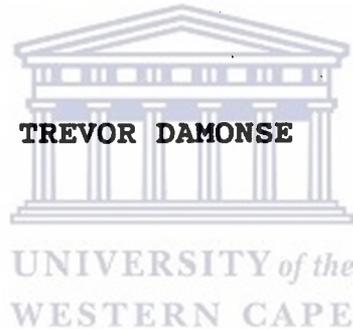


**A CRITICAL COMPARISON OF THE ROLE OF EDUCATION
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER WITHIN CHRISTIAN
NATIONAL EDUCATION 'VOLKSKOLE' (1900-1910) AND 'PEOPLE'S/
EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER (1985-1989)**

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A minithesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of M Phil in the Department of Philosophy of Education , University of the Western Cape

NOVEMBER 1993

ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL COMPARISON OF THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER WITHIN CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION "VOLKSKOLE" (1900-1910) AND "PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER" (1985-1989)

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This minithesis investigates and critically evaluates whether the notion of "People's Education for People's Power" and the "Volkskole" of Christian National Education display certain analogies and disanalogies , which could inform us about the nature of resistance education in South Africa. A central question to be considered is whether "People's Education for People's Power" as a form of resistance education , displays the potential , characteristics and tendencies to contribute to the seizure of political power , similarly I shall look at the role that CNE "Volkskole" played in the struggle for political power by the Afrikaner nationalists.

Through the presentation of the historical background and the subsequent analyses , the minithesis hopes to highlight the role of resistance education as an important agent for the socialisation and mobilisation of the members of its community

into a co-ordinated and well orchestrated force capable of challenging the status quo and its underlying system of power relations. Education , as a socialisation agent invariably represents particular belief systems and values , and therefore cannot be neutral and impartial.



ABSTRAK

'N KRITIESE VERGELYKING VAN DIE ROL VAN OPVOEDING IN DIE STRYD VIR POLITIEKE MAG TUSSEN CHRISTELIKE NASIONALE ONDERWYS "VOLKSKOLE" (1900-1910) EN "PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER" (1985-1989).

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Die mini-tesis ondersoek en evalueer krities of die idee van "People's Education for People's Power" en die "Volkskole" van Christelike Nasionale Onderwys enige analogiee en disanalogiee vertoon , wat vir ons kan inlig oor die verskynsel van weerstand in opvoeding in Suid Afrika. 'n Sentrale vraag wat oorweeg word is of "People's Education for People's Power" as 'n vorm van weerstandsoopvoeding , die potensiaal , karakter , eienskappe en neigings toon wat kan bydra tot die verkryging van politieke mag. Soortgelyk sal ek kyk na die rol wat Christelike Nasionale Onderwys "Volkskole" gespeel het in die stryd vir politieke mag van die Afrikaner nasionaliste.

Deur die uitlegging van die historiese agtergrond en die gevolglike analise , hoop die mini-tesis om klem te le op die rol van weerstandsoopvoeding as 'n belangrike agent vir die sosialisering en mobilisering van die lede van 'n gemeenskap

tot 'n gekoördineerde mag wat bevoegd is om die status quo en sy onderliggende magsverhoudinge te bevraagteken. Opvoeding , as 'n sosialiseringensagent verteenwoordig spesifieke waardestelsels , en kan dus nie neutraal en onpartydig staan nie.



DECLARATION

I declare that A Critical Comparison of the Role of Education in the Struggle for Political Power within Christian National Education "Volkskole" (1900-1910) and People's Education for People's Power (1985-1989) is my own work , that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university , and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

RALPH TREVOR DAMONSE

NOVEMBER 1993



SIGNED:

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I wish to thank and acknowledge the counsel , guidance and enthusiasm of the two persons who played an important role in the project of writing this minithesis. Firstly , Dr Stiaan Loedolff who supervised the first part of the minithesis , and secondly , Ms Nelleke Bak who guided me to the end of the project. I am in particular grateful to Nelleke for her steady guidance and generous support.

Also a special word of thanks and appreciation to my family who supported me in various ways. I am extremely grateful and would like to dedicate this minithesis to my parents.

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SECTION A : INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEMSETTING

This minithesis is concerned with the nature of resistance education in South Africa. During the 1985-1989 period in South Africa , the notion of People's Education for People's Power enjoyed prominence on the national agenda of both the ruling Nationalist government , the liberation forces opposing the status quo , and civil society in general. Resistance education , as reflected in the People's Education for People's Power initiative , raised many issues and questions as to the nature of education in South Africa. It focused renewed attention on the nature of Apartheid Education , strategies and tactics to challenge the Apartheid State on the educational terrain , and also what kind of educational principles should form the basis of educational reconstruction in the post-Apartheid era.

Within the context of the severe nature of State repression during this period , People's Education for People's Power was located in the centre of the counter-hegemonic struggle , largely because the educational sector remained as one of the few pillars in civil society allowing scope for mobilisation of support and counter-acting the Apartheid State's repressive

strategies. The People's Education for People's Power project , as a form of alternative education , became an integral component of the counter hegemonic forces opposing the status quo. Over the whole spectrum of civil society itself , People's Education for People's Power caused a chain reaction which reflects itself in the many questions and issues raised about its theories and practical manifestations. It is this process that is of interest to this project.

My interest in the developments around the People's Education for People's Power project made me ask certain questions about the nature of resistance education in South Africa. My concern about education within the context of resistance to an oppressive political dispensation , as perceived by a significant sector of its subordinates , shifted my attention to the Christian National Education "Volkskole" as an instance in the history of Afrikaner resistance to British imperialism. The conditions and location of the Dutch Afrikaner nation in relation to the dominant British colonial political dispensation before 1948 placed them in a more or less similar subordinate position as the majority of Black people are experiencing to date in South Africa. A central and dominant feature in the history of Afrikaner resistance to British colonial imperialism was their struggle for Christian National Education. It is this particular struggle , especially the Christian National Education 'Volkskole' concept , both in its theory and practical manifestation , that brought me closer to formulating the focal questions to be answered in this

minithesis , that is:

Are there any tendencies or characteristics in the People's Education for People's Power movement during the 1985-1989 period , that manifest themselves in similar ways to that which occurred in the history of the Christian National Education "Volkskole" as at the turn of the century ?

What do these analogies or disanalogies tell us about the nature of resistance education in South Africa ?

Did resistance on the educational terrain , as in Christian National Education "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power , form an integral part of the process to construct a particular political consciousness which was central to the strategic initiative of the counter-hegemonic bloc's intended seizure of political power ?

With these questions in mind , this minithesis hopes to throw some light on the nature of resistance education in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

DEMARCATIION AND OUTLINING OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

Thus , having outlined in Chapter 1 the central questions to be considered in responding the focal problem of this minithesis , I plan to proceed in addressing my task in the following manner:

In Section B , I will outline the historical background of Christian National Education "Volkskole". My approach is largely descriptive because I want to set the scene for the analytical discussions which I intend to do in Sections D and E. In Section B , I will address the question of Christian National Education by focusing on the following:

1. A brief overview with regard to the origin of Christian National Education as a concept linked to the Calvinist worldview and belief system.
2. A short historical synopsis of the development of Christian National Education in South Africa in the period prior to 1900.
3. Features and trends in educational practices prior to 1900
4. Resistance in education during and after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) , with an emphasis on the manifestation and

role of the Christian National Education "Volkskole".

It needs to be pointed out at this stage that I will concentrate largely on Christian National Education as it was understood and practised in the period prior to 1910. The further development of Christian National Education after 1910 and its subsequent establishment as an official educational policy in 1948 is beyond the scope of this project.

In Section C , People's Education for People's Power is placed in its historical context. The following aspects are considered:

- 
1. The origin of People's Education for People's Power as a concept and the developments leading up to the formation of the People's Education project , with emphasis on the roles played by structures such as the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee and the National Education Crisis Committee.
 2. A consideration of the underlying theoretical motivations for People's Education.
 3. The practical manifestation of People's Education and its role in society as a counter-hegemonic force.

Section D deals with the theoretical analyses of analogies between People's Education and Christian National Education. Here I consider issues and questions concerning the

contribution and effectiveness of People's Education and Christian National Education as components of counter-hegemonic strategies , geared towards the seizure of political power.

In Section E , I look more specifically at the disanalogies between People's Education and Christian National Education. Although I argue in the previous section that the two forms of resistance education have some analogies , I would , in this section , put forward a case that the differences between the two movements tell us more about the nature of alternative education in South Africa. Issues such as alternative or resistance education as sites of struggle reflecting notions and practices of democracy are examined.

In Section F , I present a summary of the main claims made in this minithesis , and also make a few concluding remarks about the nature of resistance education in South Africa.

SECTION B : CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

CHAPTER 3

INTRODUCTION

"The greatest struggle over the future of South Africa will be waged in the school over the child."

Dr. J.D. Vorster -1936 (1)

In this section I will attempt to develop an overview of the Afrikaner's historical context and its influence on education. Within this framework I will highlight the role of Christian National Education (CNE), more specifically the CNE "Volkskole" as established at the turn of the century, as an integral part of the Afrikaner's struggle for political power. For the purposes of this minithesis, I will not investigate CNE extensively, but will rather focus on some aspects which I think are relevant to the focal question to be answered in this minithesis. I will therefore briefly examine features of CNE such as its origin, its underlying theoretical bases, its role in Afrikaner society, etc. Having outlined this background to CNE, I will look more specifically at that dimension of CNE which I think is more relevant to my topic, namely CNE as part of the Afrikaner nationalist struggle. My focus on CNE as part of this struggle for political power, will centre mainly around the phenomenon of the Volkskole at the turn of the century. I consider this phenomenon as an important attempt to organise and

establish an alternative form of education with the objective to challenge the status quo. It is this aspect of education , i.e. education as an integral part of a counter-hegemonic force , which is of interest to this project.

In order to grasp the issues relevant to this section fully and also to set the background to the different aspects I intend analysing in more detail in sections D and E , I think that it is appropriate to start with a few general comments about the Afrikaners and their history , in more particular , their struggle for political and social control.



A Brief Historical Overview(2)

During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) , the British colonial power defeated the two Afrikaner republics ; namely , the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR) and the Oranje Vrystaat (OVS). In 1910 , the British Empire granted a degree of partial independence through the introduction of Union government for South Africa. In 1961 , South Africa became a republic under the leadership of the Afrikaner Nationalists who gained political power in 1948.

The historical period prior to and that following 1948 , reflects a political and social process geared towards the establishment of a particular structure of rule based on White supremacy and the preservation of the Afrikaner's identity as a separate Volk with its own particular characteristics. It is

the preceding developments of this process , their underlying philosophical and theoretical motivations , their practical manifestations , which culminated in the establishment of the Afrikaner as the dominant group in society , that is of interest to this section.

Educational policy and practice played a seminal role in all these developments , especially in the consolidation of white supremacy , the definition and preservation of Afrikaner identity and the subjugation of South Africa's black population. The Afrikaners developed their particular theory and practice of the role of education in society due to various historical influences. Over this period of struggle and resistance to the British colonial rulers , they managed to formulate and practically implement their own education in the version of CNE. This CNE philosophy later led to the control of other educational processes in South Africa in order to build onto their post-1948 Apartheid program.

Since the British gained control over the educational process in the Cape colony during the 19th century , the Afrikaners had been intensely engaged in a struggle for control over the education of their own children. This struggle for control over their own educational destinies started well before the pre-1899 period. A series of notable historical events involving the question of education such as the continuous struggle between the Church and the State for control over education in the Cape Colony , the 1803 burgher resistance to De Mist's attempts to

secularise education and the CNE debate which started by 1870 , impacted on educational developments relevant to my subject matter. The details of some of these events are not directly relevant to this minithesis , but I will point out some aspects which I consider as relevant when required. Furthermore , they have already been well documented in various sources (3).

Generally speaking , the major motivation for the Afrikaners' response to educational issues during the pre-1899 period was their perception that education was a most important means to preserve their separate identity , especially their religious identity as opposed to the British notions of the integration of all whites , both Afrikaans and English speaking , into one educational system. Their struggle for control over their own educational processes culminated eventually in 1948 in their achievement of a system of compulsory mother-tongue education in primary schools (4). CNE , as introduced in South Africa after 1870 , was firstly intended to be a form of education directed at preserving the Afrikaners' belief system and separateness , but was later transformed into a system of state-controlled education , with the main objective to inculcate and consolidate a particular philosophy of life. I will now proceed to examine CNE in more detail.

CHAPTER 4

WHAT IS CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION ?

In this chapter I will provide the theoretical basis and historical background with regard to the origin , development and influence of CNE , as seen within the context of it being an integral feature of the Afrikaner's struggle against British Imperialism. At this stage , I must remind the reader again that the area of this topic is very wide , and it would thus not be possible to examine it in detail within the limits of this minithesis. I shall therefore first provide a brief overview concerning the underlying religious , social and educational theories pertaining to the notion of CNE. This will then be followed by a brief examination of the practical application of the concept in South Africa during the pre-1900 period , and then a more detailed focus on the 1900 - 1910 period.

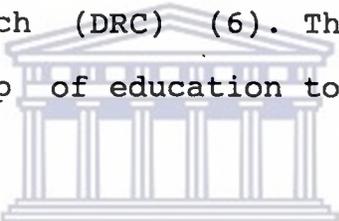
4.1 The theoretical basis of CNE

In order to develop a proper understanding of what this notion of CNE means , one needs to trace it back to its origin , namely 17th century Europe. Upon a closer examination of this particular historical period , more specifically in Holland , one finds a socio-political set-up where institutions such as the State , the Church and the educational system were closely identified with each other. According to Shingler (5) ,

the education libre of France and the vrije scholen of Holland were manifestations of the same spirit -

the desire to preserve an education which was designed to form character and outlook on the basis of a religious and a cultural tradition. This tradition accepted and even applauded distinctions between groups and rejected egalitarianism and universalism of an education based upon the paramouncy of reason ; it lies at the heart of the Cape Dutch resistance to the secular innovations of the British.

The Dutch Christian Protestant Church , founded on a Calvinist interpretation of Christianity , was in close union with the State. The church authorities were solely responsible for schooling. In 1618-1619 , the Synod of Dort adopted a series of edicts , which laid the basis for the creed and practice of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) (6). The following excerpt spells out the relationship of education to other social institutions as follows:



Schools must be instituted in country places , towns and cities , religious instruction must be given , the Christian magistracy must see to it that well-qualified persons teach with suitable compensation , the children of the poor are to be instructed free , and in all schools only orthodox Christians may teach.(7)

These kind of notions on education informed , and later developed into an educational philosophy , which only became later known as Christian National Education during the middle of the 19th century in Holland (8) with the establishment of the Vereeniging van Christelijk-Nationaal Onderwijs. CNE holds primarily that the Christian teacher should acknowledge God as the sovereign creator in whose image men were created. God has a direct hand in the teaching of history , physical science , etc. Children must be taught that there are two kinds of science ,

one undertaken in the service of God , and the other based on rebellion against his will (9). Notions of neutrality and objectivity were projected as falsehoods. In education specifically , as in all other areas of life , men were either for or against God. The nature of teaching and schools should reflect commitment to God. Hexham (10) holds that according to CNE , the true aim of all education was seen as the preparation of children for life within the community and the ability to serve their fellow men.

Beneath these views lies the foundation of a social theory which saw the church as a chosen people. Religion and nationalism merged in an educational theory which prided itself on its devotion to tradition and desired to preserve the unity between the child and its cultural environment.(11)

CNE thus became a powerful instrument in the process to create a strong sense of association , because the individual is placed and identified in a situation where he identified himself essentially in relation to his religion and social situation.

4.2 CNE in SA during the pre-1900 period

The position at the Cape

During the pre-1900 period , the provision of schooling at the Cape Colony went through different phases of development. The Cape , being a Dutch colony up to 1806 , inherited many of these Dutch educational policies and practices. Although the British started to introduce educational policies which set education in

the Cape on the course to secularization after 1806 , we find that education , until the late 19th century , maintained its strong religious base. This was largely due to the fact that the Church was still , on a practical level in control of most educational activities. A 19th century Cape educationist sums up the institutional arrangements concerning education by referring to it as the "mixing of the pulpit and the desks"(12).

Attempts to undermine the religious base of education were strongly resisted by White "Afrikaner" settlers because they viewed these developments as impositions from outside and alien to their culture and traditions. One such example was the 1803 burgher resistance to the new governor-general , De Mist's , attempts at secularizing education by formulating educational policies addressing issues such as national efficiency , the building of a national character , and an education that is vocational , universal and without regard to colour or creed (13). Thus at this point of the early history of the Cape there was resistance to the imposition of a state schooling system.

The struggle between the Church , which was predominantly the Dutch Reformed Church , and the State , dominated by British views , to control education continued throughout the 19th century. The "Afrikaner"(14) strongly believed that the Church should have a strong influence over the school. This view was particularly reinforced by the loyal followers of the Dort Synod , who were in most instances concentrated in a small off-shoot of the Dutch Reformed Church , known as the Reformed Church.

Their members were commonly referred to as the Doppers and included prominent Afrikaner figures such as Paul Kruger and J.D. Du Toit (the poet Totius). Because it is generally accepted that this section of the Afrikaner community was a powerful force in the forging of links between the Afrikaner's Calvinist religion and Afrikaner Nationalism I will examine its role in more detail in section D.

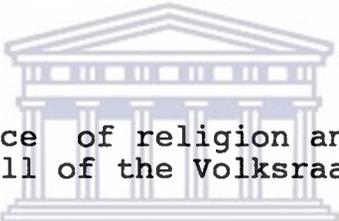
Through such a relationship the Doppers would be able to maintain their particular Calvinist religion , and also the identity of the Afrikaner. It was only towards the latter half of the century that the State gradually started to assume a more prominent place in the provision of education.

...it was not until the 1820s that a system of secular schools in the British tradition , sponsored by the governor , Lord Charles Somerset , began to take shape. ...competent and respectable instructors employed at public expense , would be introduced at every principal place throughout the Colony. ...James Rose-Innes , the first Superintendent-General of Education , who held office from 1839 to 1859 , did not abolish the established school system. He placed it on a more systematic basis. ...Indeed , the foundation was laid for a system of State-aided schools which in subsequent years formed a network throughout South Africa. By 1862 there were over 100 State-aided schools in the Cape Colony and only 9 State schools.(15)

So , centralized , State-controlled educational administration only materialised towards the end of the century.

CNE outside the Cape.

Outside the Cape colonial territorial boundaries , i.e. in the Boer republics of the ZAR and OVS , the Church still dominated to a large extent formal educational activities. The Afrikaner pioneers , commonly known as the Voortrekkers , who settled in these areas after leaving the Cape colony during 1838 , strongly favoured the " old relationship between Church , State , School and Home"(16).They expressed their perceptions in the constitutions of their independent voortrekker states as follows:



"The furtherance of religion and education shall be a subject for all of the Volksraad"(17).

"The Dutch Reformed Church shall be promoted and supported by the Volksraad"(18).

In 1858 , the ZAR constitution at clause 24 read:

The people shall desire the building up , prosperity and welfare of the Church and State , and on that account direct that provision should be made to satisfy the want felt for Dutch Reformed ministers and school masters (19).

4.3 An analysis of features and aspects of CNE before 1900

The role of the SA Protestant Church Movement

Thus , from the above section it appears that during the 19th century , Afrikaner pioneers , in both the Cape Colony and the

Boer republics , resisted largely on religious grounds attempts at secularizing of schools. The underlying religious force had a profound impact on the shaping of the Afrikaner's worldview and value system. In order to appreciate more fully this influence , I shall now proceed to cast more light on the Afrikaner Churches and their role and influence in shaping CNE , both in theory and practice. I shall also briefly outline some of the underlying theoretical and philosophical positions as developed by the early Dutch Calvinist thinkers such as Van Prinsterer and Kuyper. In this way , I hope to cast more light on and develop background to the underlying motives and manifestation of CNE Volksskole in South Africa after 1899.

As stated earlier , the Afrikaner's Calvinist religious traditions were largely influenced by a small off-shoot of the main Dutch Reformed Church , known as the Reformed Church , which was commonly referred to as the Doppers. The followers of the Reformed Calvinist tradition formed the strength and the back bone of the Afrikaner intelligentsia. This intelligentsia , especially the clergy and the academics , played a major role in the formulation and implementation of CNE ideals. Through this process the flame of Afrikaner Nationalism was kept burning.

The Doppers maintained themselves as a religious community separate from other Afrikaner churches and communities on the basis of their strong social organisation and religious views.

The very survival of the Reformed Church depended upon the acceptance by its members of two claims:

first , that it was the true representative of the Calvinist tradition in South Africa , and , second , that Calvinism was the purist form of Christianity. On the basis of these claims the Reformed Church successfully maintained the strict separation of its members from other Christians. In this way a religious apartheid based upon dogmatic beliefs and historical claims was practised by members of the Dopper community to keep themselves apart from other Afrikaners and to maintain the purity of their beliefs"(20).

These unchangeable principles and religious conservatism explain their anti-British behaviour and opposition to any new ideas , especially the Enlightenment (21). According to Hexham (22) belief , rather than experience , underlies the rational element in Calvinist theology. He further holds that Kuyper (23) himself insisted on the primacy of this principle of belief in social and political affairs.

The English , especially their missionaries , soldiers , settlers and officials , were considered as the bearers of the new ideas of a different way of life ; which in turn was regarded as the major threat to the Afrikaner conservative value system. Their religion made them reject and oppose universalism and imperialism , in whatever guise they might appear. In order to retain their language and cultural traditions , they believed that they must control the education of their children. As a result of this notion , the Dutch Calvinist theory of CNE became central in their attempts to resist British Imperialism (24).

I will now proceed to look in more detail at the origin of this close relationship between the Church and education. The purpose

for embarking on this exercise is to put the situation into a perspective whereby we will have a better insight into what motivated the Afrikaner to engage in education with virtual blind religious fervour in order to meet their political objectives. CNE's historical base could be traced back to the writings of early Dutch Calvinist thinkers. One of these thinkers , Groen Van Prinsterer , who published an important Calvinist work , Ongeloof en Revolutie (Unbelief and Revolution) during 1864 (25) , argued that the Protestant Christian community had an enormous task , namely , that they must fight for and develop their own political theories , versions of history , social movements and control the education of their children. Hexham holds that the implications of Van Prinsterer's famous slogan , "In isolation is our strength" , which later became the rallying call of the Calvinist movement , could be summarized as follows:

The greatest of all the challenges to the Gospel was education , the chosen means by which followers of revolutionary thought hoped to reform the world. Through education revolutionary adherents would create their "new man" freed from the fetters of religious dogma. Christians felt strongly that they , as believing parents , must have a say in the education of their children. All Christians should be able to watch over their children's education to ensure that they in fact did receive a Christian education and were not subtly indoctrinated with anti-Christian views. Individual parents , however , could not expect to stand against the State in the struggle to protect their children from revolutionary influences. Therefore , the Christian community as a whole must recognize its responsibility in this matter and assist parents to fulfil their baptismal vows by establishing Christian schools. Only if Christians stood firmly together on this issue would they be able to resist a State education system based on revolutionary principles (26).

Van Prinsterer's successor , Abraham Kuyper , further developed this view after 1876. He succeeded in establishing the Dutch neo-Calvinist movement which he later turned into a prominent social and political force. By using the traditional Calvinist doctrine and interpretation of the sovereignty of God he legitimised the ideology , the social and political actions of his Anti-Revolutionary movement amongst Calvinists. Hexham argues that Kuyper transformed a soteriological belief about individual salvation into a redemptive fact embracing all creation ; and so "diverted the believer's attention from the state of his soul to the condition of society"(27). Accordingly political systems such as capitalism , socialism and imperialism , would inevitably lead to spiritual nihilism. Christian Nationalism , based on the Anti-Revolutionary party's principles was regarded as the only alternative because of its rejection of a compromise between the "forces of good and evil. Christ must be seen to reign over the whole of life and it was in his name that politics must be conducted"(28).

In South Africa , these ideas of CNE were introduced more prominently during the 1870s by an Afrikaner religious leader called S.J. Du Toit. During this same period , Jan Lion-Cachet , also a Dopper , started a training programme for Reformed Church ministers at Burghersdorp. Cachet was very much concerned with the promotion of education amongst his church followers , and also later amongst the supporters of the Afrikaner nationalist movement which started to emerge during the 1870s and 1880s. These church leaders , being very much aware of the

general lack of education for Afrikaners in the outlying areas during the period prior to 1900 , embarked , through the medium and infrastructure of the Church , on an extensive programme of primary education and a limited programme of secondary teaching. This , in fact , was the beginning of a deliberate practical attempt to introduce CNE. According to Van der Vyver as quoted by Hexham (29) , the Reformed Church was by 1899 involved with some 142 schools which educated over 3000 children in the Transvaal.

Thus from the above it appears that during the 19th century , Afrikaners resisted largely on religious grounds any attempt at secularizing schools. The strong anti-British feeling that developed during the 1881-1888 annexation period spilled over to the education front. The Afrikaner Bond (30) promoted the development of a new Afrikaner nation based on purist Christian principles and Afrikaans as language. At this point , I need to point out that the question of language , more specifically the struggle for Afrikaans as the language of the Afrikaner , played an important role in the mobilisation of Afrikaners against the threats posed by the liberal policies of the British authorities. The recorded history of the Afrikaans language movements is well documented (31). For the purposes of this minithesis I will not venture into the detail of these developments , but hope to highlight some of the issues , especially the role and status of Afrikaans in the Volksskole , in sections D and E.

Patriotic Afrikaners felt that the responsibility of education should not rest with the State , especially a State imposed by a foreign power. Education should rather rest with the parents and the Church. At this point one already starts noticing attempts directed at preventing British influences coming into Afrikaner schools. There was a preference that schools remain the exclusive property and under the control of Afrikaners. During the period before 1900 , the Transvaal Republic already employed a number of Dutch teachers recruited in the Netherlands. These initiatives indicated that the seeds of the emerging Afrikaner nationalism were being sown in the educational sphere. During this pre-1900 period the momentum of the debates on education was further carried forward and maintained by the conflict between the independent Afrikaner governments and the Uitlanders especially with regard to the provision of education.

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So , in this chapter , I have developed a synopsis of the historical conditions and background with regard to the origin of CNE. Through these developments we have seen how the proponents of CNE started to move into an arena which set them and their followers up against the State on the issue of education. This process led to an intense struggle for control over education. With this backdrop in mind , I will now move on to the next chapter , where I shall look more closely at the response generated by this conflict between Afrikaners on the one hand , and the British colonial rulers on the other.

CHAPTER 5

RESISTANCE IN EDUCATION DURING AND AFTER THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

5.1 The Anglo-Boer War and the period up to 1910

During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) formal education was neglected , largely due to the demands of the war. In the non-combatant zones , inhabitants opened a few schools on their own initiative. These initiatives were largely supported by funds made available by sources based in the Netherlands. According to Behr (32) , these schools were to become the nucleus of the system of CNE schools that were established in opposition to the schools opened by the British authorities after the war. These schools , commonly known as "Volkskole" , were also established in the concentration camps. According to Bunting (33) , there were over 200 CNE schools in South Africa in the period immediately following the Anglo-Boer War. Most of them were later placed under the control of the Transvaal and OVS colonial state education departments.

5.2 The origin of the term "CNE Volkskole"

The term "Volkskole" , could be linked with the Dutch notions as developed during the middle of the 19th century , especially with the founding of the Vereeniging van Christelijke Nasionale Onderwijs (CNO) in Holland (34). The underlying principles and reasons for the CNE schools established during the War , were

more or less similar to their Dutch counter-parts. The Dutch variants which originally had their roots in the Protestant opposition to the Roman Catholic Church , were founded in the 19th century to oppose state monitored secular education. The underlying principle of CNO , clause 21 of the the Dordrecht Synod (1618-19) reads:

The Church Council shall ensure that everywhere there are good teachers who will not only teach the children to read , write , speak and count , but who will also instruct them in Godliness and Catechism (35).

5.3 The development of State education after 1900

During the period following the Anglo-Boer War , Milner , the High Commissioner in South Africa , attempted to turn the defeated Boer colonies into British crown subjects. He instituted a bureaucratic , hierarchical kind of administration (36) which , on the educational front , changed the existing institutional educational arrangements. Milner , by introducing different educational provisions and initiatives to promote the British language and value systems , hoped to break down Afrikaner nationalism. "Church participation in education was stopped , parents were denied any say in the education of their children , and the medium of education became English"(37). He specifically gave the Dutch language less prominence in the schools.

Milner , especially in his Anglisization efforts in education such as the importation of young , single , English-speaking

women teachers , was set on using the new educational provisions to cement the bounds of the Empire (38). Afrikaners rejected these measures strongly because they regarded them as not being in their interests. They viewed the British-based education system as a means of forcing the English language and culture onto them. This would destroy their own culture. Futhermore , Milner's system clearly undermined the social position of the Afrikaner church ministers and teachers.

Milner's attempts to exclude these prominent figures from the system , partly contributed to the zeal amongst this sector of the Afrikaner community to set up CNE schools as an alternative to the State education system. Afrikaner school resistance at this point became largely a reaction to foreign interventions in their own affairs , especially the Sargent policies (39). In short , these policies , as introduced by Sargent , the Director of Education after 1901 , were largely introduced to reconstruct the educational systems of the former republics in order to further the Imperial cause. So , at this point one can conclude that a variety of factors motivated Afrikaners in the Boer republics to establish their own CNE Volksskole. There were motivations such as their underlying religious belief and value system. In addition there was the suffering and hardship experienced as a result of their resistance , especially during the war , to the British imperialist attempts to incorporate them into the empire. Of all the confrontations with the British , the main experiences which caused bitterness were the continuous threats to their political independence in the Boer

republics , threats posed to lifestyle and culture by the presence of large numbers of Uitlanders in the Transvaal after the discovery of gold , and opposition to anglisization policies and personal suffering experienced during the war (loss of land , the concentration camps , loss of family and children , etc). The suffering experienced during the war could be considered as one of the major catalyts for the resistance effort on the educational terrain. We will see below that the resistance on the educational front became an integral part of Afrikaner Nationalism's broader struggle , i.e. the mobilisation , expansion and maintenance of Afrikaner resistance to British domination.

5.4 Afrikaner reaction up to 1910:

Afrikaners , more specifically the Afrikaner teachers , military leaders and clergy , responded to Milner's intervention in education in various ways. I will now proceed to examine in closer detail the process of mobilisation of resistance in the educational sector , which I hope will make the picture of the CNE "Volkskole" more clear as an important dimension in the broader resistance to the British threat.

5.4.a The formation of the Vriend de Kring and the Commission for CNE.

During the War, many of the imported Dutch teachers returned to the Netherlands , whilst others continued with their teaching.

Due to the growing debts of the Transvaal Republican government , the salaries of employees in its service were cut (40). Consequently many teachers started experiencing financial difficulties. In June 1902 a group of these teachers met in Pretoria to form the Vriend de Kring (Circle of Friends) , with the objective to raise funds for these needy teachers. Besides canvassing for funds , especially from the educational sector in Holland , they also continued to step up their campaigns around other issues , such as increasing their membership and support , especially from recognised Afrikaner leaders (e.g. Smuts , Botha , Hertzog) , and also for the planning of the CNE Movement.

On 22 October 1902 , the Vriend de Kring changed their name to De Commissie Voor Christelijk-National Onderwijs (CNE Commission) (41). This CNE Commission corresponded remarkably in its constitutional provisions and practices to the Dutch counter-parts. For example , Article I reads that "...it is the responsibility of parents to care for their children's education" , whilst Article II stresses the importance of an education conducted in a "Protestant-Christian Spirit (42)." This CNE Commission , which was dominated by DRC clergy and teachers , led the Movement and launched a renewed programme of action with the objective to create an own alternative schooling system , known as the CNE "Volkskole". The existing small and fragmented CNE Schools initiatives which were formed prior to 1901 and during the war , mainly in the country and on farms , were drawn into the Movement in order to form a united and uniform network of alternative schools (43).

Other objectives of this movement can largely be summarized as firstly , to be free from Milner's bureaucratic kind of state control. Secondly , to make attempts to avoid influences from British culture , and to avoid the secularisation of Afrikaner education. "It was the desire to preserve an education which was designed to form character and outlook on the basis of a religious and cultural tradition"(44). Furthermore , it involved the rejection of the egalitarianism and universalism of an education based upon the paramouncy of reason (45). The rigorous staff selection procedures for state schools as introduced by Sargent after 1901 left many Afrikaner and Dutch teachers unemployed. These teachers , especially those who became doubtful of their loyalty to the State , became the new teachers in the "Volkskole". According to Hexham (46) , many schools that were part of the pre-War educational set-up , now became part of the "Volkskole" movement.

The Afrikaner community , in general responded well to the CNE "Volkskole" movement. We note for example that there existed by 1905 over 300 such schools , educating over 9000 children in the Transvaal (47). Upon closer examination of this growth from 142 schools in 1899 , 200 by 1902 and 300 by 1905 , one can conclude that the Afrikaner target community , who were in most instances from a poor background living mostly on farms and who were also the people who suffered most under the British imperialist policies , supported the CNE "Volkskole" initiative for reasons beyond mere enrolment of their children in schools for general education. The enthusiasm with which communities assisted in

setting up the schools suggests that parents strongly supported the objectives and ideals of this alternative schools initiative.

Hexham notes how these schools now became the fertile ground for the promotion of Afrikaner nationalist ideas. For example , in December 1905 , Jan Kamp , an intellectual from the Reformed Church's Theological School in Potchefstroom , published a booklet called De Vrije School met Government Subsidie , in which he recalled memories of the suffering during the Boer War , and simultaneously warned against the threat to their religion and nationality by British dominated state schools. He openly propagated to Afrikaner parents that by enrolling their children in CNE schools , they would fulfill "a God-given task by preserving the religion , traditions and nationality of their children. They would be redemptive institutions serving the Christian community by upholding its ideals and values"(44).

The temporary burgeoning of CNE doctrines and "Volkskole" in the Boer republics had an effect in other provinces. For example , in Northern Natal , 15-20 "veldskole" were established , with the specific purpose to preserve the Afrikaner language and religion. Notable about the Natal developments were the utilization of the school structures for military activity , such as military hospitals , during upheavals and the Boer War , especially in Newcastle , Dundee , Estcourt and Pietermaritzburg (49). Many refugees , fleeing from the war in the Transvaal and the Free State , registered large numbers of children at these

CNE schools in Natal (50). In some instances , schools were too small to accommodate the large numbers of students. However , after the war , the Natal CNE schools were brought under state control.

With the vesting of political power in the Afrikaner by the granting of responsible government to the former Boer colonies in 1905 , education was again subjected to change. Smuts's efforts to create , through the schools , a blend of Afrikaner and English culture with the objective of one "national system of education and one national loyalty", (51) led to further sentiments and expressions of resistance from certain loyalist Afrikaners. Some sentiments were , for example , expressed as follows:

"The Government (i.e. Smuts's) was based on a lie and a presumption , for it placed the government between God and the Parents".

"It was a steady but certain poison for all true religion".

"... it could never give children a national education". (52)

These statements implied that the true or "ware" Afrikaner rejected Smuts's attempts at the secularization of education and the concept of a common culture in preference to their own exclusive separatist Afrikaner culture. In sections D and E

below , I shall look more closely at aspects related to the nature of this resistance , and the internal tensions and conflict within the Afrikaner community.

From 1905 onwards , the CNE "Volkskole" Movement started to experience problems which contributed to the initiative losing its momentum by 1907. More Afrikaners started to respond to Smuts's plea to bury differences between Afrikaner and English. One of the major reasons why the assimilation of "Volkskole" into the official state education was accepted is largely due to the fact that space was created in the post-war system for educational expectations , needs and demands of citizens to be met. Furthermore , the availability of state funds for all schools (including the newly asimilated ex CNE schools) under the control of the education department , took away the burden of financial responsibility as placed on parents by the independent CNE schools. By June 1905 , the CNE Movement lost further momentum when they were informed that their Dutch financial sources were about to dry up.

The CNE Commission also started to struggle raising local funds to secure their continued existence , and by 1907 , the Movement experienced increasing debt problems.

...another blow hit the Commission. A letter from Emous , in June 1905 , told them its Dutch supporters were prepared to send another 1,200 guilders followed by 1,000 guilders but after that it could expect no more money from the Netherlands. In response the Commission begged Emous for continued aid. The crisis continued through the rest of 1905 and 1906 with limited amounts of money still

coming from the Netherlands. But the perpetual threat of lost aid haunted them. From then on the Commission fell increasingly into debt , and the movement steadily declined (53).

According to Hexham (54) , the Volksskole Movement received its largest setback in 1907 when Het Volk , the Afrikaner political party under the leadership of Botha and Smuts , modified its educational policy and subsequently abandoned Christian-Nationalism after it came to power. CNE schools , according to Hexham (55) , were no longer " needed as a political tool" and they were bent on merging the CNE and State school systems. After an explanation given by Smuts to the Commission in April 1907 as to why it was necessary to abandon the Movement , the CNE Commission accepted the Het Volk position.

He said that the new educational policy was his creation but he expected his colleagues in Het Volk to accept it. It was , he believed , acceptable to the Commission because it introduced a limited degree of local control and gave the Dutch language an important role in the curriculum. ... Smuts was, in fact , delivering an ultimatum to the Commission. The members might have been able to fool British officials about the strength of their movement and its financial position , but Smuts knew just how deeply in debt they were and how little they were in a position to bargain with him (56).

So , faced with financial problems and the lack of political support from Het Volk and its leaders such as Smuts and Botha , the Commission had no choice but to abandon the independent CNE schools. It was indeed difficult for them to compete against the free and compulsory education as provided by the state. Furthermore , the state educational authorities also compromised some of their practices , for example , Dutch was given more

recognition , prayers and religious instruction in line with their Calvinist belief systems , were included in the curriculum. These developments , and a subsequent recommendation by the Dutch CNE inspector , Te Boekhorst , led to the incorporation of the CNE volkskole into the state system.

Inspector te Boekhorst , in his annual report for 1907 , said the Congress had been a great success for the supporters of Christian-National Education. But , he added , the enthusiasm of delegates was not matched by popular support. Therefore the Congress could not hope to influence Government opinion. He believed that the Christian-National schools Commission was no longer representative of Afrikaner opinion generally and that due to the social and economic conditions in the country it was impossible to continue with a viable Christian-National school system (57).

Those few CNE schools that remained after 1907 out of protest to the recommendation of incorporation "merely served as a witness to fellow Afrikaners of their Christian principles"(58).

The resistance was also diminished by the accommodation of Afrikaners in the political sphere. The generals of the war , Botha , Smuts , Hertzog , etc. were accommodated in the semi-autonomous Boer republics , by being placed in influential positions. The question on the future of the CNE volkskole also exposed the underlying divisions which existed in the CNE movement and the Afrikaner community in general.

On the one hand there were Afrikaners like Botha and Smuts who sought to use the movement as a political tool to oppose the British authorities without creating a direct conflict. On the other hand , there was a small , but dedicated group of men , from the Dopper community , who believed

passionately in Christian education and saw in the post-war situation an opportunity to promote their views among Afrikaners generally (59).

Thus , as a result of these developments , that is , both on the political and educational levels , the CNE "Volkskole" initiative reached its lowest point in 1907.

5.5 THE PERIOD AFTER 1910

This minithesis focuses on CNE "Volkskole" up to the period 1910. Having covered developments during this period in the preceding section , I will now briefly summarize the period up to 1948. The reason for doing this is because the struggle for CNE resurfaced after 1910 and culminated in it becoming the official educational policy of the National Party government after 1948. In this way I hope to present a clearer picture of CNE evolving from a small scale initiative to resist British imperialist influences on the educational terrain prior to 1910 into a powerful component in the shaping of the Afrikaner nationalist identity and ideals.

5.5 The political position

After 1910 , the Union government experienced opposition to its legitimacy on various fronts , such as the economy , the political and the educational systems. The Reformed or Dopper Church argued that Smuts had betrayed the CNE Commission. They resolved to oppose vigorously the policies of the Smuts

government and also to continue the struggle for Christian education. The Doppers were unfamiliar with and rejected the symbols , flags , anthem , etc of the British colonial government. Political processes , formal and informal , were far removed from the Afrikaner population , especially from those living in the rural areas. This period of Union government is also characterised by various forms of resistance against the colonial system. The major goal of Afrikaner nationalists became the re-establishment of a republic as a replacement for the British constitutional monarchy. On the political level , the National Party under Malan and Hertzog became the leading party propagating the Afrikaner resistance cause.

5.5 The position of White Education

After 1910 , the provision of education was largely administered by the four provincial administrations. Within one generation , primary and secondary schooling for whites developed to a level comparable with metropolitan Europe (60). Education for whites was compulsory and free (textbooks , clothing , extra meals etc.). Hostels were erected in towns for children from the rural areas and from poor families. Education provision for whites received a substantial slice of the Union financial cake , e.g. as manifested by the increases in teacher salaries , school buildings , infrastructure , libraries , sports facilities , etc (61). During this period education became intimately linked to attempts at addressing social problems , e.g. the "poor white" problem (62).

5.5 Afrikaner discontent with the system

After 1907 , the separatist CNE ideal continued amongst a certain sector of the Afrikaner population. According to Hexham (63) , the few CNE schools that remained became a symbol of hope and a focal point of the movement. According to Christie (64) small informal groups of people kept the ideals of CNE alive during this period. A Journal , Onse Hoër Onderwys , was established by the Vereniging for Christian National Education. Prominent Afrikaners used this medium to express views such as the foreign nature of the British-based education system and curriculum to the Afrikaner , and their disapproval of it not requiring from professors in universities a statement acknowledging that they were Christians (65) , their rejection of the Bills establishing the University of Cape Town , the University of South Africa , the University of Stellenbosch and the dangers of independent universities. They argued that the following three Calvinist principles were the basis of their own university in Potchefstroom:

- "Fear of the Lord is the beginning of all wisdom",
- "Christ has become the wisdom of God" , and
- "The wisdom which is from Above is pure , peaceful and full of mercy" (66).

The Nationalist Afrikaner clergy and elders feared the introduction of State-monitored education on lines of the British model , i.e. schooling in a secularized context ,

non-denominational and English. The small groups that kept the CNE ideal alive turned the Potchefstroom Theological Seminary into the Potchefstroom University College for Christian Higher Education. This College was based on CNE principles, and in this way helped to keep the CNE idea alive. So, after 1907, the idea of CNE was kept alive through deliberate and continued propagation. Teachers with a Dopper background staffed to a certain degree the State education system. According to the Almanak, a Dopper Church publication, it was held that the acceptance of State schooling after 1907 was mainly out of economic necessity, rather than a rejection of the ideals of CNE (67).

During the latter part of the 1920s and the 1930s we witness a resurgence of Afrikaner nationalist activities on various fronts, e.g. the political, economic and educational levels. These developments were largely due to dissatisfaction with regard to the two-stream policy between Afrikaners and the English. Also, within its own ranks, the Afrikaner was still viewed as a dependent volk. This subservient role and position of the volk became the focal rallying point for the emerging new generation nationalists, which included prominent figures such as J.G. Strydom, C.R. Swart and H.F. Verwoerd. The Afrikaner nationalists adopted a more direct and confrontationalist approach in their struggle for independence. On the educational terrain, they started to propagate more assertively for a separation of schools into English and Afrikaans medium schools. This period hailed a relaunch of the struggle of Afrikaner

nationalists to gain control over the education of their children.

The minor attempts made after 1910 to revive CNE ideals , gained a new momentum after 1930. During the early 1930s the Cape Synod of the DRC pleaded with the Afrikaans churches to formulate a joint policy on education. In order to maintain their identity in the shadow of the British Empire , Afrikaner intellectuals reformulated CNE in order to "fit the situation of their volk in the 20th century" (68). Under the guidance of the Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuurorganisasies (FAK) , the Afrikaner intelligentsia met in 1939 to relaunch the CNE initiative under the name of the Institute for Christian National Education. This Institute was merely the old Commission for CNE of the pre-1910 period under a new name. One of the main tasks of the Institute was to reverse some of the main tenets of the CNE doctrine in order to accommodate the Afrikaner nationalist domination of a modern secular state (69). So the future development of the CNE cause in South Africa was now placed in the hands of the Afrikaner nationalists. In 1948 , the Institute produced their well-known pamphlet setting out their point of departure for their CNE policy as follows:

We want no mixing of languages , no mixing of cultures , no mixing of religions , and no mixing of races. The struggle for the Christian and the National school still lies before us(70).

With the Afrikaner Nationalist Party gaining political power in 1948 , the way was paved for the legal enactment of CNE as the

underlying philosophical basis for white education. The CNE policy was enacted through the National Education Policy Act of 1967.

So , during the post-1930 period , the struggle for CNE was largely waged outside the immediate schooling environment. The CNE ideal became an integral part of the Afrikaner nationalist cause. The issue was not to establish separate and alternative CNE schools to counter the British and other imperialist policy onslaughts , as in the pre-1910 period. The CNE worldview could only be effectively introduced in all white schools once the nationalists gained political power. However there were individual instances during this period where the possibility of separate CNE schools were considered. These considerations were largely as a result of the introduction of English -medium classes into Afrikaans schools (71).

In 1944 , on the recommendation of the moderator of the Transvaal DRC synod , Nicol , it was generally accepted that the "establishment of a plethora of Christian National schools was impractical and would not be supported by the People"(72). Despite the fact that the major propagation of the CNE cause during the post 1930-period was largely initiated by the Afrikaner nationalists , teachers continued to play an important role in keeping aloft the banner of CNE "kultuurpolitiek" in the classroom. At a number of occasions during 1935 , information reflecting on these practices by teachers were brought to the attention of politicians such as Hertzog (73).

The intensity of the Afrikaner nationalist cause in the school is also reflected in the concerns raised by the South African Teachers' Association (74) , regarding the situation in the schools. According to them , the nationalists responded that Afrikaans was taught in Union schools in an environment

...which is culturally foreign to our nation....The real cultural stuff is not there. Our culture must be brought into the schools....Our Afrikaans schools must not be merely mother-language schools: they must be the places where our children are soaked in the Christian-National spiritual cultural stuff of our nation (75).

With these type of sentiments about the role of CNE in Afrikaner society , the nationalists waged their cause against the British colonial rulers. It was only with the gaining of political power in 1948 that they managed to realise their educational goals in terms of their CNE worldviews.

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5.6 CONCLUSION

So , in this section , I have sketched the historical evolvement of CNE as a concept with political and cultural meaning , forming the underlying basis and also an integral part of the ideological make-up of the Afrikaner nation. I have also tried to show that the schools were important in transmitting this CNE worldview. Within the context of the Afrikaner resistance to British imperialism , and especially during the Anglo-Boer War , the schooling environment , most notably the "Volkskole" established after 1899 , became an intensely contested terrain

as a means to preserve the CNE worldview. It is this "Volkskole" concept , especially its manifestation during the pre-1910 period that is of main interest to my topic. I will now proceed to the next section where I intend examining the concept of "People's Education for People's Power" in similar fashion. In this way I hope to look at these two phenomena , that is CNE Volkskole and People's Education , as instances of resistance education , which I intend to analyse and critically examine in more detail in subsequent sections.



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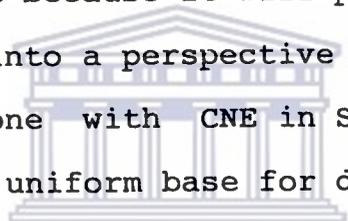
SECTION C : PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

CHAPTER 6

INTRODUCTION

Having examined Christian National Education in the previous section , I will now proceed to discuss in this section the notion of "People's Education for People's Power" as an example of education as a tool for resistance in the struggle of the Black majority for political liberation during the 1985-1989 period in South Africa. The reason why I restrict myself to the 1985-1989 period , is because the notion of People's Education was born during this phase , popularly discussed and debated amongst a wide sector of society. Also , this period reflects the most definite and concrete attempts made to practically implement it as an alternative form of education to that of Apartheid Education. It needs to be noted at this stage that I do not regard People's Education as a separate form of resistance education which is divorced and different from all previous forms of resistance to Apartheid Education. In fact , I consider the People's Education initiative of the 1980s as a particular extension , with its own character , of resistance to separate education for Blacks , which started way back in 1952. Within the limits of this minithesis , I do not regard it as feasible to touch on the history of educational resistance prior to 1980 (1).

I will approach this subject in the following manner: In the first instance , I will focus briefly on the origin of the concept of "People's Education for People's Power". In order to do this , I will provide an overview of the historical events that created the conditions and the fertile environment in which the idea of People's Education germinated. In the second instance , I will examine the underlying theoretical basis of the concept , and thirdly , focus on the practical manifestation of the notion itself in society. I think , for the purposes of this minithesis , that such an approach to the topic would be best because it will put "People's Education for People's Power" into a perspective on more or less similar lines as I have done with CNE in Section B. This approach would also provide a uniform base for departure in my analyses in sections D and E.



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CHAPTER 7

WHAT IS PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER ?

The notion of People's Education for People's Power is considered by its proponents and supporters as a concept that is fluid and dynamic. For this reason it is not possible to give a simple definition of the concept. However, in order to arrive at an idea of what the concept entails, I think that it is important to approach this topic by, firstly, looking at the origin of the concept, and secondly, the role played and contributions made by its proponent organisations such as the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee and the National Education Crisis Committee. In this way I wish to develop some kind of understanding about the evolution of the notion of People's Education for People's Power (2).

7.1 HOW DID THE IDEA OF PEOPLE'S EDUCATION ORIGINATE ?

The notion of "People's Education for People's Power" was born during the 1985 education crisis in South Africa. People's Education could be seen as part of the broader response by those forces and movements in South African society representing the political and social-economic aspirations of the oppressed majority sector of the population. People's Education as a response to Apartheid, more specifically in the education sector, became an integral part of the general struggle for political liberation in South Africa. In the

first instance it aimed to develop a fundamental critique of the Apartheid education system , especially as an outflow of the crisis in Black education. Secondly , it attempted to take the initiative to develop an alternative education system , meeting the needs of the majority of the South African population. In order to develop a better understanding of what People's Education actually involves , one needs to consider the major sources of its origin. In order to do this , we need to examine the background and the resolutions taken at the key conferences where the idea was formulated during 1985.

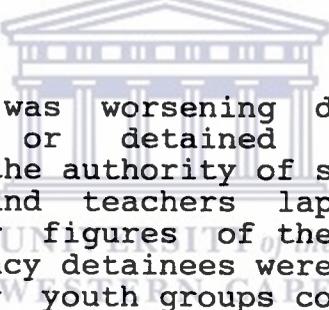
In considering those events that led to the initiation of the People's Education movement , I think that it is important to note again that the school boycotts and other forms of political and socio-economic resistance of the pre-1985 period could be considered as the major catalysts for the birth and development of the People's Education for People's Power movement. Since 1976 , the Black educational environment has been characterised by boycotts and uprisings in schools. These struggles in schools ushered in a new era in resistance to Apartheid Education. In their campaigns for better education , facilities and equipment , many students made tremendous sacrifices both in terms of loss in lives and as well as intensifying the struggle for the total liberation of the oppressed majority. In the schools awareness programmes were introduced as alternatives which focused specifically on issues such as the role of education in the history of South Africa and the nature of oppression and exploitation.

These programmes were supplemented with discussions , films , songs and other activities enhancing the political education of students. Towards the middle of 1984 , many of these activities came to an end due to a variety of reasons , such as State repression , superficial educational reforms , the inability amongst students to sustain their programmes in the absence of resources , etc. With this state of affairs in schools , and also with the sparking off of a new phase of resistance in 1985 , the People's Education movement was born.

Besides this history of educational resistance during the pre-1985 period , we need to note also that the process involving the formulation and implementation of People's Education , was also influenced and shaped by the contemporary political and educational developments of the 1985-1989 period. This period is marked with State repressive attempts to limit or destroy the further development of the People's Education notion. Education as a tool for resistance against Apartheid Education underwent a shift in meaning and practice. The need to equip and train people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain political power for the majority of the people in order to establish a non-racial and democratic South Africa became more intensive and urgent.

As mentioned earlier , the period 1984-1985 is characterised by an intensification of resistance on the educational

terrain. With the declaration of the State of Emergency in July 1985 , the schools crisis intensified in many black schools , especially in the Soweto area. According to Bot (3) the State virtually lost control over many black schools. The Department of Education and Training , the state department which is responsible for Black education , publicly acknowledged that the number of schools involved in the school boycotts varied from 210-450 at any one time. The July 1985 Emergency Regulations virtually placed the South African Defence Force in the classrooms of black schools. Muller (4) sums up the situation in black schools during 1985 as follows:



The situation was worsening daily. Students were getting shot or detained at the slightest provocation , the authority of school principals was seeping away and teachers lapsed into defensive apathy. October figures of the DPSC estimated that 25% of emergency detainees were from student groups who with other youth groups comprised up to 60% of all emergency detentions. Especially after the banning of COSAS , the frustrations of the students turned inwards towards student-student and student-teacher conflicts. Teaching and learning virtually ceased.

During this period of educational upheaval , Bantu Education and all attempts by the State to reform education were rejected. Students openly pronounced that in order to change education , a total social transformation was required. It was argued that the immediate total transformation of educational provision in schools was the only solution to the crisis. Views such as these had major consequences for the nature of student resistance in South Africa. Perceptions on , for example, the boycott as a tactic of struggle on the

educational terrain underwent certain changes. Students developed and confronted society with the notion of "Liberation before Education". Calls were being made that 1986 would be known as "the year of no schooling"(5). These notions of "immediatism"(6) posed particular challenges to society , especially to the black parent community. Thus , one will find a situation where , on the one hand , the long and frustrating experiences of Bantu Education of the pre-1985 period , and on the other , the contemporary educational and socio-political conditions of the 1985-1989 period , created conditions which made the birth of People's Education for People's Power possible.

The formation and role of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.



In this sub-section I will look closer and in more detail at the conditions and developments which led to the launch of the People's Education initiative.

During the early part of October 1985 , the Soweto Civic Association attempted to call a meeting to consider and discuss with parents the state and the problems of Black education in schools. This meeting was subsequently banned by the State. A larger meeting was called for October 13 , 1985 in Diepkloof , Soweto , which was attended by about 2700 persons. At this meeting a delegation of parents , which was later to become the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee , was

mandated to negotiate with the Department of Education and Training in order to arrange for some student demands to be met ; but more specifically to seek an urgent postponement for the November 1985 examinations in the Soweto area. The Department's intransigence and attempts to drag the issue , resulted in Soweto school principals unilaterally calling off the examinations after their official commencement. Due to the nature of the crisis , the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) expressed the need to move beyond the Soweto area , seeing that the struggle for black education was indivisibly a national issue and also that a national mandate was required. Through this initiative , and after wide consultation , the First National Consultative Conference was organised to be held at the Witwatersrand University from 28-29 December 1985.



The objective of the Conference was to assess the educational situation and to devise strategies , firstly , to consolidate the gains made by the SPCC since October 1985 , and secondly to determine the way forward for the educational struggle. The conference itself was attended by 145 organisations , consisting of representatives from parents , teachers and student groupings nationally. Representatives from political structures such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) , Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) and the trade union movement were also in attendance. Even the African National Congress (ANC) , banned at the time , sent a message pledging its support for the initiative.

The new direction and strategy formulated at the Conference was embodied in the coining of the phrase "People's Education for People's Power"(7). A motion was also carried for a return to schools conditional on the satisfaction of certain demands in a period of three months by the authorities. These demands were of two kinds. Firstly , those which were school-related such as the recognition of democratically elected SRCs , the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) , postponement of the examinations till March 1986 , release of students and teachers from detention , the erection and restoration of damaged school buildings , the reinstatement of teachers who had been dismissed , forcibly transferred or suspended , the use of schools as bases for People's Education etc. Secondly , those which referred to general issues such as the lifting of the State of Emergency and the withdrawal of the South African Defence Force (SADF) and SA police from townships and schools (8).

This First Consultative Conference signalled the beginning of a change in attitudes and strategies away from the pure boycott politics of the pre-1985 period. I shall elaborate on the significance of this particular feature of the educational struggle in chapter 12.

The formation and role of the NECC

The Conference also adopted a mandate in terms of which the

National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) , which consisted of representatives from the SPCC and the regional representatives , was formed in early March 1986. The NECC's first objective was to organise the 2nd National Consultative Conference in Durban , 29-30 March 1986. The NECC was to become one of the major forces responsible for the formulation of the content and practice of People's Education.

This 2nd Conference was attended by over 200 organisations , representing teacher , student and parent bodies. This conference was held under severe adverse conditions. As a result of possible threats by external elements such as attacks by "alleged inkatha impis" (9) , the conference itself was held in a one night session. A motion for a return to schools was carried , and the slogan "Liberation first , Education later" was identified as being based on an incorrect assumption , namely that "national liberation was around the corner"(10). It was also resolved that an ad hoc People's Education Commission be formed. Their brief was to report within a period of three months on alternative People's Education programmes which were to be implemented in schools.

The NECC succeeded in the establishment and formalisation of a network of parent , teacher and student organisations for consultation purposes. Muller holds that People's Education at this point could merely be described by the words "consultation" or "process"(11). Despite the difficult conditions under which the NECC had to operate and also manage

the People's Education "process" , one finds that the leadership succeeded in spanning its spectrum of representation over a very wide field of interest groups in a fairly short period of time. To illustrate the NECC's spectrum of representation , I would like to quote as an example , the NECC national secretary, Ihron Rensburg (12) summing up the NECC vision in this regard as follows:

We wanted representatives from organisations specifically engaged in the education struggle. The NECC is a specialised educational organisation of the people , the embryo of a future education structure in a people's republic. We envisage similar specialisation in the civic movement and in other areas of organisation. The idea of regional delegations was to get as large a spread of representatives as possible. Delegates represented crisis committees from the regions: Western Cape , Southern Cape , Eastern Cape Border , OFS , Natal , North , South , Eastern and Western Transvaal. Crisis committees are the basic local structure the NECC is working with at the moment. In Port Elizabeth , for instance, the Crisis in Education Committee (CEC) consists of 28 organisations , including the nine Cosatu-affiliated unions , the local community , women's and youth organisations , PEBCO , PEWO , PEYCO and the PE Student Council (PESCO).

This aspect related to representation and participation will become relevant in chapter 16 below , where I intend analysing this issue in more detail.

The further development of the People's Education process as anticipated , was severely hampered by the conditions in education at the grassroots level. By April 1986 , about 100 000 students were still boycotting classes and the Department continued to close down schools. After the imposition of the

State of Emergency in July 1986, the security forces in the form of the SADF and the SA Police, acquired the power to take over the control of schools. New school regulations were introduced: for example, the compulsory re-registration of students and the introduction of identity cards. In response, 30 000 students failed to re-register and were subsequently dismissed. The NECC took up the challenge in the Supreme Court, but lost the case. By the end of 1986, the crisis reached such proportions that 250 000 of those students registered at the beginning of the year, were out of school.

These conditions in the schools and others, placed the NECC under severe pressure to produce the alternative People's Education "packages" due to be introduced in the schools at the beginning of 1987. We find that since the March 1986 Conference, students placed pressure on teachers by demanding People's Education curricula immediately. They questioned teachers on their continued tuition of State gutter education. On the other hand, the application of the State's repressive apparatuses to crush the resistance forced the NECC to cancel its scheduled 3rd Conference due for November 1986. According to Muller (13), the People's Education initiative "slowed down to a snail's pace", which was largely due to the State's reaction by introducing and enforcing restrictive measures such as:

- regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953 empowered the Director-General of Education and Training to prohibit all non-approved syllabuses, courses, pamphlets, books, etc.(27/12/86);
- part of the press restrictions announced earlier included the prohibition of publication of

information about education boycotts or stayaways.
(12/12/86);

-regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953 prohibited all gatherings by or on behalf of the NECC to discuss unauthorised school courses or syllabuses. (9/1/87).2

In this chapter I have outlined the evolution of the notion of People's Education. It moved from an idea to a process starting to manifest itself in practice. A whole set of adverse external conditions impacted on its development. By 1987, we find a situation where most of the proponents of the concept and the officers of the NECC were detained, and that the organisation was left to run its operations basically from underground conditions. Despite being forced to operate as an underground structure for the next two years, the organisation managed to deliver on some of the issues it originally intended to tackle. Firstly, they managed to set up an extensive infrastructure involving a whole range of individuals, educational specialists, grassroots and other national structures. Secondly, it started to make inroads into the process of concretising the theoretical conceptualisation of People Education; and thirdly, in attempting to practically implement People's Education projects (14). I will now proceed to examine in more detail some aspects of these developments. In the next chapter I will firstly explore and put in perspective the underlying theoretical basis of People's Education for People's Power.

CHAPTER 8

WHAT IS THE UNDERLYING THEORETICAL BASIS OF PEOPLE'S
EDUCATION ?

As mentioned in the previous chapter , the underlying theoretical basis of People's Education has been developed by a range of organisations that have worked to popularise and implement the process. This process developed through imaginative and creative attempts to apply and elaborate the principles of People's Education , especially in schools , universities , community and adult education programmes , and other campaigns. The formulation of the concept of People's Education needs to be seen as a process firmly rooted in the socio-political environment of the mid-1980s period , which historically could be considered as the most intensive of the resistance period.

Having said this , I will now proceed to look in more detail at what was meant by the notion , "People's Education for People's Power" , as formulated at the SPCC December 1985 Conference. In order to do this , I will briefly summarise the core set of theoretical concepts underlying the notion (15). Each underlying concept will then be examined in more detail by references to the various sources highlighting the resolutions as adopted. In sections D and E , I intend analysing some of these underlying theories in much more detail when trying to establish the analogies and disanalogies

between People's Education and CNE "Volkskole" as forms of resistance education. When tackling this task , I also hope to dismiss impressions of projecting People's Education in an idealist frame. However in this chapter I will present the underlying theories of People's Education in the language and expressions of its proponents.

Firstly , People's Education rejects Apartheid Education , which is considered as education for domination by and subservience to the Apartheid State. People's Education is not only a critique of Apartheid Education , but in turn also attempts to construct an alternative educational system. It intends to serve as an alternative in the first instance to , as already mentioned , Apartheid Education ; and in the second , as an alternative to the popular notion of oppositional educational politics and struggles , manifested mainly in boycott orientated actions. Thus , in words of its proponents , it was also an attempt to create a dialectic between disruptive and creative tactics in the educational sphere (16).

People's Education denotes therefore the articulation of a common vocabulary of hope and protest in the domain of educational aspirations , leading in turn to the collective search for repertoires of contention (17).

The leadership of the People's Education movement expressed the need to change the educational struggles from disruptive and boycottist activities to more creative forms of struggle.

Mkhatshwa argued that "...Current schools must be taken over and transformed from within"(18) , whilst Lulu Johnson pointed out that "...making use of the Apartheid structures to our favour becomes a burning question"(19). The flexibility of the People's Education initiative in terms of strategy and tactic made it a vibrant and dynamic force which contributed largely to the high degree of contention between the State on the one hand and forces supporting People's Education on the other , for control over the future of black education. This aspect will be examined in more detail in sections D and E.

Secondly , People's Education was based on an underlying assumption that education and politics are inextricably linked. It further held that the struggle for an alternative education system cannot be separated from other forms of struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa. People's Education was initially a response to a wider political crisis. Consequently , during the early stages of the movement , political strategic considerations enjoyed more prominence over educational ones. One such illustration is that any restructuring of education should , theoretically , start at primary school level. However , due to the crisis in education manifesting itself more visibly at the matric level , we find that the major focus for restructuring through curricular packages is directed at the two most political of subjects , namely History and Literature. The People's Education movement was very conscious of their political motivation , that is , the seizure of control over education , and also their

educational accountability which concerned content and methods for the new education system. In its strategy, the leadership had the task of finding ways to balance the political and educational imperatives (20).

Thus, People's Education could be seen as a dual strategy, namely an educational strategy on the one hand, and a political strategy on the other. As a political strategy People's Education attempted to mobilise and organise people towards the goal of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Through these links, education was set in much wider terms than merely the school and its particular institution-based programmes. As an educational strategy, People's Education attempted to involve people to contribute towards the development of a future education system. Consequently, the educational terrain became an important site of struggle which made its own unique contribution to the formation of the wider political movement for liberation.

Thirdly, People's Education placed emphasis on a strong notion of participatory processes, in which it attempted to involve the widest possible range of people. It further held that as an education system, People's Education must be controlled by and advanced in the interest of the majority of the people. Through active participatory processes, People's Education intended to inculcate democratic values and beliefs. It encouraged thinking processes about the interests of the whole of society. In this way People's Education opposed and

departed from the underlying authoritarian and individualistic value system of Apartheid Education. Eric Molobi, the NECC national convenor during 1986 , reflects the participatory view as follows:

The NECC operates on mandates. We consult and consult again. Conditions in South Africa , specifically in education, change so often. New situations of tensions turn out new demands at every turn. This creates a need to remain keyed-in to students , parents and teachers at all times (21).

This notion of participatory processes as part of the People's Education initiative will be examined in more detail in chapter 16.

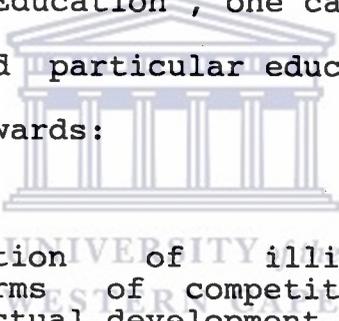
Fourthly , People's Education intended to move beyond its initial focus , namely , formal school-based education. It intended to include areas of informal and non-formal education. The objective was to educate and empower all people. Given the limits of this minithesis I will not elaborate on this aspect.

Fifthly , People's Education strongly emphasized the need to stimulate creativity and critical thinking to equip students for the future. Students were one of the key constituencies.

Finally , People's Education recognised that it was a process which was dynamic and subject to constant change. As a continuous and ongoing process , a major part of its activity was geared towards the production of alternative educational

programmes , courses and materials. Through this continuous process , People's Education attempted to critically examine Apartheid Education and also to scrutinise subjects taught in schools in order to identify which particular contents should be discarded or be replaced by more relevant curricular packages. So People's Education should not be seen as a rigid written doctrine , but rather as a process which could only be fully realised after the abolition of Apartheid.

Thus from this brief exposition on the underlying theoretical basis of People's Education , one can conclude that People's Education itself had particular educational objectives which are geared largely towards:



-the eradication of illiteracy, ignorance, capitalist norms of competition, individualism, stunted intellectual development and exploitation ;
-to enable the oppress to understand the evils of the Apartheid system and to prepare them for participation in a non-racial, democratic system ;
-to equip and train all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power in order to establish a non-racial democratic South Africa (22).

Having outlined these underlying theoretical positions for People's Education , I will now proceed to consider the question of its practical manifestation in society.

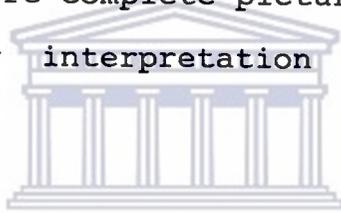
CHAPTER 9

HOW DID PEOPLE'S EDUCATION MANIFEST ITSELF IN SOCIETY ?

In this chapter , I will examine in more detail the attempts made to implement People's Education for People's Power. My objective is to provide a descriptive overview of the practical attempts made during the period 1985-1989. The motivation for this approach is to present a background to the practical manifestation of People's Education , which I will use as a base for analysis in Sections D and E.

The practical manifestations of People's Education for People's Power were largely shaped by the State's counter-revolutionary response to the threat posed by the revolutionary insurgence of the "liberatory forces" , both internal and external. A major consequence of the State repressive response to People's Education , was that People's Education remained and developed largely at the level of it being mainly a fluid theoretical concept. Despite the hostile social environment , as posed by the State's ideological and repressive apparatuses , the proponents of this theoretical concept succeeded at various points in creating conditions allowing the People's Education seeds to germinate amongst its target community. It needs to be noted that any attempt at presenting a descriptive overview of these practical manifestations of People's Education would be limited. The reason being that , in its short history , People's Education

developed more in the sense of it being an alternative form of education in concept than it being a practical programme. This section's main objective is to reflect on the practical manifestations of People's Education. However, due to limitations in practical manifestation, I will, where required, supplement my presentation of People's Education in practice, with the visions and broad trends as reflected in the expressions of the leadership and other People's Education analysts, i.e. their speeches, publications, pamphlets, and reports on interviews held. By adopting this approach, I hope to provide a more complete picture which could serve as a sufficient base for interpretation and analysis in later chapters.



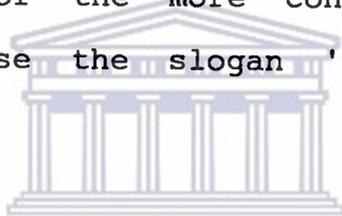
The People's Education initiative became the target of the State's reaction to the crises in Black education during and after 1986. The turmoil in township schools is characterised by detentions of teachers, students, the NECC leadership (Sisulu, Khanyile and Rensburg) and other prominent figures in civil society. Efforts to implement and attempts to discuss People's Education in schools were restricted. The NECC and other organisations were restricted during February 1989 because the State considered its continued operation as a threat to its control over Black education. State of Emergency regulations during this period required that students re-register after the re-opening of schools. Students had to carry identity documents, schools were fenced in and patrolled by security personnel (23). According to Zille (24),

the December 1986 emergency regulations extended all previous regulations , which effectively banned the promotion or even discussion of People's Education on school premises. In many instances , schools , where in the Department of Education and Training's (DET) opinion no normal schooling activity was taking place, were closed down. For example , by the beginning of September 1986 , 33 schools were shut down. Hartshorne sums up the position on the response of the State as " the full force of the security apparatus has been brought to bear on buttressing the crumbling edifice of black education in the urban areas"(25).



The practical implementation of People's Education received its impetus at the NECC Conference held in Durban during March 1986. Being the driving force behind the initiative , the NECC proceeded by setting the wheels in motion at an organisational level through the formation of the People's Education Commission under the leadership of Zwelakhe Sisulu. This Commission consisted largely of representatives from civic associations, trade unions, parents, students and the clergy (26). In order to maintain and expand the widest possible participation by community interests groups in the development of the People's Education project , the NECC played an important role in the revival of Parent-Teacher-Student-Association's (PTSAs) in various parts of the country. These PTSAs were an integral part of the NECC organisational structure. They formed the basic organs of power , because it was in this structure that decisions were

taken democratically concerning educational matters. The PTSAs connected the school with the community it served , by involving the parents and the community in the functioning of the school. In this way , Molobi claims , it was ensured that the school could not pursue a line ideologically and academically hostile to the broader community (27). By co-ordinating community control over the schooling process , the NECC , it was argued , would be in a position to create and develop an alternative to the DET educational structure. The setting up of this PTSA organisational structure could be considered as one of the more concrete manifestations of attempts to realise the slogan 'People's Education for People's Power'.



The emphasis on community and parental involvement in laying the foundations for the future educational system had various consequences. Prominent community leaders and parents were challenged to review their past involvement in educational matters. As a result of this process of critical investigation many parents terminated their participation in the existing statutory educational structures. In certain areas PTSAs started to accept local educational issues and responsibilities which affected the day to day running of schools. To illustrate this point , I will now briefly focus on one such example.

According to a report by Kruger (28) , East London's Duncan Village township residents and parents were left with no

choice but to take control of educational matters in their own community after the DET closed all schools during 1986. Because of East London schools being destroyed in arson attacks during 1985, the DET, after accepting the return to schools date as set by the SPCC December 1985 Conference, announced that Duncan Village students should stay home until further notice. Parent and teacher structures, such as the Duncan Village Residents Association (DVRA), proceeded to negotiate with other structures in their attempt to arrange alternative education for their children. Alternative schooling facilities were set up in church halls and other venues. Despite difficult conditions such as overcrowding, poor attendance, lack of discipline and poor educational conditions (few or no toilets, shortages of blackboards and chalk, no books for students and teachers, etc), the DVRA managed to provide education.

Initially the DET rejected these community efforts, but had to accept the arrangement after various meetings and other consultation efforts. They had to provide education on the community's terms, which included recalling popular teachers who were transferred to remote areas as a result of their educational activism, classes would be continued in community venues and unpopular circuit inspectors be transferred. These compromises by the DET were considered as major victories for community attempts to have control over local education. Their response could be summed up as follows:

Teachers were jubilant. The DET's attempts to impose its will on the community had failed. It had been forced to accept the community's arrangements. School attendance had climbed as the co-ordinating committee improved conditions. The DET's stepdown raised morale and attendance increased again (29).

After the 1986 NECC meeting and People's Education success stories coming in from many areas , a degree of optimism existed regarding the role and the ability of the NECC in setting up the alternative education system to that of the State. According to Molobi , "in demanding People's Education for People's Power in people's schools , we aim to shift the balance of educational power , beginning by establishing a people's authority alongside the existing state authority" (30).

This optimism amongst communities to take control of their children's educational destinies had a contagious effect in other areas. In Port Elizabeth , for example, the local education committee pointed out to the DET that if they did not deliver on the demands , the community would build their own People's Education schools , which would operate totally outside the jurisdiction of the DET. At this stage the People's Education Movement considered strongly the question of setting up own community-based private schools. However , due to various reasons such as the need to be realistic in the planning of such initiatives in a highly repressive society , the leadership warned against the possibilities of becoming entrapped in problems relating to resources , bureaucratic red-tape and the need for skilled teachers (31). Mkhathswa

warned against the viability of total control over schools as a means to establish an alternative schools system. The optimism in the ability of the NECC to undertake an initiative directed at establishing an alternative educational authority , replacing the state education department's control over township schools was dampened with the June 1986 State of Emergency. This shift in the balance of forces as brought about by the increased effective utilisation of the security and other repressive structures , forced the People's Education proponents to adapt their strategy in order to realise their People's Education objectives.

Consequently calls for a sense of realism in the planning phases of the People's Education initiative resulted in a new emphasis which centred largely on the development of alternative educational programmes. One example of such a program was Adler's (32) proposed training program for principals , administrators and teachers. According to Kruss (33) , the objective of this program was the establishment of an academy which would focus on headmaster training as a point of departure. These headmasters had to be chosen and nominated by their communities. The training program would also deal with the establishment of a base organisation which would include a committee responsible for the setting up of the school. Adler (34) holds that this would facilitate personal credibility and secure relationships essential for the stability of the school as an integrated , responsive institution to the community. The funding of the other staff

members would only be considered once the community's commitment to setting up the school had been obtained and the headmaster's training completed. Only then would the Academy consider expanding its function by embarking " on an interactive teacher training program with staff of the community schools , as established by the headmasters and the school committees" (35).

Kruss further holds that this system involved a triangular relationship which would be set up between the "Academy , the headmasters and the new teachers. A new curriculum could be developed with three broad categories. At the formal level , it would focus on learning skills , problem solving and an active approach. A professional dimension would aim to prepare students for civic and other career roles. A community development role would encourage interpretation and analysis of current community needs. The programme , to succeed , would have to be based in the community. It had to be underpinned by a democratic structure reflected both in content and process of the curriculum. What was important was that the project was held to be possible both in the present as an alternative project and in the future as part of state educational provision (36).

Thus , it appears from the two above examples that People's Education , despite difficult conditions , managed to formulate creatively ways and means to build alternatives to the existing State educational system and , where permitted ,

concretise its ideas into practice.

I shall now proceed to look more specifically at the alternative programmes and curricular development attempts which were directed at addressing another fundamental flaw in the State's Apartheid education strategy , i.e. , the lack of educational resources. I shall simultaneously attempt to point out how People's Education , through these activities , managed to fill this gap in such a way that its activity was inherently revolutionary , both politically and educationally.

After shifting its strategic initiative as a response to the State's application of its repressive measures to curb the further development of the People's Education movement , the proponents of People's Education formed various subject commissions which were mainly tasked to develop alternative curricula. In order to set this process in motion , the NECC proceeded with the establishment of the People's Education Secretariat under the leadership of Sisulu. All other commissions resorted under this structure.

One of the key projects of the Secretariat was to gather information and other source contributions , such as suggestions on alternative education programmes , courses and materials , which could be of value to the People's Education packages for schools. The commissions had to scrutinise and review , scrap or replace irrelevant material in each subject as taught under the Apartheid Education system. This process ,

according to Rensburg (37) , should not be regarded as a one off event to be completed overnight , but rather as a process "constantly changing and dynamic. The next two months will give us the embryo , but real People's Education is a process rather than a rigid , written doctrine."

The People's Education commissions focused largely on the development of material , especially in the discipline of History , English and Mathematics. Their initial approach was two-fold. In the first instance , they intended to assist students and teachers to present the syllabi in different ways. Secondly , they intended to produce resources (developing new courses , material , workbooks and programs) which would help students , community and parents groups to conduct their own alternative programmes , outside of the school boundaries (38). To illustrate the operation of these commissions , I shall now briefly look at the People's English Commission.

This commission started off its work from the premise that students and teachers found their prescribed setwork books , firstly , irrelevant to their experiences , and secondly , Eurocentric in approach. The Commission proposed , not merely a project to reconstruct setwork resources , but also a type of English which was transformative in function , by empowering students , teachers and the community (39). In order to create this "climate of critical and interpretive responsibility" (40) , it recommended the integration of the

study of language and literature. The study of English should also be expanded to include popular culture , oral literature , texts from other subjects , etc. This proposal involved a reconsideration of the conventional demarcations between subjects. Also , by focusing on the ideological significance of language , the Commission intended to stimulate the critical faculties of students so that the learning process would be transformative and empowering. The role of the teacher was considered as central in this process. They had to be trained in order to overcome the limitations of their own education and that of their school situation through teacher workshops and production of new materials. By working closer with teacher organisations , the Commission envisaged to make People's Education part of the teacher training process. The other commissions applied basically the same principles in their approaches to their formulations of alternative educational packages. In later chapters I shall refer back to some of these aspects which I think would contribute to my critical analysis on People's Education and CNE as forms of resistance education.

Thus , in this Chapter I have examined and placed People's Education in its historical context. Through this exercise I hope to have shown various things about People's Education as a form of alternative education. I have looked at how it initially directed itself at challenging and addressing the motives and inadequacies in the Apartheid Education system , and also how it constituted itself as an integral component of

those forces challenging the legitimacy of the Apartheid state on all levels of social existence. Having completed the task of putting People's Education in its historical context , I shall now move on to the next section where I intend analysing in more detail some of the broad trends and tendencies which manifested in both People's Education and CNE. By engaging in this process , I intend highlighting some analogies and disanalogies between the two forms of education, which I hope will tell us something about alternative education as part of a counter-hegemonic force challenging the status quo.



SECTION D : AN ANALYSIS OF SIMILARITIES BETWEEN
CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION "VOLKSKOLE"
AND PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

CHAPTER 10

INTRODUCTION

In the previous two sections , I have presented some historical background to Christian National Education "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power as two instances of resistance in the terrain of education in South Africa. Through this exercise I have emphasized in particular the role of education as an important vehicle to conscientise , mobilise and activate people into agents of change in a set of societal arrangements characterized by oppressive political conditions. Having completed this task , I shall now proceed to address the focal issue of the minithesis , that is , to determine tendencies and characteristics in both Christian National education "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power , which by looking at the analogies and disanalogies , could inform us on the nature of educational resistance in South Africa.

In this section , I shall argue that resistance in education , during both eras , formed an integral component of the total resistance effort , manifested on the social , economic and political terrains. My approach will involve the development

and presentation of an argument through evidence that both forms of resistance education formed an integral component of the total counter-hegemonic bloc. Here I will focus in particular on how educational resistance was shaped and directed due to the influences and propagation of interests of other sectors than those involved in educational issues alone.



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CHAPTER 11

AN INTERPRETATION OF RESISTANCE EDUCATION

Upon closer examination , one can conclude that both Christian National Education and People's Education for People's Power were more than mere forms of alternative education. Besides being alternatives to mainstream education , both CNE and People's Education formed a vital component in a whole range of coordinated resistance activities , as waged accross the whole spectrum of society during their respective eras. The educational terrain is an important site of struggle for any resistance movement hoping to gain political power. In order to develop a better understanding of this notion of education as a site of struggle , I think that it would be useful and appropriate to explore this aspect theoretically in more detail , before proceeding to analyse how CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education contributed towards a wider counter-hegemonic strategic initiative. In order to do this , I will briefly examine Antonio Gramsci's concept and theory of education and its relationship to counter-hegemony. It needs to be noted at this stage that I will focus on Gramsci's concepts and theory largely from the perspective of its mobilisation value and ability , and not emphasize its importance in establishing the pre-conditions for a new Socialist society.

Gramsci's theory of education and its relationship to his concept of "Hegemony" could best be summarized by his statement that:

Every relationship of hegemony is necessarily a pedagogic relationship (1).

In his conceptualization of the notion of hegemony, Gramsci, according to Entwistle (2), extended its reference to apply to relationships between groups, and especially social classes. This implies that one social class can exercise hegemony over another; for example, in a capitalist society the bourgeoisie is hegemonic in relation to the working class. In this notion of hegemony, other aspects related to the exercise of hegemonic power such as force, physical coercion, economic and political power, are not central. He argues that hegemonic power is exercised ...

by moral and intellectual persuasion rather than control by the police, the military, or the coercive power of the law: rule by intellectual and moral hegemony is the form which gives stability and founds power on wide-ranging consent and acquiescence (3).

His concept of hegemony holds that a class or social group and its representatives exercise power over subordinate classes or groups by a combination of coercion and persuasion. It is on this basis that Gramsci holds that every relationship of hegemony is necessarily a pedagogical relationship (4). This means that in a hegemonic relationship, control, whether by the dominant or counter-hegemonic group, is exercised much

more subtly than what it appears to be on the surface. This form of control , in the words of Entwistle (5) "... operates persuasively rather than coercively through cultural institutions - churches , labour unions ... schools and the press." Thus the State rules not only through force and coercion , but also through persuasion and consent by means of political and ideological leadership.

Gramsci argues that for the counter-hegemonic revolution to become the dominant hegemony would not necessarily be the history of a succesful armed coup by a revolutionary group establishing and confirming its power through force (6). The process to establish a dominant hegemony involves a cultural history , a description of those educational relationships which sustain moral and intellectual hegemony (7).

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... every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of criticism , by the diffusion of culture and the spread of ideas amongst masses of men who are at first resistant , and think only of solving their own immediate economic and political problems for themselves (8).

Therefore it follows that the counter-hegemony requires a profound change in the consciousness of the subaltern class , and not only a resort to violence as a sufficient condition in order to establish its own hegemony. Joll sums up this condition as follows:

A social group can , and indeed must , already exercise 'leadership' before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for winning such power) ; it subsequently

becomes dominant when it exercises power , but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp , it must continue to 'lead' as well (9).

In Gramsci's words , there can , and must be hegemonic activity even before the rise to power , and one should not count only on the material force which power gives in order to exercise effective leadership (10).

Any subaltern class desiring to free itself from political subordination must establish its intellectual and moral autonomy in its confrontations with the dominant hegemony. The subaltern class could only become the dominant hegemonic class by developing the capacity to win over the support of other classes and social forces. Knowledge and consciousness of the unstable equilibrium between the dominant and the dominated classes is of great importance to any class desiring to topple the ruling bloc from its power base. The dominated class wishing to become the new dominant group in society , has to go beyond a process of forming a simple system of alliances. It must genuinely incorporate the felt interests of other groupings in the alliance to its own interests. The assault of the subaltern classes must be directed at the realms of culture , ethics , ideology and politics (11). It must be remembered that Gramsci argues that the bourgeoisie hegemony exists only because it has effectively harnessed ideology to build up an alliance of classes , united from the inside , with its own ideology as the dominant one. This it has done by transcending its corporate character and combining the felt

needs of other classes and social groupings with its own , thereby becoming the universal representative of the main social forces in society ; thus the building up of an historic bloc (12). In order to acquire leadership in society , it must establish its own culture. This process of cultural emancipation comes about "by means of hegemonical-political struggle , by contrasting management , first on ethical grounds and then on political grounds , in order to achieve a superior elaboration of its own conceptual reality"(13). Thus , the subaltern class must be capable to distinguishing itself. It must become independent by elaborating its own ideological system, which should be competitive with the dominant ideology (14).

Gramsci also develops the notion of "war of position", which again is a strategy best suited for the subaltern classes to break the hold of the dominant hegemony over society. Before the subaltern class attempts to establish its hegemony over society ,it needs to address two fundamental problems. Gramsci argues that in the first instance , the subordinate class must elaborate a total "weltanschauung" and socialize it , i.e., "inject" it into the masses and make it the means of thinking and of seeing the world ; and secondly , "it must amalgamate into a strongly disciplined , autonomous political organisation of all social forces seeking to change the existing and to replace it with a different and better social order"(15). Thus , one of the main tasks of the counter-hegemonic leadership is the politicization and

organisation of the oppressed masses so as to put them in a position to offset bourgeois hegemony to the point of creating a new historic bloc capable of ruling society.

Instruct yourselves , because we shall need all our intelligence. Agitate because we shall need all our enthusiasm. Organise yourselves because we shall need all our power "(16).

In this caption Gramsci sums up the importance of education in his notion of the construction of the counter-hegemonic bloc. He regards the counter-hegemonic task as one of education (17). So , the achievement of hegemony by the subaltern class is essentially an educational enterprise , requiring nothing less than the creation of a new world view , a new intellectual and moral order (18). The education of the working class , more specifically the education of their children , is an important vehicle in any strategy geared towards bringing about social change. The school , which is one of the more important civil institutions in society , could be considered as a major hegemonic instrument to achieve political objectives. It could serve as an important means through which both a dominant hegemony or counter-hegemony could exercise control over civil society. The success of the counter-hegemonic struggle is largely dependant on the resocialisation of the masses through a large pedagogical effort guided by the disciplined and intellectual collective of the counter-hegemonic force , namely the party or political organisation. It is the responsibility of the party and its intellectuals to convert the school arena into a site for

counter-hegemonic educational activity geared towards achieving its political objectives. Ideological or hegemonic control over the schooling process is important because the schools normally play a central role in the transmission of knowledge. Thus the party itself , besides having a political task also has a ethical-pedagogical role to play (19).

The political organisation or party strives towards the collective life or ideals implicit in its philosophy by creating institutions, norms and behaviour conforming to their basic values. The aims and objectives of the education system under the dominant bourgeoisie hegemony needs to be transformed in order to make education accessible to , and also meeting the needs of , the subaltern classes under a system of new social relations.



Having outlined the nature and the role of educational struggle within a Gramscian conceptual framework , I will now proceed to make the above theoretical insights more relevant to educational resistance in South Africa. The issue to be addressed now is to consider the role of and the extent to which CNE and People's Education contributed as sites of struggle to the broader resistance against the dominant hegemony.

CHAPTER 12

AN ANALYSIS OF CNE "VOLKSKOLE" AND PEOPLE'S EDUCATION AS PART
OF THE COUNTER-HEGEMONY

...it is necessary to acknowledge that liberation requires education. Consciousness-raising remains as the first goal of any education that wants to cooperate with the process of liberation (20).

In both cases , that is , CNE and People's Education , society was in a state of conflict. This conflict , as outlined in detail in sections B and C , involved attempts to resist a dominant political authority , whose policies and authority to govern was questioned by a sector in society. Due to the inability and the refusal on the part of the dominant political power to consider or address the claims made by these dissenting sectors in society , resistance movements or counter-hegemonic forces became operative and resisted the dominant state hegemony on different levels of society. Education , being controlled by the dominant political authority , was targeted as one of the major sites of resistance. As part of this broad resistance strategy , both CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education were born. These two forms of resistance education served , in the first instance , as primarily political strategies ; and secondly , as vehicles to explore and develop alternatives which could serve as substitutes after gaining political authority.

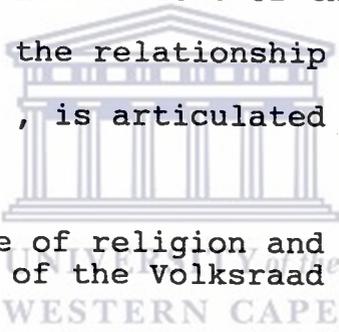
In sections B and C , I have provided extensive background to

the nature of education during the two periods concerned. I will now proceed to , firstly , analyse CNE as part of the Afrikaner counter-hegemonic force which opposed the British authorities during the period 1900 to 1910. My approach will focus on education as a site of struggle , linked to and dominated by interests and individuals operating as agents for social change. Through this exercise I hope to highlight education as a component of a whole range of coordinated resistance activities in the Afrikaner counter-hegemonic bloc. I shall also point out the role resistance education played in the establishment of the moral and intellectual autonomy of the views and realities of the Afrikaner resistance cause. Through this process I shall also highlight the nature and context of repression as waged by the dominant hegemony against the resistance forces. With this approach , I will then , in the second instance , proceed to analyse People's Education in a similar fashion.

12.1 CNE "Volkskole" as an agent promoting a particular pedagogical relationship

In section B I have pointed out that the CNE belief system holds that the aim of all education was seen as the preparation of children for life within the community and to equip them with abilities to serve their fellow men. As a social theory , CNE attempted to merge religion and nationalism into an educational theory desiring to preserve the unity between the child and his or her cultural

environment. CNE thus became a powerful instrument in the process of creating a strong sense of association , because the individual is placed in a situation where he or she identifies himself or herself solely in relation to the religion and social situation. The strong relationship between Afrikaner schooling and society as favoured by the CNE belief system , was further reinforced by the demands and pressures placed on society as a result of the resistance to the British during 1900-1910. Nuances reinforcing the CNE notion of schooling manifested already during the 17th century. For example , in the constitutions of the Afrikaner republics of the ZAR and OVS , the relationship between church , state , school and the family , is articulated as follows:



The furtherance of religion and education shall be a subject for all of the Volksraad (21).

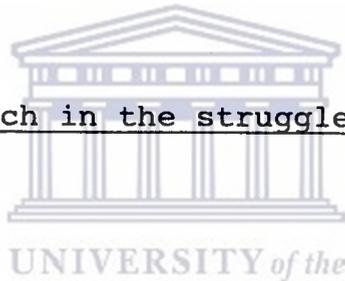
In 1858 , the ZAR constitution at clause 24 read:

The people shall desire the building up , prosperity and welfare of the Church and State , and on that account direct that provision should be made to satisfy the want felt for Dutch Reformed ministers and school masters (22).

Thus it appears that a strong link between education and other sectors in Afrikaner society had been laid and continuously reinforced since the conception of the notion of an independent Afrikaner nation and state. This system of alliances in the Afrikaner community , especially around the issue of CNE and the way Afrikaners viewed their children's

education , facilitated the process to establish the Afrikaner counter-hegemonic culture in opposition to the dominant culture of the colonial rulers. This notion will now be explored in more detail. I will in particular highlight the role of the Church and the Afrikaner political interests in determining the direction of the CNE "Volkskole" as sites of resistance. Through this I hope to illustrate the interdependence and support relationships which were necessary for the building of a cohesive Afrikaner counter-hegemonic bloc capable of challenging the dominant British colonial hegemony.

The role of the Church in the struggle for CNE
"Volkskole".



Afrikaner education was historically largely the preserve of the Church. The Dutch Reformed Church played an influential role in the formulation and the implementation of the CNE notion. As I discussed in chapters 4 and 5 , with the State taking over the provision of education during the latter part of the 19th century , patriotic Afrikaners in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State felt that the responsibility of education should not rest with the State , especially a State unsympathetic and foreign to the Afrikaner CNE belief system. The Church was seen as a strong agent in determining educational matters in society. It was also expected that the Church and the State have a close relationship in the promotion of the CNE belief system in society.

The Church and the parents should control the direction of educational provision. In this way education would remain the exclusive property of Afrikaners and their CNE belief system. This belief was further reinforced after the defeat of the Boer republics by the British during the Anglo-Boer War.

Because of their influence over society at large , the Dutch Reformed Church ministers played an important role in the agitation of the cause of Afrikaner nationalism after the defeat of the republics. Consequently this church-based intelligentsia , which held influential and key positions in a whole range of social and political structures , agitated Afrikaner Nationalist interests in various social spheres. They were primarily responsible for the mobilisation of the strategic resistance initiative in many sectors of Afrikaner society. Consequently , CNE "Volkskole" became one of their major sites of influence in the Afrikaner's opposition front to the British colonial rulers.

...the Dutch neo-Calvinist theory of Christian National Education became a key to their social program and the basis of their hope of resisting British attempts at Anglicization (23).

Upon closer examination of this process of organising schools as opposition sites against the State , education , through the "Volkskole" initiative , proved to be of particular importance in the Afrikaner's resistance effort. So , how did the Afrikaner leadership , through the influence of the Church succeed in turning the CNE "Volkskole" into major sites of

resistance ?

Firstly , the Church intelligentsia used their control over the provision of educational material and literature as a means to organise Afrikaner parents and children against State initiatives to control education. Through their constant stream of literature and propaganda they promoted Protestant Christian education and Afrikaner nationalism. For example , in December 1905 , Jan Kamp , an intellectual from the Reformed Church's Theological School in Potchefstroom , published a series of booklets promoting these ideas. Through this , largely emotive literature , he recalls memories of the suffering during the Boer War , and simultaneously warns against the threat to their religion and nationality by British dominated state schools. He openly propagates to Afrikaner parents that by enrolling their children in CNE schools , they would fulfil "a God-given task by preserving the religion , traditions and nationality of their children. They will be "redemptive institutions serving the Christian community by upholding its ideals and values"(24). From a Gramscian perspective , we can interpret these developments as the organic intellectuals in the Afrikaner counter-hegemonic bloc working vigorously to bring about a change in the consciousness of the subaltern Afrikaner community. From a strategic point of view , especially with the defeat during the Boer War , the Afrikaner leadership and intelligentsia had no choice but to focus the major part of their counter-hegemonic activities at that level that could

impact on the consciousness of their society. By focusing on the cultural institutions in society , such as the churches , schools , etc , they successfully managed to create through persuasion and consent , via emotive literature and other works a level of oppositional consciousness in society , which was essential for the process to establish their political and ideological leadership.

Secondly , the Church also played a major role in consolidating Afrikaner teacher support for the CNE schools initiative. This point could be illustrated with the way in which the issue of teacher needs were addressed. Before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War , the government of the Transvaal Republic employed a number of teachers recruited in the Netherlands. During and after the war , many of these teachers started to experience financial difficulties , due to salary cuts by the dominant colonial government. Through the leadership and initiative of the Church , these teachers were mobilised into an organisation , known as the Circle of Friends (already referred to earlier) during June 1901. Their objective was to raise funds for needy teachers from Dutch churches and educational sources (25). As a result of the degree of success of these efforts to meet the needs of teachers , the foundation was laid for a teacher organisational structure , which later developed into the influential CNE Commission. It was through this Commission's handson work in the Afrikaner communities that the infrastructure for the CNE schools was established.

...they created their own alternative school system. It was not difficult to staff such schools because Sargent's rigorous selection for State schools had left unemployed many South African and Dutch teachers whose loyalty to the new regime was doubtful. It was therefore a simple matter to recruit these people for Christian schools. In fact, many simply continued teaching the children they had taught before the war. Therefore, the Christian Schools were not so much new schools as a continuation of the pre-war system (26).

This Commission's strong link with the Church could be illustrated by quoting article 2 of its constitution, which stressed the importance of education to be conducted in a "Protestant-Christian spirit" (27). By addressing the felt needs of teachers on the ground, the Afrikaner intellectuals and leadership further reinforced their intellectual and moral autonomy in their confrontations with the colonial hegemony. By addressing these material needs of the teachers doing the ideological work in the classrooms, the system of alliances in the counter-hegemonic bloc extended from the top to the lower levels of leadership. In this way the system of alliances became united from the inside as well as the outside. So, the Afrikaner counter-hegemonic bloc was fairly well consolidated and coordinated.

Furthermore, this process of alliance formation went beyond mere persuasion strategies. We find that the Church acted also as an agent of sanction on educational issues. It promoted the CNE cause by supporting the teaching of the history, traditions and religious belief systems of the Afrikaner. Consequently parents who sent their children to State or

other non-Christian schools where a CNE school was in existence , were censured by the church authorities. The centrality and the importance of unity on the educational front was considered as a primary pre-condition for the leadership. So , techniques other than persuasion alone were also utilised. The system of alliances in the counter-hegemony was reinforced with forcible techniques operating subtly in society. So the intelligentsia strove towards a collective social environment in the counter-hegemonic bloc conforming to uniform norms and behaviour in line with their basic values. The struggle for CNE schools united and consolidated Afrikaners into one force , irrespective of their differences in Calvinist religious persuasions (28). Also , church ideologues such as the poet Totius , used strong biblical imagery transforming the life and history of the Afrikaner into a mythical history of suffering , similar to that of the biblical Israelites. This suffering at the hands of the British imperial power , generated a sense of grieved identity which , during the 1920s , would become the fuel for Afrikaner nationalism.

So , at this point one can see that a variety of factors motivated Afrikaners , especially the leadership in the Boer republics to consolidate themselves into a co-ordinated bloc identifying and setting themselves up as different to the dominant hegemony. The establishment of their own CNE "Volkskole" became an integral component in the construction of their own value system. This value system was informed by

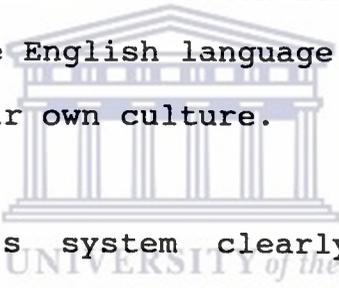
their religious belief system , as well as the hardship and sufferings experienced as a result of their resistance to the British imperialist attempts to incorporate them into the empire. The Church , we have seen , played a major part in the formulation , the setting up and maintenance of the direction of educational struggle in CNE schools. They provided the ideological cement for the Afrikaner resistance bloc.

CNE and the "war of position".

Having argued that the Church was a major mobilising agent in the education sector , I will now proceed to focus in more detail on the politics of education during the early part of the century. Through this exercise , I hope to look at education as a site of serious contestation for both the dominant and the counter-hegemony. It will become clear that the ability to control education was considered a primary pre-condition to achieve political objectives by the dominant colonial authority on the one hand , and the Afrikaner resistance movement on the other.

During the period after the Anglo-Boer War , Milner , the High Commissioner in South Africa , attempted to turn the defeated Boer colonies into British crown subjects. As a result he instituted a bureaucratic , hierarchical kind of administration (29) which , on the educational front , changed the existing institutional set-up. Milner , by introducing

different educational provisions and initiatives to promote the British language and value systems , hoped to break down Afrikaner nationalism. As we have seen in Chapter 4 and 5 , he specifically gave the Dutch language less prominence in the schools. Through his Anglicization policies , he hoped to break the hold of Calvinist Dutch teachers by importing young , single , English-speaking women teachers. Through these kind of educational initiatives and provisions , he intended to cement the bounds of the Empire (30). The Afrikaners rejected these measures strongly because they were clearly not in their interests. They regarded the British-based education system as a means of forcing the English language and culture onto them. This would destroy their own culture.



Furthermore , Milner's system clearly undermined the social position of the Afrikaner church ministers and teachers. His attempts to exclude these prominent figures from the system , partly contributed to the zeal amongst this sector of the Afrikaner community to set up CNE schools as an alternative to the State education system. Afrikaner school resistance at this point became largely a reaction to foreign intervention in their own affairs , especially the Sargent policies (31). In short , these policies , as introduced by Sargent , the Director of Education after 1901 , were largely introduced to reconstruct the educational systems of the former republics in order to further the Imperial cause. So , from the above section , it is very clear that control of education , especially after the war , became a central feature of the

colonial authorities' strategy to subject the Afrikaner to British rule. This process triggered a whole range of activities amongst the Afrikaner community, which shows that the quest for CNE was not only geared towards the building and the preservation of a particular form of education, but that education itself became a major vehicle to consolidate politically the support of the Afrikaner for Afrikaner nationalist ideals.

I will now provide support for this notion that the CNE schools were largely concerned with the political programmes and ideals of the Afrikaner nationalists. Firstly, upon closer examination of the literature used in the CNE schools, one is forced to conclude that the CNE leadership depended to a large extent on the emotional dimension of the suffering experienced by the average Afrikaner during the war. The degree with which these experiences and sufferings were highlighted and emphasized in the CNE schools and in educational and church literature confirms my view that these "educational" activities and efforts were intended to be more than mere education based on Christian principles and the preservation of the Afrikaner's way of life.

In order to illustrate this point, I shall now highlight a few examples. As already mentioned, Jan Kamp's work, "De Vrije School met Gouvernement Subsidie"(32), could be considered as one of the first politically motivated pieces of literature coming from the CNE leadership after the war. In

this booklet he argues that State schools , as envisaged by the colonial government , seeks to "unify all races and creeds for the greater glory of the State...They place themselves between the children's parents and the duty of those parents to serve God , thus they threaten the religion and the sense of nationality of Afrikaner pupils.(33)" Writers in the student magazine Fac et Spera , repeated regularly Afrikaner nationalist and political ideals , such as the need to teach "Biblical history in conjunction with national history so that we would succour the other and help create a strong national consciousness among Afrikaners"(34). Also , magazines , such as Het Westen , called on Afrikaners to read literature with strong Afrikaner nationalist overtones , such as Totius' poem "By die Monument" and Postma's book , Die Eselskakebeen. The need for people to read this literature was emphasized in terms such as "The Afrikaner who does not read it does himself incalculable harm" (35). In the poem "By die Monument"(At the monument) , Totius highlights poetically the tragic events of the concentration camps , such as the terror of hungry children witnessing British troops taking their mothers away. A second section of this work portrays the experiences of the mother , while another highlights the grief of the father returning from the war only to find his farm ruined and his family dead.(36)

CNE schools were also utilised for purposes beyond mere education. For example , in Northern Natal , the 15-20 established "veldskole" , were utilized for military activity.

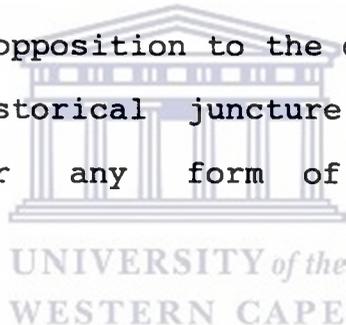
In Newcastle , Dundee , Estcourt and Pietermaritzburg they were used as military hospitals during upheavals and the Boer War (37). Many refugees , fleeing from the war in the Transvaal and the Free State registered large numbers of children at these CNE schools in Natal.

The political role of education during the CNE "Volkskole" era came strong to the fore in the debates in Afrikaner society following the granting of crown colony status with limited political power to the Afrikaner leaders in the former Boer colonies by the British colonial rulers in 1905. This period raised serious questions about the future role of the "Volkskole" and their relationship to the education departments in the Transvaal and the OVS , as managed and controlled then by the same Afrikaner political leadership who propagated the separate schools ideal during the era of confrontational opposition to the British colonial rule.

With the Afrikaner political leadership acquiring political power in the previous Boer colonies , we later , after 1907 , see the gradual incorporation of the CNE "Volkskole" into the State educational system. The role of the "Volkskole" as part of the Afrikaner counter-hegemonic strategy to gain political power , has come , for the majority of Afrikaners , to an end. For a small section , especially the Dopper community , the struggle for CNE continued (38).

The response to the direction taken by the Het Volk political

party under the leadership of Smuts and Botha , on the future of education , and especially CNE as an educational philosophy , exposed the underlying political divisions in the CNE movement. It became clear , according to Hexham (39) , to some Afrikaners involved in the CNE schools initiative , that these politicians used the alternative schools movement largely for political purposes. Their objective was to mobilise , through education , political support for the Afrikaner nationalist cause , without confronting the colonial government directly ; especially after the losses incurred during the war. So , for them , the CNE schools were merely a different vehicle to continue with their opposition to the dominant power , who at that particular historical juncture were in a powerful position to counter any form of popular and violent resistance.



A closer analysis of the contestation for control over education as cited in the above examples , is indicative of the intensity of the process to establish the war of position. This process involving the contestation between the dominant and the counter-hegemony for the strategic initiative in the educational struggle for control over the "Volkskole" , exposes the intentions of the political leadership on both sides with regard to education. It becomes clear , especially from the above examples that the "Volkskole" became mainly a tool in the hands of the political leadership to manoeuvre into strategic positions of strength. We later witness the way in which the "Volkskole" as sites of struggle were abandoned

by the Afrikaner political intelligentsia after the granting of limited political power under crown colony status in the Boer republics.

So , in this section I have examined CNE "Volkskole" extensively in order to point out and highlight some features of education as an integral component of the Afrikaner counter-hegemony to the dominant British colonial power. Education as a site of struggle was placed within the context of a broader picture of the Afrikaner resistance movement. I have established this link to the counter-hegemonic front by examining the influential role played by resistance efforts in other sites such as the church and the political sectors. The CNE schools initiative was not merely a campaign for neutral and unbiased education for Afrikaner children. These schools were central in the building and the promotion of an Afrikaner value and ideological belief system , which , in the minds of the Afrikaner leadership central in their efforts to oppose and resist the dominant British colonial hegemony. The importance of educational resistance under repressive conditions as experienced in the post Boer War era proves that education can be a powerful tool and catalyst to conscientise and mobilise for popular resistance.

Having examined the role of CNE "Volkskole" as a counter-hegemonic strategy , I will now proceed to consider People's Education for People's Power likewise. By engaging in this exercise I hope to argue for points of similarity between

the two forms of educational resistance.

12.2 People's Education for People's Power as counter-hegemonic struggle

Just as in the case of CNE "Volkskole" , the People's Education for People's Power movement displays characteristics and tendencies suggesting that resistance in education during the 1985-1989 period was directed at issues beyond the mere provision of better and more accessible education for the disenfranchised. Upon closer examination it becomes clear that People's Education was also , in the first instance part of a broader political strategy to overthrow the dominant Apartheid political hegemony ; and secondly , an initiative to develop a framework which could serve as a basis for the development of an alternative education system. The development of this alternative had two dimensions. Firstly , to address the immediate short term needs of black students , and secondly to initiate a process geared towards the formulation of a new system of educational provision in the post-Apartheid era. I will now move on to explore aspects of these strategies. My approach will be , as in the case of CNE , to look at People's Education as a political strategy comprising an integral component of the counter-hegemonic bloc. Secondly , I shall consider People's Education as a process developing educational alternatives.

People's Education as a strategy for political
mobilisation

Upon closer examination of People's Education for People's Power , one is confronted with the degree of emphasis placed on it being more of a political strategy than one merely concerned with education. This aspect is more prominent than in the case of CNE. People's Education as an alternative education system opposing Apartheid Education should , according to Gentle (40) meet the needs of the broader majority of the people at "showing them how they can regain the power they lost through conquest....People's Education for People's Power , if it really is serious about empowering the people , should aim at using education as a mass conscientizing tool in the hope that it will move the masses to the type of historical action that brings about fundamental change in society". The link between People's Education as a vehicle for resistance in the educational sector and the broader forces or alliances in the counter-hegemonic bloc as reflected in what is generally perceived as the liberation movement was spelled out unambiguously when Eric Molobi (41) , a key leader and proponent of the People's Education idea , stated:

The UDF is the most advanced gain made by our people in recent history. So is Cosatu. It is obvious that these organisations must play a role in the NECC. The NECC does not intend to be another front. The UDF and Cosatu are the leading organisations in their respective fields. Prominent figures within the UDF are to be found in the structures of the NECC. The People's Education Commission includes

names like Stofile and Mkhathshwa , as well as Cosatu people. Our struggle is multifaceted, with many areas of activity. The present 'national united action' is a point that indicates the linkages of struggle dictated by conditions at ground level in this country. The campaign aims to:

* Expose the effects of the emergency on our people; and

* Unite a cross section of our people to stand up and show their abhorrence of apartheid.

Each organ , each facet , will devise a programme in this regard. Through constant discussion and consultation each will work towards a national manifestation of abhorrence of apartheid and repression under apartheid.

So , from the above it seems very clear that , just as in the case of CNE , People's Education is unambiguously closely linked to , and also forms an integral component of the politics of resistance in South Africa. The need for this strong link or close alliance with other counter-hegemonic forces , is reinforced if one considers the nature of the onslaught of the forces of Apartheid on the counter-hegemonic liberation forces. The context of repression as reflected in the State's repressive legislation and actions to any form of open politicisation have resulted in heavy handed measures such as long periods of detention and convictions in terms of security legislation. Also , within this context , the People's Education proponents believed that educational structures "offer a large captive audience , who form both the majority of the citizenry and who are more susceptible to change in the sense that they are not yet completely wedded to the idea of preserving a particular economic order by virtue of entrenched interests. So that while People's Education for People's Power , in its war of position guise , is primarily a

political strategy , it is the conjuncture of forces that sees to it that the educational terrain enjoys pre-eminence for the present" (42).

So , from the above references it is very clear that People's Education served largely as an extended tool of mobilisation for the counter hegemonic forces opposing the Apartheid State. The question to be considered now , is how did this mobilisation take place in the guise of education ? How effective was it and did it achieve its intended objective ? By looking at these issues I hope to draw the analogies with CNE more clearly.

As already described in detail in section C , the practical manifestations of People's Education for People's Power were largely shaped by the State's counter-revolutionary response to the threat posed by the resistance movement. The practical implementation of People's Education received its impetus with the formation of the People's Education Commission under the leadership of Zwelakhe Sisulu. This Commission consisted largely of representatives from civic associations, trade unions, parents, students and the clergy (43). This Commission and its nationwide network of grassroots Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSAs) and Student Representative Councils (SRCs) were largely responsible for the implementation of People's Education programmes. Initially these programmes consisted mainly of consciousness-raising activities with a heavy dose of political content. In the

schooling environment itself , the "awareness programmes" as they were commonly known , formed the main focus through which students were mobilised to oppose the system of Apartheid Education. The effectiveness of these conscientization and mobilisation activities manifested itself in the history of student involvement in the popular political resistance of the 1985-1989 period (44).

During this period , especially when any form of public gathering was prohibited , schools were one of the few social institutions where people could meet without open interference by the security forces. It was during these type of gatherings that students met to strategise and counter the State's onslaught. So , education as a site of struggle provided opportunities for the counter hegemonic forces to pursue the momentum of the resistance effort.

From an educational perspective , these awareness programmes were fairly crude ; they aimed primarily at making students aware about the history and exploitative intents of Apartheid education. This characteristic of the People's Education awareness programmes is in line with a general tendency in many consciousness-raising "educative" activities. According to Adelman (45) this tendency is a common criticism of most alternative education programmes. In many cases "they neither attend to socio-economic incentives nor teach productive skills and behaviour" (46). A closer look at these programmes will reveal that initially they were received with a lot of

enthusiasm by students. Later interest declined amongst a certain sector of the student masses and it was largely the student leadership that continued with these awareness activities. I think that this was also largely due to these sessions developing , as a result of severe repression , into one of the few opportunities in the community , and especially for the leadership in the many sites of resistance , to receive information and strategise on suitable responses to the State's counter-revolutionary measures. Repressive measures by the State's response to the counter-hegemonic forces also posed the danger of exposure to the average individual involved in resistance activities. Consequently , many of these sessions turned into clandestine and secret meetings. Thus the Apartheid dominant hegemony resorted to activities and measures which went beyond its initial actions directed at moral and intellectual persuasion of the masses. The failure of Apartheid Education led to the dominant hegemony losing political and ideological leadership in the educational environment. Coercive measures enforced by the repressive state apparatuses such as the police and military forces , became the order of the day in black schooling.

It is at this level where People's Education for People's Power shows a remarkable similarity to Afrikaner attempts to set up an alternative social and political structures. The severity of repressive measures on the part of the dominant hegemony restricted and limited political interaction and activity. So with a limited political environment , schools acted to a large extent as the experimental environment for

the setting up of the alternative social structure. Rensburg (47) argues that in the demand for People's Education, the aim would be to shift the balance of educational power by beginning to establish a people's authority alongside the existing state authority.

In the wider context of the NECC movement, People's Education can be regarded as the working out of the Freedom Charter. It is inextricably bound up with the concept of people's power, which is the collective strength of the community and an expression of the will of the people (48).

This particular development had significant consequences. It in fact succeeded in addressing an issue which I think is one of the elements making People's Education similar to that of CNE. With CNE we noted the emphasis on parent and community involvement in the educational process, especially the coordination of counter-hegemonic activity at the local level. The People's Education initiative also developed in a similar fashion. Apartheid Education isolated the community from directing the future of education and People's Education increased awareness of the importance of close cooperation between the school and the community. This close relationship between the school and the community is crucial in the conversion of schools into sites of struggle for cultural and socio-economic change.

Having discussed People's Education as a component of a broader political strategy, I will now move on to consider the capacity of People's Education to develop an alternative

to Apartheid Education. Through this exercise I hope to argue that People's Education also went beyond mere political mobilisation , but also tried to lay the foundation of a process directed at constructing an alternative education system geared towards replacing Apartheid Education.

The construction of an alternative as educational
resistance

Another dimension of the People's Education Commission's work involved the creation of an alternative educational system. This process and its related activities added a sense of seriousness and realism to People's Education as a form of alternative education. It was through the construction of the alternative that the schooling environment had been revolutionized through processes of reform in terms of curriculum and pedagogical processes. It was at this level that attempts were made to shape the consciousness of the individual so that it reflected social and cultural relations in society. The development of People's Education alternative educational programmes manifested itself in a number of ways. One example of such a programme was Adler's (49) proposed training programme for principals , administrators and teachers.

To put this programme into perspective , we can recall briefly my reference to this initiative in chapter 9. As mentioned already , it involved , according to Kruss (50) , the

establishment of an academy which would focus on headmaster training for capable individuals in the community. The training programme would also deal with the establishment of a base organisation which would include a committee responsible for the setting up of the school. Adler (51) holds that this would facilitate personal credibility and secure relationships essential for the stability of the school as an integrated, responsive institution of the community. The funding of the other staff members would only be considered once the community's commitment to setting up the school had been obtained and the headmaster's training completed. Only then would the Academy consider expanding its function by embarking " on an interactive teacher training programme with staff of the community schools, as established by the headmasters and the school committees" (52). Kruss further holds that this system involved a triangular relationship which would be set up between the

Academy, the headmasters and the new teachers. A new curriculum would be developed with three broad categories. At the formal level, it would focus on learning skills, problem solving and an active approach. A professional dimension would aim to prepare students for civic and career roles. A community development role would encourage interpretation and analysis of current community needs. The program, to succeed, would have to be based in the community. It is underpinned by a democratic structure and the development of a curriculum reflecting both content and process. What is important is that the project was held to be possible both in the present as an alternative project and in the future as part of state educational provision (53).

Thus, it appears from the above examples that People's Education, despite difficult conditions, managed to

formulate creative ways and means to build alternatives to the existing State educational system and where possible , implemented its ideas into practice. As already pointed out in this chapter , one needs to note that People's Education , especially in its strategic adaptations was largely the result of reactive attempts by the State to curb its activity.

Having said this , I will now proceed to look more specifically at the alternative programmes and curricular development attempts which was directed at addressing another fundamental flaw in the State's Apartheid education strategy , namely the lack of educational resources. This issue of the lack of educational resources in the black schooling environment provided the space for the organic intellectuals in the counter-hegemony to develop , just as in the case of CNE , their alternative educational material which paved the way to establish their intellectual and moral autonomy. It is through these activities , and especially at the level of conceptualising the alternatives , that I think , the counter-hegemony succeeded to a degree to establish the political and ideological leadership at the local level.

This struggle , and especially grassroots confrontations with the dominant hegemony for political and ideological leadership at the local level , confirmed the intellectual and moral autonomy of the counter-hegemony. The construction of the alternative programmes became a crucial element in the shaping of the knowledge and consciousness of the unstable equilibrium

between the dominant on the one hand , and the dominated class on the other. From a Gramscian perspective , the process of consciousness shaping is crucial in any attempt to topple a ruling bloc from its power base.

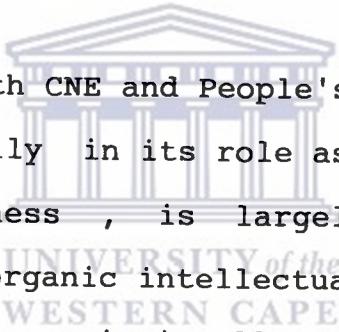
The major part of People's Education contribution to alternative education was the work produced by its different subject commissions. One of the key projects of the People's Education Commission Secretariat was to gather information and other source contributions , such as suggestions on alternative education programmes , courses and materials , which could be of value to the People's Education packages for schools. These commissions scrutinised and reviewed , scrapped or replaced irrelevant material in each subject as taught under the Apartheid Education system. The work of these commissions created a lot of expectations amongst students. Many , due to the culture of "immediatism" (54) , expected the educational packages to be delivered as soon as possible in order to replace Apartheid Education.

However this process , according to Rensburg (55) , proved to be much more difficult and tedious. It was as a result of the experience of education provision that the proponents of the movement realised that the students and parents should not regard People's Education as an event to be completed overnight , but rather as a process "constantly changing and dynamic. The next two months will give us the embryo , but real People's Education is a process rather than a rigid ,

written doctrine (56)". This notion of People' Education being a dynamic process , made it one of the more important sites of resistance. It should not merely be viewed as being a minor aspect in the counter-hegemonic alliance. I shall venture to say that the status of People's Education as a site of resistance was openly considered by many activists as one of the more important links in the counter-hegemonic alliance. It had a crucial role to play. With regard to People's Education , the counter-hegemony had to go beyond a process of mere or simple alliance formation as referred to by Molobi earlier. For political and ideological leadership to be established firmly via education , it had to engage in a process involving the establishment of a "new and own culture. This process of cultural emancipation through alternative education enabled the subaltern classes to distinguish themselves from the dominant hegemony. The counter-hegemony thus became independent in the elaboration of its own ideological or value system. It had to incorporate the felt needs and interests of the subordinate class target groups.

So , from the above section we have seen how both Christian National Education "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power showed similarity in many aspects , both at the level of their underlying theoretical positions and practical manifestations. Both CNE and People's Education operated in an environment characterized by severe political and social repression. Also , both forms of resistance education evolved as major sites of social revolt and resistance opposing the

dominant State hegemonic power. Through this process it was revealed that education had the potential to become a major catalyst in activating agents to bring about fundamental social and political change. Alternative education became a crucial element in the activities of the counter-hegemony to establish its war of position. We have seen how alternative education became the major vehicle in the construction of the new consciousness aspiring to replace the dominant hegemony with a new political force and social order. Schools had the potential to act as major hegemonic instruments for processes directed at the achievement of political objectives.



The prominence of both CNE and People's Education as key sites of struggle especially in its role as agents for the shaping of a new consciousness, is largely due to the intense ideological work of organic intellectuals during both eras. We have seen how the organic intellectuals remained in contact with their subaltern class and articulated their social locations and predicaments (57) through materials and literature contributing to the shaping of the counter-hegemonic consciousness.

Another similarity of the two movements of resistance education is the notion that they had the potential to move beyond mere political mobilisation. Both CNE and People's Education made clear attempts to develop and set up alternative educational activities, which in both instances laid the foundation for the development of future education

systems. Having determined and examined these points of similarity , I will now proceed to the next section where I will address elements of difference between CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power.



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SECTION E :AN ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION "VOLKSKOLE" AND
PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

CHAPTER 13

INTRODUCTION

Having discussed and evaluated some of the similarities between Christian National Education "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power in the previous section , I will now proceed to consider some aspects of the differences between the two forms of resistance education.

In exploring the relevant literature (1) on the subject addressed by this mini-thesis , I arrived at a number of conclusions which , despite the similarities between CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education as discussed in the previous section , also confirmed some disanalogies between the two forms of resistance education. These disanalogies expose the underlying notions of social values and practices which had a major impact on the role , the nature and direction of education as a site of resistance during the two historical periods. In this section , I shall try and tease out these differences.

Besides these differences , I think that it is appropriate to note at this stage that there were also major differences in the historical contexts of CNE and People's Education. The

context in which People's Education developed was far more repressive with wide-ranging State restrictions placed on it , than was the case with CNE where the State did not imprison or ban CNE proponents. Given the limited scope of the subject for the minithesis , I shall concentrate particularly on a few points of difference which I consider as of sufficient importance to support and confirm my argument that CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education are similar in some respects , but also differ from each other as instances of resistance education.

In Chapter 14 , I shall briefly develop and put in perspective a position that popular resistance efforts or counter-hegemony in repressive societies display certain broad features. Having done this , I shall focus on how structures of resistance , and in this particular instance , those in the alternative educational system , reflect and serve as micro models of a broader resistance movement. It is at this level that I shall attempt to highlight particular features and practices in CNE schools and People's Education in order to argue and establish some central disanalogies between the two forms of resistance education.

In Chapters 15 and 16 I shall examine and analyse the CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education. I shall focus in particular on leadership behaviour and the notion of popular participation as elements of disanalogy.

CHAPTER 14

THE NATURE OF EDUCATIONAL RESISTANCE IN A REPRESSIVE SOCIETY

In Chapter 12 , I have argued extensively that both CNE and People's Education were part of broader political movements striving towards the achievement of certain political goals and objectives. These underlying goals and objectives determined the nature and direction into which resistance education developed as a vehicle for political mobilisation. By keeping in mind that education is a socialization process , primarily concerned with the internalization of a society's central values and belief systems (2) , we find that the practical manifestations of resistance in education during both eras also reveal and expose many of these underlying social values and practices. Upon a closer examination of these manifestations , a feature that caught my interest in particular was the different perceptions and practices in the participatory processes and their underlying notions of democracy involving people at the grassroots level of resistance.

I shall hold that practices of CNE reflect characteristics aligning it more with representative democracy (3) , whilst People's Education for People's Power displays tendencies more in line with the participatory model of democracy (4). My next task will be to substantiate and unpack this claim.

My approach will be , firstly , to develop a position on some features or characteristics of popular educational resistance within a repressive socio-political environment ,and look at how CNE and People's Education embodied these different features. In the second instance I shall discuss briefly two types of democracy and shall then analyse certain features and practices within the two forms of resistance education.

The opposing force , referred to by Gramsci as the counter-hegemonic bloc (5) , is engaged in a struggle to establish its own culture. Through this process of elaborating its own conceptual reality and ideological system (6) , the deprived group or subaltern class becomes independent from and sets itself up in competition with the dominant ideology. In chapter 11 , I have made the point that "one of the main tasks of the counter-hegemonic leadership is the politicization and organisation of the oppressed masses so as to put them in a position to offset bourgeoisie hegemony to the point of creating a new historic bloc capable of ruling society"(7). This task is performed primarily at the level and through the medium of education. Education thus becomes a key vehicle in the construction of the alternative.

But , the dominant hegemony is not always very successful in their strategy of "passive revolution" (8) , which according to Gramsci involves a reactive strategy by the dominant hegemony , attempting to counter the threat to its hegemony through top-down processes of reorganisation and modifications

to the social and economic structure. Because such a reactive strategy is characterized by a lack of participation by the people (9) , one will find that the counter-hegemonic forces often offer an alternative approach in strategy involving a range of participatory processes. The process of deliberalisation (10) by the hegemonic forces motivates the counter-hegemonic forces to construct and substitute the hegemonic value system with an alternative. This alternative is normally built through collective and popular mobilisation and other participatory practices. So the alternative value system is introduced and practised by the oppressed sector of society by utilising the political spaces left unaddressed by the dominant hegemony. Lastly , the dynamics of the internal practices inside the counter-hegemonic bloc reveal also a number of tendencies. These features and practices develop largely as a result of the nature of resistance in an oppressive environment.

The complexities of these practices are reflected in the subtleties of communication , decision-making and strategising procedures. So , despite severe external constraints and political oppression , one finds that a form of internal democracy operates within the confines of the resistance movement. These internal democratic processes inside the counter-hegemonic struggle come to the fore in processes of democratization involving different degrees of participation and representation in political decision-making processes. It is exactly at this level of internal democratic processes

where I observe a disanalogy between CNE and People's Education.

I shall now proceed to analyse how CNE and People's Education differ from each other in the nature of their internal democratic practices.



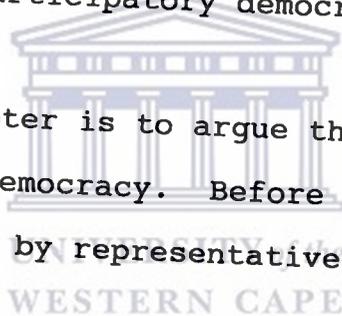
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CHAPTER 15

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

The main claim that I am making in this section is that CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power can be differentiated from each other on the basis of internal democratic processes. Consequently I will hold that CNE and People's Education could therefore be classified into two distinct types of democracy. These two types are representative and participatory democracy.

My task in this chapter is to argue that CNE displays elements of representative democracy. Before I do this, I need to outline what is meant by representative democracy.



15.1 A brief description of representative democracy

Schumpeter argues that "the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will"(11). Pateman holds that this form of democracy is merely " a political method ,... a certain type of institutional arrangement for arriving at political - legislative - and administrative - decisions" (12). It involves the struggle between rival political leaders

and parties for the mandate to rule.

This political method largely involves periodic elections where the voters use their voting power to determine a particular leadership responsible for the setting up of a particular institutional and political order. The primary purpose of the democratic process is the selection of representatives while the power of deciding political issues is vested in the leadership. So the decision-making power of the electorate on major political issues becomes secondary. This implies a decline of the role of the individual in the mainstream of the decision-making process.

In a society characterized by elements of representative democracy, the political attitudes, norms and behaviour of the members of society on a number of issues are affected in a particular way. People have certain views on their role and their relationship to their leaders. Their level of participation in the political process is limited and restricted, that is, to the election of leaders. This limited participatory role has certain consequences for the relations and attitudes between leadership and citizens. Such a leader-follower relationship would involve to a large extent a dependence on the leader by the followers. This dependence would involve the need for direction and guidance on a number of issues, for example, guidance by politicians in developing input in policy formulation where required, strategy options, etc.

Having made the above points about the societal relations under a representative democratic institutional arrangement , I shall now proceed to look at the processes in the CNE movement at the turn of the century which aligned it to representative democracy.

15.2 Christian National Education "Volkskole" and representative democracy

I shall now examine and analyse CNE "Volkskole" in terms of the features of representative democracy.

The role and influence of leadership

One of the central features of this model is the role played by the leadership. Upon a closer examination , it appears that the political leadership has a fairly independent and prominent role in managing and directing the course of events affecting the daily lives of the ordinary members of society. This prominence of the leadership is inherent in the institutional arrangements of such societies.

When one takes a closer look at the societal and institutional arrangements in Afrikaner society at the turn of the century , and in particular those relations as reflected in the educative practices of the "Volkskole", one can make the claim that the social system reflects elements , especially with regard to the role of the leadership , which are similar to

those in representative democracy. This is particularly true in respect of the dominant role of the political leadership. The Afrikaner leadership enjoyed prominence in the decision-making process with regard to the nature and direction of the resistance effort against the British colonial rulers ; and in their role and input into educative practices and policy of the Afrikaner "Volkskole". Let us now look at a few examples to illustrate my point.

Firstly , as already placed in its historical context in Section B , we have seen that the Afrikaner political leadership were engaged in an intense resistance initiative and political campaign against British colonial authorities during and after the Anglo-Boer War at the turn of the century. The small leadership elite were largely responsible for the maintenance and continued expansion of Afrikaner nationalism. Their initiative to lead their resistance on all the different strata of Afrikaner society manifested itself also prominently on the terrain of resistance education as reflected in the "Volkskole "movement.

This political leadership elite , dominated and representing largely by the Boer War military leaders such as Botha , Smuts and Hertzog , utilised every opportunity and official policy initiative to mobilise against British colonial rule. The restrictive nature of British rule forced them to seek out continuously new avenues of resistance and mobilisation. The British attempts to integrate the Afrikaner community into the

ideological arrangements of the dominant British colonial hegemony drew heavy reaction and opposition , especially from these leadership figures.

This occurred especially at the educational level when the colonial government indicated its intention to anglicize Afrikaner children and also to incorporate all schools into one state controlled education system. Official attempts at anglicization , such as those made during 1901 by Sargent , the appointed Director of Education , provided new resistance avenues and mobilisation opportunities for support of the Afrikaner's oppositional political campaign. The subsequent organised boycott of State schools , as initiated by the Afrikaner political leadership was part and parcel and considered as a further extension of their own political campaign against the authorities. According to Hexham (13) , this strategic initiative was formulated and implemented by the political leadership , without considering any input from or participation by the broader Afrikaner populace.

As already pointed out in Section B , Chapter 4 , the church leadership formed an important component of the Afrikaner intelligentsia. These political and church leaders were at many levels integrated and bound together in their common cause against the colonial ruler. In many cases it is difficult to draw separations in their respective contributions to the resistance effort. This was largely due to the resistance , or in the Gramscian phraseology , the

counter-hegemonic bloc being integrated and representing most of the intellectual leadership in Afrikaner society.

The task of implementing the political oppositional campaign at the educational level via the "Volkskole" was left largely in the hands of these church intelligentsia. A closer look at the modus operandi and status in the local Afrikaner community of this intelligentsia will reveal that the perception of the clergy as leadership by the local community was not seen as very different to that held of the political leadership. So, they, because of their status and being the source of knowledge and wisdom, were also elevated to a level above the ordinary members of society. Their common commitment to the Calvinist value system, formed the ideological cement between the political and church leadership. Both regarded education as one of the key vehicle for the realisation of their ideals. Consequently, the strategic initiative and program as directed by the political leadership, was accepted by the clerical intelligentsia. In many cases they assisted or informed the oppositional direction taken by the political leadership (14) in the educational terrain. One particular example in this regard was their contribution in utilising their resources, especially financial, in Holland to build and maintain the "Volkskole" initiative.

I shall now proceed to look at how educative practices reflect the institutional arrangements as postulated in the model of representative democracy.

As already mentioned above , the Church became the key vehicle for the promotion of , and the implementation of the "volkskole". In most areas where these schools were established , the clergy took the initiative in looking after a number of issues involved in running such institutions. Consequently they were responsible for the teaching and instructional process and the general management of the schools. In this way , they managed to secure control over the schools and also succeeded in setting it up and maintaining it as one of the focal institutional sites for mobilisation and resistance against colonial rule. Examples on how clerical leaders utilised church magazines and other literature to promote the cause of the Afrikaner nationalist movement in schools are well documented by Irving Hexham (15).

Education provision via the "Volkskole" under the domain of the church , reflected the Church's authoritarian hierarchical structure. This authoritarian top-down approach was reflected not only in the institutional structures in Afrikaner society , but also extended to the level of behaviour and relationships between the ordinary member of Afrikaner society and its leadership.

After the war , a general deterioration in social conditions developed.

What the war had begun the following years did not relieve. Poverty continued to increase and despite great efforts the morale of many people remained low. So bad was this situation that in 1908 the

Provincial Synod of the Orange River Colony was warned that unless the moral decline of the people was arrested many Afrikaners would sink below the level of the 'natives' (16).

In order to prevent defections from Afrikaner society and a gradual erosion of the self-identity of the Afrikaner People , especially through anglicization , the Reformed Church engaged on a program of action stressing the need for Christian-national schools (17). It is further reported that in these "Volkskole" the emphasis fell on the teaching of history , the traditions of the Afrikaners and the preservation of their religion. As mentioned , parents who sent their children to non-CNE schools were censured (18).

So the political and other leadership operated and established themselves on a level above that of the ordinary citizens. Decision-making processes concerning the well-being of the followers were vested in the leadership who acted in a fairly independent and arbitrary way. They determined what constituted the "common good" and the will of the people.

The average Afrikaner at the turn of the century led a fairly isolated life in the country , and in most cases was poor and enjoyed a relatively low socio-economic status. The Afrikaners' consequent inactivity in political matters , seen within the context of limited access to resources , barred their input and control over the direction taken by the leadership intelligentsia. Consequently one can say that this situation led to conditions allowing the Afrikaner leadership

to develop into authoritarian personalities. The nature of educative practices in schools , which besides the family and church , could be considered as the only meaningful institutional social training process , reinforced , through and educational arrangements , the authoritarian position of the leadership elite.

Having made the point that these psychological conditioning processes , which were taking place predominantly through the schools , and at a lesser level via the family and the church , I think that my claim of an institutional arrangement directed at the establishment of a form of "leadership democracy" (19) or representative democracy is reinforced by what Hexham (20) calls "myth-making". I consider this as relevant because myth-making processes took place largely through the educative practices in the "Volkskole".

Hexham (21) holds:

The success of the myth depends on its telling and the belief of the hearer in the totality of its truth. Once accepted , the story and its interpretation are then used by their hearers to explain their circumstances and direct their future actions....Myths are , in fact , stories with the power to change lives and shape the society in which they are told. A political myth tells a political story. Often this story concerns a society's past and its need to restore or preserve past traditions. In other cases a political myth promises a future hope , a goal towards which sharers of the myth strive. In Afrikaner mythology both elements are present. The myth of the Afrikaners looks back to a golden age destroyed by the British. Simultaneously it holds forth hope of a future society freed from British rule where Afrikaner values will prevail and the people will be restored to their former glory.

These myth-making processes recurred mostly in the themes of speeches , literature and teachings around Afrikaner nationalism. The role of strong leadership was reinforced , especially the importance of leader figures such as Kruger , Totius and Steyn. The language and literature of Totius was used to shape the thinking and attitudes of children in the schools and in the family. His writings , and especially his poetry , articulated the suffering of the Afrikaner people and gave meaning to recent events and from which expectations concerning their future "divine" destiny were created. In his collection of poetry known as By die Monument , he plays on the sentiments of the readers by presenting particular perspectives on the suffering and tragic events as they occurred in the concentration camps. In order to understand how these processes took place , Hexham explains it as follows:

Die Kind (The Child) opens , showing the terror of some children who see British troops arriving to take them and their mother to the internment camps. This emphasizes the irony of the situation in a moving poem in which the same ox-wagon which had enabled this trekker family to settle their land becomes a symbol of oppression by taking the family to prison. Then comes a series of verses that include a dialogue between the mother and her children who plead for the food she is unable to give them. Finally they are laid to rest in graves on the veld.... The second section Die Vrou (The Mother) , emphasizes the continuing agony of the mother , giving her reaction to the tragedy of the internment....The poem tells the story of a young thorn tree growing beside a road. One day a large wagon appears and one of its wheels runs over the small tree bending it low and severely damaging it. The tree is not uprooted and in time begins to grow again. As it does so , the scar caused by the wagon remains and , with the passing of time , although the wound heals , the scar grows. The message is clear. The thorn tree represents the Afrikaner People and the wagon the British Empire....They bore

artificial things fabricated by very skillful artisans" such as intellectuals , politicians and academics (25).

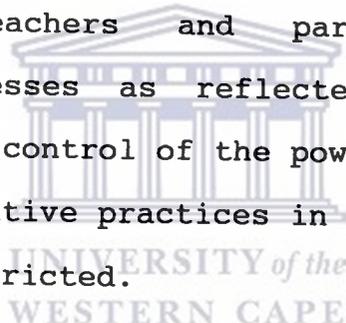
To end off this section , one can therefore conclude that the political institutional arrangement in Afrikaner society at the turn of the century was restricted to the determination of leadership at the political level via the internal processes within Afrikaner nationalist movement. The dominance of this leadership in the implementation of their mandate to resist the British colonial rulers led to a situation where they saw it their preserve to determine the role and contribution of all identified sites of resistance , including the CNE "Volkskole".

Christian National Education "Volkskole" and participatory processes at the grassroots level

Another feature of this model is that local input by the ordinary members of society through participatory processes is limited and restricted. According to Schumpeter , the notion of "participation" has a minimal role and is merely restricted to the determination of leaders and discussion. He says that "...participation , so far as the majority is concerned , is participation in the choice of decision makers "(26).

When one takes a closer look at the internal dynamics and practices that took place within the CNE "Volkskole" movement , one would conclude that the built-in participatory

mechanisms in this resistance education movement appears , on first impressions , fairly democratic and open. For example , the constitution of the CNE Commission , as drafted in 1902 , reads in its first article that the basic principle is that parents are primarily responsibility to care for their children's education (27). According to Hexham , the realisation of this responsibility and subsequent independent action taken by parents were reflected in the role they played in the establishment and the running of the CNE "Volkskole" during and after the war. Shingler (28) confirms that in most cases these schools were controlled and administered by mainly the church , teachers and parents. However , these participatory processes as reflected in the schools are subordinated to the control of the powerful leadership. Thus , the democratic educative practices in the CNE schools movement were limited and restricted.



Firstly , Christian National Education is in its nature authoritarian. When one examines the underlying Calvinist philosophical basis of CNE , it becomes clear that parents did not have a free hand in determining the nature and scope of education for their children. This was prescribed and handed down by clerical authorities to the local teacher and church representatives in communities. The role of the parent was secondary and of an intermediary nature.

Statements by leaders such as the following confirms this point:

...parents were reminded that their children were not of their own ...Parents received their authority from God and must exercise authority over their children if they were to fulfil God's demands (29).

Secondly , the whole struggle for the Afrikaans language , under the leadership and direction of the Afrikaner academics organised into what is known as the First and Second Language Movement , confirms the top down approach in determining needs and the provision of resources. Parents and teachers had no input in the production of official school material to be used as the basis of instruction. This process was seen as the preserve of the political and academic leadership largely because the whole motivation and process of setting up the "Volkskole" was a political act. The importance with which they regarded and treated the educational issue as part of their political programme against the British colonial rulers demanded total control by the leadership intelligentsia.

The politics of education were clearly reflected in the history of the the Second Language movement. Hexham (30) describes it as follows:

The Second Language Movement arose out of the defeat of the Boer republics and the attempt by the British authorities to anglicize Afrikaners. It was part of a general defensive reaction aimed at preserving Afrikaner values and traditions from destruction by the conquering power.

So , part of the rationale for the establishment of the CNE schools was the need to establish "own" schools in order to develop the Afrikaner identity of the child in his own mother

tongue. This debate on the role of the language in maintaining the Afrikaner identity was the preserve of the leadership. It was always a case of the intelligentsia interpreting and recommending to parents how to act and respond to the educational needs of their children. Parental participation was limited and restricted to issues that did not really impact on the nature and direction of the CNE schools as part of the total counter-hegemonic strategy.

The prescriptive nature of what was expected from parents in their response to the educational initiatives of the colonial rulers is well reflected in the literature produced by the Afrikaner intelligentsia, such as Willem Postma, Jan Kamp, J D Du Toit, etc (31). There is, however, an important parental right as expressed in Clause 5 of the Treaty of Vereeniging of May 31, 1902. It reads:

The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in Courts of Law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice (32). (my emphasis)

Shingler (33) holds that this clause adopted parental option as its central principle, but it was unclear as to whether it was an individual or collective option for parents. So the clause allowed for participation on the part of parents in determining the language preference for instruction. But when looking closer at the practical decision-making situation as it was supposed to occur, an interesting phenomenon occurs in

Afrikaner society when it comes to the exercising of this parental right.

The nationalist leadership became critical of individual parents exercising this right. This occurred largely as a result of the emerging practice in Afrikaner society where the individual parent tended to exercise his right in favour of his children being educated in English. This was largely due to English becoming the language of the bureaucracy and industry at the turn of the century. The criticism or concern from the leadership led to the nationalists' call "to save the children from the consequences of their parents' ignorance" (34). This choice of independent parental decision making led to concern because in many cases it went against the wishes of the nationalists. During later years interference , particularly on the choice of language instruction , became a common practice.

For example , the Broome Commission reported on similar expressions and practices during 1937 when the process to revive the CNE ideal re-emerged as part of the Afrikaner nationalist struggle (35). Broome (36) notes that the Afrikaner nationalists made strong demands for the elimination of parental option and campaigned strongly for compulsory mother tongue instruction. This happened within the context of the language struggle. So , one can say that the legal system made sufficient room for parental participation in education , but that the process was thwarted by the political leadership

in the resistance movement who dictated as to what was in or against the interest of the political cause (37).

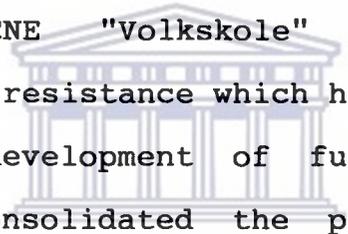
In conclusion to this chapter , one can therefore make the following remarks. Firstly , internal democratic processes as reflected in the the nature of leadership and participatory processes as in the CNE "Volkskole" movement , is sufficiently indicative that Afrikaner society at the turn of the century confirms a number of features corresponding to the model of representative democracy. After a brief period of upsurge in popular political activity and mobilisation during and shortly after the Boer war , the political process became restricted and control was channelled into the domain of the intelligentsia. Consequently a tight and centralised elite developed , which controlled with co-optation the able and ambitious with at least a token level of mass participation and democratic accountability.

Secondly , despite the fact that the colonial legal system after the War provided opportunities for parental and community participation in the decision-making processes regarding the education of children , the decision-making power on their part became secondary. The primary decisions regarding the direction of education as a site of resistance was vested in the Afrikaner political leadership.

Thirdly , the limited and restricted nature of participation in decision-making processes by the ordinary followers in the

Afrikaner resistance movement , created , on the socio-psychological level , some sort of dependent relationship between the followers and the leadership structure when it came to the determination of the direction of the resistance initiative. It virtually borders on what Du Toit calls "Herrenvolk democracy" (38).

Lastly , despite the absence of meaningful grassroots input into the direction of the resistance initiative , the Afrikaner leadership managed to consolidate themselves into a well co-ordinated force. Consequently they succeeded in developing the CNE "Volkskole" into an important and meaningful site of resistance which historically laid a strong basis for the development of future Christian National Education which consolidated the processes of an Afrikaner identity formation.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building facade with columns and a pediment.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER 16

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

Having examined and analysed notions and practices of democracy in CNE "Volkskole" , I shall now proceed to examine and analyse People's Education for People's Power likewise in order to explore my claim that these two forms of resistance education are dissimilar to each other in this respect. My approach in this section will be more or less similar to that followed in chapter 15. In order to develop my argument that People's Education differs from CNE "Volkskole" on the basis of its internal practices displaying elements of participatory democracy , I shall first look briefly at what is meant by the notion of participatory democracy , and then , analyse the practices of People's Education within this framework.

16.1 A brief description of participatory democracy

According to Pateman (39) in her book , Participation and Democratic Theory , participatory democracy could be summarized as follows:

The theory of participatory democracy is built round the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another. The existence of representative institutions at national level is not sufficient for democracy ; for maximum participation by all the people at that level socialisation , or 'social training', for democracy must take place in other

spheres in order that the necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed. This development takes place through the process of participation itself. The major function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is therefore an educative one, educative in the very widest sense, including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures. Thus there is no special problem about the stability of a participatory system; it is self-sustaining through the educative impact of the participatory process. Participation develops and fosters the very qualities necessary for it; the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so (40).

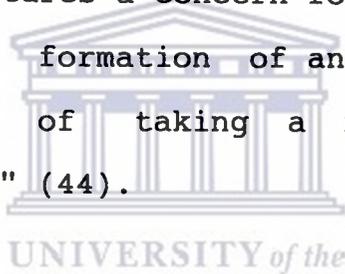
So, for Pateman there can only be a democratic system or polity if a democratic society exists. That means a society where all political systems have been democratised, and socialization can take place in all areas through the process of participation. She further holds that spheres of life such as people's participation in industry or the workplace, where educative processes in the management of collective affairs take place, should be seen as political systems in their own right, offering areas of participation additional to the national level (41). So one can extend the notion of "social" processes for the building of democracy to other terrains where participatory processes take place in society, for example, the different sites of political struggles and resistance.

What makes this theory different from the representative model is the characterization of "participation", referring to participation in the making of decisions, and "political equality" as the equality of power in determining the outcome

of decisions (42).

... the justification for a democratic system in the participatory theory of democracy rests primarily on the human results that accrue from the participatory process. One might characterize the participatory model as one where maximum input (participation) is required and where output includes not just policies (decisions) but also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is 'feedback' from output to input (43).

So, according to Pateman, participatory democracy has the potential to foster "human development, enhances a sense of political efficacy, reduces a sense of estrangement from power centres, nurtures a concern for collective problems and contributes to the formation of an active and knowledgeable citizenry capable of taking a more acute interest in governmental affairs" (44).



16.2 People's Education for People's Power and participatory democracy

The proponents of People's Education for People's Power propagated strongly that it is self-sustaining through its internal processes of participation. In chapter 8, I confirmed this notion with reference to Molobi (45) holding that the direction and the strategic initiatives taken by the People's Education leadership and structures, were largely dependent on mandates, consultation procedures and inputs from its grassroots bases. When one looks closer at these participatory processes in the People's Education movement,

especially during its first years , that is , 1985-1987 , one gets the impression that these participatory processes in decision-making were fairly effective and widespread. Consequently , people were more actively committed to the Movement's cause. This contributed to a sense and a certain degree of collectivism and ownership.

The available evidence on the nature and extent of the participatory processes in People's Education suggests that active participation confirmed Pateman's notion that participation itself is educative in nature. Because of the problem of Apartheid Education and its destructive effect on people (parents , students and the community at large at the grassroots level) , People's Education motivated these people to participate in the educational resistance activities at grassroots level. The impact of this educative aspect of participatory processes led to a situation where we find that ordinary people displayed a remarkable interest in the decisions and direction taken at national level. This is despite the Shumpetarian contention , with which Pateman agrees to a certain extent , that "it is doubtful if the average citizen will ever be as interested in all the decisions made at national level as (s)he would be in those made nearer home" (46). This high level of interest in the educational resistance issue can largely be ascribed to the fact that Apartheid Education and its related issues have affected the average black person in South Africa negatively for a number of decades. Consequently , at the

socio-psychological level , we have a situation where participation enables

the individual better to appreciate the connection between the public and the private spheres. The ordinary man might still be more interested in things nearer home , but the existence of a participatory society would mean that he was better able to assess the performance of representatives at the national level , better equipped to take decisions of national scope when the opportunity arose to do so , and better able to weigh up the impact of decisions taken by national representatives on his own life and immediate surroundings. In the context of a participatory society ... the individual would have changed , as well as being a private individual he would have multiple opportunities to become an educated public citizen (47).

Having made these general points about democratic participatory processes and its link to People's Education , I shall now move on to extract those features which show that People's Education for People's Power is disanalogous to CNE schools because it can be located in the participatory democratic school of thought.

Firstly , the voice of parents , students and workers played a major role in the consultation procedures and processes in People's Education. This point can be illustrated by the close relationship with these sectors in the NECC's organisational structures which , for example , had a student representative from the students' national co-ordinating structure and also a member from the Azanian Students Organisation. This type of widespread representation was also reflected in the different commissions. Molobi (48) sums up the importance of this type

of participation as follows:

The NECC is an organic combination of student activism, parental caution and academic foresight all emerging together under the broad guiding principles of the progressive, non-racial, democratic movement.

Secondly, through these participatory processes in the People's Education movement, the leadership promoted the idea of the building of counter-hegemonic authority structures in communities. Participatory processes as educative mechanisms have in many communities equipped ordinary people with the necessary skills which resulted in the setting up of effective counter-hegemonic structures, such as PTsAs and other shadow school management structures (49). The input of locals in these counter structures at grassroots level led, from a revolutionary point of view, to the neutralisation and banishment of the official State authority structures from many townships. The examples from East London's Duncan Village and the Eastern Cape as discussed in Chapter 9 serve as points of illustration where parents effectively took control of local educational responsibilities.

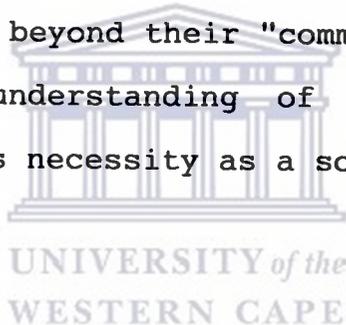
Thirdly, participatory processes as educative mechanisms were also used to promote democratic values, especially the notion of community control over educational institutions.

The proponents of People's Education, from the level of the community to that of the national leadership, called on the State's educational authorities, i.e. the Department of

Education and Training (DET) , to hand over schools and to place them under community control. This particular call created opportunities for the continued development of the educative role of participation at the grassroots level. Through participation in negotiations on issues such as the issuing of books , school management , etc. , communities developed a sense of authority and were so empowered. Also , participation in negotiations moved beyond the framework of internal negotiations on strategic options and directions as practiced within the counter-hegemonic bloc to negotiations with the state.

Fourthly , participatory processes in People's Education had important persuasive value , which impacted on the strategic initiative of educational struggle. During the 1985 period , the direction and control of the educational struggle resided largely with students. With the Second NECC Education Conference held in March 1986 , conference delegates , representing the different sectors in society , convinced and persuaded student representatives that the student position on educational resistance as reflected in the notion of "Liberation first , Education later"(50) was based on an incorrect assumption and that liberation was not immediately at hand. Through such participatory mechanisms , the leadership managed to convince students to move away from the disastrous notion of "Liberation first , education later" , and so placed them effectively under the broader control of the community.

According to Swart in his minithesis (51) , this development was of particular significance. He argues that this attempt by parents and teachers to persuade students to disassociate themselves from the notions of "Liberation first , Education later" and the declaration of 1986 as the "Year of no Schooling", involved a process making students realise that their actions should be placed within the broader framework of social and political realities and required a co-ordinated liberation struggle. This participatory process involved the placing of student actions within a broader social context and developing a more sophisticated understanding of social theory , which moved far beyond their "common-sense descriptions" or "pre-theoretical" understanding of social realities. Taylor (52) explains this necessity as a sophisticated understanding of social realities.



In a sense , we could say that social theory arises when we try to formulate explicitly what we are doing , describe the activity which is central to practice , and articulate the norms which are central to it ... The stronger motive for making and adopting theories is the sense that our implicit understanding is in some way crucially inadequate or even wrong. Theories do not only make our constitutive self-understandings explicit , but extend , or criticise or even challenge them. It is in this sense that theory makes a claim to tell us what is really going on , to show us the real , hitherto unidentified course of events.

So , what in fact occurred through these participatory processes was an educative process whereby unilateral student actions based on their "pre-theoretical" understandings of the struggle were shown to be unacceptable ; the subsequent

understanding of their actions in terms of a more sophisticated social theory , such as that of Gramsci , required students to see their contribution within the broader counter-hegemonic alliance.

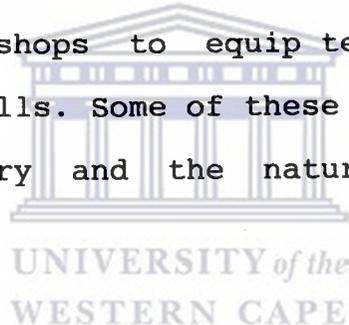
Democratic participatory processes in education were not only restricted to parents , workers , students and bodies such as the NECC. Teachers , although viewed historically in certain instances as extensions of the State's control network , were also drawn into the People's Education initiative. As opposed to CNE where we see to a large extent the partial alienation of the teacher fraternity in the determination of the future of the educational struggle , we find in People's Education that teachers , especially those considered as progressive (53) , were identified as a crucial link in the People's Education network. The centrality of the role of teachers was emphasized by Mkhathshwa (54) already at the first Conference. Muller (55) describes their role as follows:

Not only will they have to be part of the process of curriculum production , but they will also have to be part of the vetting procedure and they will have to be trained in the new material if People's Education is to be implemented on a wide scale. Up to now , because of the urgency , it has been academics who have done the production and the students , because of political clout , who have done the vetting. Without appropriate procedures for ensuring educational validity and teacher participation , these packages cannot succeed.

Nkondo (56) argues that "teachers are the ones who will be able to effect changes in curriculum, syllabus and in

textbooks , and they should therefore be able to identify the ideology in the subjects and make students aware of sexism and elitism."

This particular role of teachers as envisaged by the proponents of People's Education , introduced a significant change in the traditional role and position of teachers in society. It led to the formation of new teacher organisations and involvement which promoted a progressive approach to educational matters (57). Many teachers contributed to the formulation and implementation of the packages. There were programs and workshops to equip teachers with the necessary background and skills. Some of these workshops highlighted the role , the history and the nature of progressive teachers struggles.



The role of teachers in the community was also redefined. A closer look at the role of teachers will reveal that it went beyond the mere introduction of People's Education programmes. In some early manifestations of People's Education activities such as the awareness programmes , the educational aspect became secondary , because many of these meetings turned into exchanges of information and oppositional strategy planning sessions which were part of the broader resistance or counter-hegemonic campaign against the State. So , teachers performed a double function. On the one hand their role was political , whereby they had to be organised into the alliance formation structure of the counter-hegemony. On the

educational level , they were primarily tasked to challenge the autocratic and individualistic values of the Apartheid educational system , and to create an educational environment conducive to the inculcation of democratic values amongst students. This involved notions such as active participation , the fostering of a spirit of co-operation and the stimulation of creative and critical thinking skills (58).

An interesting feature which one can deduce from the above points , and in particular from my discussion on the changing role of teachers , is the emergence of a new "culture" or discourse. From a Gramscian point of view , we see the formation of a new counter-hegemonic opposition alliance to the State's dominant hegemony. This new "culture" of participation and consultation did not only occur on the level of educational opposition. The inculcation of these notions of the "new culture" of participation and consultation on the educational front were part of the process directed at the construction of the new hegemonic bloc , involving the formation of a new political configuration and philosophy (59). The new ideological discourse on the educational terrain was facilitated by similar processes taking place in other terrains of opposition such as: the church campaigns resulting in the rejection of the Apartheid ideology on religious grounds ; the campaigns on the political level resulting in the rejection of the Tri-Cameral system ; the struggles on the economic level by the trade unions and those on the sporting level struggling for a new non-racial sporting dispensation.

So the dimension of participation by ordinary members in society in educational resistance was facilitated by their participatory experiences in other levels of struggle.

Having made the above claims and provided a few examples of People's Education for People's Power as a form of alternative education , with strong underlying notions and practices of participatory democratic procedures and processes , I need to acknowledge that these notions of participation were not ideal and flawless. A closer look at other dimensions of the movement will reveal that democratic participation , in the Patemanian sense , was not a simplistic process. The experiences of democratic participation as manifested in People's Education , threw up a number of issues which , I think had advantages as well as disadvantages , especially as a resistance movement in education directed at the overthrow of a particular political status quo.

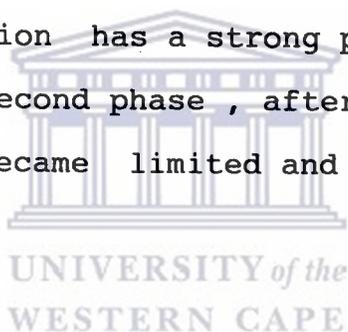
Firstly , a campaign for educational change and reform in a repressive environment like South Africa during the 1980s was a major political act. With the severity of the State's repressive apparatuses clamping down on any form of opposition to its policies , participatory processes involving a wide range of structures , from the grassroots level to the top of the leadership rank , proved in many cases to be cumbersome and drawn out. Consequently from a pro-active strategic resistance point of view , it became difficult to maintain the initiative.

A further consequence was that community participation in educational resistance activities , was overshadowed by the demands to maintain and control the political initiative pro-actively. In many cases , the notion of participation at the local level became at a later stage in the development of the People's Education movement mere rhetoric. As the movement grew and became more refined in the development of its notions , ideals and practices , a tendency developed where power and authority started gradually to accumulate in the hands of a few individuals and committees who had a specialised interest in progressive education.

Special professional competence emerged as a need and became a prerequisite for the further development of the detail of what People's Education should be in order to be a viable alternative to Apartheid Education. At this level People's Education shows an element of similarity with CNE schools. The important difference , however , is that the CNE schools movement started off from its initial phases as a educational initiative introduced from the top. Also , at this stage the degree and the level of participation in People's Education programmes at the local level was aimed mainly at mobilising communities around more general political issues , and focussed less on purely educational needs.

So , in conclusion to this chapter I shall summarize the main points as follows:

1. People's Education for People's Power is characterized and informed by a particular understanding of democracy , both at the level of theory and practice. The participatory democratic approach makes People's Education as an instance of resistance education , disanalogous to CNE "Volkskole" in many respects.
2. This underlying notion of participatory democracy permeated the internal dynamics of decision-making and other processes. However due to changing realities , especially those posed by the dominant hegemony , the practice of participative democracy underwent changes and adaptations. The first phase of People's Education has a strong participatory character , whilst during the second phase , after 1987 , participation on a broader level became limited and restricted to particular issues.
3. Participation has a strong educative element , especially in the sense that it became a learning experience of developing participant attitudes and the capacity to participate in decision-making at the local level in communities.
4. People's Education as an instance of resistance education had two dimensions. In the first instance it could be seen as part of a political strategy opposing the dominant Apartheid system. On this level it could best be explained in the Gramscian theoretical conceptualization of counter-hegemony , involving alternative education as part of a process of



alliance formation moulding a new ideology and discourse confronting the dominant Apartheid hegemony. On the educational level , People's Education attempted to develop a new participatory and emancipatory approach to education. The process of formulating and developing a new educational dispensation was directed at the disarticulation of the values of Apartheid Education , and its replacement with a system based on a new value system promoting participant democratic attitudes. The participation , input and direction from teachers were identified as key elements.



SECTION F: CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 17

In conclusion , I will now sum up the main arguments as presented in this mini-thesis.

In order to perform this task , let me briefly focus on the main question as asked in chapter 1:

-Are there any tendencies or characteristics in the People's Education for People's Power phenomenon as occurred during the 1885-89 period , that are similar to those which occurred in the history of the CNE "Volkskole" at the turn of the century ?

In order to answer this question , I have located CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power historically and highlighted the nature of resistance education. Here I have relied in particular on the framework of Antonio Gramsci's work. My emphasis is on Gramsci's views and arguments on the role of education and its relationship in the construction of the counter-hegemonic bloc.

Having said this , I argued in Section D that both CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power were sites of struggle within a broader frame of resistance to a

particular dominant hegemony. The point I make here is that education acquires a particular status in a political resistance initiative , especially if the general environment is characterised by strong ideological and repressive measures of the dominant hegemony.

Both CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education as instances of resistance education , confirm the view that education in a resistance context is inextricably intertwined with economic , social and political structures. Because education is in most instances the most suitable vehicle for the development and continued perpetuation of the dominant value system , social institutions and relationships , schools become a logical target for mobilisation for any interest group organising against an unresponsive and inequitable social and political system. I have focussed on the leadership elite in the promotion of their interests in the educational sphere. Under CNE schools I looked at the role of the church and Afrikaner political interests at the turn of the century. My discussion of People's Education focussed largely on it being a strategy for political mobilisation , directed at the one level to organise people against the dominant Apartheid rulers , and on the other to involve people in the reconstruction of a more accessible and equitable alternative educational dispensation.

Resistance education thus acquires a double function. Firstly , it becomes part of a political strategy , directed at opposing or working towards the overthrow of the status quo.

Secondly , through a process of developing an alternative to the educational provisions as offered by the dominant political hegemony , the counter-hegemonic educational forces embark on a process to formulate alternatives which set them apart from the official system. Through this process resistance education contributes to the construction of an alternative ideological and value system. Education acquires a particular role in a social transformatory process. It is Castro who aptly remarked:

"All revolution is an extraordinary process of education....Revolution and education are the same thing" (1).

In section E , I have looked in particular at the differences between CNE "Volkskole" and People's Education for People's Power. Here I argued that the two instances of resistance education could be distinguished on the basis of their underlying notions of democracy. By looking in particular at aspects such as the behaviour of the leadership and other practices reflecting on grassroots and popular participatory processes , I argued that CNE "Volkskole" embodied democratic notions and practices which one can associate with the Schumpeterian model of representative democracy ; whilst People's Education for People's Power embodied elements and tendencies of Pateman's notion of participatory democracy.

Levels of participation at the grassroots level is another

feature contrasting CNE schools and People's Education as instances of resistance education in South Africa. Although both phenomena experienced different levels of participation at different historical junctures , we find that the levels of participation were informed by different factors and conditions.

Firstly , the level of participation in the CNE "Volkskole" initiative was largely influenced by a high degree of emotive elements and contents. These emotive responses were largely shaped by the experiences at the hands of the British during the Boer War , the concentration camps , and other post-war developments such as policies and practices impacting on , or differing from the Afrikaner's traditional cultural practices. We have seen in particular the response to the issue of Anglicization. The process involving the setting up of the CNE "Volkskole" reflects a fair degree of participation at the grassroots level , especially during and immediately after the war years. After an upsurge in popular political activity and mobilisation during , and immediately after the war , the process became restricted and channelled after 1902. A tight centralised elite developed , which controlled with co-optation the able and ambitious with at least a token level of participation and democratic accountability.

Secondly , People's Education for People's Power on the other hand , managed to a sustain widespread degree of participatory processes for longer periods than in the case of CNE schools.

This was largely due to its continued commitment , especially on the part of the leadership , to attempt to implement under strenuous conditions , practical processes directed at making the underlying philosophy of participation and consultation a living experience.

The character and nature of these mass participatory processes in the resistance educational environment , influences and shapes the particular habits and ideas that ordinary people develop about their role and influence on the educational process on the one hand , and that of the leadership and authority structures on the other. Under CNE we have seen that once ordinary people moved out of what one can call the post-emotive phase , that is , the post war period , the cause for CNE "Volkskole" became the preserve of the leadership elite. Under People's Education , the participatory process was sustained and perpetuated for a longer period , largely due to widespread commitment to such an approach. However , we have also noticed that once the educational development process involving the construction of alternative curricula and material , became more specialised and sophisticated , there was a tendency to shift the burden to the realm of experts. Thus one can hold that mass participation in resistance educational initiatives has more value from the perspective of its mobilisation and conscientization capacities , than contributing to the construction of an alternative curricula and educational package.

Another feature that comes out of this section is that the

nature and intensity of the resistance educational initiative is dependant and shaped by the way the State responds through its counter-revolutionary actions. The severity with which the Apartheid State responded to the People's Education project , sets it aside from the response that the CNE schools received from the British colonial rulers.



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SECTION B

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2. This section is to locate the reader historically. My intention is not to be extensive. See the following sources for more detail:
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Cape Town: Juta , 1977 ; and Shingler , op cit.
4. Shingler , op cit , p. 87
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6. Muir , R K "Some critical comments on the theory of CNE"
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South Africa , Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand
, 1968 , p. 32
7. *ibid* , p. 32
8. Shingler , op cit , p. 88
9. Hexham , I The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National
Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against
British Imperialism , New York: Edwin Mellin
Press , 1981 , p. 8
10. *ibid* , p. 8
11. *ibid* , p. 8
12. As quoted by Muir , op cit , p. 32
13. *ibid* , p. 33
14. When using the term "Afrikaner" , I refer to those Afrikaner
pioneers with Dutch origins. The term only became specific
after 1900. See Behr , op cit , p. 2 for a more accurate
description.
15. Behr , op cit , pp. 4-5
16. Muir , op cit , p. 33
17. Clause 23 of the 1854 OVS Constitution. See Muir , op cit ,
p. 33
18. Clause 24 of the OVS Constitution in 1854 , *ibid* , p. 33
19. As translated in Muir , op cit , p. 34
20. Hexham , op cit , p. 59
21. *ibid* , pp. 61-62
22. *ibid* , pp. 64-65
23. Kuyper (1837-1920) , a principal thinker on Calvinism and
CNE. See Hexham , op cit , Chapter 3 for background detail.
24. Hexham , op cit , pp. 72-83
25. *ibid* , p. 22
26. *ibid* , pp. 108-109
27. *ibid* , p. 110
28. *ibid* , p. 51
29. *ibid* , as quoted on p. 64
30. Behr , op cit , p. 29
31. Hexham , op cit , chapter 5
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33. Bunting , B The Rise of the South African Reich ,
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35. As quoted in Coetzee , J C Die Gerformeerde Beginsel en die Onderwys in die Transvaal , 1859-1937 , Bloemfontein: Nasionale Pers , 1939 , p.5
36. Muir , op cit , p. 34
37. ibid , p. 34
38. Hexham , op cit , p.20
39. ibid , p. 20
40. ibid , p. 151
41. ibid , p. 151
42. ibid , p. 152
43. ibid , p. 152
44. Shingler , op cit , p.87
45. ibid , p. 87
46. Hexham , op cit , p. 152
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49. Behr , op cit , p. 10
50. ibid , p. 10
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53. Hexham , op cit , p. 155
54. Hexham , I "Religious conviction or political tool: the problem of Christian National Education" in: Journal of Theology for Southern Africa , No. 26 , March 1979 , p. 15
55. ibid , p. 15
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57. Hexham (1981) , op cit , p. 156
58. Hexham (1979) , op cit , p. 16
59. Hexham (1981) , op cit , p. 157
60. Shingler , op cit , p. 60
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63. Hexham , I "Afrikaner Nationalism , 1902-1914" in: Warwick , P , The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 , London: Longman , 1980 , p. 393
64. Christie , P The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa , Johannesburg: Ravan Press , 1990 , p. 160
65. Muir , op cit , p. 36
66. ibid , p. 36
67. Hexham (1981) , op cit , p. 156
68. Shingler , op cit , p. 3
69. ibid , p. 3
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71. Moodie , T D The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion , Berkeley: University of California Press , 1975 , p. 244
72. ibid , p. 244
73. See for detail ibid , p. 153. The role of teachers and related aspects will be discussed in more detail in Section E.

74. South African Teachers' Association Christian National Education: A Critical Commentary , Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys , p. 5
75. *ibid* , p. 5

SECTION C

1. The history of the crisis and manifestations of resistance in Bantu Education prior to 1985 has been well documented. For the purposes of this mini-thesis , I do not regard an exposition on these matters as within my project. For more detail and background , see the following works: Kallaway , P (ed) Education and Apartheid , Johannesburg: Ravan , 1984 ; Rose , B and Tunmer , R Documents in South African Education , Johannesburg: Ad. Donker , 1975 and Christie , P The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa , Johannesburg: Ravan/Sached , , 1990.
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5. Kruss , G People's Education: An examination of the Concept , UWC: CACE , 1988. These slogans tie in with other slogans coined in the resistance movement during 1986 , for example , "The year of Remembrance" and the "The year of MK".
6. *ibid* , p. 7
7. Muller , *op cit* , p. 6
8. *ibid* , p .46 , See footnote 38 for detail on demands
9. Kruss , *op cit* , p. 16
10. *ibid* , p. 6
11. Muller , *op cit* , p. 7
12. Rensburg , I "People's Education: Creating a Democratic Future" in Work in Progress , No. 42 , May 1986 , p.9
13. Muller , *op cit* , p. 9
14. *ibid* , pp. 13-14
15. Here I rely on the summary in the CACE booklet , "What is People's Education ? An approach to the running of workshops" , UWC , 1988 , pp. 7-8
16. Muller , *op cit* , p. 1
17. *ibid* , p. 1
18. Report on National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education , organised by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee at University of the Witwatersrand , Johannesburg: 28-29 December 1985. See Key address by Smangaliso Mkatshwa in People's Education: A Collection of Articles

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 20. Muller , *ibid* , p.12
 21. Molobi , E "The NECC: doing battle with the DET" in Work in Progress , No. 42 , May 1986 , p. 17
 22. Hartshorne , K "Post-Apartheid Education: A concept in progress. Opportunities in the next five years" in the Report as cited under footnote 18 , above.
 23. Kruss , *op cit* , footnote 101 , p. 49
 24. Zille , H "South Africa's President moves to suppress almost all forms of protest by black pupils" The Chronicle of Higher Education , 7/1/1987
 25. Hartshorne , *op cit* , p. 64
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 32. Adler , D "Education and Training for and in South Africa beyond Apartheid" , in Conference on the South African Economy after Apartheid , University of York , September 26 -2 October , 1986 , p. 1
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 35. *ibid* , p. 14
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 38. Khanyile , V Learning Roots , November 1986
 39. Gardiner , M "Liberating Language. People's Education for the Future" , History Workshop , University of the Witwatersrand , February 1987 , p.1
 40. *ibid* , p. 8

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3. *ibid* , p. 12
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5. *ibid* , p. 12
6. *ibid* , p. 140
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8. Gramsci , A Political Writings , Hoare, Q. Trans. J. Mathews (eds), New York: International Publishers , 1977 , p.12
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 22. ibid , p. 34
 23. Hexham , op cit , p. 147
 24. ibid , p. 152
 25. ibid , p. 151
 26. ibid , pp. 151-152
 27. ibid , p. 152
 28. Historically these differences led to divisions in Afrikaner society. See Hexham , op cit , chapter 6 for detail.
 29. Hexham , op cit , p. 15
 30. ibid , p. 20
 31. ibid , pp. 19-20
 32. ibid , p. 152
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 34. ibid , p. 181
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 36. ibid , pp. 18-19 and p. 131
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 38. This issue has already been referred to in chpater 4 and 5. It is not in the scope of this project.
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8. Simon , R Gramsci's Political Thought , London: Lawrence and Wishart , 1982 , p.24
9. ibid , p.25

10. Du Toit , A Towards Democracy: Building a Culture of Accountability in South Africa , Idasa , 1991 , p.10
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15. Hexham , op cit , pp. 62-72
16. ibid , p.71
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19. Pateman , op cit , as quoted
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34. ibid , p.124
35. ibid , p.124. Although this is beyond the minithesis subject , I quote the example to confirm the point made. For example in 1937 , the Broome Commission reported on similar expressions and practices during 1937:
... in the Northern districts , particularly in the primary classes , there are many children who are being educated through the medium of one official language while they speak the other official language in their homes. In every case this unfortunate result has been brought about by the deliberate choice of the parent.... As it happens , wherever a wrong choice of medium is made it is a choice of English medium by Afrikaans-speaking parents [the reason being] that many Afrikaans-speaking parents believe that their children cannot become proficient in the English language if educated through the Afrikaans medium and that if they are not proficient their field of future employment will be restricted.
36. Shingler , op cit , p.125
37. It needs to be noted that I am not trying to underplay the importance and centrality of the anglisization issue in the Afrikaner nationalist struggle. It was a real issue and it also generated a lot of parental objection. However this matter is not relevant to my argument in this section. I am using this instance to demonstrate the nature of nationalist leadership.
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 44. Held , D Models of Democracy , United Kingdom: Polity Press , 1987 , pp. 258-259
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 56. Nkondo , C "Education can change society" in SASPU National , Vol. 7 , no. 3
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 58. See my discussion in Chapter 8 above for detail on the objectives of People's Education.
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