." This is clearly a threat to give low marks to punish a pupil who gets out of line.

## Power corrupts

It is unpardonable for a teacher to beat a pupil. Firstly, he is an adult and the pupils are in his care. If he uses violence he is abusing his position.

In practice we know that teachers enter a situation that is already very bad, pupils are angry, frustrated and therefore troublesome. Given the rotten school system, it may be difficult for a teacher to exist without using some violence. To this extent it is the system of bantu education itself that produces violent discipline: but this does not entirely excuse teachers. It is possible for a teacher to establish order in his class, if he understands his work, is interesting, and can help the student in his education. Students can see when this is the case. They respect competent teachers, and they are eager to learn.

Many cases could be produced to show that it is actually easy to get order in a class, when there is serious teaching going on. This means that it is generally incompetent teachers who will be seen carrying a sjambok. If a teacher carries one, you may be sure he is worthless at his job. Parents ought to refuse to allow their children to be taught by such a man.



# Parents

Parents should understand that teachers are government employees. The principal and the teachers are not simply other adults in the community who take care of your children during the day and teach them. They work for the government who pays their salary.

Teachers are part of the department of education and training (i.e. bantu education). If you can say that there is a struggle between workers and the government, then you must realise that teachers are paid by the government, and must be on that side. For this reason, parents must not think of teachers as being like neighbours. This is why parents should take an interest in their children's school, find out what happens there and if necessary go to the school and demand proper treatment and reasonable education. It is only if parents are vigilant and if they keep their eyes on the school that the school will be a good one.

## Taking care

The best way to do this is by forming a Parents Committee. You may be told that parents are already involved as members of some school committee.

But that is not good enough. That sort of committee is controlled by the principal and the teachers — which means the department — which means the government. If anything is wrong at school it will not be openly discussed by such a committee. It will rather be hidden so that no complaint arises.

Parents should form a committee that cannot be controlled by the school authorities. It must be independent. It must have parents, and only parents, on it, elected by other parents.

How can such a committee be formed? Any parent can get in touch with others to suggest forming a committee. They would then meet from time to time to discuss school matters. For example, if the group feels that school uniforms are

too expensive, they might send a deputation to tell the principal that they want him to change this rule. (See the article about school uniforms). Another example is this: parents might like to know how their money is spent when the school asks for extra amounts. They have a right to see the account book, where they will discover whether the money has been spent on tools or sport, or whether it has simply gone into someone's pocket. This might save parents a lot of money.

There is nothing to prevent parents forming such a committee. If anyone tries to tell you that it is wrong to do so, it is because that person has something to hide, or because he wants to keep power for himself. So go ahead, form the committee anyway.

## Pretoria's people

There are many School Committees in Alexandra consisting of parents, with the Principals of each school acting as advisor. These Committees are not acceptable for the following 5 reasons.

1. Only parents who have a child in the school can be elected: but clearly all adults in a community have an interest in the welfare of children.
2. Those elected have to submit their passbook, to prove that they are registered, and that they have a clean record. This is decided by Pretoria!
3. The Committee does not meet pupils, thus pupils have no say in the important decisions affecting their school life.
4. The Committee has to comply with departmental regulations. They don't have any independence, but must follow procedures set up by the department.
5. Topics for discussion are introduced by the Principal; which means that he is able to present favourable matters, and hide others that may put his administration in a bad light. This also means that pupils' demands won't be presented, since the principal might dismiss them as not complying with regulations.

There is therefore a great need for independent parents' committees. Parents must and can influence the situation at school. They must take matters into their own hands and not leave everything to the principals and teachers.

## Who pays?

When pupils fail in large numbers, it is their parents who pay for extra years at school; they must therefore see to it that there is progress and not a waste of their children's time.

If a principal is not effective in educating pupils, HE MUST BE CRITICISED. Parents must keep these educators under observation. It is also important for parents to hear directly from pupils (preferably organised into an SRC) about school conditions and possibilities for improvement. Pupils are preparing for their future, and therefore it is important that they don't have their time wasted by bad teachers or a foolish principal.

The two most necessary demands parents should make are:

1. that the principal should account for progress of each and every pupil
2. that there must be enough teachers and they must be good teachers.

## Uniforms are NOT compulsory

There is always a lot of trouble over uniforms. But are they even necessary? In many countries people would think you crazy if you wanted pupils to go to school in uniform. In Holland they wear ordinary clothes to school.

Uniforms are expensive. Some people keep their children away from school rather than buy expensive shoes and blazers and jerseys.

Many principals like to have their scholars in uniform because it looks good. Even if the teaching is rotten and there are no window panes, and classes go without teachers, an outsider would see only a large mass of children in uniform, and it would seem that everything was in order. If the principal had to provide all uniforms out of his own pocket, he would soon see reason.

Even the education department does not insist on uniforms. They say it is up to the school to decide whether or not they want the pupils in uniform. But even then it is not compulsory, and if a pupil is assigned to a certain school, he is not obliged to go to school in uniform. He can wear ordinary clothes, so long as they are conservative.

## A struggle in Thokoza

It is reported that parents of children at schools in Thokoza, on the East Rand, have complained that their children are being punished for not wearing uniform. The regional director for education in Johannesburg sent circulars to all schools in Soweto assuring parents that uniforms were no longer compulsory and that no child should be punished for not having one. (Rand Daily Mail 16.6.81)

## Prefects

School authorities like the prefect system: pupils generally prefer SRC's. What is the difference?

Prefects are usually nominated for election by staff members. This means that teachers can control who becomes a prefect, by not nominating pupils they don't want. Then senior pupils vote; but the votes are counted by staff, and there is no knowing whether they count right.

## Legal Resources Centre

LEGAL RESOURCES CENTRE is an organisation which helps people with their legal problems. Usually people avoid legal proceedings because of the high cost of getting professional advice. This is why Legal Resources Centre is so useful – it does not charge for its services. It is willing to advise and to take up cases, if it is socially useful to do so for no fee. Any pupil who gets into trouble at school which they feel to be unjust – for instance, if they are expelled for trivial reasons, or beaten in a way that is against the regulations, they can contact the Centre and ask for advice. If the case is serious, someone at the centre will take the matter up, and possibly even go to court on the victim's behalf.

The address of Legal Resources Centre is ELIZABETH HOUSE, Pritchard Street, and their phone number is 836-9331.

Prefects do not represent the students. They carry instructions from the staff.

## In the thirties

*In the mid-thirties there was trouble in the famous school called Lovedale, in the Eastern Cape. An account of this event carries the following interesting passage: "In the dining hall it was obvious that the pattern of South African discrimination was repeated. The distinctions across colour and class lines were at work. Prefectships went to the £27 students, they sat at separate tables and got superior food. They obtained leave more readily than other students. They were considered by pupils to be 'the eyes and ears of the boarding master.' When students at Lovedale rioted, the prefects were the only Africans attacked by the student body." (S.A. Outlook 1 January '47).*

## What is an SRC ?

An SRC is a body wholly elected by all the pupils in a school. The members of the SRC are responsible only to their fellow pupils, and represent them.

The difference between Prefects and SRCs is similar to the difference in factories between Liason Committees and Trade Unions. Liason Committees were dominated by management, who

had nominated members on the committee; trade unions, which workers prefer, represent only the workers. In the past few years there have been intense struggles over this; workers have demanded the abolition of liason committees and their replacement by trade union representation.

There are SRCs in some schools in the Western Cape. During the boycotts of 1980 these were established by pupils who had no use for the prefect system.

## At Alex High

A pupil at Alexandra High said, "Our prefects really are stooges. They enforce uniform and do small things like that for the staff. They don't represent students, they hold meetings with the principal and staff, but there is no report back to the students. In fact, they are not allowed to meet with the students, without special permission from the office. They don't represent us at all. Yet they go to 'leadership training' and come back with the idea that they are better than others. If you don't have a school jersey on, they take the one you have away from you. Sometimes these go missing, and you don't get a refund. What can we think, but that they make use of our clothes? Its especially chief Sam Mngoma, who is head-boy, and Siphon Mkhize and George Molibatsi. The girl prefects are same line."



# Technical education

On the corner of 2nd Avenue and John Brand, a new school is being built. It will be a 'Comprehensive Secondary'. What does that mean?

Many more Comprehensives will be seen and heard about in the future. It is the direction in which bantu education is going.

## Phasing out History

A Comprehensive is a school where commercial and technical subjects are taught, as well as the normal school syllabus. Many existing schools are being converted into Comprehensives, by having classrooms added and new subjects introduced — book-keeping, business economics and so on. In some schools academic subjects are being cancelled. It is said that History is being phased out of some schools in Soweto, technical or commercial subjects phased in. What are the reasons for this new development?

*History was fine for those who wanted white-collar work, but little use to those who wanted jobs in industry and commerce, and that's where the need exists." Jaap Strydom (Sunday Tribune 5.4.81)*

*"Because of the serious shortage of skilled manpower, the Department of Education and Training will introduce technical subjects in black school from 1982," Dr F. Harzenburg, Minister of Education and Training said yesterday (The Star 7.10.81)*

*"Unless the black was in a position to enjoy the fruits of free enterprise, he would continue to reject it," warned Mr Rosholt, Chancellor of Wits University (The Star July '82)*

We can see from these quotes what is in the minds of the rulers. It is not their wish to improve education for the sake of students, that they may develop their personalities better. Nobody mentions benefits to the pupils themselves. Harzenburg, Rosholt and Strydom are only concerned with keeping the profit-making economy running smoothly, and seeing to it that blacks are educated to suit the system. The Chancellor of Wits University Rosholt, the Verkramppte Harzenburg and the Civil Servant Strydom are agreed that bantu education is not helping capital enough, and must be changed. Industry and Commerce howl because there is a shortage of skilled labour, and bantu education is altered to suit them. Business howls that there are not enough trained accountants and PRO's, and bantu education is made to produce them.

The most interesting view is the one expressed by Rosholt. He observes that black pupils are hostile to the system that exploits and impoverishes them (what he calls the 'private enterprise system', better known as capitalism) and on behalf of the system he suggests that blacks should at least enjoy some of the profits, otherwise they will be rebellious.

## Mechanics

It must also be clear that the authorities do not like to see black pupils taking an interest in the 'social sciences' (to them that probably means politics.) They would prefer it if black pupils learnt motor mechanics rather than history. In motor mechanics they are not likely to hear about the Russian Revolution: and they are likely to get themselves a paying job if they have a mechanical skill. In two ways, therefore, they will be cooled down.

Apart from Comprehensives, there are also Technical Centres, Technical Schools, Technicons and technical courses at University.

"In 1981 more than 23 000 boys received instruction in Centres. A further 26 Centres are being planned . . . and 126 000 pupils can be trained when the building programme is completed (Educamus, May '82)

## Strydom sees the light

Now that they want skilled workers, they are losing some of their prejudices: Jaap Strydom says,

"We have proved that there is absolutely no foundation for the belief that exists all over Africa that the black man, because of his background, cannot be easily equipped for a technical, commercial or scientific career. If you can get to him early enough, you can equip him for those careers as easily as you can a white child." (Our comment is that that is a patronising, racist and foolish remark!)

## Tycoons in nappies

PACE is a new school in Soweto offering commercial subjects — typing, business-economics, accountancy etc. as well as languages and maths. The school cost over R6 000 000 to build. It is equipped with expensive gadgets. Pupils are admitted at standard 6. They must be bright, they must be the right age and they must be 'committed to a commercial future.' This means that at the age of about thirteen or fourteen, they must have decided to become tycoons.

It has been financed by the American Chamber of Commerce in S.A. and by big companies like Barlow Rand, Anglo etc.

The question to ask is, what do they get out of it? Why are they snatching bright children from other schools, teaching them commerce, offering them a wealthy future? Why would they want to do that?



# In Defence of Teachers

(BY A MEMBER OF NEUSA)

Teachers are very often blamed by both students and parents for the problems in schools. People get angry when they hear that Bantu Education is so inferior and ask why the teachers give inferior lessons. It is easy to blame teachers for the shortcomings in black schools, but it is very unfair to do so. Let us consider the following points.

This "education" system has been in existence for nearly 30 years. Most of today's teachers have seen no other system but one which is intended to keep them down. It is useless to blame them for having had a poor education. Students should realise that both they

and the teachers are caught in exactly the same trap. Teachers teach in the ways they were taught.

It is important that the community realises how much control there is over teachers. They can be fired at very short notice, and there are cases of excellent teachers being dismissed for nonsensical reasons. The real reasons for their dismissal is that they were really educating their students. Real education means argument, debate, questioning; and these are things which the system cannot tolerate. Teachers have families to support; it is difficult for them to take up a stand. Students should realise this before they criticise teachers.

The training which black teachers receive is also inferior. This is a big problem. The teachers' courses are now

three years, but the courses are clumsy and teachers do not come out adequately trained to deal with the job.

What can teachers do? It is a very demoralising profession in South Africa. Teachers are badly paid, and as we have seen they are under very tight control.

## A re senolleng masawane

Mo IZWI ena re buisana ka dikolo le matsamaiso ya tsone kajeno. Jwale ka ha re hlahisa leseding, dikolo di maemong a mabe ho ya ka bongata ba batho mona South Africa, maemo a na, a tswela sehlophana se sennyane feela sa batho bao ba leng pusong ka mekgwa ya bokweta molemo.

Re lekile ho bontsha ntho tse mpe ka tsamaiso ena, le hore baithuti ba ka utlwisisa dintho tsena jwang le hore ba ka shebana le tsona jwang. Ha re batle hohang hore mang kapa mang a be le mehopolo ya hore tsamaiso ena e ka ntlafatswa ka ho etse dikganetsano mona le maane.

Ha baithuti ba sa ntse ba le ka tlase ha tsamaiso ena ba tshwanetse ho ithuta ho lemoha maqheka a yona, ba tsebe hore bobona ke bo entsweng ka boomo, ho etsa hore baithuti e be makgoba a ikokobeditseng. Ha baithuti ba utlwisisa sena, ba ka tseba ho thibela bobona le ho hlophisa hore bo ka thibel- lwa jwang.

Re rata ho hatella taba ya hore baithuti ba na le hona ho ka itshereletsa bobeng bo etswang ke mesue le mesuehloho ya bona. Baithuti le batswadi ba tshwanetse ho etsa bonnete ba hore dikolo tsa ditikolohong tsa bona di lokile ka ho fetisisa ho ya ka mo ho kgonehang tlase ha maemo ao re leng ho ona. Kgateello dikolong e tshwanetswe ho lwantshwa ke bohle.

Na e ka ba thuto ya bodemokratiki e tla ba e jwang? Ena ke potso e kgothatsang kelello, empa re hloka sebaka sa ho buisana ke taba ena e kgateletsang bukaneng ena. Mohlomong re ka fana ka maele le mehopolo ho IZWI e latelang.

# N.E.U.S.A.

The National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) is a group of educators who are trying to see what can be done to improve education, in the belief that a democratic South Africa in the future will need a democratic education; and this is a process which must start now.

NEUSA organises subject workshops for teachers, who are encouraged to share their ideas with others. Workshops are run in History, English, Geography, Science and Maths. Other subjects could be started if enough teachers want them.

## TEACHERS' ADVICE OFFICE

NEUSA runs an advice office to help teachers with their problems. For instance, some teachers have to wait for up to a year before they receive their first salary cheque. It is quite common to wait three or four months. Then when the salary arrives, it is often too small or has strange deductions which are not explained. Such problems can be discussed with NEUSA; as also problems like dismissal or transfer. Anyone involved in education who would like to join NEUSA can write to Box 33963, Jeppestown 2043.

## PUPILS

NEUSA is also able to advise pupils who might have problems. If any pupil feels there is something that they cannot sort out at school, for example, if they feel that they are being ill-treated by a teacher, or if they have been threatened with expulsion, they can go to the NEUSA advice office to talk about the problem. Members of NEUSA will do all they can to help in such cases.

## ADDRESS

The Advice Office is open every Saturday, from 9 a.m to 12 p.m. It is in Kenlaw House, de Beer Street, Braamfontein (just off Jorissen Street).



# Learning not to question Authority

Most workers in South Africa — particularly unskilled and semi-skilled workers — are Africans. The majority of African pupils are the children of underpaid workers. They are also FUTURE WORKERS.

Two years ago Fanie Botha, the Minister of Manpower Utilization, said "One can say that the battle will literally be won in the classroom floor." The battle about which Fanie Botha was talking is the battle to train pupils (future workers) to meet the demands of the economic system which we have in South Africa.

This system, capitalism, demands cheap, obedient labour. It demands that future workers have the skills (or the lack of skills) and the tame attitudes which suit their future employers. Schooling is important in training, disciplining and shaping future workers.

Therefore, Bantu education is not an accident. It is also not just a system created by racist Afrikaner nationalists. It is a system which benefits the owners of big business.

'Discipline' and acceptance of authority are required from workers, particularly in a capitalist system. Bantu education beats children into accepting authority.

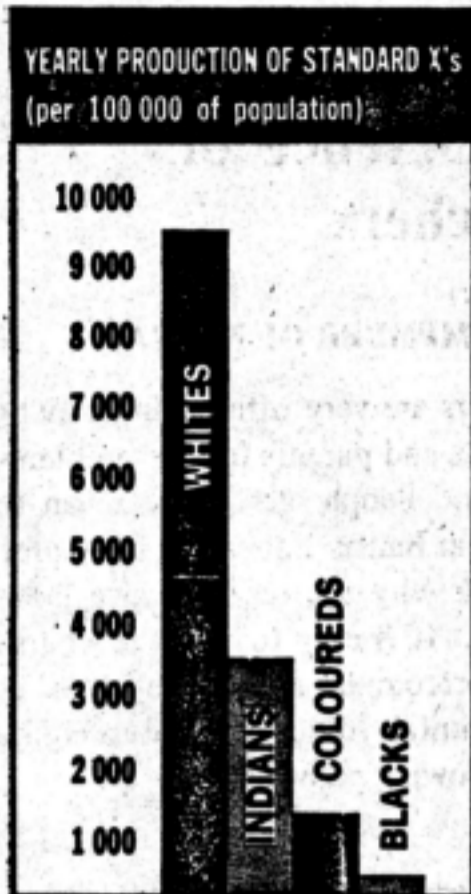
Pupils learn not only to obey orders given by the teacher, but also to obey orders given by 'bossboys', foremen and bosses. Children are trained never to question the rights and wrongs of a matter.

School trains people to do specific kinds of work. There are, for instance, a number of courses available to girls who have completed primary school. Apart from preparing them to do work in the home, most these courses also train them as workers, particularly for factories which produce cloth, material or clothes.

An important service which Bantu education performs for business is to pump out the large numbers of unskilled workers they need.

## Teaching Lies

Bantu education teaches the lie that Africans are inferior and that therefore they should not have high expectations. This is not taught openly and directly. But, this message is brought across by textbooks and lessons which assume blacks shouldn't challenge their inferior role under apartheid. This convinces many African pupils that they are not good for anything except unskilled work.



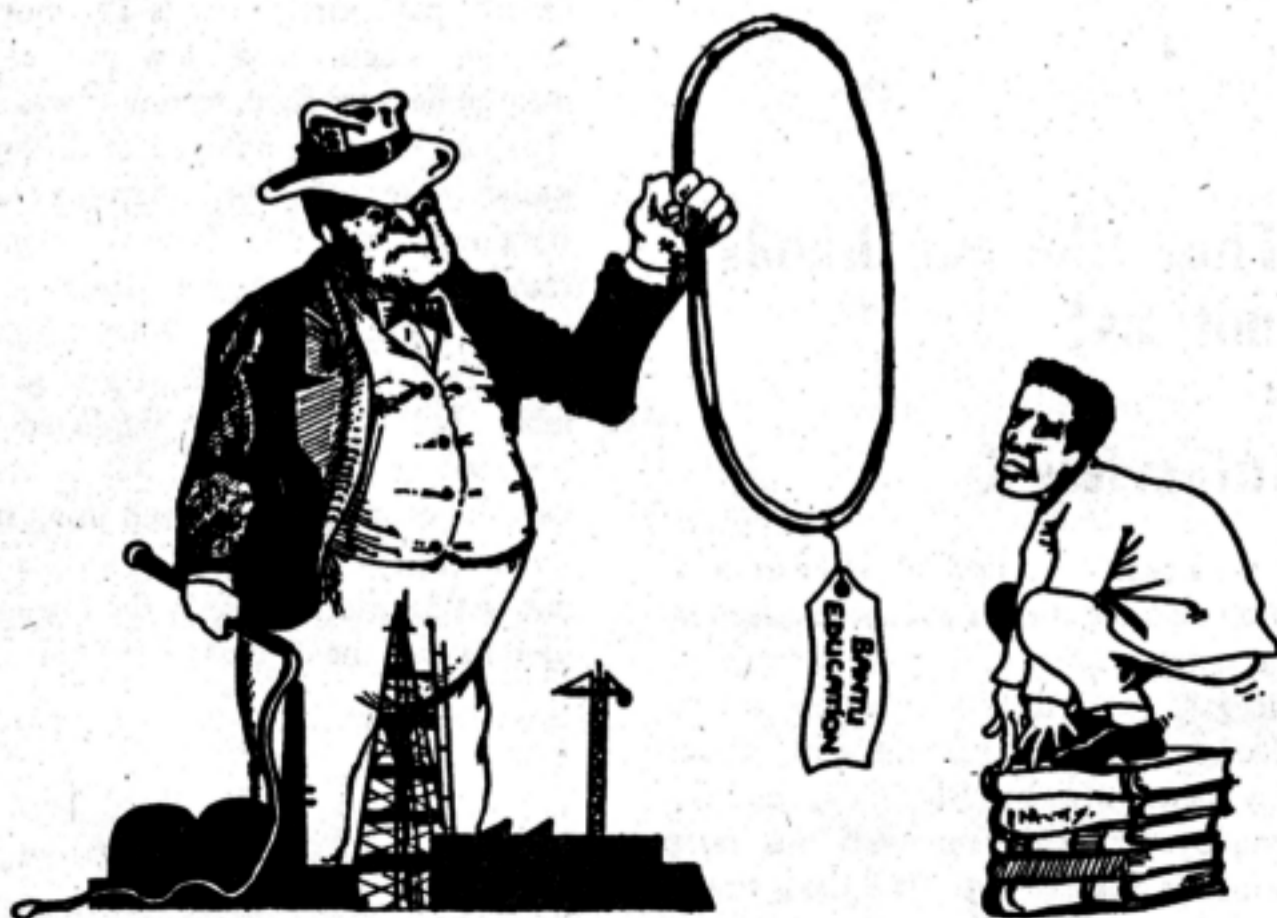
This chart gives some idea of one effect which this discriminatory policy has had. It has not produced many Africans who have much high school education. The chart compares the yearly production of matriculants by the schools of the four 'racial groups' during the 1970's.

The sort of education which Vervoerd wanted Africans to have, produced the kind of workers whom employers needed until quite recently. But, today it does not meet the demands of business very effectively. In the past, the chief demand of employers was for unskilled migrant labour. But, in the past few years employers have come to need more clerks, skilled workers and many more semi-skilled workers.

## Capitalism uses racism

Many people have exaggerated these shortages of relatively skilled workers. These exaggerations help to spread the myth that anyone and everyone can move up into the unfilled positions. The truth is that only some employers are experiencing a shortage of workers who have some kind of skills.

Still, the developments in education — especially Bantu education — have not been keeping up with demands for skilled workers. In response to these demands, the government will try to modernize educational apartheid. But, it won't abolish apartheid.



"AFTER ALL, THEY HAVE TO BE PREPARED FOR THE FACTORIES OR MINES (OR FOR UNEMPLOYMENT)."





# Domestic Service

WRAB has done what we thought only God could do. It has made a woman. She speaks like a space-man, and this is what she says:

**GOOD MORNING, MR EMPLOYER!**

My name is Annie Tshabalala. I am resident in Dube, Soweto.

I have undergone aptitude and other selection tests, as well as some training, at Jubilee Centre, Johannesburg.

My documents are in order. My eyesight is first class, my hearing good.

I am of smart appearance.

I am now looking for a job.

The ladies at No 1, Polly Street, have also guided me, and my friends, in a choice of career.

The West Rand Administration Board officials that we have come into contact with are all our friends.

All that we now ask from you, Mr Employer, is a fair wage, a sympathetic attitude and on-the-job training and we will come forward in our hundreds to serve you, in your homes, offices, factories, departmental stores, supermarkets, petrol stations — you name it!

We frankly do not think Mrs Tshabalala is convincing. In this issue of IZWI last TOWNSHIP we are printing some comments by domestic workers, which are convincing. They give the experience of many women, in Alexandra and elsewhere, who have done domestic work for a living.

We are planning a long article on the question of domestic labour. This will appear in the next issue of IZWI. We would like to hear from people who know about this kind of work. Any details, from the past or the present, would add to our understanding of this labour.

**They like our hands,  
not us!**

## Interview 1

I am a pensioner aged 66, and earn R76 after two months. I am also engaged in piece jobs although they are considered 'illegal', but I have to in order to buy food and actually pay the rent. From my piece job I earn R6 per day, and my employer provides me with bus fares which is 60c per day. The job is tiring, and sometimes I take my youngest daughter to help me, but I don't want

her to do this kind of job when she grows up. You become stupid and don't think like other people. The employer keeps on telling you about your stupidity, the suspicious neighbour, filthy people, dirty location and so on.

## Interview 2

I am now 65 years old, and started domestic work in 1940. I worked for one employer for 20 years, and the other six years and thereafter I was unemployed, but some people in the location brought their clothes so that I could wash them. In 1979 I started working for the Indians in Wynberg, but their job is always the same, you become like a child, and I think my children don't take notice of me. My wage is so low that I can't maintain them. At Wynberg I earn R8 per day, this has led to my younger son to leave school and go to sell apples at the bus terminus, and I think this is dangerous, because I've noticed he also gambles.

## Interview 3

I have been working as a domestic servant since 1938. That time we were usually paid three pounds per month. Though wages were low we could manage because food, transport was still cheaper. I was employed in different places like Mayfair, Rivonia and Randburg, but still I could manage transportation since the kiosks were not so expensive then. When I moved from Sophiatown to Alex I lost all my jobs, but later was employed a Newclare and Cavendish; this is where we used to take washing and bring it to the township. This kind of service did not last because people in the township used to steal the clothes on the line.



# African Studies

## Sached course

We live on the continent of Africa. Yet much of our education is about Europe. We learn about Greece and Rome, Shakespeare and Wordsworth. We hear very little about African history in the class room. When we do learn about African history, it is often distorted and out of date.

The SACHED African studies Course wants to change this situation. The Course aims to introduce people to African history, politics, economics and culture. The course also aims to help people understand Africa of the past and the present.

## Year Course

The course lasts for a year. It is a correspondence course. There are 9 books.

Book 1 is an introduction to the course. This book introduces ideas about how history and society work. These ideas provide a foundation for the rest of the Course.

Book 2A and 2B look at the early history of Africa. These 2 books talk about stone age and iron age societies and the great kingdoms of North, East West and Central Africa.

Book 3A and 3B deal with colonialism. First you'll learn about the slave trade and European conquest. Then you'll learn about how colonialism worked and how it affected Africa.

Book 4A and 4B look at resistance to colonialism. These 2 books tell you about different kinds of resistance in different places.

Book 5A and 5B move on to modern Africa. The lessons talk about independence movements, political and economic developments and political theories and ideas.

People who want to do the course should have a J.C. The course costs R25. There is a special rate for groups. (10 people or more) This rate is R10 each.

Write to SACHED, Box 11350, Johannesburg, 2001, for more details and application forms.

## About Serote's Book To every birth its blood

Serote's novel is a story about struggle in South Africa today. The book is set in Alexandra and we meet a broad range of characters.

The central events in the novel are the growing and changing struggles in the country. In the story we read how different characters react to these events and how people change because of them.

In the first part we meet the main character, Tsietsie Molohe, a hard-drinking journalist. In the beginning, he stands aside from political events. But as the story continues, he realises that he cannot remain uninvolved.

He is assaulted by police, his brother is detained and imprisoned, his friends leave the country for military training and his nephew, Oupa, dies in detention.

These events make him realise that he cannot be an outsider.

"Oupa was just one among many, many children who were dead. I felt ashamed that the madness had had to hit so close to me, to rage into my home before I realised fully that South Africa had gone mad. Had I not always known this? I knew that my country needed to be saved by us, its people. Oupa had told me so. He had told me this with a clarity which had sobered my drunken escapism.

I had know this before. I had seen it. I had heard it. I had experienced it. Now I knew that it was not only important

to know. The most important thing was what does one do once one knows?"

For Molohe this is not an easy question to answer. He eventually leaves the country and lives as a refugee in Gaberone. But he is still not sure who he is or what he should do.

"Now I walk the Gaberone streets by day, sometimes by night, sometimes very early in the morning. . . I had become something called a refugee. At first, this is what I called myself. Then I said, how can I say I am an exile when I am in Africa? No I am not an exile. What am I then?"

In part 2 of the book we meet a group of young people who make clean choices about the struggle and a firm commitment to liberation. These people have been recruited by Oupa and they come to share his beliefs.

Oupa summarises his ideas as follows: 'The boers are fighting us, as simple as that. We have to pitch up a battle, fight back that is all. All this that is happening now, happened to many other people. It happened in Guinea Bissau, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cuba, you know: the people there pitted their strength against the mighty, the strong. . . We too have to fight and win our country back.'

Serote takes us into the thoughts and feelings of these characters. Who commit themselves to the struggle. We learn about their fears, anxieties, problems and dilemmas. But we also see them becoming braver and stronger people through their commitment.

The book ends with the war in South Africa at an advanced stage. Guerillas are attacking rural and urban targets. The South African army is making constant air raids into neighbouring states.

We also meet Molohe again and in the very last page he sees a woman giving birth, a sigh of hope for the future. This scene also brings us back to the title of the book, **To Every Birth its Blood**: a new life can only start after blood and suffering.

**INTERVIEW WITH A TEACHER AT AT HIGH SCHOOL IN A COLOURED TOWNSHIP**

**Q** Is there a teacher shortage, and how does this school manage to keep its teachers?

**A** *There is a terrible shortage; but we seem to be lucky, in that most teachers at this school are settled. I have myself been here for 18 years. Most of the staff have been here a reasonable period of time. This is probably because we have a principal who is sensible. Any problem that arises can usually be sorted out quite easily.*

**Q** What about discipline. Do pupils get beaten and expelled and so on?

**A** *No, no. Beating is very much discouraged. The cane is absolutely not allowed - only the Principal can take that sort of action and it almost never happens. As for expulsion, a pupil must have transgressed terribly before one thinks of that. There have been very few. I can remember only two or so, in many years.*

**Q** Is there a prefect system?

**A** *Yes, prefects are appointed: but there is also an SRC elected by the students. We also have a P.T.A. (Parents Teachers Association) which is voluntary for parents. If they want to be on it, they can be. This group does things like organise functions, fund raising and so on.*

**Q** Are there fees the pupils have to pay in addition to school fees?

**A** *No, not at all. As I said, we raise funds, and every class has a duty to do this at some time or another. For instance, we raise funds for charity and so on. Pupils do this quite readily. Its not a matter of paying for something out of their own pocket.*

**Q** Can pupils complain about things, can they get a hearing if something is wrong?

**A** *Oh yes certainly. They have direct access to the principal, who, as I said, is extremely reasonable; or they can talk to their class prefect or to a teacher. ....*

# The lion wags good-bye

His chummies call him Tau ya Lebowa. His job is to hide the cracks in the wall. He has done this so well in Soweto and Alexandra, that he is being sent to Pretoria to do it for the whole country.

His real name is Jaap Strydom. He has been in charge of education in the region of Johannesburg. A certain writer in The Star says that he was "Soweto's choice to put the pieces together after the riots." Presumably this writer is referring to certain well known events in 1976 when the police rioted, killing schoolchildren by the hundred.

Anyway, we think that it is untrue to say that Jaap Strydom was 'Soweto's choice'. It is more likely that he was the choice of certain elements in Soweto, but not of Soweto as a whole.

We can get an idea of which these elements were if we notice who has been making speeches this past week, from kneeling positions at Jaap Strydom's feet:

Mr J. Maseko (school principal), told Tau ya Lebowa, "... Soweto loves you."

Dr S.K. Matseke (Inspector) says that he is better than others.

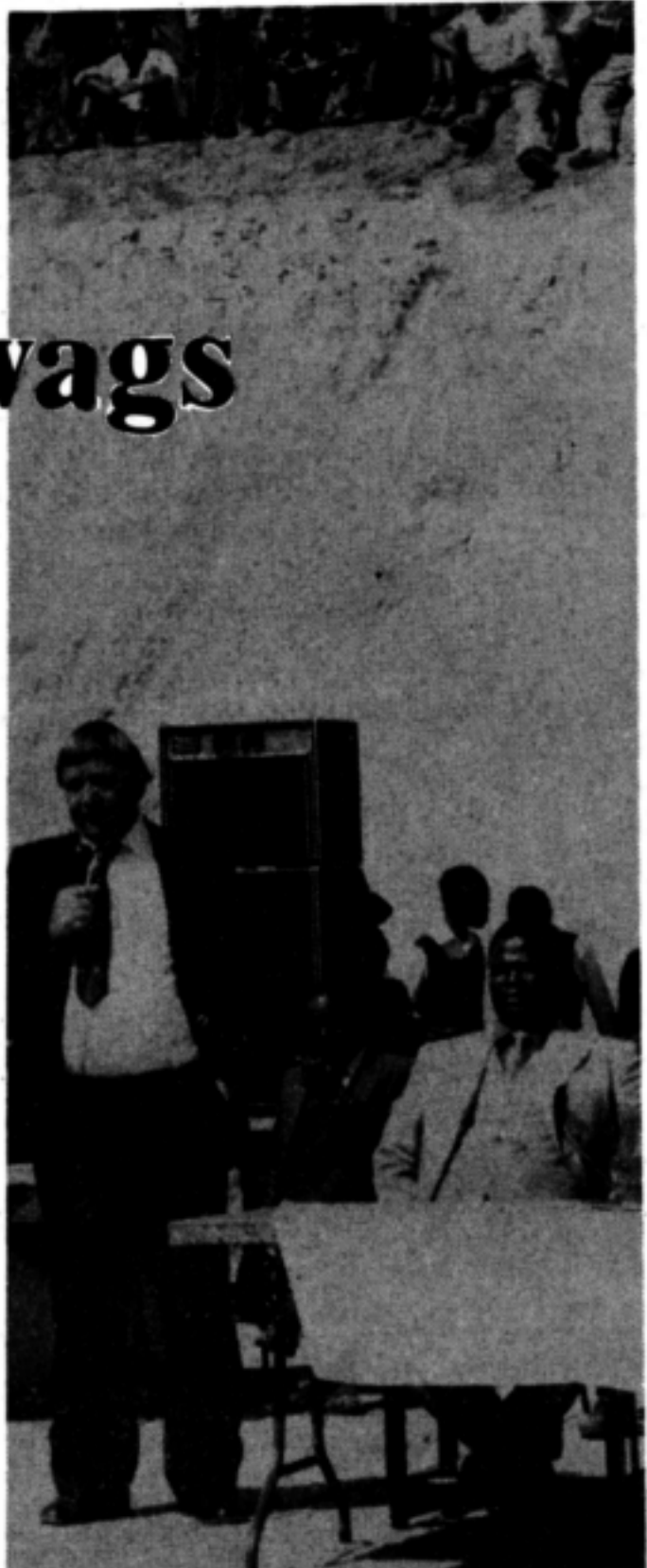
Mr H. Dlamlenze (African Teachers Association) finds him amazing.

Mrs G. Ntsele (School Committees Representative) thanked father Lion and mother Lion for bringing Japie Lion into this fortunate world.

It was a rather disgusting performance.

Now why? What is wrong with expressing gratitude? Cannot good be done by anyone? Do we have something against Jaap Strydom?

No, we have nothing against him at all. As an individual, he is just like all others, and may be left to answer for his own sins.



But in this matter he is not functioning as an individual, but as a representative, and it is as such that we must respond to him. And what Jaap Strydom represents is precisely a state that holds power by force of arms, not by consent of the people; and a school system rejected and opposed by the majority in this country. In combination it was this state and this school system that generated the rebellion of 1955, of 1976, of 1980 & 81. This combination represented by Jaap Strydom has killed school children by the hundred, mis-educated pupils by the thousand, denied education to youngsters by the million.

And what actually has been accomplished during Strydoms term of office in this region? The main thing has been the conversion of syllabus in the direction of commercial and technical subjects. And that is a problem for the future far more than it is a solution in the present.

Well, this is not the first time there has been a special guest in the Pretoria Zoo. May they enjoy each others company!



## Klaaste's revenge

A brief extract from our article:

The government does not ban newspapers that do not challenge the system. If a newspaper fits into the system of exploitation, we should be very critical of it. This may apply to The Sowetan and The Golden City Press. Time will tell.

Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Assistant Editor of The Sowetan, was very upset by our analysis of the commercial press in the June/July issue of Izwi. He says that in his view the analysis is 'un-informed' and that it has not allowed for what he terms 'editorial independence'.

We are very sorry that we hurt his feelings. But at the same time, it is interesting to note the kind of pressure that he has brought against us as a result of our article.

We had requested some photos from the picture library that Mr Klaaste controls. At first he was willing to let us have these photos; but after he had studied the article in Izwi, he withdrew his co-operation. We were not able to get the photos we needed for this issue.

In the April issue of Izwi we printed photos of Madzunya and Mokonyane, leaders of the 1957 Alexandra bus boycott. We feel that it is important to have access to that kind of historical material. Now it appears that we will no longer be able to rely on the important collection housed in the offices of The Sowetan, so long as Aggrey Klaaste is a powerful executive there.

Let us look at this question of editorial independence, which Mr Klaaste says we have ignored. If it means anything, editorial independence means that one should be able to write what one believes to be true and useful, without anyone stopping you from doing so. Even if it is hurtful, one should be allowed to print one's opinion. That is what editorial independence means. Our article on the commercial press was a sincere attempt to present a point of view. The writer was even careful to allow loopholes for certain newspapers to get through if they wanted. Note it is said . . . . 'This may apply to The Sowetan' not . . . 'This does apply.' And here now is Aggrey Klaaste punishing us for our editorial independence: in effect putting pressure on us to not say things he does not like, or, if we do, at least to make it clear that we can no longer rely on his library.

Now, that style of thought is exactly what the writer of our article was drawing attention to. He was saying that the commercial press operates a code of conduct that does not allow for editorial independence. There are many ways of bringing pressure on a writer or an editor. Editors have been sacked - as witness Sparks of the Rand Daily Mail some months ago, and De Klerk a few days ago. Reporters can be dismissed - finance can be denied - and one can be told, 'No you may not use the photographs in our picture library.'

The system of exploitation we were referring to in our article includes the use of pressure to control what gets printed in the press. It appears to us now that Mr Klaaste has decided to commit The Sowetan to the use of that form of pressure. And we are inclined to believe that he is himself used to submitting to the same form of pressure from powerful interests.

So we say to Mr Klaaste, 'We of Izwi lase Township reject your complaint. We do not believe that you are sincere. And we will manage without the photos from the collection under your control rather than flatter you at the expense of our editorial independence.'

## Removals

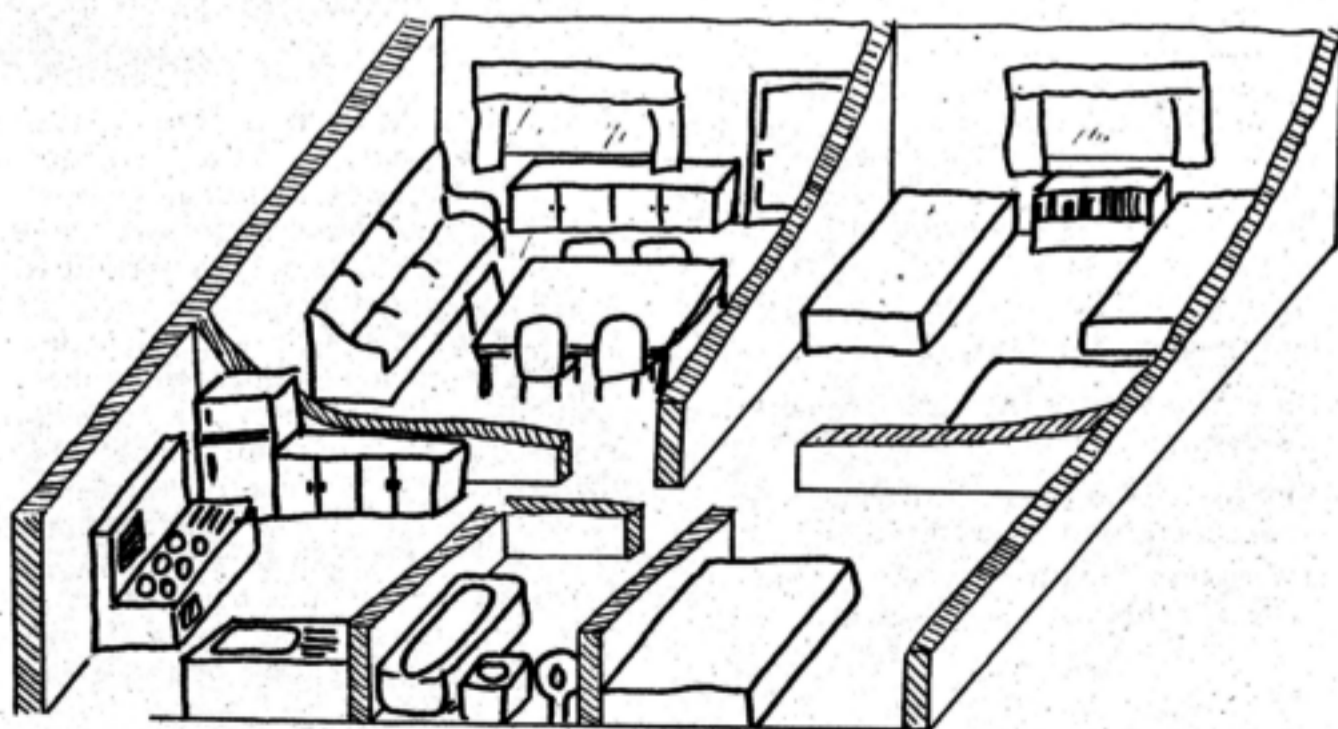
On Wednesday last week (September 1) 16 families were squeezed into 5 small houses in the re-development area, because demolishers were contracted to start work flattening old houses near London Lane.

Why was the move so inefficient? Why had enough houses not been prepared in time? Why did people get 12 hours notice of the removal?

This sort of thing is normal for WRAB, and it seems that it is becoming normal for the Liason Committee also.

Was this a matter between WRAB and residents themselves? Yes.

In that case, what does liason mean? If the Liason Committee is not going to get between the harsh authorities and the people, then they have no other function, and they should disappear.



Lesithombe sisikhombisa ukuthi izindlu ezisho ezina amakamelo amane zizoba nesikhala esingakanane. Amakamelo amabili amakhujwana (bedroom ne sittingroom) anga mametre amathathu nga mametre amane, amanye amancanyane kulawo aphezulu.



What does liason mean?

For several years it has been the claim of the Liason Committee that they stand for the people of Alexandra in their constant battle with the local state authorities.

But where are they when they are needed?

The new houses need ceilings, because asbestos sheeting is hot in summer & cold in winter. They will need warm floor covering. They will need electricity and hot water. The walls will get damp when it rains because the roofs do not extend to give them protection. There will be problems with rent. There will be problems because the yards are so small. There will be problems when the toilets get blocked and WRAB delays in sending a plumber to fix them.

Who is going to look after all these matters?

The residents themselves: because nobody but the residents will pay attention to such things. Everyone else is too ambitious and too comfortable to care about others.

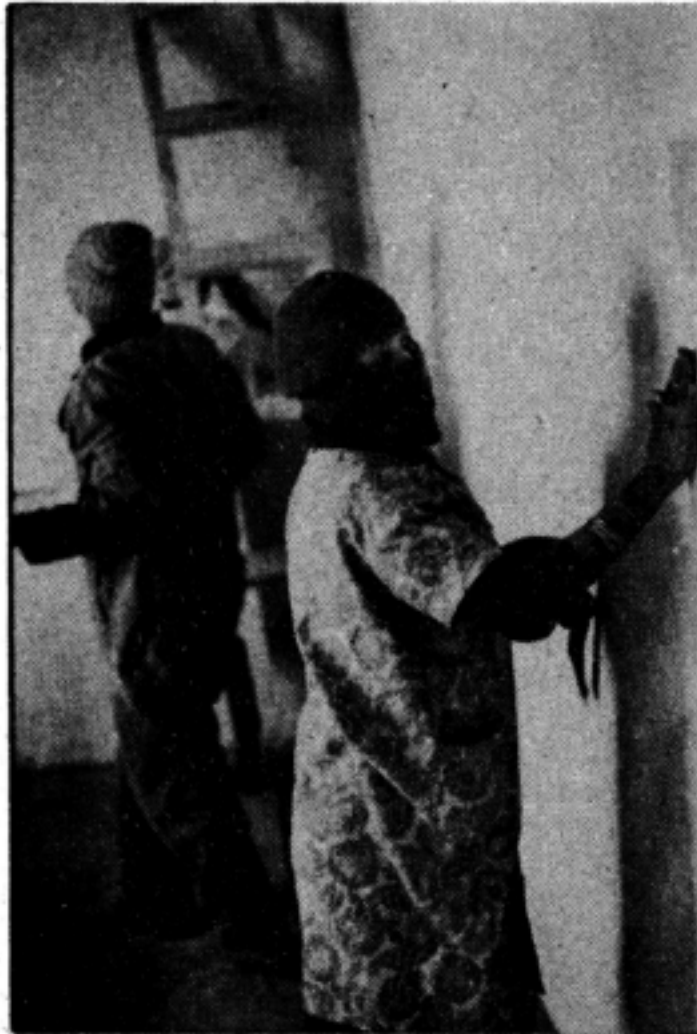
Local residents' committees must be formed. This is the only way people will be able to deal with events that affect them in their day to day lives. It is the only way people will be able to make their demands known and felt.

## Local committees

You must have a local committee, to discuss common problems and to represent you to the local state authorities.

There are such committees all over South Africa, born of similar circumstances, where residents had no representative body who would look after their interests. Many townships now have residents committees and bodies on which these committees are represented. One such organisation, the Cape Action Housing Committee has been very successful in looking after its members interests.

In Unity there is Strength. And, as in factories, so in residential areas, it should be said that an injury to one is an injury to all. That way, the authorities will not find it so easy to push people around.



Cheap labour, cheap construction

People living in Alexandra must forget about relying on the Liason Committee. It has no real power, and its interest in the welfare of the people is limited. Local committees, representing people in a yard or in a block of houses, would be far more effective in handling problems.

## Inqubo yezindlu ezishibhile iqalile

Kukhona izindlu ezakhiwayo phakathi kuka Rooth noRooseveld, ziku Phase 1 yenqubo emayelana nokwakhiwa kwabusha kwe-Alexandra. Lezizindlu zakhelwa abantu abahlala kulesifunda okuzokwakhelwa kusona amabala awezomdlalo kanye nezikole.

## i-Rent ezokuba malini?

Akukhomuntu ongathi uyazi ukuthi i-rent izokuba malini. Ubukhulu bazo lezizindlu bukabili kukhona eyamakamelo amane neyamakamelo ayisithupha. Sesiphawule ukuthi ikontilakhi (contract) eyekhayo isebenzisa abesifazane ukuze behlise izindleko zokwakha.

## Ukushibha kokwakha

Ukuma nobukhulu kwalezindlu kubonakaliswa ngomdwebo ongenzansi. Izisetshenziswa (building materials) ezisetshenziswayo imampara brick (breezeblock), inkonkileti, ne-roof ye-asbestos. Akuvamile ukuthi uthole amacinga noma izindlela ezishibhile zokwakha emhlabeni jikelele.



First visit to a new house. Phase 1 sub-economic housing, Alexandra 1982.