

*UBUNTU-BOTHO,
EDUCATION, NATIONALISM
AND*



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WESTERN CAPE
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ABSTRACT

UBUNTU-BOTHO, EDUCATION, NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

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This mini-thesis is concerned with the examination of whether Ubuntu-Botho (as taught in KwaZulu Homeland schools) can promote the development of democratic agents.

I begin in Chapter 1 by providing a brief sketch of the socio-political historical background of the events in South Africa and particularly in the KwaZulu-Natal region. Here I argue that although the Black Consciousness Movement and Inkatha were vehemently opposed in their strategies to fight against apartheid, they nevertheless agreed that Blacks needed to be psychologically liberated from apartheid. I also show how the homelands policy of the central government gave the KwaZulu homeland government the constitutional powers to introduce the subject called Ubuntu-Botho in the KwaZulu homeland.

In Chapter 2 I argue that the concepts "ubuntu" and "botho" (humanism) in Nguni and Sotho languages respectively form the basis for the pattern of thought of African people, particularly in Southern Africa. Also in this chapter I acquaint the reader with the content of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus as taught in KwaZulu schools.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the conceptual tensions between education, democracy and nationalism. My main argument in this chapter is that education, in the process of socialization should take the cultural heritage of the child into consideration. I therefore argue that Ubuntu-botho was an attempt to establish the conditions for a positive self-image and for self-realization for the Black child; which

to me, as shown in the latter parts of this mini-thesis, are prerequisites for the development of the democratic agents.

Chapter 4 considers whether Ubuntu-Botho promotes the self-image and self-realization of the child as a Zulu and, thus, Zulu nationalism. I argue that Ubuntu-Botho as outlined in Chapter Two initiates the child into moral and political common sense as possessed by the Black people of South Africa in general. Therefore, I conclude that Ubuntu-Botho could not be seen as a Zulu nationalist project to promote Zulu nationalism. I however note that Ubuntu-Botho, as it is, is not a perfect subject. In other words it has weaknesses.

In Chapter 5 I identify those weaknesses as:

- (a) the subject is still locked in the past
- (b) it is sexist.



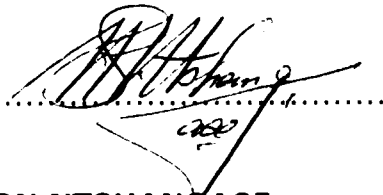
Also in this chapter I made some suggestions for the possible future role of Ubuntu-Botho.

In a nutshell, I suggest that Ubuntu-Botho needs to prepare the children for the new democratic South Africa. In other words I propose that Ubuntu-Botho should be modified in such a way that it could promote democratic citizenship.

DECLARATION

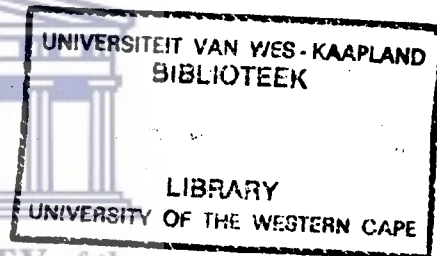
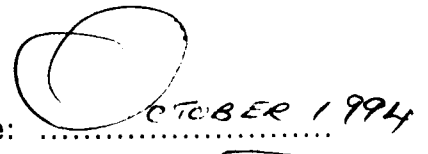
I declare that *Ubuntu-Botho, Education, Nationalism and Democracy* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Signed:



HAMILTON NTSHANGASE

Date:



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ACRONYMS

In this mini-thesis I use the following acronyms:

| | | |
|--------|---|---|
| ANC | : | African National Congress |
| APLA | : | Azanian People's Liberation Army |
| AZANLA | : | Azanian Liberation Army |
| AZAPO | : | Azanian People's Organization |
| BCM | : | Black Consciousness Movement |
| BPC | : | Black People's Convention |
| BUF | : | Black Unity Front |
| COSATU | : | Congress of South African Trade Unions |
| MK | : | Umkhonto we Sizwe |
| NACTU | : | National Congress of Trade Unions |
| NUSAS | : | National Union of South African Students |
| NWAA | : | Natal Workshop for African Advancement |
| PAC | : | Pan-Africanist Congress |
| SABA | : | South African Black Alliance |
| SACC | : | South African Council of Churches |
| SAIRR | : | South African Institute of Race Relations |
| SASO | : | South African Students' Association |
| UCM | : | University Christian Movement |
| UDF | : | United Democratic Front |

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CHAPTER 1: THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will provide a brief sketch of the socio-historical background of the events in South Africa and in KwaZulu/Natal region in particular, prior to the introduction of Ubuntu-Botho as a school subject in KwaZulu schools in 1978. I am not trying to re-write the history of the said period but I will limit myself to those events which will assist in my attempt to interpret the Ubuntu-Botho syllabus in Chapter 2 of this mini-thesis.

The first part of this chapter will concentrate on the South African Government's homeland policy and the constitutional powers that were given to the homeland governments.

This will be followed by a discussion of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). Under the BCM I will be looking at the influence it had on political discourse at the time. The third part will be about Inkatha. Inkatha will be looked at with particular interest in its role in the KwaZulu homeland government which resulted in the introduction of Ubuntu-Botho in KwaZulu schools.

1.1 The Homelands Policy

Whether it was for good or for worse the homelands policy played an important role in determining the lives of millions of Black South Africans. In the 1970s, and many years before and after, the political discourse of the struggle for liberation of the Blacks centred around this policy, as it will be obvious in the subsequent subtopics of this chapter.

The purpose of this section is, therefore, to look at the homelands policy. Firstly I will briefly look at its general historical development. I will look at the political powers delegated by the central government to the homelands and by so doing, I want to show how the KwaZulu homeland government had powers to introduce the subject called **Ubuntu-Botho** which is peculiar to KwaZulu.

H.W. Vilakazi⁽¹⁾ says that the homelands (Bantustans) Policy was a continuation and extension of the racism which was started by the "English-speaking Whites". This racism was known as "segregation". In 1948, the "English-speaking Whites", under the leadership of Jan Smuts, lost political power and the "Afrikaans-speaking Whites", led by Dr Malan took over the control of the government. The change of government did not only change the governmental control from the English-speaking Whites but also "a change in the class of the exercise of political power within the same White race".⁽²⁾ Unlike the United Party which was mainly English, Dr Malan's party, the National Party, was basically Afrikaner-dominated. At that time, on the whole, the Afrikaners were rural, poor, barely literate and technologically unskilled, and in their daily lives had closer and more frequent contact with Blacks.

In pursuit of the inherited racist policy, the Afrikaners said, which according to Vilakazi the English never denied, that South Africa was a White man's country and that "Blacks are inferiors of Whites, and are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for Whites and that this would be the case in South Africa much, much beyond the foreseeable future."⁽³⁾

Unable to ignore the nationalist movements [namely the African National Congress (ANC) and later the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)] current at

that time in South Africa and seeking to forestall it, the National Party made it clear that under no circumstances would they allow Blacks to be treated as equals of Whites in one common South Africa. If Blacks wanted equality and freedom, they could be free and equal among themselves in their own residential areas. These areas were to be homelands (bantustans). These homelands later constituted about 13 percent of the total area of South Africa and they were the least developed areas. The homelands were to be the home of about 85 percent of the total population of South Africa. "The Blacks in these homelands are to be allowed by the Whites to develop to the point of national statehood (independence)".⁽⁴⁾

But, before a homeland could reach the state of "statehood" it had to develop through various stages. One Prime Minister of South Africa, B.J. Vorster, made it clear that "the end of the road for various homelands, would be complete independence and self-realization - but this would be a long and difficult road and the end lay far ahead".⁽⁵⁾

Immediately after coming into power the National Party made an explicit undertaking that the reserves for the Blacks were to be developed into economically self-sufficient units. Thus to further this aim, a commission of enquiry under the chairmanship of Professor F.R. Tomlinson was constituted. Contrary to the expectations of the government, in its 19 volume report in 1955, the commission concluded that the reserves were to be made economically viable at the cost of about ½ billion rand (in today's values). And, this could happen over a period of ten years.⁽⁶⁾

The government was in no way prepared to accept such a massive financial obligation. But, it had already laid the foundation for a political

structure for homelands by introducing the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 which abolished the representation system of the Blacks of 1936, the Native's Representative Councils.⁽⁷⁾ In terms of the Bantu Authorities Act, Bantu (African) tribal, regional and territorial authorities were established in reserves. According to this Act certain executive and administrative powers, including the levying of rates, were delegated to these authorities. Bantu Authorities were established in various parts of the country. In many other parts of the country, however, they were strongly opposed because, in the words of Horrell, they "reinforced tribalism, enhanced powers of the chiefs, divided the people into separate ethnic groups and made little or no provision for commoners to participate in the elective processes in the constitution of authorities".⁽⁸⁾

The highest level of the Bantu authorities was the territorial authorities which consisted of members of the regional authorities concerned. In 1969, for instance, there were six territorial authorities, namely Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Qwaqwa, Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda. While the territorial authorities for the Swazi (KaNgwane) and South Ndebele (KwaNdebele) were not yet established, the Transkei was in a far advanced stage, with its own Legislative Assembly.

KwaZulu homeland, which is the focus of this mini-thesis, was not yet established. Although a number of tribal and regional authorities were set up, in many places their establishment was strongly opposed. It was not until 1970 that KwaZulu "agreed to accept the Government's scheme".⁽⁹⁾

In 1971, the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act was passed to introduce a blanket measure rather than a separate Act for each Bantu area, as was the case with Transkei. This Act replaced territorial authorities with

legislative assemblies. This was the initial stage towards statehood, as envisaged by the South African government authorities, for homelands. In terms of this Act all the legislative assemblies were responsible, as was the case with the territorial authorities for Authority Affairs and Finance, Community Affairs, Works, Agriculture and Forestry, Education and Culture as well as Justice. The Central Government, however, had considerable control even in matters that were transferred to the legislative assemblies. In education, for example, the central government still had a say, if not the final say, on educational courses, syllabuses, media of instruction and examinations.

In the second stage, self-government status was granted to the homelands. The area concerned at this stage would have its own flag and its own national anthem, subject, however, to the State President's approval. The legislative assembly was also given powers to alter Acts of Central Parliament insofar as these related to the matters it controlled and to its citizens.

The Bantu Homeland Constitution Amendment Act of 1977 provided for each self-governing homeland to be declared an Internally Autonomous Country. This was a third stage of a self-governing homeland which may be attained prior to gaining independence. In terms of this Act the powers of the legislative assembly were extended and allowed "for the fact that territories have varying needs and rates of development" and "would give Legislative Assemblies the powers to conclude or ratify conventions, treaties and agreements with the Government of the Republic".⁽¹⁰⁾

In as far as KwaZulu was concerned, it was on 01 February 1977 that it was declared a self-governing territory in accordance with the Bantu

Homelands Constitution Act of 1971. Thus KwaZulu entered the second phase of **self**-government. This meant that the executive council was to be replaced by a cabinet which may take over all matters except foreign affairs, **defence** and all other matters which may be granted to an independent homeland.⁽¹¹⁾

It was, therefore, in terms of power delegated to the KwaZulu legislative assembly through the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 and the subsequent Government Notices that the Minister of Education and Culture, Dr O.D. Dhlomo introduced the subject Ubuntu-Botho in KwaZulu schools in 1978.

1.2. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

J.K. Ngubane describes the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) as:

a school of thought and (it) reflected the climate of the thinking in the African community in the 1960s. It laid stress on self-reliance in the African community, collaboration among the Africans, people of mixed blood and Asians, and the isolation of the Whites on the home-front.⁽¹²⁾

My purpose in this section will be to outline the views of the BCM as the school of thought which reflected the thinking of an influential sector of the African community.

1.2.1 The Origin of BCM

Steve Biko says that in 1966 his own analysis and that of his friends showed some kind of anomaly in the South African situation where

Whites, who were the main participants in the oppression of Blacks were at the same time the main participants in the opposition to that oppression. For Biko "the arena was totally controlled by Whites in what we called 'totality' of White power"⁽¹³⁾

At this time, as it was noted earlier, Black politics was in disarray following the banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960. The opposition to the Nationalist government was mainly from the White liberal groups like the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the Liberal Party.

There was dissatisfaction about these groups mainly from Black students. There were various reasons for this dissatisfaction. Among the reasons, the influence of Black students in an organization like NUSAS was restricted as the majority of the members were White students who reflected the overwhelming number of White students at the universities at that time. And, these liberal organizations concentrated mainly on issues exclusively affecting the White communities.⁽¹⁴⁾

Tom Lodge⁽¹⁵⁾ also observes that the University Christian Movement (UCM), through the American derived Black Theology thinking, played an important role in distancing Black students from the Whites.

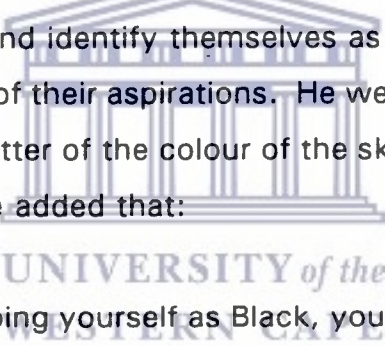
The NUSAS conference at Grahamstown in 1967 added salt in an already bleeding wound of Black-White relations. In this conference, unlike their White peers, the Black students were accommodated in a separate, inferior quarters.⁽¹⁶⁾

As a result of these and other related incidents, Black students in 1968 formed their own students organization called **South African Student Organization (SASO)** which according to Biko:

was firmly based on Black Consciousness, the essence of which was for the Black man to elevate his own position by positively looking at those value systems that make him distinctively a man in society.⁽¹⁷⁾

1.2.2 Defining Black Consciousness

Defining Black Consciousness in the SASO leadership training course in 1971, Biko started by defining Blacks as those who are by law or tradition, politically, economically discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identify themselves as a unity in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations. He went on to say that being Black is more than a matter of the colour of the skin **but** also a reflection of a mental attitude. He added that:



merely by describing yourself as Black, you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being.⁽¹⁸⁾

From this definition of Black, Biko inferred that:

Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of the operation - the blackness of their skin - and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that Black is an aberration from the "normal" which is White. It is a manifestation of a new

realisation that seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the White man, the Blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them Black It seeks to infuse the Black community with a newfound pride in themselves, their effects, the value system, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life.⁽¹⁹⁾

The Black Consciousness Movement at the end of the "process", intended to produce a real Black people who do not regard themselves as an appendage to White people but as people in their own right.

1.2.3 BCM view on the struggle against Apartheid

On the question of the struggle against apartheid, Biko contended that a number of organizations fighting against apartheid are working on an oversimplified premise. "They have taken a brief look at what is, and have diagnosed the problem incorrectly".⁽²⁰⁾

What was then the "correct" diagnosis of the problem?

During the earlier years of the BCM, unlike its predecessors, and the ANC in particular, it believed that the struggle against apartheid was the struggle against racism.⁽²¹⁾ "The overall analysis is, therefore" Biko argued "based on the Hegelian theory of dialectical materialism, which is as follows:

That since the thesis is a White racism there can only be one valid anti-thesis i.e. a solid Black unit to counter-balance the scale.⁽²²⁾

From this perspective, the BCM concluded that the struggle for genuine liberation was to be waged only by Blacks through Black unity. Clearly it rejected the integration and multi racial approach of the ANC.

The rejection of integration and multiracialism should not be understood to mean that the BCM was not aware of the importance of class in the South African problem but it was not a priority as Biko himself said on this problem:

The fact that apartheid had been tied up with White supremacy, capitalist exploitation and deliberate oppression makes the problem much more complex. Material want is bad enough, but coupled with spiritual poverty it kills. And this latter effect is probably the one that creates mountains of obstacles in the normal course of emancipation of the Black people.⁽²³⁾

1.2.4 **BCM and Homelands**

Answering the question posed by a European journalist in 1977 on whether the BCM condemns the bantustan leadership, Biko clearly depicted his movement's attitude towards homelands when he said:

Yes, of course. We condemn bantustans leaders, even the best of them like Gatsha Buthelezi.⁽²⁴⁾

The BCM believed that the aspirations of Black people cannot be achieved from the platform which was the means to oppress them. The homelands were creations of the South African government in an attempt to contain

the political aspirations of the Black people thus the homelands were meant to divert their attention. The BCM viewed all homeland leaders as participating in the White man's game of obstructing the aspirations of Black people. Any participation in any form, be it in a governing party or opposition, to BCM was giving these structures a credibility they do not deserve. "We hate it and we seek to destroy it" Biko concluded.⁽²⁵⁾

1.2.5 **Black Unity**

"The importance of Black solidarity to the various segments of the Black community must not be understated" said Biko.⁽²⁶⁾ The negative attitudes among the Blacks had led to insurmountable racial suspicions. There were more factors that were in favour than against Black unity. In spite of their radical differences Blacks were oppressed by the same system. That the degree of oppression was different amongst different racial groups was a deliberate design to divide Blacks. Biko, therefore, observed that,

it is to be expected that in terms of the enemy's plan there must be this suspicion and that if we are committed to the problem of emancipation to the same degree it is part of our duty to bring to the attention of the Black people the deliberateness of the enemy's subjugation scheme.⁽²⁷⁾

1.2.6 **"What of the White man's Religion - Christianity?"**⁽²⁸⁾

To Biko Christianity is founded on a 'rotten' foundation which many of the missionaries created when they came to South Africa.

According to Biko Christianity, which he calls a White man's Religion, is founded on a rotten foundation because:

in its introduction (it) was corrupted by inclusion of aspects which made it the ideal religion for colonisation of the people, nowadays in its interpretation it is the ideal religion for maintenance of the subjugation of the same people.⁽²⁹⁾

The BCM maintained that the duty of the church must be to preach that it is a sin to allow oneself to be oppressed. The Bible should be used to keep a Black man going in his journey towards self-realization. Rather than Christianity as presented by the White man, the BCM favoured Black theology because in Biko's words:

it seeks to do away with spiritual poverty of the Black people. It seeks to demonstrate the absurdity of the assumption by Whites that "ancestor worship" was necessarily a superstition and that Christianity is a scientific religion.⁽³⁰⁾

BCM did not reject Christianity *per se* but, as evident above, it favoured the Black interpretation of Christianity as presented in Black Theology. Black Theology according to BCM shows that Christianity is a flexible religion and it can be adapted to the cultural situation of the people to whom it is imparted.

1.2.7 History and Culture

The BCM believed that the whole of Black history has to be re-written to produce Black heroes and heroines who form according to Biko:

the core of African background ... A people without a positive history is like a vehicle without an engine. Their emotions cannot be easily controlled and channelled in a

recognisable direction. They always live in the shadow of a more successful nation.⁽³¹⁾

In African indigenous culture there are positive virtues from which the Whites can learn, for instance the unity of community which is at the heart of the African culture.

The distortion of African culture, however, has made Blacks hate their heritage. The negative image has made people seek security in identifying themselves with Whites' "superior" culture. Since the loss of his culture, through persuasion and/or coercion by the White man, African man began to lose a grip on himself and his environment.

Under these circumstances the BCM therefore saw itself as having a moral duty and responsibility,

to make the Black man come to himself; to pump Black life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth.⁽³²⁾

1.3 INKATHA: "Dis meer as 'n Zoeloe Kultuurimpi" *Die Transvaler*, 1978.

Under this sub-topic I intend to look at Inkatha with special attention to its cultural liberation base. It should also be noted that, as it was the case with the BCM, the focus here will be on the period up to 1978 but reference will be made to other periods if necessary.

1.3.1 The Origin

According to S.M.E. Bengu⁽³³⁾ Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (which in this text will be referred to as Inkatha) was launched on 21 March 1975. They revived, under the leadership of Inkosi (Chief) M.G. Buthelezi, Inkatha kaZulu which was founded by King Solomon, the son of Dinizulu in 1928. In its original form Inkatha kaZulu was a movement that was meant to organise amaZulu (the Zulus) into a cultural unit to regain whatever had been lost of their traditional values. In Bengu's own words in 1977:

This movement has now been revived and its constitution modernised to suit the present day needs.⁽³⁴⁾

Bengu went on to say that both the old Inkatha and the modernised form were never intended to be political movements. Inkatha, according to Bengu, was a cultural movement and to the movement politics was one of the many aspects with which Inkatha was to deal. Justifying calling themselves a cultural movement rather than a political movement, Bengu said,

It stems from one firm belief that national unity and models for development should be based on values extrapolated from the people's culture and adapted to present day needs and situations ... Inkatha does not therefore, attempt to relive the past or find a way of switching the clock back, it merely declares that since culture embraces the totality of values, institutions and forms of behaviour transmitted within a given society, there is need for a multi-approach in our liberation struggle.⁽³⁵⁾

From this argument one can conclude that Inkatha's definition of culture was extended to cover all aspects of life, including politics.

1.3.2 What is Cultural Liberation?

Explaining Cultural Liberation Bengu said:

Cultural Liberation as a philosophy can only be adopted by people who, after analysing their situation, have realised that their domination is not only a political one - but that it covers the various aspects of culture such as educational, economical, political and spiritual. It is at such a point that the oppressed people decide to bring about a cultural liberation of their country and people on various fronts.⁽³⁶⁾

As in the case of Black Consciousness, Cultural Liberation is here seen, as Bengu added, as:

self-assertions that have to do with identity and growing self-awareness of the African people.⁽³⁷⁾

Cultural Liberation does not wish to liberate Africans only from poverty, illiteracy, hunger, disease, neo-colonialism and cultural domination by their White master, but as Bengu observed:

they are desirous of liberating themselves from what I choose to call 'mental Whiteness' or 'colonial mentality' that is, the sense of rejecting of things African.⁽³⁸⁾

Bengu claimed that Inkatha should be seen as part of the cultural liberation movement that is "sweeping Africa today". Inkatha strives, therefore, for the promotion of African patterns of thought and achievement of African Humanism, otherwise commonly known in Nguni, languages as "ubuntu" and Sotho languages as "botho".⁽³⁹⁾

1.3.3 Inkatha and Black Unity

Inkatha believed that Black unity should not be limited within the borders of South Africa but should also be coupled with the liberation and unification of Southern Africa. One of its major aims according to Bengu was to:

foster the spirit of unity among the people of Southern Africa and to co-operate locally and internationally with all progressive African and other nationalist movements that strive for attainment of African Unity.⁽⁴⁰⁾

On the same issue, but on the home-front, O.D.Dhlomo⁽⁴¹⁾ said that although Inkatha accepts the responsibility for working towards Black unity

it has no ambition to serve Black people as a whole. It welcomes divergent views and respects the right of everyone to represent his views and respects the right of everyone to present his views to the masses and to attempt to establish a movement with aims and objectives in support of his views.⁽⁴²⁾

Among the attempts made by Inkatha to unify the Blacks, Dhlomo mentions the Black Unity Front (BUF) as the first attempt by Inkatha to bring Blacks of different political persuasions together. He further revealed that before Steve Biko's death Inkatha was engaged in discussion with both the ANC in exile and the Black Consciousness movement. In 1978 Inkatha with Inyandza of KaNgwane, the Indian Reform Party and Coloured Labour Party formed the South African Black Alliance (SABA). Inkatha also believed in the multi-approach to the struggle for liberation therefore, every South African, including "those so-called homelands which opted for altogether unacceptable Pretoria-type independence ... is a rightful participant in the struggle for liberation" declared Dhlomo.⁽⁴³⁾

In Inkatha Black unity did not necessarily mean that all Blacks should join Inkatha. "But" said Buthelezi in Soweto in 1976; "if other Blacks have difficulty with the activities of Inkatha, let them form their own Inkathas".⁽⁴⁴⁾

1.3.4 Inkatha and the Homeland

As pointed out earlier in this mini-thesis, Inkatha was involved in the homeland government-created institution. Justifying its involvement in the government created-structures, Inkatha said its aim was, using Gibson Thula's [former KwaZulu urban representative] phrase "the hijacking of KwaZulu legislative assembly".⁽⁴⁵⁾

In spite of being entrenched in the KwaZulu homeland, Inkatha maintained that it was not prepared to compromise with Pretoria's offer of independence. It argued that the offer was a political manoeuvre by the

South African government to deprive Blacks of their birthright as South Africans and that was a price it was not prepared to pay.

Inkatha maintained that if it did not 'hi-jack' KwaZulu some political opportunists would have taken over and concluded an independent agreement with Pretoria.

Inkatha's involvement in the homeland structure evoked political opposition from political organizations, in particular from those with the BCM. From their perspective, the tie between Inkatha and kwaZulu homeland, linked Inkatha to apartheid structures. These structures were designed by the regime for the oppression of the Black man. The KwaZulu government, like all other homelands were instruments of oppression. Inkatha by participating in one of these instruments was logically an instrument of oppression.

In response to such criticism Inkatha replied that the:

Black man has sufficient ingenuity to enter government-created structures and use them for his own purpose. Thus ... these institutions can become "chariots of liberation" which can be used in the battle to overthrow apartheid.⁽⁴⁶⁾

1.3.5 **Inkatha and Education**

Inkatha, through the KwaZulu government, viewed education as a pillar to any nation. Therefore as the nation progresses, as the then Minister of Education J.A.W. Nxumalo put it in 1976, through several experience s education cannot be left behind. He went on to say that his Department

was looking forward to producing people who can "resist brainwashing, ... people who can appreciate the relation between ideology and practice".⁽⁴⁷⁾ Although the Minister did not spell out how this was going to be done, it was in 1978 that Dr O.D. Dhlomo who was a new Minister of Education then made clear the objective of Inkatha in as far as education is concerned.

In his policy speech he said that the nation cannot prosper if its educational system is in conflict with national goals as expressed by national leaders. He went on to say that "an education system that has no clearly defined aim cannot be in a position to help in the process of nation-building."⁽⁴⁸⁾

In pursuit of "nation-building" Dhlomo did two things. Firstly, he introduced the Bill which, *inter alia*, repealed the Bantu Education Act of 1953 in the KwaZulu Education Department and replaced it with the KwaZulu Education Act of 1978. Secondly, he introduced the subject called **Ubuntu-Botho** which was to be taught in all KwaZulu schools. His remark that "it is not an easy undertaking to translate a national philosophy into a school subject"⁽⁴⁹⁾ made clear what was to be the aim of Ubuntu-Botho.

1.4 General Observations

Before I continue with a discussion of Ubuntu-Botho, in Chapter 2, I believe that it will be of interest to make a few general observations about the political thoughts of the 1970s. This should not be construed as suggesting that the reader cannot make her own observations. That could be an insult to her intelligence. What I am trying to do, is to gather

up some loose threads of the exposition done in the previous sections of this chapter.

The government policy of the homelands was a reality by the 1970s and the government undoubtedly wanted it to succeed at any cost. This multi-million Rand ambition of the government directly and indirectly affected millions of Black South Africans both physically and psychologically. The effects of it are even obvious today. Both the BCM and Inkatha in the 1970s were aware of this fact. While the BCM was unambiguously and vehemently opposed to the Bantustans, Inkatha on the other hand saw participation in the government-created institutions as a form of strategy to save his (Buthelezi's) people "from being discarded as South Africans according to ... policy of grand apartheid".⁽⁵⁰⁾ As to who was right or wrong is not for me to judge.

What is, however, interesting to observe is that although the BCM and Inkatha were opposed on the question of Bantustans, there is no evidence available, at least at my disposal, that these differences ever went outside formal democratic political debate.

It is also obvious that the BCM had, directly or indirectly, an influence on Inkatha in the 1970s. Some of the leaders of Inkatha were either former members and/or had contacts with the BCM. O.D. Dhlomo, for instance, revealed that between 1972 and 1974 he and prominent members of the BCM namely Steve Biko and Barney Pitjana had founded the Natal Workshop for African Advancement (NWAA)⁽⁵¹⁾ Also in 1971 SASO invited Buthelezi to its second conference in Durban.⁽⁵²⁾

Both Inkatha and the BCM in the 1970s believed that other than the political oppression that the Blacks were subjected to, there was also the psychological oppression from which they were to be liberated.

Consequently their strategies or at least their goals included the liberation of the mind. From this one can conclude that both the BCM and Inkatha viewed the struggle against apartheid as mainly a racial struggle rather than the class struggle.

Would it then be presumptuous of me to logically conclude, from these observations, that Ubuntu-Botho, which will be the focus of the next chapter, needs to be looked at in the context of the political discourses and prevailing thoughts of the 1970s?



CHAPTER 2: UBUNTU-BOTHO

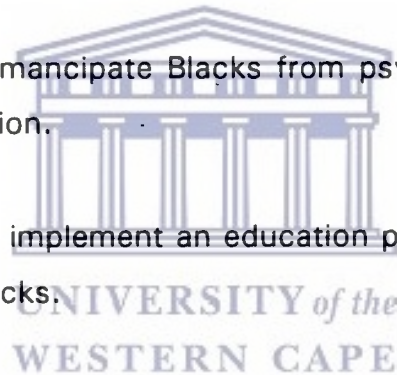
2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I have attempted to sketch the political thinking of the 1970s as expressed by the BCM and Inkatha. I have also shown that during this period the concern of the Black leadership was with not only political oppression but also psychological oppression. The BCM introduced various programmes through the Black People's Convention (BPC) whose aims were *inter alia*,⁽⁵³⁾

to liberate and emancipate Blacks from psychological and physical oppression.

and

to formulate and implement an education policy of Blacks, by Blacks for Blacks.



On the other hand Inkatha, as quoted by Ngubane,⁽⁵⁴⁾ in its constitution stated that although it accepted that there are many things to copy from the Western economic, political and educational patterns of development, it however, aimed to strive

for the promotion of African patterns of thought and the achievement of African Humanism otherwise commonly known in Nguni languages as "**Ubuntu**" and in Sotho languages as "**Botho**".

From the above quotation the impression is created that Ubuntu or Botho is an "African pattern of thought." Then what is Ubuntu or Botho?

In this chapter I intend, to clarify the concept Ubuntu-Botho as an African pattern of thought. I intend to show that this concept is an idea, as Mpontshane⁽⁵⁵⁾ puts it, which forms a guide to the living life by Black people of Southern Africa. Mdluli⁽⁵⁶⁾ goes on to say that,

It is claimed by its proponents that Ubuntu (Botho) did not only form the basis of the so-called African world-views, but also 'runs through the veins' of all Africans.

This conceptual analysis of the concept Ubuntu-Botho as an African thought shall be done by means of views of E.J. Marais, as expressed in his article entitled "African thought".⁽⁵⁷⁾ It should, however, be noted at the outset that my purpose is not to provide an exegesis of the views of Marais. His views will be used only for expository purposes.

To further clarify the Ubuntu-Botho concept other sources, where necessary, will be used.

The second part will deal with the critical exposition of the content of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus. My source of this exposition will be the revised 1991 syllabus which is currently used in KwaZulu schools.

For the interest of the reader, I wish to mention that Praisley Mdluli published an interesting article in 1987 on Ubuntu-Botho under the title "Ubuntu-Botho: Inkatha's 'People's Education'".⁽⁵⁸⁾

Without getting into details on Mdluli's article, I believe however, it is worth mentioning that I agree with most of the critical points raised by him in the article. Mdluli's article, which it should be noted is based on

Ubuntu-Botho books, raised the following critical points *inter alia*, about Ubuntu-Botho, as presented in the books:

- (a) very little is said about ANC post-1960⁽⁵⁹⁾
- (b) there is hardly mention of the capitalist origins of poverty in South Africa or apartheid as the source of such problems⁽⁶⁰⁾
- (c) the "history" is presented through selected individuals in the ANC⁽⁶¹⁾
- (d) no other political figure is given as much coverage and attention as Chief Buthelezi⁽⁶²⁾
- (e) Buthelezi is placed in a more visible position than the Zulu King.⁽⁶³⁾
- (f) All the leaders who are selected are either Zulu-speaking Natalians or have strong connections with the Zulu Royal family.⁽⁶⁴⁾

I believe that the exposition of the content of the syllabus will not prove Mdluli wrong but instead will confirm that the syllabus can be interpreted differently by different persons.

By these remarks I am not intending to prejudice the mind of the reader but I intend to let the reader judge for herself.

2.1 Ubuntu-Botho as an African Thought

Marais makes a stunning observation about the reason why African thought is not appreciated by the philosophers, and, hence in most cases

is regarded as non-existent. He points out that the main problem is with the positivist approach employed to study of this philosophy. He explicitly says that positivism is flawed because it is:

inclined to gross over-simplification and to be anti-metaphysical. The rich complexity of human thought and reality can be reduced to an arid desert. Reality is coerced and moulded into concepts which obscure the nature of true reality with their epistemological paraphernalia.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Unlike the Western analytical and intellectual approach to reality, the African view is pragmatic. "But", continues Marais, "then it is an ontological pragmatism".⁽⁶⁶⁾ Consequently the subject-object relationship; man and nature, individual and group, life and death is viewed as one, if not the continuation of the other. Marais describes this relationship as "mystical participation".⁽⁶⁷⁾

In African thought, the subject-object relationship takes the form of mutual attraction and compulsion. Nature and man, in African thought, cannot resist each other. Therefore, according to Marais, to appreciate the wisdom embodied in the African world-view, an attitude in which the imagination over-rules is demanded. He moves that

The Cartesian premise "I think, therefore, I am" must be replaced by "I participate, therefore, I am".⁽⁶⁸⁾

Marais further argues that the "African philosophy" should not be viewed in the restricted sense where philosophy means:

a practice of second order thinking: a thinking about thoughts - where cosmological, cosmogonical and ontological questions are posed.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Rather it should be viewed as the philosophy which refers

to the understanding attitude of mind, logic and perception behind the manner in which African people think, act or speak in different situations of life.⁽⁷⁰⁾

According to African thought, religion is the root of existence. Through religion Africans can justify their nature of being thus, according to Marais, religion in African thought is "an ontological phenomenon".⁽⁷¹⁾

On the importance of religion in the African world-view, Ngubane⁽⁷²⁾ concurs. He says that the Nguni-speaking people believe that all phenomena had their origins in a living reality which in Zulu is called "Qobo". This living reality has no beginning and no end. It was alive from eternity to eternity. Each phenomenon, including human being, has its value (reality) which was an integral part of the infinite reality. This means that each and every phenomenon was a reality which is a portion of the living reality.⁽⁷³⁾

As the reality was infinity, nothing existed outside it. All phenomena emerged, existed and died inside it. As the human being was one of such phenomena - she and her environment were therefore inseparable complements.⁽⁷⁴⁾

To illustrate the thesis of the inseparable relationship between human being and the environment. Ngubane⁽⁷⁵⁾ demonstrated by means of linguistic analysis resulting from this thesis, as follows:

| | | |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------|
| umuntu | : | the human being |
| isintu (Zulu) | } | |
| | } | : |
| uluntu (Xhosa) | } | humanity |
| ubuntu | : | being human, humanity |
| into (Zulu) | } | : |
| | } | : |
| ikintu (Sotho) | } | a non-living thing; an object |

When the prefixes on the above examples are removed the root "-nt(u)" remains. And that, according to Ngubane and Marais, gives the meaning that the originality of all phenomena is the same (uQobo) and therefore they form one whole.

As the origin of all phenomena is one, interaction is therefore inevitable. They directly influence each other. Marais warns that the interaction between phenomena should not be conceived as if in the universe there is chaos. But it (the universe) is constructed according to an ontological hierarchy. In this hierarchy the stronger force can paralyse, diminish or even cause the operating force to cease, but it can never annihilate or destroy another force. On the other hand, a living deceased force can reinforce another force directly, provided the law of subordination is maintained.⁽⁷⁶⁾

The ontological hierarchy differentiated the phenomena according to powers and ranks they occupy in the hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy there is God who in Zulu is called uMvelinqangi (the one who appeared first). By virtue of being the one who appeared first, God, gives existence to the phenomena. He is everywhere, all the time. He is, according to Marais, an unbroken circle.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Immediately after God come the deceased founding fathers of various clans. The deceased junior members of the clan form the channel of communication between the living generation and the founding fathers of the clans. These deceased junior members play a vital role in influencing the living. In them the living members of the clan form their hierarchy according to their seniority. For example, the most senior member of Ntshangase extended family would perform all the religious rituals in different Ntshangase households. This function could not be performed by any Ntshangase. It should be a Ntshangase directly related to the deceased founding father because he should call each and every one of them by the first name and/or by the regiment in which they belonged whilst living.

Animals and other things in the universe belonged to the lower level of the hierarchy. This, however, should not be construed to mean that they are not important in the life of human beings. On the contrary they played, and still play an important role in the communication with the deceased members of the clan or family.

Central to African thought, is the human being. An individual human being is, however, not perceived as an isolated individual and having the private world. She is seen and sees herself and her role as that of being with other individuals and mutually influencing one another. Marais captures this interdependence of individuals in African thought beautifully when he puts it as,

I am, only because we are, and since we are, therefore, I
am.⁽⁷⁸⁾

In an African world-view animal, as mentioned above, is in lower level in the ontological hierarchy. But when the human being is behaving in a manner not acceptable to the society, she is regarded as having descended from the higher level to that of animals, which is lower. In Zulu for instance, a thief is called "inswelaboya" (the one who is only short of animal skin). To be human, an individual should stick to the moral discipline and control embedded in the society. These moral laws are learnt from the family and the community at large. The foundation of these moral laws is respect: respect for individuals irrespective of their status, age or sex. Failure to respect other human beings will render an individual to be ostracised by the society and seen as belonging to the same class as animals and frequently members of the society will be heard referring to so and so as "a dog".

Another distinction between human beings and animals is that, unlike animals, "inside" the human being, there is what Marais refers to as the "little man". He describes this "little man" as:

the real *muntu* (human being) which signifies vital force endowed with intelligence and will.⁽⁷⁹⁾

It is this "little man" which Julius Nyerere⁽⁸⁰⁾ refers to as "the spark of divinity within himself".

It is this "spark of divinity within himself", that the Nguni language group referred to as "ubuntu" and "botho" in the Sotho language speaking groups. This means to be human (ukuba ngumuntu).

According to Nyerere the "spark within himself" (ubuntu) enables an individual to contribute to and benefit from her membership of the

community. An individual becomes an individual within the community. She takes care of the community and the community in return takes care of her.⁽⁸¹⁾

The interdependence of the individual and the community has its foundation in the extended family and the extended family is the base of what Nyerere calls African socialism. An African socialist according to Nyerere⁽⁸²⁾

does not look on one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemies. He does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'non-brethren'. He rather regards all men as his brethren - as members of his ever extending family.

African socialism which is based on ubuntu/botho is founded on three principles, namely, the attitude of mutual respect, obligation and love. The love in this respect, emphasises Nyerere, "does not imply romance or necessary close personal affection".⁽⁸³⁾

These principles weld together the community into a unit. This unit is important to the individual members in the sense that the individual thinks of herself, and of others, in the framework of their membership of the unit. Clarifying this point Nyerere goes on to say:

A man or woman knows that he or she is a unique person with private desires, but he also knows that his actions must, for his own good, be restricted to those which are consistent with the good of his social unit.⁽⁸⁴⁾

With this rather lengthy clarification of the concept of Ubuntu-Botho, the logical question that the reader may ask is whether such a society based on the principles of Ubuntu-Botho can be achieved in this highly industrial modern world, and particularly in South Africa. In anticipation of such questions, Nyerere provided the following answer.

Social principles are, by definition, ideals at which to strive and by which to exercise self-criticism ... Like democracy, they are easier to approximate to in smaller societies than in large ones. But like democracy, they remain equally valid for both small and large societies ...⁽⁸⁵⁾

Nyerere is not alone in believing that the society based on Ubuntu-Botho principles can still be achieved. In June 1976, the BPC of the BCM resolved in its seminar on economic policy, and I am not aware of the changes of this policy so far, that its economic policy would be Black Communalism. Black Communalism is defined as⁽⁸⁶⁾

an economic system based on the principles of sharing, laying emphasis on community ownership of land and its wealth and riches

The seminar further noted that:

Black Communalism, as defined, is a modified version of the traditional African economic lifestyle, which is being geared to meet the demands of a highly industrialised and modern economy.

Charging the schools in general and education in particular with the duty to promote the principles of Ubuntu-Botho Nyerere says

It was not innate goodness which promoted and maintained these principles in traditional Africa. They continued because the whole system of education taught them and supported them ... If these principles are to be preserved and adapted to serve the larger societies which have now grown up, the whole of the new modern educational system must also be directed towards inculcating them. They must underlie all the things taught in the schools, all the things broadcast on the radio, all things written in the press ...⁽⁸⁷⁾

Could, then, Ubuntu-Botho as taught in KwaZulu be seen as a heed to Nyerere's call as he said:

We must therefore take positive action to inspire the acceptance of these principles, and to make their implementation possible ...⁽⁸⁸⁾

To be able to answer this question I believe that it will be appropriate to acquaint the reader with the content of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus.

2.2 The content of ubuntu-botho syllabus

As mentioned earlier, in this section I will provide a critical exposition of the content of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus as taught in KwaZulu schools. I will not copy the syllabus as it is, instead I will give exposition of the general themes discussed in each unit of the syllabus. The syllabus itself is attached as an Appendix in this mini-thesis. As the syllabus covers all classes, that is, from sub-standard A (SSA) up to matric (Std 10), for the purpose of coherency, the classes will be divided into levels. The levels will be as follows:

Lower Primary level (LP Level) will cover classes SSA up to Std 2

Higher Primary Level (HP Level) will cover Std 3 up to Std 5

Post Primary level (PP Level) will cover classes Std 6 up to Std 10

Under each unit per level I will therefore give a brief exposition as to what each unit covers. Where necessary comment about the content of the unit will be made.

2.2.1 The aims of the subject

In the memorandum accompanying the revised 1991 copy of the syllabus, the inspectors of Ubuntu-Botho put explicitly that the thrust of the syllabus is that of imbuing the child with "humanism-Ubuntu". Further they say that:

Ubuntu would also be expected from the political organization and political leaders ... (therefore) the aim of treating Black organizations ... would be to see how far Black organizations, in their aims, objectives and strategies, do embody the philosophy of Ubuntu-Botho.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Although the memorandum gives the general aim of the subject, the 1989 Annual Report of the Department of Education and Culture (KwaZulu),⁽⁹⁰⁾ lists other aims of Ubuntu-Botho as:

- (a) to acquaint pupils with the role and significance of the National Cultural Liberation Movement and other Black Liberation Movements and to make them realise that a successful nation must be well organized.
- (b) to equip youth with such knowledge and skills as will enable them to develop a keen sense of nationhood and service to both nation and country.
- (c) to develop physical, social, mental and spiritual behaviour patterns in youth that will make them worthy citizens.
- (d) to make pupils understand the contribution education, work and a strong national culture should make to the building of a nation.
- (e) to develop the pupils' concepts of themselves as individuals who are pillars of the nation, hence the necessity for them to dedicate themselves to the service of the nation and country.

To cater for the above aims the Ubuntu-Botho syllabus is divided into seven units covering various themes. Hereunder I will look at these units per level.

UNIT 1: UBUNTU

L.P. Level (SSA - Std 2)

This unit in this level mainly deals with the principles and practices of Ubuntu-Botho in the family and society.

There is however a theme whose role in this unit is unclear. This anomaly is in Std 1 syllabus. While it is expected that only the principles and practices will be discussed in this unit, one is confronted by the theme on liberation struggle. I personally do not understand how this theme features under this heading. I believe that this theme is appropriate under Unit 2.

H.P. Level (Std 3 - Std 5)

The principles and practices of Ubuntu-Botho are also featured here.

In this level the lack of coherence in the themes studied is noticeable. In Std 3 for instance what I have seen as an anomaly in Std 1 is re-introduced. But, this is not followed up in Std 4 and Std 5. To me the themes dealt with in this level, namely "the stress on the ANC, PAC and Inkatha; the responsibilities of a citizen" and the unspecified "constitution" respectively, are not related and this will cause confusion to the mind of the child.

P.P. Level (Std 6 - Std 10)

In this level the emphasis is on the liberation struggle in South Africa. Political organizations, their aims and strategies are dealt with. Among organizations mentioned are the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Inkatha. In Std 7 the emphasis is on political leaders like O.R. Tambo, Zeph Mothopeng, Steve Biko, N.R. Mandela, M.G. Buthelezi, and others.

What is also noticeable here is that although Steve Biko is mentioned, there is no mention of the BCM as an organization.

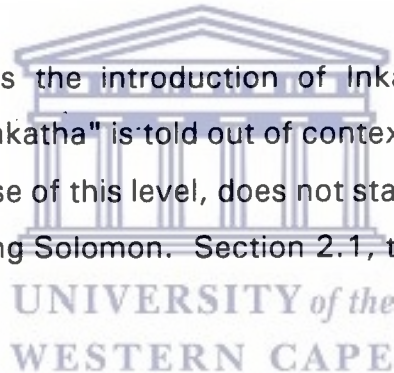
In Std 10 this section mainly deals with the leadership skills.

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA/AFRICAN HISTORY:

L.P. Level (SSA - Std 2)

In this level this unit deals mainly with Zulu history around the Zulu Kings. Obviously this history is told in Zulu perspective as well.

Another anomaly here is the introduction of Inkatha in 2.1 of SSA syllabus. "The story of Inkatha" is told out of context. The history of the Zulus, if this is the purpose of this level, does not start with the formation of Inkatha in 1928 by King Solomon. Section 2.1, therefore does not fit here.



H.P. Level (Std 3 - Std 5)

The focus here moves away from the Zulu history but mainly to the Black political leaders. Among the leaders mentioned, in no particular order, are J.S. Moroka, Sol Plaatjie, and Z.K. Matthews.

These leaders are discussed as education leaders and their contribution in the struggle for liberation.

In Std 6 the emphasis is on the colonisation of Africa. This theme is, however, treated in outline.

P.P. Level (Std. 6 - Std. 10)

In Std 6 and Std 7 the Black struggle is treated up to 1960 and the theme of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is introduced. The emphasis on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is on African nationalism.

In Std 8 the emphasis is again on South Africa. The period treated is from 1960 up to date. The following themes are, among others, treated:

- (a) the role played by the ANC and PAC in exile
- (b) the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)
- (c) Inkatha and its contribution in the liberation struggle
- (d) the unbanning of liberation movements

In Stds 9 and 10 the main thrust is on ideologies like Communism, Pan Africanism, Democracy, African Socialism, Capitalism and others.

Other themes mentioned in this level are:

- (a) Racial discrimination in South Africa from 1948
- (b) the homeland system
- (c) the possible future of South Africa
- (d) The Organization of African Unity and its role

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE

L.P. Level (SSA - Std 2)

Under the unit in this level the emphasis is on Black cultural practices. Rural traditions, patronymic legends (izithakazelo), folklores and ubuntu practices like sharing and greeting are treated.

H.P. Level (Std 3 - Std 5)

Also in this level the theme discussed centred around Ubuntu practices. Other traditional practices like reed-dance commemoration (umkhosi womhlanga) are mentioned.

In Std 5 cultural renaissance as a theme is included.

P.P. Level (Std 6 - Std 10)

In junior level (Stds 6 and 7) the emphasis is on Ubuntu principles and practices. From Std 8 the scope is widened to include other cultural practices in South Africa. In this level South Africa is perceived as a multi-cultural country.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFE STYLES

L.P. Level (SSA - Std 2)

In this unit of the syllabus the focus is on characteristics, needs and problems of the urban and rural lifestyles.

In Std 2 the theme on African business organizations and their role in the African communities is introduced.

H.P. Level (Std 3 - Std 5)

At this level the emphasis on the problems of modern lifestyles and how to cope with them. Problems mentioned are, among others, unemployment and housing.

In Std 5 the syllabus comes clear on the promotion of the idea of supporting Black business.

P.P. Level (Std 6 - Std 10)

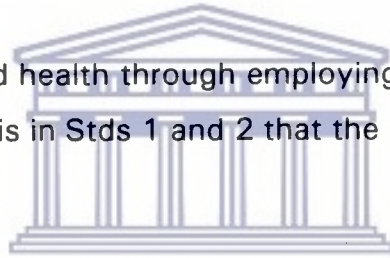
At this level the syllabus seems to be directly confronting the causes of the problems of the modern lifestyle. Among the causes mentioned are the Labour Acts, Influx Control and Group Areas Act.

The idea of self-help projects as the way of coping with the modern lifestyle is also piloted as the solution.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENT STUDIES

L.P. Level (SSA - Std 2)

The focus here is on good health through employing good habits, rather than the environment. It is in Stds 1 and 2 that the environment themes are mentioned.



P.P. Level (Std 6 - Std 10)

Nature conservation projects and how to start them is looked at in this level.

Problems caused by job reservation, Bantu Education, racial legislations and urbanisation as obstacles to Black development are the themes, among others, suggested in this level.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES

L.P. Level (SSA - Std 2)

In this level the syllabus looks at African religion and practices and their significance.

H.P. Level (Std 3 - Std 5)

Here, the history of Christianity and its impact on the lives of Black people in South Africa is looked at. Also church organizations like the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Diakonia, Idamasa etc. are studied in this level.

P.P. Level (Std 6 - Std 10)

The focus in this level is on the role played by the church and individuals within the church in the struggle for liberation. Individuals within the church like Martin Luther King (Jnr), Archbishops D.M. Tutu and A.H. Zulu are mentioned.

An indepth study of the church organizations also features as a theme in this level.



UNIT 7: PRACTICAL

Although in the attached syllabus (Appendix) there is nothing mentioned under unit 7 (practical), in the 1978 copy of the syllabus⁽⁹¹⁾ this unit is left for projects and other practical activities suggested from various units of the syllabus. Also under this unit individual schools from various circuits, take part in the cultural activities competitions.

Schools in three levels compete in these competitions in the following categories:

- (a) Traditional Dance
- (b) Male Voice Music (Isicathamiya)
- (c) Gospel Music
- (d) Poetry Recitation
- (e) Traditional Attire

It is interesting to note that although there is no syllabus designed for the Colleges of Education they do participate in the cultural activities competitions.

As I mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, one of intentions here was to acquaint the reader with the content of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus as taught in KwaZulu schools.

We can now turn our attention to the question: Can Ubuntu-Botho promote the development of the democratic agents? In other words - Can Ubuntu-Botho be seen as a subject that has the potential to develop and inculcate in the child the values and habits of democracy and love and respect for that political form, or is it the case that Ubuntu-Botho should be seen as an attempt to develop and inculcate the spirit of nationalism in the child?



How can we distinguish between the two possible interpretations? We need to develop some conceptual tools to be able to make an informed distinction between education that promotes democratic agents and that which promotes nationalism.

In the next chapter, therefore, I intend to look at the conceptual tensions between education, democracy and nationalism. In terms of this discussion I will be able further to critically discuss Ubuntu-Botho. With these conceptual tools we will also be able to make the contextual distinction between education for democracy (thus democratic agents) and education for nationhood (thus nationalism). I also believe that we will also be able to tell whether education for democracy and education for nationhood are necessarily two different educations.

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION, NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

My intention in this chapter is to discuss the conceptual tensions between education, democracy and nationalism. The discussion here will proceed by way of a critical analysis of the views of Penny Enslin and Yael Tamir as expressed in their respective papers.⁽⁹²⁾

For the purpose of clarity, I have treated the two papers separately. As the first part of this chapter, I discuss Enslin's paper: Tamir's paper will thus form the second part. My critical comments on the two papers form the third part.

My main concern about the two papers is their claim that education, as the primary aim, should promote and develop an autonomous person. I am not opposed to the development of autonomy *per se* but the impression created by Enslin is that the autonomous person should be developed without the consideration of her cultural heritage. I argue, that the aim of education, at least at the lower level (pre-tertiary level) should be to socialise and initiate the child in the body of knowledge that is accepted in the society. Even if we accept that the aim of education is personal autonomy then, at the lower levels, socialisation of an individual into her cultural heritage needs to be taken into consideration.

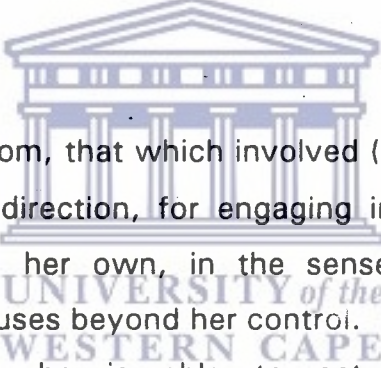
In as far as Ubuntu-Botho is concerned, in this chapter, I argue that for a clear understanding of it, it needs to be viewed within the socio-political context of the 1970s as outlined in Chapter 1 of this mini-thesis. Understanding the socio-political context of the 1970s I argue that the question of the development of democratic agents was not thought of. And, I, therefore, move that Ubuntu-Botho should be seen as the attempt to establish the conditions for a positive self-image and for self-realisation;

which to me are prerequisites for the development of the democratic agents.

3.1 Enslin on Autonomy and Nation Building

Enslin claims that the ideals of education and democracy are incompatible with the notion of nation-building.

She moves that the aim of education in post-apartheid South Africa should be to help the child to be an autonomous person. By autonomy the author means:



... a kind of freedom, that which involved (the) individual's capacity for self-direction, for engaging in thoughts and activity which is her own, in the sense of not being determined by causes beyond her control. An autonomous person is one who is able to act rationally and independently.⁽⁹³⁾

She mentions three features of autonomy as follows:⁽⁹⁴⁾

1. **Personal autonomy** An ability to exercise post-reflective choice, which includes the choice of personal life-plan and developing individual capacities as the individual wishes. This means an individual is able to live an individual life "from the inside" and is able to make independent and free choices of activities which the individual "finds intrinsically valuable in both short and long term". To develop this feature a student needs to be introduced to a variety of activities and ways of life.

2. **Moral autonomy**: An ability for an individual to exercise moral autonomy. For an individual to be able to exercise post-reflective objectives and she should be free from conformity to conventional values. Although an individual is free, she, however, has an obligation to respect the freedom of other persons and their human dignity as they are also "entitled to moral considerations as having needs and goals" of their own.
3. **Democratic participation**: An ability to participate in democracy both in broader political terms and all institutions. To Enslin, without autonomous participation as expressed in the third feature, the first two features will be meaningless.

According to Enslin, education for democratic participation (that is education for citizenship in Yael Tamir's terms⁽⁹⁵⁾) will be characterized by the following features.⁹⁶

1. It will not encourage the acceptance of authority without challenge.
2. It will provide the individual with skills of critical thinking, enabling individuals to participate in the democratic process, rationally and independently.
3. It will provide wide variety of contexts and thus enable individuals to be well informed about a range of issues - social, political and economic because

one cannot participate with autonomy if one is ignorant about issues relevant to making particular decisions.⁹⁷

She views education and democracy as:

concepts formed from the moral point of view and they inform each other ... both as necessary ingredients in the good life and good society.⁹⁸

Enslin notes that in the South African context, the notion of the nation has been used in two diametrically opposed situations. For the creators of apartheid it meant creating separate states for different "nations" or ethnic groups while the liberation movement put its goal as the "liberation of the nation".

South Africa, as it is on the brink of the new dispensation, is faced with the problem of the relationship between the State and the nation. Enslin points out that there is an assumption that in the post-apartheid state there should be a new South African nation. This view holds that:

In response to the systematic fragmentation pursued by the apartheid state ... there will have to be a policy of nation-building.⁹⁹

Nation-building is seen as the solution for creating unity from the racial diversity fostered by apartheid.

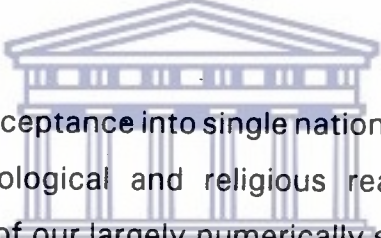
This could be done by

encouraging interaction and the development of a common culture committed to the general welfare as well as a sense of nationalism.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Education for nation-building therefore

will contribute to national reconciliation and will require the development of national identity, national sentiment and national unity.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Those in favour of nation-building, adds Enslin, go as far as suggesting that the idea of the nation during the struggle for the "national" liberation (or at least its meaning) should be developed to cater for post-apartheid South Africa. Enslin cites Neil McGurk, for instance, suggesting that it is morally imperative that:



the radical acceptance into single nationhood at these psychological and religious realms of experiences of our largely numerically superior black compatriots.⁽¹⁰²⁾

From the arguments in favour of South African nationhood, hence education for nation-building, Enslin identifies the following three features.⁽¹⁰³⁾

1. a call for the change of identity. This means the transformation of individual conception of oneself so that people see themselves and others as belonging to one nation.
2. a moral call which will influence our behaviour towards one another and the character of our politics.
3. a call for the school curriculum to include ingredients which clearly set out to persuade children that they belong to the South Africa nation.

The author however expresses doubts of the feasibility of the realization of the common nationhood "in a society as divided as South Africa".⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Justifying her doubts, Enslin says that people living in South Africa do not conform to a significant extent to the generally cited features of nationhood.

The features of nationhood as summarised by the author are as follows:⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

- (a) a belief that people belong together
- (b) shared history, common myth and memories
- (c) distinctive characteristics
- (d) a common, mass public culture
- (e) common loyalties
- (f) political autonomy
- (g) a historical territory
- (h) a common legal system and duties
- (i) a common economy with territorial mobility for members

Looking at South Africa, as it is today, the author concludes that most of the above features are not applicable to South Africa. Accepting the last five features (e-i as referred above) are either already evident or on the way to realization, she however questions the first four (a-d).

The South African society, Enslin argues, is culturally and linguistically heterogeneous with some of its citizens sharing more distinctive characteristics with groups of people elsewhere than many of their compatriots. (The good example of what Enslin says is that of the Indians and Islamic community who are South African, but share characteristics with other people who are outside South Africa). Between Blacks and Whites in South Africa, the two share different sets of memories and

myths in which others are viewed as enemies, the exploiters and oppressors (compare this with views expressed by the PAC which I believe are shared by many Black South Africans). Enslin finds it difficult if not impossible, to locate a common nationhood in South African society.

In as far as Black South Africans are concerned, continues Enslin, although there are elements of culture which are shared, many do not share a sense of belonging with their compatriots. Loyalties tend to be factional.

Given the present characteristics of the South African society, the author feels that there is a fair chance that trying to forge a common nationhood could be counter-productive. She further argues that common nationhood could fan factional "national" identity. Groups like Afrikaners, with possibly support from Zulus and Tswanas, might be fearful of losing their traditional cultural identity.

3.1.2 Nationhood, Education and Democracy

Enslin argues that nationhood as the aim of education will undermine the basic aim of education which is autonomy and consequently democracy. As the foundation of nationhood is the invention of fictitious myths, this will not promote rational reflection. The strategy of using education to promote nationhood was used in the political programme of Afrikaner nationalism, through Christian National Education. Most of the problems we have to contend with today in education are the result of the strategy of nation-building, argues the author. To Enslin the notion of nation-building is incompatible with the development of autonomy which is the basic feature of democracy. Nationbuilding involves the inculcation of beliefs which are, in a sense, irrational, but

... if I know something I must at the same time believe it ... autonomy requires that she holds her beliefs in a certain way. Her beliefs would rest on reasons or evidence for holding them to be true, and they would also be held provisionally, in case rational reflection on some new evidence or argument were to persuade her to reconsider.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

An autonomous and knowledgeable individual would not embrace certain myths manufactured by her nation and its history as if they were true and not subject to question and critical scrutiny. She further says that:

I am not suggesting that education is only a matter of enabling people to acquire knowledge and belief held rationally, and that there is no place for imagination and invention in education, which should be characterised by the detached exercise of reason.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The detached imagination, says Enslin, should be encouraged by education as it will encourage students to be able to consider an issue or issues from various perspectives including perspectives contrary to their own.

To clarify her point she adds that:

What distinguishes these examples of the development and exercise of imagination from

belief in the nation as imagined community is firstly, that as part of educational process the individual person is exercising her own imagination, even if prompted by teachers. She is not being manipulated as a result of someone else exercising her imagination. Secondly, ... the educational experience helps her to learn to know the difference between imagining and other activities like knowing, defending, questioning and proving.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

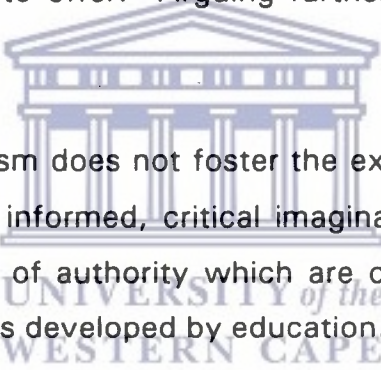
She suggests that education should, at least at the later stage of life, enable a student to adopt her beliefs because she chooses to do so rather than as a result of manipulation of which she is unaware. The central purpose of education should, therefore, be to help students to learn the skills of rational enquiry and encourage them to use these skills. It should not encourage students to embrace false beliefs. Enslin adds that:

... education and particularly education for a democratic way of life must include directing pupils' attention to the exposing of false beliefs, especially the myths which political and commercial entrepreneurs would have them embrace.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

This will obviously be contrary to what is expected from the loyal member of the nation. The autonomous student will have to renounce certain values and deeds of the nation. Education for nation-building according to Enslin will be forcing the student to surrender:

her individual uniqueness in order to have an identity as a member of an organic whole, firmly identifying with and celebrating a given heritage.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

This means self-sacrifice for the good life of the nation. To Enslin nationalism offers very little by the way of inspiration to democratic deeds and procedures, it does not allow the free exchange of ideas and debate. Appeal to nationalism during the struggle for liberation served its purpose but now it has nothing to offer. Arguing further against nationalism, Enslin says:



... nationalism does not foster the exercise of reason and informed, critical imagination and questioning of authority which are central to the practices developed by education. Nation-building would pre-empt the exercise of democratic reason and imagination by discouraging open-ended public debate or alternative political possibilities and exploration of proper rational grounds for action.⁽¹¹¹⁾

Enslin further says that nationalism does not only encourage beliefs which cannot be tested rationally but it also promotes the myths and symbols expressing militarism and sexism. Women are not depicted as equal citizen members of an inclusive democratic procedure. They are portrayed as the symbols of the mother of nation and idealised as nurturing, suffering and self-sacrificing and being dependent and subordinate to male bravery and control.

Enslin appreciates the urgency of reconciliation in South Africa but this, she argues, cannot be achieved through education for nation-building. She suggests that for education to play its role in this process of reconciliation it should be conceived as that of development of personal autonomy, moral autonomy and democratic participation rather than nation-building.

In summary, Enslin holds the view that **if** one accepts that the aim of education is the development of personal autonomy **then** one must reject education for nation-building.

3.2 Tamir on citizenship and nationhood

In this section I want to continue with my examination of the conceptual tensions between democracy, nationalism and education, by using the views of Yael Tamir.⁽¹¹²⁾ As I did with Enslin's views, I will give an exposition of Tamir's views.

Like Enslin, but for different reasons, Tamir is not in favour of education for nation-building. In her argument against this idea she cautions that:

We should therefore carefully explore the nature of nation-states and to be attentive to their merits and shortcomings in general and, in particular, to their tormented relations with democratic values.⁽¹¹³⁾

In a democratic state, argues Tamir, all citizens should be treated with equal concern and respect. Therefore, education for good citizenship should be distinguished from education for nation-building, that is, education towards good nationhood as she calls it.

She argues that education for good citizenship should be compulsory and identical for all members of the state while education for good nationhood should not be compulsory and should be diverse in accordance with the diverse nature of the state.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

How does Tamir distinguish between education towards good citizenship, and education towards good nationhood?

3.2.1 The Nation and the State

Firstly, Tamir argues that the "nation" and the "state" are two different entities. Consequently being a member of the nation (nationhood) and being a member of the state (citizenship) are not the two sides of the same coin.

She defines a state as a political organization which differs from other political organizations by its purposes and the methods it employs to carry these purposes. States are sovereign and this entails a monopoly of legal, military and civic powers.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

The nation, on the other hand, does not have features of the state. It is:

a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, and a national consciousness.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

3.2.2 Citizenship and Nationhood

From the above distinction Tamir argues that citizenship and nationhood are also different. They are different in both form and content.

Citizenship, according to Tamir, describes the relationship between the state and its formal members (citizens). It legally establishes the democratic rights and obligations of the citizens. Therefore, good citizenship implies

abiding by formal terms of membership, obeying the law, participating in the political process, developing a sense of responsibility and being committed to the state's institutions and its members.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Nationhood, on the other hand, is not well defined as in the case of citizenship. Terms of nationhood are not guided by law or formal procedures. Rather, they are guided by a sense of imagination of being a member of a particular community. Membership to a nation is informal, and implies that one

publicly identifies oneself as a member and expressing responsibility and concern for the well-being of other members of a nation. It is demonstrated by one's commitment to practice the national culture and to transmit it to one's children. Nationhood is expressed in the way we live our daily life, the language we speak, the clothes we wear, the bed-time stories and the lullabies we share with our children.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

3.2.3 The Notion of Nation-Building

To Tamir, the distinction between citizenship and nationhood, implies that in a culturally diverse country or state the notion of nation-building means that the new nationhood to be established will be dominated by the cultural tendencies of the ruling group. Thus, stifling the cultural tendencies and practices of other groups. In her words Tamir says:

The very essence of the national demand for the establishment of a nation-state is that the political culture of this state will be imprinted by the national culture of the ruling nation.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

This will mean that the minority cultural groups will lose their cultural identity. This will involve in Enslin's terminology, changing their identity, so that all minority cultural groups see themselves as belonging to one nation, which will mean belonging to the culture of the ruling cultural group.

Tamir argues that if democracy implies equality not only in the formal political arrangements but also equality to maintain individual group identity, the members of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities need, therefore, to be assured that they need not renounce their cultural identity.⁽¹²⁰⁾

How can this be assured?

3.2.4 The role of Education

Tamir argues that the answer to this question is to a large extent to be found in the educational sphere.⁽¹²¹⁾

She suggests that, for education to be able to solve this problem, the distinction between education towards good citizenship and education towards good nationhood should be clearly made. In her argument Tamir says

The state is justified in compelling all citizens to participate in the former but not in the latter.⁽¹²²⁾

Because

in a genuine democracy ... all citizens are treated with equal concern and respect and provided with equal chances to realise their civil, social and cultural rights ...⁽¹²³⁾

Therefore

if we wish to treat persons with equal concern and respect not only as individuals but also as members of particular groups then room must be made for the cultural and educational autonomy of national groups.⁽¹²⁴⁾

How does Tamir distinguish between education for democracy (citizenship) and education for nationhood?

3.2.5 Education for Citizenship and Education for Nationhood

She acknowledges that the distinction between education for citizenship and education for nationhood is not clear. The two overlap and that is where the difficulty of distinguishing them lies.

She, however, suggests that education for citizenship should be confined to the political sphere (the first area) and education for nationhood be concerned with particular national sphere (the second area). In the third area, where the two overlap, Tamir suggests that the members of the national minorities be taught⁽¹²⁵⁾ the principles of the ruling cultural group. She, however, quickly points out that providing this type of information is not meant to influence individuals to adopt a particular way of life, but allow them to upgrade their participation in the public debate, to recognise the latent codes of political discourse, and to be able to advance their claims most effectively.⁽¹²⁶⁾

The aim of education for Tamir should be:

to prepare individuals to take part in both realms of discourse - the civil and the national ... and,⁽¹²⁷⁾

should foster the idea that individuals hold a plurality of values, strive to fulfil a variety of ends, belong to various communities and consequently, have different commitments. Some of their values are mutually incommensurable and incompatible and some of their obligations collide.⁽¹²⁸⁾

From Tamir's argument the following features of education for citizenship

can be drawn:

- (a) educate the individual to be an autonomous decision-maker
- (b) teach the civic virtues
- (c) provide the necessary knowledge and skill enabling an individual to participate in the political process and attain public office.

The aim of education for citizenship should therefore be to allow future citizens to participate in the political discussion concerning the nature of their society.⁽¹²⁹⁾

Education for good nationhood should have the following feature:

- prepare individuals to participate in cultural life of the community, therefore emphasis should be on history, religion, culture, traditions and other features exclusive to the particular cultural group.

The aim is:

not to impart knowledge but also to spur the motivation and ability required for involvement in the national life of the community.⁽¹³⁰⁾

The third area, the area of overlap between education for citizenship and education for nationhood, should according to Tamir, be taught to all citizens of the state,

all members of the state should become aware of all national groups coexisting within the state. They should become knowledgeable about each other's culture, history and tradition, and be taught to respect them. Such mutual knowledge will facilitate cross-national

dialogue.⁽¹³¹⁾

Tamir is aware that this is not an easy task, but

it is a goal worth aspiring to. Forcing a national group to assimilate into the ruling nation is both unjust and unfeasible. Events in the Eastern Europe were not only impelled by the desire for political freedom, but also by national aspiration that can no longer be suppressed.⁽¹³²⁾

Is this not the problem facing the political groupings like the Freedom Alliance in South Africa?



3.3 A Pre-condition for education for personal autonomy

From the above exposition of the papers of Enslin and Tamir we can deduce, *inter alia*, that:

- (a) education for democracy and education for nationhood are conceptually and contextually distinct.
- (b) education should aim to develop the autonomous person (a democratic agent)
- (c) an autonomous person (democratic agent) should be characterised by being able to make independent and rational choices and being tolerant of the views of others.
- (d) education can be an instrument for social change.

Enslin in her argument advances that education for nation-building, which Tamir refers to as education for cultural assimilation, is incompatible with principles of democracy. In her view this kind of education cannot develop an autonomous person which education should develop. The autonomous person according to Enslin, and Tamir concurs, should be a critical thinker. A person who would not accept anything without question. Education for nation-building, according to Enslin, does not have conceptual space for the development of such a person.

Does this mean that a six year old at sub-standard A (Grade 1) should at her first day at school, be taught the critical skills?

But Enslin does not say when a child might be taught the skills of critical thinking and what would be presupposed by such teaching. I believe that educators will agree with me that the development of critical thinking is not a priority of early education. Education, at least at lower levels, is concerned with the familiarization and initiation of the young ones to the body of knowledge that is generally accepted as true.

This means, therefore, that education should in the words of R. Rorty, familiarize the individual with the moral and political common sense of the society as it is.⁽¹³³⁾

The moral and political sense of the society will therefore provide the individual with the body of knowledge that she will be critical about at the later stage of her education. This stage could be at the tertiary level.

Rorty⁽¹³⁴⁾ divides the process of education into two levels, that of socialization, which should be covered by the lower levels of education, and that of individuation which should be covered by the tertiary institutions like colleges and universities. He says that the process of socialisation involves

the shaping of animals into human beings and should be followed by

the self-individualization and self-creation of that human being through his or her own later revolt against that very process.

Rorty further argues, and I agree with him, that we cannot talk about education for freedom unless some "truth" has been inculcated in the mind of the child through the process of socialisation. R.S. Peters put this view in a rather frank way as he says:

But it is equally absurd to foster an abstract skill called "critical thinking" without landing on anything concrete to be critical about.⁽¹³⁵⁾

Rorty's and Peters's line of argument shows that the child should first be assimilated to the cultural heritage of her society. Then, at a later stage, the skills of critical thinking will be fostered, which will enable the child critically to evaluate those cultural heritages in which she had been initiated. This will be of benefit to the progress of the society, as Rorty put it:

the next generation is socialised in a somewhat different way from that in which they themselves were socialised.⁽¹³⁶⁾

It therefore means that for the development of an autonomous person, as suggested by Enslin, some facts suggested by Tamir in her notion of education for nationhood need to be taken into consideration. Some of the facts suggested by Tamir, it is my belief, might address some of the problems envisaged by Enslin in the formation of the South African

nation.

As a reminder to the reader, Enslin argued that an attempt to forge a common nationhood could be counter-productive. This, in her argument, could form factional "national" identity, and cultural groups like Afrikaners, and possibly with support from Zulus and Tswanas, might be fearful of losing their traditional cultural identity.

But something like an established cultural identity is a necessary precondition for the development of autonomy. I therefore believe that if the aim of education is personal autonomy, then at the pre-tertiary level, socialization or initiation into a cultural heritage is necessary. This provides the ground for the development of the self-image of the individual. The development of the self-image, is the basis for the development of the self-confidence on which personal autonomy depends.

I also believe that the self-image can only be developed through the appropriation of a cultural heritage. Emphasising the importance of cultural heritage in the development of the self-image, A. Lipton has this to say:

Cultural heritage enables the child to look at himself and acquire a feeling of strength and worth in terms of the people from whom he came ...⁽¹³⁸⁾

In the South African context, the consideration of cultural heritage in the process of socialization of the child will call upon education to accept the hard fact that South Africa is a multi-cultural society. But, before I take this point further, I want to mention that the misuse by apartheid of the concept of cultural heritage should not be allowed to obscure the cultural heterogeneity of South Africa. I strongly dispute the insinuation that the

acceptance of the existence of different cultural groups in South Africa means accepting and embracing apartheid. Ubuntu-Botho culture which is common to all Africans was not created by apartheid. Nor were Hindu, Tamil, or Muslim cultures invented by apartheid.

Coming back to my point of discussion, I believe that the theme "different cultures, one people" of the ANC "cultural" rally in Durban on 24 October 1993, correctly portrays the nature of the South African society.⁽¹³⁹⁾

The acceptance by education of the existence of different cultural groups will mean that the young will have to be socialised and initiated in the cultural heritages and achievements of their forefathers. This will form the basis for the individual self-image and assist the individual in her journey of self-realisation. It will also empower the individual to accept herself as an individual with value and who has a moral responsibility to assist other individuals in their journey of their individual self-realisation. This will be more true for the Black South African whose cultural heritage has been denied existence through Bantu Education.

In South Africa, I suggest that all children should be taught and thus informed about other cultural tendencies, as Tamir suggested. They should be taught to respect them without imposing one culture upon others, I believe that such approach will promote inter-cultural tolerance and consequently develop the racial reconciliation which Enslin⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ accepted as "urgently required in South Africa" but did not have a practical answer other than the development of an autonomous person.

What implications does my argument in favour of the development of individual self image have for Ubuntu-Botho?

My answer to this question is simply that Ubuntu-Botho should be viewed as an attempt to socialise and initiate the young ones in the political and moral common sense of the Black community. Thus, developing the self-image and self-confidence for self-realisation.

- Enslin argues that if one is in favour of education for personal autonomy one must be opposed to education for nationhood.
- Tamir is sensitive to the cultural background for the possibility of autonomy and although she distinguishes between education for citizenship and education for nationhood, she carves out a legitimate space for both (i.e. they are different but not incompatible).
- My position is that (a) I agree that the aim of education is the development of personal autonomy, but that (b) this requires socialization into a cultural heritage. In short, I think Enslin is wrong to think that education for autonomy is incompatible with education for nationhood. The former requires the latter.

In chapter 1 of this mini-thesis I have shown the concern of Black political organizations present in the 1970s, that is, the Black Consciousness Movement and Inkatha, about the lack of the true self-image of the Blacks as a result of psychological oppression inflicted by apartheid. At that time there was no thought in the political discourses of South Africa changing into a non-racial democratic country. The concern at the time was mainly on the struggle for liberation and therefore the mobilization of the people against apartheid. The question of democracy and thus the promotion of democratic agents was not a prime concern.

With this brief background I submitted that Ubuntu-Botho syllabus should be viewed in the context of the political discourses of the 1970s when

apartheid was at its zenith. At this time the South African government was engaged at the promotion of apartheid at all costs.

I can see an argument opposed to this view. That argument is that Ubuntu-Botho does not promote the self-image and self-confidence of Blacks in general but the exclusive Zulu national self-image, and that therefore Ubuntu-Botho is a Zulu nationalist project. We can recall that this is an argument advanced by Mdluli.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ I believe that this argument has some cogency and, in the next chapter I shall reconsider it.



CHAPTER 4: UBUNTU-BOTHO AS EDUCATIONALLY RELEVANT TO AFRICANS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I have argued that the purpose of early education is to initiate the child into the moral and political common sense of the community (society) in which the child is the member. I have also argued that Ubuntu-Botho might, therefore, be perceived as an attempt to socialise the child into the body of knowledge possessed by the society.

But, the concept "society" or "community" could mean different things to different people. In the context of Ubuntu-Botho it could mean the Zulu society and could also mean the African society at large.

P. Mduli, for instance, in his article "Ubuntu-Botho: Inkatha's 'Peoples Education'"⁽¹⁴²⁾ claims that Ubuntu-Botho aims at promoting Zulu nationalism, and the image of Inkatha and Buthelezi⁽¹⁴³⁾ in particular. This, therefore, means in this context the concept society or community means the Zulu society. On this interpretation Ubuntu-Botho initiates the child into Zulu (and Inkatha particularly) moral and political common sense.

I do not believe that Mduli presents a correct picture of Ubuntu-Botho as it is now.

In this chapter I intend to show that Ubuntu-Botho, as described in Chapter 2 of this mini-thesis does not promote exclusively Zulu nationalism. I want to show that, on the contrary, Ubuntu-Botho initiates the child into moral and political common sense as possessed by African people in general.

He quotes extensively from Ubuntu-Botho books, which he uses as his main sources, to support this view. He also says that Inkatha is presented as the political vehicle for Zulu aspirations. Buthelezi, according to Mdluli, is also placed in a more visible position than the Zulu King.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

(b) **"Ukuhlonipha"** (Respect)

Mdluli claims that respect is the most central theme throughout Ubuntu-Botho. He acknowledges that "ukuhlonipha", meaning respect, is the basis of African societies in general and even more so in Zulu-speaking communities in Natal⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ but in the context of Ubuntu-Botho, argues Mdluli, it promotes the authoritarian and hierarchial domination which is found in Zulu society.

From this emphasis on respect, Mdluli infers that Ubuntu-Botho is likely to

produce a highly docile and easily controllable Inkatha following. This runs counter to mass participatory democracy as membership is required to act within the tightly defined ukuhlonipha relations.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

(c) **Concept of the "Nation" in Ubuntu-Botho**

Mdluli says that it is difficult to get a complete and clear meaning of the concept "nation" in Ubuntu-Botho. This is due to the fact that the Zulu word "isizwe" used in the books has more than one meaning.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ It could

mean "nation", "ethnic group" or "race"⁽¹⁵¹⁾ He goes on to say that in the books the word "isizwe" is used interchangeably to refer to these meanings.

In his argument one can learn that Mdluli perceives Ubuntu-Botho, among other things, to be promoting Zulu nationalism, as he claims that Zulus are presented as the leading section. To support this claim he says:

For example, it is very clear that the Zulus, apart from being the majority of Africans, also want to unite all Africans through Inkatha.⁽¹⁵²⁾

(d) **History of African People**

In Ubuntu-Botho, Mdluli writes, African history is traced through the emphasis of the role played by leaders "and the 'absence' of the ordinary people in this history".⁽¹⁵³⁾

Ubuntu-Botho, therefore, creates the impression that it is only the leaders that make history on behalf of the ordinary people. He goes on to say that

a strong appeal is made to the tradition of chieftaincy as the basic unit around which traditional African societies evolved.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

(e) **Conception of the Liberation Struggle**

On the liberation struggle as presented in Ubuntu-Botho Mdluli says

throughout the syllabus the liberation struggle is personified around Buthelezi as an able leader of the Zulus through Inkatha.

He also says that in Ubuntu the struggle is conceptualised within the dichotomy of the leader and the led. The people (the leds) play a loyal and supportive role to the leader. In the context of Ubuntu-Botho, Mdluli claims, political organizations are seen in the context of traditional African societies where the people are natural members rather than voluntary members.

(f) **The Status of Inkatha and other Liberation Movements**

Mdluli says that in Ubuntu-Botho Inkatha is unashamedly promoted as the model and example of a political organization. Considerable space is given to discuss its structure, leadership and policies.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

Other organizations like the ANC are not given as fair treatment as is Inkatha. In a case where the ANC is discussed, Mdluli observes the following:

Firstly, there is a scathing attack on the armed struggle waged by the ANC. In the syllabus the history of the ANC before the Umkhonto we Sizwe phase is treated very sympathetically with strong connections being drawn to Inkatha. Secondly, very little is said in the

Ubuntu-Botho syllabus about the ANC post - 1960 ... Thirdly, whilst the history of the liberation struggle before 1960 is treated through the ANC, the post-1960 phase of the liberation struggle focuses almost exclusively on Inkatha after its formation in 1975. There is a huge gap between 1960 and 1975 ...⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

Mdluli also mentions that the Black Consciousness Movement, is also mentioned by name and in passing. The UDF and COSATU or any role played by the Labour movement in the liberation is hardly mentioned in the books.

4.2 Critical Discussion of Mdluli's Article

Is Mdluli's criticism of Ubuntu-Botho correct?

From the exposition of Mdluli's article I have given (above) the answer to this question should be affirmative.

However, Mdluli's article is based on books⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ interpreting the 1978 Ubuntu-Botho syllabus. Since that time the syllabus has been (extensively) revised. The current syllabus is that of 1991, and my interpretation is based on the revised syllabus. Thus, it is not so much that I disagree from Mdluli as that his interpretation provides a misleading interpretation of the syllabus as it now is.

The change of the Ubuntu-Botho syllabus was noted in a newspaper article as follows:

However, after more discussions, a new syllabus mentioning other political organizations, leaders and issues was introduced. As Ubuntu-Botho stands now, it is a subject which any future government other than Inkatha would retain ...⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

The same article also notes that even the current syllabus is not perfect, other changes and issues still need to be introduced.

I acknowledge the influence the books on Ubuntu-Botho might have on the image of Ubuntu-Botho. I am aware that there are no books relevant to the new syllabus available to the teachers, at least. The books from which Mdluli quotes are still freely available and I believe that some teachers still rely on them as the best available source of information.

For the purpose of this mini-thesis I will focus on the syllabus as I have described it in Chapter 2 and as provided in the Appendix .

Given his sources the claims made by Mdluli are just. However, I want to consider whether the criticisms made by Mdluli in his article are applicable to the new syllabus.

In as far as "much coverage and attention to Buthelezi and Inkatha" is concerned, I believe the reader will agree with me that the new syllabus gives almost fair if not equal coverage and attention to the ANC and PAC. If we could literally count the number of times the names of Buthelezi and Inkatha appear on the syllabus, the reader will note that the two names appear once and four times respectively in the twelve year period covered by schooling.

In the syllabus as it is, the name Inkatha is mentioned in sub-standard A⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ as well as in Units 1 of Std. 3, Std 6 and Std 9. In these classes it is mentioned together with the ANC and PAC.⁽¹⁶¹⁾

It is only in Unit 1 of Std 8 syllabus that the name of Buthelezi is mentioned in the whole of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus. The reader will also note that Buthelezi is mentioned together with leaders of various political organizations, *inter alia* A.M. Lembede, founder member of ANC Youth League, Zephania Mothopeng the late president of the PAC and Nelson Mandela, the current president of the ANC.

The reader will also agree with me that in the new syllabus there is no mention of the present King of the Zulus. Therefore, there could be no attempt to place Buthelezi in a more visible position than the King. The syllabus, in junior primary level, only mentions the late Zulu kings from King Shaka to King Solomon.

The above argument could also be taken to apply to the mention of Zulus as a nation in the syllabus. Zulus are also mentioned only in the junior primary level (SSA - Std 2). This theme is not taken further in subsequent classes. I believe that there is nothing sinister about this theme in these classes. I strongly believe that it is appropriate in the process of socialisation to begin with the immediate surroundings of the child. I hope the reader is aware that almost all the children in the KwaZulu schools are Zulus; the history of the Zulus, I believe, constitutes their immediate environment.

Another claim that Mdluli makes is that most of the leaders discussed in the syllabus are in his words:

either Zulu-speaking Natalians or have strong connections with the Zulu Royal family.⁽¹⁶²⁾

He goes on to say

no mention is ever made of any of the current ANC leadership, save Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu. Of these, there is just a passing reference to the fact that they helped Lembede to form the ANC Youth League; another to Tambo's meeting with Chief Buthelezi in London in 1979 ... whilst Mandela and Sisulu were in jail.⁽¹⁶³⁾

On the criticism that leaders in the syllabus are Zulu-speaking or connected with the Royal family, the new syllabus goes beyond this limitation. Steve Biko, Robert Sobukwe, Moroka, to mention but a few, were neither Zulu speaking or connected with the Zulu Royal family, to my knowledge at least.

On the question of the current leadership of the ANC, I believe Mdluli has a strong point. But, this does not apply exclusively to the ANC. There is also no mention in the 1991 syllabus of the PAC nor any other political organization including Inkatha itself.

However, I wish to draw the attention of the reader once more, to Unit 2 of the Std 8 syllabus which among other things, covers the following topics:

2.1 The African struggle for self-determination from 1960 up to date.

2.1.1 The role played by the ANC and PAC in exile.

2.1.2 The Black Consciousness Movement.

2.1.4 The unbanning of the Liberation movements.

My understanding of the above topics is that the current leadership of all organizations, not only the ANC, and what Mdluli refers to as "a huge gap between 1960 and 1975"⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ is covered. I also believe that there is nothing preventing the teacher, under this unit, including the activities and operations of the military wings of the Liberation movements, like Umkhonto we Sizwe [MK], the Azanian Liberation Army [AZANLA] of the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA].

My only fear about this unit is that it is dangerously too open to be exploited by teachers to further their personal political persuasions.

Mdluli also mentions that the UDF and COSATU are not mentioned in the syllabus. This is true also in the new syllabus. Similarly, AZAPO and NACTU are also not mentioned.

I hope the reader will agree with me again that it is now an open secret that the ANC, whilst in exile, played an important role in the formation of the UDF and COSATU just like the Black Consciousness Movement in the formation of AZAPO and NACTU. Assuming that the reader agrees with me, I believe that unit 2 of the Std 8 syllabus can cover such topics.

I also believe that there is no way that labour problems (Std 9 Unit 5) can be discussed adequately without mentioning labour organizations like COSATU and NACTU. Under Unit 4 (Modern Life Styles) I also believe that the question of labour organizations can be discussed.

In as far as the criticism made by Mdluli that in the tracing of African history the "emphasis is placed on the prominent role played by the leaders ..." is concerned, I have a problem in understanding why this is thought to be a criticism. What is wrong with acquainting the child with the heroes and heroines of her people?

This is more relevant in South Africa particularly, where the Blacks were deliberately denied the opportunity of knowing about their heroes and heroines. I believe that Mdluli knows, as I do, that in South Africa one would not dare, in the 1970s and before that, to speak of people like Mandela and others. At school one could not dream of it in one's wildest dream.

I agree with A. Lipton when saying:

To identify with a people's hero, with a history, with a movement, gives strength and courage to children.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

I also believe that the placing emphasis on the role played by leaders will inculcate in the mind of the child the sense of commitment and preparedness for self-sacrifice for the good cause of the nation.

O.D. Dhlomo pushes for the inclusion of the biographies of leaders in history in rather a powerful way when saying:

The teaching of history should also aim at making the child believe that there is purpose in History and that "in this purpose of moving towards a goal, God makes use of man; and to inspire the child to make himself available to be used when the time comes, in this glorious partnership with God." The biographies of great human leaders of all nations would help to drive this aspect of history. Without a Martin Luther available "to be used", there would have been no Reformation; without a Shaka there would have been no Zulu nation.

On the question of "ukuhlonipha" (respect), Mdluli to me seems to over-exaggerate and distort its meaning in African society.

The reader should note that respect is the essence of being human (ukuba ngumuntu) in almost all African ontology. It is respect that characterises the African person. In most African families, not in Zulu families only, as Mdluli implies in his article, children are taught respect as the first step in the process of initiation. N.P. Moake, whom I think is not a Zulu, gives a classical example of an African family as he recalls his childhood experience:

I had learned in my upbringing from my early childhood to render absolute respect to adults, good or bad, irrespective of whether they were familiar or strangers, to have respect for neighbours and the neighbourhood, and for

more than anything to respect the dead, our ancestors and the place of their burial.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

Respect of another human being is the basis of Ubuntu. Through respect an individual is given her status of being human, in the African way of life. An African person respects another being because she knows that she (herself) is a human being through other human beings. That is ubuntu or botho. Moake, again, points out that ubuntu is based,

on the maximum that "motho ke motho ka batho/Umntu ngumuntu ngabantu" - a person is a person through other people.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

If respect "runs counter to mass participatory democracy" as Mdluli says, I doubt that this will be a kind of democracy that the African person has long striven for. This kind of "democracy" which excludes respect will be rejected by both adults and youth. Noting the importance of respect in African society, the regional meeting on youth in Africa gave the following directive the youth of Africa:

(In the family) ... young people also learn courtesy, civility and rules of conduct to be observed in society: never to allow oneself to be carried away, but to speak little and listen carefully, as well as show respect for elders and seniors.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

The report of the meeting further noted that:

knowledge is one thing and wisdom another, and that while the young can no longer expect to acquire knowledge from elders, the latter still possess the wisdom that comes with age and experience, and which is so vital to the young in the efforts to build Africa today on sound and reliable moral bases. Hence, it is argued, the need to ensure respect for hierarchy based on age.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

From the above, I hope it is clear that Africans put great emphasis on respect, including the respect for hierarchy based on age.

Furthermore, respect is a central condition for education and a necessary component of socialisation of the child by the teachers. As Dunlop⁽¹⁷¹⁾ argues the teacher stands "over" the pupils (in a hierarchial sense) rather than "on a level with" them. Without respect the most fundamental educational ends, particularly in the school, the moral and other values of education cannot be achieved.

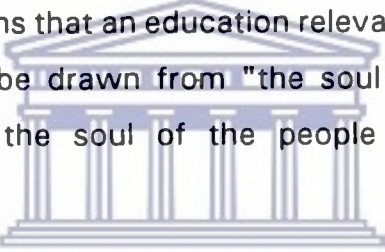
In the society therefore respect, especially that based on age, should be maintained so that the young members of society can benefit from the wisdom and experience of the elders. In this case the elders should have authority over the young members of the society. The respect of the authority of the elders does not mean that the young ones are not regarded as agents in African society. Their agency is recognised. Their energy as the youth is solicited in community projects and they are able to initiate projects on their own. The adults are there to guide them with their experience and wisdom acquired through age.

4.2 Ubuntu-Botho as educationally relevant to Africans

My main claim in this chapter is that Ubuntu-Botho is an education that addresses, or at least that tries to address, the needs of African people.

In this section I will begin by outlining what an education relevant to the needs of Africans is. Then, I will show that Ubuntu-Botho has the qualities of an education relevant to the needs of Africans.

Es'kia Mphahlele⁽¹⁷²⁾ claims that an education relevant to the Black people of South Africa should be drawn from "the soul of people".⁽¹⁷³⁾ The education drawn from the soul of the people must, according to Mphahlele



... liberate students from political and economic forces that subjugate our people, and from the low self-esteem and self-hate that oppression inculcates in many of its victims. Education should equip people to break down imposed barriers to self-fulfilment and self-realisation. Self-realisation can only be valid, however, if the needs of one's community are served by it.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

This education envisaged by Mphahlele would enable students to deal with their environment, know themselves more deeply and also understand the problems of the country based on race, colour and ethnicity.

Mphahlele reveals that the need for such education had been in the minds of many as early as the 1970s. This idea was, according to Mphahlele, mooted by the Black Consciousness thinking which was premised on Black pride and self-reliance.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

Moved by this thinking some African educators, reveals Mphahlele, founded the Council for Black Education and Research, now based at the Funda Centre in Soweto. Among the activities of this Council were to deal with concrete realities of the participants' lives "as they at present have been in the past, and should or shouldn't be in the future."⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

Interestingly enough for a consideration of Ubuntu-Botho, Mphahlele says that among the debates the participants of the project were engaged on were the division caused by the South African government of the Blacks into urban and rural communities. The Council noted that urban Blacks have developed an attitude of contempt for rural communities. Mphahlele argues that education relevant to Black people is needed to correct this attitude.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

I want to draw the attention of the reader to Unit 4 of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus under the heading "Modern Lifestyle". I believe that this unit addresses exactly what Mphahlele talks about above.

Education relevant to Black people, Mphahlele argues further, should also train the individual to think and act as the servant of the community. "In other words" he stresses:

we need a philosophy of education that will account for social evils that confront us and empower us to deal with them.

O.E.H.M. Nxumalo⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ agrees with Mphahlele when he says that education relevant to an African person must be founded in reality in order to help an individual to help herself. He also adds that

man's past and wisdom of the Fathers of the nation cannot be overlooked when considering the quality of education.⁽¹⁸¹⁾

On the very same question of education relevant to an African person, the regional meeting of the youth held in Nairobi (Kenya) on 17-22 December 1979⁽¹⁸²⁾ also made some interesting recommendations. This meeting was attended by twenty-one member states in the region, which includes East, West and Southern African states.

Among the recommendations made at this meeting, the participants were unanimous, the report notes, "more than ever" that:

Africa must cleave to the basic values and principles embodied in the various cultural traditions, or at least those that deserve to be adapted and preserved, so as to ensure that Africans' essential spirit was not lost in the whirlwind of industrialization engulfing the continent.⁽¹⁸³⁾

Participants, thus, urged that radical reforms should be made in the contents and general structures of African education so that:

education might become an instrument of development and personal fulfilment for young

people, and cease to be merely a means of obtaining a diploma which gives access to a particular occupation.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

This point is also picked up by Nxumalo in his work.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

The meeting also noted that the present day formal education offered in most African states is in its content and form not at all African. The present education which is the imposition of the colonial powers, according to the meeting, replaced the traditional and family education of the African societies which is characterised by traditional values of worth, moral guidance, vocational training coupled with intellectual development.

The meeting argued that to close what they termed the "catastrophic gap" between the family and school the modern school teacher must assume the traditional role of adviser, animator and guide to young persons.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ The meeting consequently recommended that:

New teaching methods and materials must integrate African education with African life. Each educational system must reflect the cultural diversity and national philosophy of each country.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾

This Nairobi meeting also made a clarion call to other African states to, among other things,⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

- (a) free themselves from the educational system inherited from colonization and to promote a new education for all young people

in such a way to enable them to play a fundamental role in social, political, economic and cultural transformation of the African nation.

- (b) link the school to life by giving its root in national realities so that it may respond to the needs of milieu.
- (c) draw inspiration from the most positive values of traditional family-based education.
- (d) help young people carry programmes which they themselves have designed in agreement with other social categories.

From the above expositions what could the features of education relevant to African person?



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I believe that from the above expositions one could conclude that education relevant to African people should, at least, have the following features:

- (a) promote self-esteem and thus self-realisation
- (b) inform the learners about the present realities of the country
- (c) take into consideration the history of the African people
- (d) equip the learners with the skills to deal with their problems
- (e) preserve and/or adapt some traditional values and heritages of the African people

- (f) link the school and home (family) life
- (g) inculcate the sense of being part of the larger society and sense of responsibility for the development and the future of the society.

What about Ubuntu-Botho?

In various parts of this mini-thesis, in Chapter 1 in particular, I have argued that the problems facing the Black people of South Africa were not only limited to the political sphere. There were also problems in psychological and social spheres. Educationally and culturally for an example, the Blacks were denied the right to determine the kind of educational and cultural life they, themselves would like to live.

This fact was acknowledged by the BCM as it argued that Blacks were not interested in "education for domestication". They argued further that education should promote self-reliance, critical awareness, understanding of the community and its problems and a sense of positive self-identity.

As a member of this community, they had a duty towards it and were to see its needs as prior to student needs - in other words, Black students were to see themselves as Black before they saw themselves as students.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾

How could this be achieved? It is my belief that the best possible way to do that was through the initiation of the students to the body of knowledge as possessed and understood by Blacks themselves. Bantu education as offered by the government was rejected and not recognised

by the Blacks; because among other things it could not offer that kind of knowledge. The knowledge offered by Bantu Education was only the knowledge that was geared to promote and maintain the status quo. It could only offer that knowledge which would perpetuate the myth that Black people were inferior human beings. They did not have history, heroes and heroines and thus they had an inferior culture.

If we look at Unit 1 and Unit 2 of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus, we see the Black child is being initiated to the history of her people. We see the history of her people traced from their immediate environment [the Zulus in the case of Zulu child] up to and including the history of their self-determination as people equal to other people of the world irrespective of the colour of their skin. We see history of the forefathers of the child brought forward in the manner that her people know it. We see the history of her people being linked with the history of other African people beyond the borders of her country.

The history of the African people as presented in Ubuntu-Botho I believe revives the self-esteem and self-pride in the child. It encourages the child to identify herself with her people. It also makes the child understand her and her people's problems.

Teaching about her heroes and heroines, makes the child realise the sacrifice made by other members of the society for her and her people's future. It also inculcates in the mind of the child the preparedness to make herself available for the benefit of her people, when the time comes, paraphrasing Dhlomo.

Unit 3 - (the African Culture; its relevance) cannot be over-emphasised. It revives the cultural pride in the child. It emphasises the preservation and adaption of those cultural values and heritages that could be of benefit for the development of South Africa and for her people

In his article P N Moake makes an interesting observation about the problem of the generation gap between the youth and adults when he says:

Until they (ANC and Inkatha) look seriously at this question of the polarization between the young and older generations, and seek a cultural solution rather than a purely political or socio-economic one, both movements will find themselves in a confusing maze of chaos, while the country slides into anarchy.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

Is this not the problem that faces South Africa, and KwaZulu-Natal region in particular? With appropriate teaching of Ubuntu-Botho and Unit 3 in particular, I believe that some of the problems facing the Black people could be addressed.

I noted that Unit 4 addresses the problem that Mphahlele expressed about the attitude of contempt for rural communities developed by urban communities. Without any further justification of the importance of this unit, I believe that this unit has potential to develop unity among the Blacks which was needed and is still needed for the development of the Black people.

Among the features of education relevant to the Black people was that it should link family life with the school. I believe that Unit 5 has that potential.

Although most of African people have been converted and accept Christianity as their religion, it is a fact that most families still practice some of their traditional African religious rituals. In the past, especially with Bantu Education, the traditional African religious practices were looked down upon and the school played an important role in brainwashing the children against their traditional religion. This caused conflict of interest between the home and the school. What were seen as good practices by the home, the school rejected as barbaric and uncivilized.

Ubuntu-Botho, through Unit 6 dealing with African religion I believe, could bridge the gap between the home and the school. It might make the child view the school as the extension of the home. This might, further, change the view that education was "de-Africanizing" the child and as a result, the nation.

What about the recognition of the agency of the pupils? Unit 5, which deals with environment studies, reveals a recognition of the agency of pupils. This unit offers the pupils the opportunity to plan and initiate community projects. The good example of this is in Std 7 syllabus where pupils are taught about these skills.

Another interesting aspect of this unit is that it deals with the youth problems of modern days. The problem of drugs and alcohol are dealt with; also sex education, among other things, is dealt with in this section.

This, I believe, will enable the teacher to play the role of being an advisor, animator and guide the young people as recommended by the youth of Africa.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

Another important fact which was stressed by the Nairobi meeting was the potential wealth of traditional games and sports. The meeting noted that,

The festive spirit could not be dissociated from the concern to educate the young and to integrate them into the community as full-fledged members ... (it also) aimed at fostering cohesion and fellow-feeling in the group concerned ... (and) it was the driving force for better social and cultural integration.⁽¹⁹²⁾

Under Unit 7, Ubuntu-Botho puts emphasis, as does the Nairobi meeting, on the importance of the cultural activities. Cultural activities are an important element of the success of schools. Magda Oosthuizen in her column "Allegaartie" observes that "they were normal. Just like children ... and they were happy ... Towards me, as any White adult in the area, all children were extremely polite. O yes, I was glanced at very inquisitively. But without a trace of animosity". She goes on to say that the free for all (as the concert was free) proved a big problem. "The town hall was packed with Black pupils".⁽¹⁹³⁾

Let me recapitulate what I have been saying in this section. I have tried to show that Ubuntu-Botho as it is now, in terms of the 1991 revised syllabus, promotes and revives the pride of being the African rather than

of being a Zulu. And, I have argued that to me Ubuntu-Botho address the needs of the African people and therefore, it is an education, or at least should be perceived as education, that is relevant to the African people.

I have done this by using the views of people like Mphahlele and Nxumalo and the youth of Africa about education that is relevant to Africa. From their respective expositions I then drew the list of minimal features of what education relevant to African people should be like. Against that list I considered Ubuntu-Botho as presented in the 1991 revised syllabus.

Then, I conclude that Ubuntu-Botho as presented in this syllabus does have features, or to put in the other way - does satisfy the list of the minimal features of what could be termed an education relevant to the African people.

I do not, however, wish to create the impression that Ubuntu-Botho is the perfect subject without weaknesses.

CHAPTER 5: THE RELEVANCE OF UBUNTU-BOTHO IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

5.1- Weaknesses of Ubuntu-Botho

At the end of the previous chapter I said that Ubuntu-Botho is not a perfect subject. I said that in spite of the improvement I talked about it still has some weaknesses.

One of the weaknesses of Ubuntu-Botho is that as it is now, it is still locked in the past. Its general tone is still that of the resistance against the psychological oppression inflicted by apartheid. In Chapter 1 of this mini-thesis I tried to acquaint the reader with the socio-political discourses of the 1970s, when both the BCM and Inkatha were primarily concerned with the psychological effects of apartheid on the Black people of South Africa. As a result of this concern, I claimed in Chapter 1, Ubuntu-Botho as school subject was introduced in KwaZulu.PE

As the reader may have noticed, Ubuntu-Botho as presented in Chapter 2 of this mini-thesis, is still concerned about the 1970s issue. To me therefore for Ubuntu-Botho to be relevant in the new South Africa, it has to move with the times and cater for the demands of the democratic South Africa.

Enslin, as I noted in Chapter 3 of this mini-thesis, has argued that the notion of nation-building in South Africa will, among other things, promote myths and symbols expressing sexism. According to Enslin, in nationalism women are not depicted as equal citizen members of an inclusive democracy. They are, Enslin argues, portrayed as symbols of

the mother of a nation and idealised as nurturing, suffering and self-sacrificing. They are also dependent and subordinate to male bravery and control.

What is said by Enslin is true of Ubuntu-Botho.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Almost all the names of the people referred to as leaders are males. In the whole syllabus no woman is mentioned by name. Any person knowing the South African history of the struggle against racism and discrimination could question this blunt male chauvinism displayed by Ubuntu-Botho. One could question the role played by Nandi Mhlongo, the mother of King Shaka.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ What about Ma Ntantise of the Tswana people? What about Mkabayi, ka Jama who founded and personally commanded the Abaqulusi regiment, which later in Zulu history was one of the strongest, if not *the* strongest, that fought against the colonists. Nothing is said in Ubuntu-Botho about the role the ANC Women's League in the defiance campaigns of the 1950s. The list of the role of the women in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid is long.

Ubuntu-Botho, needs seriously to consider this weakness.

5.2 Ubuntu-Botho and Democratic Citizenship

For Ubuntu-Botho to move with the times, it needs to concentrate to issues relevant to the democratic South Africa. It has to prepare the children, who will be active citizens in the democratic South Africa without apartheid. It has to teach them about democracy and its importance and value for the development and prosperity of South Africa.

As South Africa is emerging from the bitter and discriminatory past, her people do not have practical experience of democracy. South Africa is

still engulfed by racial suspicion, racial fear and racial tension. Teaching of democracy and thus alienating suspicions, fear and tension is the task that the school, and education in general, should embark on immediately. The school is the only place where most of the South African future citizens are. The school, therefore, has the responsibility of preparing those future citizens.

Ubuntu-Botho, as I have argued in Chapters 3 and 4 was meant to prepare the future citizens to fight against oppression and racial discrimination. Now that the days of apartheid are over Ubuntu-Botho has to re-assess its aims and prepare children for the democratic South Africa. It has to teach them about democracy, liberty and human rights.

I believe that the appeal made by Chester Finn, Jr to the schools in Nicaragua is also relevant to South Africa. Finn says, *inter alia*, that democrats and those democratic countries who value democracy tend to suppose that democracy is robust, self-maintaining and unquenchable.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ He thus warns that

children who never come to understand the principles of democracy, children who fail to acquire a firmly grounded dedication to democracy's preservation and children who do not have solid practice in discharging both the right and the responsibilities of democratic citizenship - such children grow into adults whose democracy can far too easily be snatched away from them.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

He goes on to say that people are, in general, born with an appetite for personal freedom, but they are not born with habits, attitudes and character traits that make democracy possible.

Such things must be acquired. They must be learned. But if they are to be learned, they must be taught.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾

If I may paraphrase what Finn says above and put it in the South African context, it could be said that the Black people of South Africa were born with appetite for their freedom against apartheid. They were, however, not born with habits, attitudes and character traits that made their freedom possible. They had to acquire and learn these things through the Black Consciousness in the case of the BCM and cultural liberation in the case of Inkatha. These things were supposed to be learnt and taught through Ubuntu-Botho in KwaZulu.

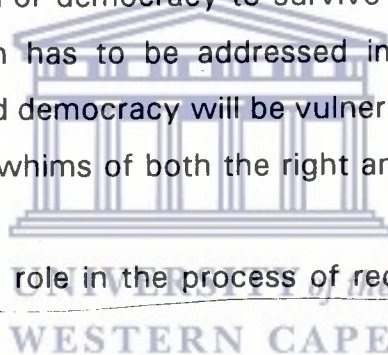
Finn further says, and I believe that is relevant to the people of South Africa, as they are moving towards democracy, that any society which hopes to remain free must ensure that its daughters and sons are carefully and systematically schooled in the theory and practice of democracy, and that they acquire affirmative preference for this over all forms of government.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾

Finn concludes, and I support him, that it is only through schooling and education in general that democracy can endure from one generation to the next. And, it is through education that its roots sink deeply enough into the minds and hearts and souls of the people to be able to withstand the efforts of those who seek to pluck them out.⁽²⁰⁰⁾

The people of South Africa, across the colour and racial lines, have worked hard and sacrificed a lot for their freedom and, thus, democracy. Ubuntu-Botho has played its role in conscientizing the young to fight against apartheid. It has, I strongly believe, in the democratic South Africa, the responsibility to teach the children, using Finn's phrase, the habits, attitudes and character traits to make their hard-earned liberty and democracy endure.

But, in South Africa as I have noted above, there is still racial tension and mistrust among people. For democracy to survive in South Africa, the question of reconciliation has to be addressed immediately. Unless reconciliation is addressed democracy will be vulnerable and will need to be protected against the whims of both the right and the left radicals.

Can Ubuntu-Botho play a role in the process of reconciliation in South Africa?



N.P.

Before I attempt to answer this question, I want to point out that what I am going to say on this question should be viewed as suggestions not as **the** solution to the problem of reconciliation. The problems of South Africa are complex and they cannot be solved by few ideas put at the end of a mini-thesis.

I also wish that the reader could consider my suggestions as what could be the possible role of Ubuntu-Botho in the democratic South Africa.

In Chapter 4 of this mini-thesis, I have argued that Ubuntu-Botho is a subject that was meant to address the needs of African people in South Africa. It was meant, among other things, to revive the pride of being an

African in the African children. In the BCM terminology it means to revive the idea that "Black is beautiful".

What are the possible consequences of this? The reader will agree with me, I believe, in that the positive result of this is that some Black people have rediscovered themselves and revived their self-esteem and this self-realization. In Chapter 4 I have argued strongly for this. I might also well add that the self-realization of Black people has contributed to putting South Africa where it is today. Black self-realization has undoubtedly successfully countered the influence of Bantu Education in the minds of Black children.

This on the other hand has revived Black unity and Black pride at the expense of other racial groups in South Africa. The "one settler one bullet" and "kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogans are classical examples of the racial polarization in South Africa.

We should not underestimate the role played by apartheid in the racial polarization of the South African society. To do that, I believe, would be naive. South African society is as of now a divided society. There is strong racial prejudice and also what David Welton⁽²⁰¹⁾ calls ethnocentrism, from both sides of the racial lines.

Welton defines ethnocentrism as "the tendency to judge other individuals and cultures from one's cultural viewpoint".⁽²⁰²⁾ And, prejudice (racial) is seen by Deborah Byrnes as an attitude by one racial group towards different racial groups. This attitude can manifest itself in racial jokes, racial slurs and cruelty towards other racial groups.⁽²⁰³⁾

I believe that the reader will agree with me again that in South African society both racial prejudice and ethnocentrism are evident.

Byrnes in her article claims that racial prejudice and ethnocentrism are incompatible with democracy. Any society, according to her, that values democracy, equality and individual rights and responsibilities as tenets of democracy should, and has the responsibility, to communicate this to children by working against racial prejudice and ethnocentrism.

Byrnes adds that

Education that is consonant with such principles should teach children to understand their own rights and the rights of others and to have concern for the well-being and dignity of all.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

As South Africa is now a democratic society, how can the problem of racial prejudice and ethnocentrism be addressed? Can the suggestions made by Enslin and Tamir as discussed in Chapter 3 of the mini-thesis adequately address this problem?

Enslin in her argument against education for nationhood in South Africa suggests that, among other things, education for the democratic South Africa should develop an autonomous individual. Education should not, as far as Enslin is concerned, "encourage pupils to embrace false beliefs".⁽²⁰⁵⁾ It should educate for democracy.

Enslin's argument implies that children should, presumably at the earliest possible stage, be taught to think rationally and be independent persons. If one takes Enslin's argument to its logical conclusion, it means that education should disregard the influence of the home background in the

child. Education, and teachers to be exact, should take the child as someone with no background knowledge. In other words a kind of a "tabula rasa".

Obviously, what Enslin suggests cannot be true. A child comes to school with experience, knowledge and ideas from home and from her peers. Frances Sonnenschein⁽²⁰⁶⁾ supports this claim as she notes that children enter school with prejudice already acquired from parents, peers and the various socializing agencies in the community. She continues to say that,

children have already developed a complete set of stereotypes about every ethnic, racial and racial group in society.⁽²⁰⁷⁾

My understanding of Enslin is that in her quest to "educate for democracy" she does not take the child's background into consideration. Although she also claims that reconciliation is urgently required in South Africa, the kind of autonomous individual she argues that education should promote, seems to me unlikely to help to promote reconciliation. Her model of an autonomous individual does not, as I have noted above, take the influence of socializing agencies into consideration.

I also think that the kind of an autonomous individual Enslin talks about, is likely to be achieved in the liberal democratic societies with a long tradition of individualism, as John Martin Rich⁽²⁰⁸⁾ points out. Rich also says that [and I believe that is true with many communities in South Africa];

The latter point about tradition is important because modern Japan, a democratic nation,

does not advocate autonomy as an educational goal because an extended tradition of group consciousness and loyalty that suppresses emergent propensities towards individualism.⁽²⁰⁹⁾

Enslin's claim, I believe, cannot solve the problem of racial prejudice and ethnocentrism in South Africa. The reader should however note that the rejection of Enslin's suggestion does not mean rejecting democracy. For democracy to succeed in South Africa, it is my belief that there are factors that need to be taken into consideration.

Tamir on the other hand suggests that in a multi-racial and multi-cultural country for each cultural group "room must be made for cultural and educational autonomy".⁽²¹⁰⁾ Education for Tamir must prepare individuals to take part in both spheres of discourse, that is, both as members of the state (citizens) and as members of the cultural groups (nations).

In the South African context, this could mean that Zulu children, Indians, Muslims, Sothos, Afrikaners, English, etc., would have to be taught separate and different national education. In a multi-cultural school it means that at a certain time children would have to be separated according to their respective national and/or cultural groups. In addition, according to Tamir, all members of the state would have to be "knowledgeable about each other's culture, history and tradition and be taught to respect them."⁽²¹¹⁾

The important point Tamir is making here is that the cultural and/or national groups have to be separated when it comes to the education for nationhood. Can such a scheme be used for the democratic South Africa?

Knowing the history of South Africa, the obvious answer to this question is: NO. Accepting such a scheme will mean that South Africa will be going back to the apartheid era. There is no way that such a scheme could promote the racial reconciliation which South Africa urgently needs as Enslin noted. This will contribute to the perpetuation of racial prejudice and ethnocentrism.

What can then be done in South Africa?

NOTE
As I said earlier that what I am going to say here are merely suggestions for the democratic South African education and a possible role for Ubuntu-Botho in the democratic South Africa.

In Chapter 3 of this mini-thesis I argued that South Africa is, among other things, a multi-cultural country. To me education should, therefore, recognise this fact while it also promotes democracy. If democracy means equality, justice and human dignity as Tamir has argued, it means that individuals and groups should have cultural freedom, just as they have political freedom. They should have cultural freedom to practice their culture as the source of their own self-esteem. This freedom should, however, be exercised as long as it does not conflict and undermine the principles and values of democracy which I presume will be the goal of the democratic South Africa.

Education and Ubuntu-Botho in particular, in the democratic South Africa should help pupils to acquire the skills needed fully to participate in the democratic South Africa. But, it should not alienate them from their cultural background. It should inculcate in the pupils membership of their cultural communities and also to a greater South African community.

Although I have said a lot on the importance of the cultural heritages in the education of the child in Chapter 3 and other parts of this mini-thesis, I believe what James A. Banks⁽²¹²⁾ says on the issue is important to clarify what I said above. Banks says about the importance of cultural communities:

The primordial communities in which students are socialized deeply influence their behaviour, their notions of what is right or wrong, and their fundamental beliefs about the world in which they live. Students' ideas about the sacred and the secular, and the importance of each in their lives, are also cogently shaped by their cultural communities. Many of the problems that develop between the school and the community, and many of the cultural disparities that students experience, are caused by conflicting values, beliefs and behaviour that are taught by home and the school.⁽²¹³⁾

Enslin in her argument for the development of an autonomous person, speaks of the kind of person needed for a modern industrial society. Enslin is highly suspicious (and possibly hostile) towards national beliefs and cultures. Banks notes that although the schools (American) are secular and scientific, as implied in Enslin's notion of an autonomous person,

Yet, many students are socialized in homes and communities in which the sacred is valued

more than the secular and the scientific, and in which traditional cultural beliefs and values are strongly held.⁽²¹⁴⁾

I believe that what Banks says in the above quotation is true with the most of South African people. It is therefore on this premise that I will base my suggestions for the possible future role of Ubuntu-Botho in the democratic South Africa.

In the democratic South Africa, I suggest that Ubuntu-Botho should help pupils to resolve the conflicts that could arise from the individual identification with her cultural group and the promotion of democracy and national unity of South Africa. It should help the pupil to maintain her cultural community identity as well as to understand and maintain a healthy relationship with other cultural communities which make up South African society.

Apartheid in South Africa has for decades divided people into different racial, religious, ethnical and social groups. Education was also divided along these lines. As the result of these divisions most pupils have had very little experience of contact with different racial, religious, ethnic and cultural groups. Some of the affluent members of the South African society have managed, in one way or the other, to break these limitations imposed by apartheid. But, for the majority of people, particularly those poor urban and rural people apartheid has deprived them the opportunity to mix with others across the social, religious and cultural lines.

Ubuntu-Botho in future could help pupils to understand and know other people's cultures. This could be done by introducing as part of its syllabus various cultural tendencies existing in South Africa. By juxtaposing different cultures, I believe, pupils can get an opportunity of

viewing and critically understanding their culture from the perspective of other cultures. This could also contribute to racial reconciliation and tolerance because pupils will be put in the position to understand behaviours of different cultural groups which might have, without critical understanding, been perceived as strange.

Different cultures should be accorded fair and equal treatment in Ubuntu-Botho . Both what Welton⁽²¹⁵⁾ calls the cultural absolutism and cultural relativism should be avoided. These tendencies could prevent pupils from understanding and appreciating the similarities, despite cultural variations, in the South African community.

The reader should, however, note that knowledge about different cultures cannot alone reduce racial prejudice and ethnocentrism.

To reduce racial prejudice and ethnocentrism Ubuntu-Botho will have to promote social contact between the various groups. This, I believe, could be done by, among other ways, promoting cultural activities like dances. As was noted in Chapter 4 the cultural activities in KwaZulu schools had an element of success, I believe they could also work among various groups.

Another way could be through the involvement of pupils in common projects, for instance, the environment preservation projects, and the road safety projects. Youth camps I believe could also promote social contacts. On the importance of social contacts, Byrnes notes that:

Children who, in supportive environments, have positive goal oriented interactions with equal

status individuals belonging to different groups show improved attitudes towards those groups.⁽²¹⁶⁾

Ubuntu-Botho could also provide information and create activities that will help the child to develop the sense of self-esteem. The self-confident individual as Byrnes⁽²¹⁷⁾ notes is likely to decrease the level of prejudice and hatred. Emphasising the importance of the individual child as the valuable future citizen of South Africa and also emphasising basic human rights, individual rights and freedom could be one of the aspects that Ubuntu-Botho could concentrate on.

To put in a nutshell what I was saying above: Ubuntu-Botho should, in the democratic South Africa, prepare pupils to be democratic future citizens. It has therefore to be a subject for what Shirley H. Engle and Anna Ochoa call the subject for "democratic citizenship".⁽²¹⁸⁾

Ubuntu-Botho should aim to provide what C Nziramasanga⁽²¹⁹⁾ calls integrated knowledge: skills and values that give learners a clear understanding of fundamental unity and interdependence among the people of South Africa. It has also to provide knowledge on interdependence between human being and their environment. The knowledge and skills acquired from Ubuntu-Botho, as Nziramasanga suggests, should inculcate positive attitudes towards society, heritage, other peoples and their cultures and towards one's own nation, its laws, customs and traditions.

Emphasising what I said earlier about accepting the cultural diversity of the people of South Africa, Nziramasanga says the subject to prepare pupils for democratic citizenship, should also

develop responsible attitudes towards citizenship as a fundamental duty to one's country in particular and to other people in general, to appreciate the contribution of the past, to understand the problems and the hopes of the present, and to prepare for the aspirations of the tomorrow.⁽²²⁰⁾

Nziramasanga also suggests that the subject for democratic citizenship should pull together the present fragmented subject matters of history, geography, sociology and other social sciences. It should therefore, in the words of Nziramasanga, "provide knowledge to learners in coherent ways that relate to life situations"⁽²²¹⁾ I believe that the structure of the present syllabus of Ubuntu-Botho does provide the learner, as Nziramasanga suggests, with knowledge related to life situations.

Knowledge that could be provided by the subject for democratic citizenship, which I suggest Ubuntu-Botho should be, will also satisfy the condition put by Enslin that an autonomous person should be well informed about the range of issues - social, political and economic.⁽²²²⁾

My suggestions, particularly my emphasis on the recognition and acceptance of the cultural heritages of different cultural groups might not be accepted by people like Enslin. Such people could object on the grounds that this might lead to factional nationalism and thus undermine the national unity of South Africa.

Against such an objection we can place Banks's observation that in the United States attempts by American schools to alienate individuals from cultural backgrounds to develop strong national loyalty has failed.⁽²²³⁾

Banks says that, and I agree with him, individuals must have positive, clarified and reflective commitments and identification with their cultural groups before they can develop reflective and positive identifications with their national culture.⁽²²⁴⁾ He calls this phenomenon using Goodlad's terminology, "the philosophy of self-transcendence". Goodlad, as cited by Banks, writes,

The philosophy of self-transcendence argues that strong feelings of self-worth are prerequisite to and perhaps instrumental in acquiring close identification with others.⁽²²⁵⁾

In terms of "the philosophy of self-transcendence" education in South Africa, to develop the unity and reconciliation so much desired, has to recognise the cultural diversity of South African society. It should have space for cultural democracy. This in return will help students from diverse cultural backgrounds to develop a commitment to national values and concerns by respecting, acknowledging and understanding their diverse cultures.

In conclusion, it is my belief that Ubuntu-Botho, if it allows and accommodates cultural democracy, can develop the sense, among various cultural groups, of being a meaningful part of South Africa. A sense of positive national identification can grow out of respect for our cultural diversity. I do not think any individuals or groups which are denied the right to exist by any state can positively and proudly identify with that state. For the democratic South African government to survive it needs the support of all the people of South Africa. I believe, that Ubuntu-Botho, by accepting the cultural democracy, can provide that support.

I am, however, aware that my suggestions cannot be implemented without difficulty. They are vulnerable, as democracy is, to all kinds of misuses. But as Finn noted above, for democracy to survive its roots have to sink deeply into the minds and hearts and souls of the people. The best way to do that is to teach future citizens the habits and attitudes and character traits of democracy. A subject in a good position to do that is Ubuntu-Botho.



NOTES

CHAPTER 1: THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

1. H.W. Vilakazi, *South Africa Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* New Jersey: Essex Country College, n.d., p.23. I am aware that Vilakazi's analysis of the situation under discussion is over-simplistic. But for the purpose of the mini-thesis I believe that this analysis will suffice.
2. Ibid, p.23.
3. Ibid, p.24.
4. Ibid, p.24.
5. *A Survey of Race Relations*, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1972, p.239.
6. A. Stadler, *The Political Economy of Modern South Africa* Cape Town: David Phillip, 1989, p.132.
7. Ibid, p.133.
8. M. Horrell, *The African Homelands of South Africa* Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1973, p.41.
9. Ibid, p.53.
10. *A Survey of Race Relations*, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1973, p.319.
11. Ibid, pp. 353-354.
12. J.K. Ngubane, *Conflict of Minds*, New York: Books in Focus, 1979, p.246.
13. S. Biko, *I Write What I Like*, London: Heinemann, 1979, p.144.
14. Ibid, p.144.
15. Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983, p.323.
16. M. Motlhobi *Black Resistance to Apartheid*, Johannesburg. Skotaville, 1984. p.108.
17. S. Biko, *op cit.* pp.144-145.
18. Ibid, p.48.

19. Ibid, p.49.
20. Ibid, p.27.
21. This view was later changed. At the 1979 AZAPO conference there were attempts to work out the race/class question, see e.g. N. Gibbon "Black Consciousness 1977-1987: The Dialects of Liberation in South Africa" in *Africa Today* First Quarter, 1988.
22. S. Biko, *op cit.* p.51.
23. Ibid, pp. 27-28.
24. Ibid, p.146.
25. Ibid, p.147.
26. Ibid, p.52.
27. Ibid, p.52.
28. Ibid, p.31.
29. Ibid, p.57.
30. Ibid, p.31.
31. Ibid, pp.29-30.
32. Ibid, p.29.
33. S.M.E. Bengu was the first Secretary General of Inkatha. There are claims that the first Inkatha constitution was drawn up by him after consultation with the ANC - see e.g. N. Moake "Multi-cultural relations in a post-apartheid South Africa" in *African Affairs* 1992, 91, p.595 . This has been denied by Buthelezi - see e.g. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, *Evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee*, House of Commons, London: 1986, p.9.
34. S.M.E. Bengu, "Cultural liberation and the South African experience" in *Cultural Liberation Principles and Practices*, Durban: University of Natal, 1977, p.2.
35. Ibid, p.2.
36. S.M.E. Bengu "Definition of concepts and principles against the African background" in *op cit.* p.1.



37. S.M.E. Bengu, "The African cultural liberation identity movement" in *op cit.* 3 p.2.
38. S.M.E. Bengu: "Cultural liberation and the South African experience" in *op cit.* p.3.
39. Ibid, p.5.
40. Ibid, p.6.
41. O.D. Dhomo "The strategy of Inkatha and its critics" in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, xviii, 1-2, 1983 p.52.
42. Dr O.D. Dhomo succeeded Dr S.M.E. Bengu as a Secretary-General of Inkatha. Dhomo was also the Minister of Education and Culture in KwaZulu.
43. Ibid, p.53.
44. W. Dé Kock, *Usuthu Cry Peace*, Cape Town: Gallery Press, 1986 p.83.
45. Ibid, p.109.
46. "Africa Focus" in *Africa Insight*, Vol. 14 No. 4, 1984, p.271.
47. Department of Education and Culture, *Policy Speech*, Ulundi: 1976.
48. Department of Education and Culture, *Policy Speech*, Ulundi: 1978.
49. Department of Education and Culture, *Policy Speech*, Ulundi, 1978.
50. W. de Kock. *op cit.* p.79.
51. Ibid. p.82.
52. *Inhlabamkhosi Magazine*, Bureau of Communication, Ulundi, n.d. p.12.

CHAPTER 2: UBUNTU-BOTHO

53. J.K. Ngubane, *Conflict of Minds*, New York: Books in Focus, 1979, p.251.
54. Ibid, p.261.
55. A.M. Mpontshane, "Ubuntu-Botho as a weapon for African upliftment," *Maphumulo*, 1989, p.4.

56. P. Mdluli, "Ubuntu-Botho: Inkatha's 'People's Education'", in *Transformation* 5, 1987, p.64.
57. E.J. Marais, "African thought" in *Africa Insight*, Vol. 14 No. 4, 1984.
58. P. Mdluli, *op cit.* p.60.
59. Ibid p.74.
60. Ibid, p.72.
61. Ibid, p.72.
62. Ibid, p.72.
63. Ibid, p.66.
64. Ibid, p.73.
65. E.J. Marais, *op cit.* p.264.
66. Ibid, p.264.
67. Ibid, p.264.
68. Ibid, p.264.
69. Ibid, p.264.
70. Ibid, p.264.
71. Ibid, p.265.
72. J.K. Ngubane, *op cit.* p.77.
73. Ibid, p.77.
74. Ibid, p.64.
75. See also the analysis made by Marais on p.265.
76. E.J. Marais, *op cit.* p. 265.
77. Ibid, p.265.
78. Ibid, p.266.
79. Ibid, p.266.
80. J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966, p.121.
81. Ibid, p.166.
82. Ibid, p.170.



83. Ibid, p.9.
84. Ibid, p.9.
85. Ibid, p.13
86. J.K. Ngubane, *op cit.* p.260.
87. J.K. Nyerere, *op cit.* p.14.
88. Ibid, p.16.
89. Memorandum to the Secretary, Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu, 12 June 1991.
90. **Annual Report 1989**, Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu Government Service.
91. Ubuntu-Botho/Good Citizenship, Syllabus for Primary and Secondary/High Schools 1978, Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu Government Service.



CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION, NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

92. P. Enslin "Should nation-building be an aim of education?" Inaugural lecture. University of the Witwatersrand 22 September 1993, and Y. Tamir, "Democracy, nationalism and education" in *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1992.
93. P. Enslin, *op cit.* p.6.
94. Ibid, pp.6-7.
95. Y. Tamir, *op cit* p.
96. P. Enslin, *op cit.* p.7.
97. Ibid, p.7.
98. Ibid, p.7.
99. Ibid, p.9.

56. P. Mdluli, "Ubuntu-Botho: Inkatha's 'People's Education'", in *Transformation* 5, 1987, p.64.
57. E.J. Marais, "African thought" in *Africa Insight*, Vol. 14 No. 4, 1984.
58. P. Mdluli, *op cit.* p.60.
59. *Ibid* p.74.
60. *Ibid*, p.72.
61. *Ibid*, p.72.
62. *Ibid*, p.72.
63. *Ibid*, p.66.
64. *Ibid*, p.73.
65. E.J. Marais, *op cit.* p.264.
66. *Ibid*, p.264.
67. *Ibid*, p.264.
68. *Ibid*, p.264.
69. *Ibid*, p.264.
70. *Ibid*, p.264.
71. *Ibid*, p.265.
72. J.K. Ngubane, *op cit.* p.77.
73. *Ibid*, p.77.
74. *Ibid*, p.64.
75. See also the analysis made by Marais on p.265.
76. E.J. Marais, *op cit.* p. 265.
77. *Ibid*, p.265.
78. *Ibid*, p.266.
79. *Ibid*, p.266.
80. J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966, p.121.
81. *Ibid*, p.166.
82. *Ibid*, p.170.



100. Ibid, p.10.
101. Ibid, p.9.
102. Ibid, p.9.
103. Ibid, p.9.
102. Ibid, p.10.
103. Ibid, p.9.
104. Ibid, p.10.
105. Ibid, pp. 11-12.
106. Ibid, p.17.
107. Ibid, p.18.
108. Ibid, p.18.
109. Ibid, p.19.
110. Ibid, p.20.
111. Ibid, pp.20-21.
112. Tamir, *op cit*.
113. Ibid, p.18.
114. Ibid, p.18.
115. Ibid, p.19.
116. Ibid, p.19.
117. Ibid, p.21.
118. Ibid, pp.21-22.
119. Ibid, p.23.
120. Ibid, p.22.
121. Ibid, p.22.
122. Ibid, p.22.
123. Ibid, p.22.
124. Ibid, p.23.
125. Tamir favours to use the term "coaching" rather than "teaching". Ibid, p.23.
126. Ibid, p.23.
127. Ibid, p.24.



128. Ibid, pp.24-25.
129. Ibid, p.24.
130. Ibid, p.24.
131. Ibid, p.25.
132. Ibid, p.26.
133. R. Rorty, "Education without dogma" in *Dialogue* No. 88, 1990.
134. Ibid, p.45.
135. R.S. Peters, "Education as Initiation" in R.D. Archambault (ed.), *Philosophical Analysis and Education*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968, p.104.
136. R. Rorty, *op cit.*, p.47.
137. P. Enslin, *op cit.*, p.14.
138. A. Lipton, "Cultural heritage and the relationship to self-esteem" in *The Journal of Educational Sociology*", Vol. 36, No. 5, p.211.
139. *The Argus* (article), Monday October 25 1993.
140. P. Enslin, *op cit.* p.24.
141. P. Mdluli, "Ubuntu-Botho: Inkatha's 'People's Education'" in *Transformation* (5), 1987.

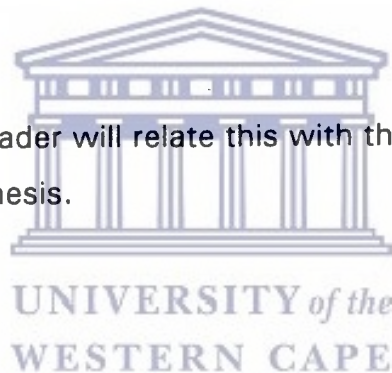
CHAPTER 4: UBUNTU-BOTHO AS EDUCATIONALLY RELEVANT TO AFRICANS

142. P. Mdluli, "Ubuntu-Botho: Inkatha's 'People's Education'" in *Transformation*(5), 1987.
143. M.G. Buthelezi is the president of Inkatha and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu homeland government.
144. E. Mphahlele, "Alternative institutions of education for Africans in South Africa: An exploration of rationale, goals and directions" in *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. 60, No. 1 1990.

145. Unesco *Youth, Tradition and Development in Africa, Regional Meeting on Youth in Africa, Nairobi, Kenya, 17-22 December 1979*: France, Unesco, 1991.
146. P. Mdluli, *op cit.* p.65.
147. Ibid, p.66.
148. Ibid, p.67.
149. Ibid, p.68.
150. The books Mdluli quotes in his article are written in Zulu.
151. The word "isizwe" in Zulu could also mean the tribe.
152. P. Mdluli, *op cit.* p.70.
153. Ibid, p.71.
154. Ibid, p.71.
155. Ibid, p.71.
156. Ibid, p.73.
157. Ibid, p.75.
158. Ubuntu-Botho: Good Citizenship (Books 1 to 6) KwaZulu Booksellers, Pietermaritzburg, 1980-1985.
159. City Press (article) 31/01/1993.
160. In Chapter 2 of this work I made a comment on the appearance of Inkatha in this class.
161. The reader should note that Mdluli does not mention that the PAC, like the ANC, is not covered in 1978 syllabus.
162. P. Mdluli, *op cit.* p.73.
163. Ibid, p.75.
164. Ibid, p.75.
165. A. Lipton, "Cultural heritage and the relationship to self-esteem." in *The Journal of Educational Sociology*. Vol. 36, No. 5, p.211.
166. O.D. Dhlomo, "The function and content of the subject History in the curriculum for the African High School" in *Paidonomia*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p.21.



167. N.P. Moake, "Multi-cultural relations in a post-apartheid South Africa" in *African Affairs* (1992), 91, p.594.
168. Ibid, p.595.
169. Ibid, p.595.
170. Ibid, p.19.
171. F. Dunlop, "On the democratic organization of schools" in *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol. 9, 1979, p.53.
172. E. Mphahlele, *op cit*.
173. Ibid, p.37.
174. Ibid, p.44.
175. Ibid, p.38.
176. Ibid, p.41. I hope the reader will relate this with the discussion on BCM on Chapter 1 of this mini-thesis.
177. Ibid, p.41.
178. Ibid, p.41.
179. Ibid, p.45.
180. (a) O.E.H.M. Nxumalo "The relevance of education for the Black man" in *Paidomonia*, Vol. 6 No. 1.
180. (b) The reader should also note the argument I made in Chapter 3 of this mini-thesis in favour of the consideration of cultural heritage of the child in the process of socialisation.
181. Ibid, p.41.
182. Unesco, *op cit*.
183. Ibid, p.23.
184. Ibid, p.31.
185. O.E.H.M. Nxumalo, *op cit*. p.40.
186. Unesco, *op cit*. p.38.
187. Ibid, p.39. Also note that the point of cultural diversity of each country is also noted by Tamir in her work as discussed in Chapter 3 of this mini-thesis.



188. Ibid, pp.42-47.
189. M. Motlhabi, *Black Resistance to Apartheid*, Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1984, pp.118-119.
190. N.P. Moake, *op cit.* pp.603-604.
191. Unesco, *op cit.* p.38.
192. Ibid, p.21.
193. *South Coast Sun* (article) 13/09/91. The translation is mine.



CHAPTER 5: THE RELEVANCE OF UBUNTU-BOTHO IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

194. P. Mdluli in his criticism of Ubuntu-Botho also notes this weakness. (see Chapter 3).
195. Note also the examples made by O.D. Dhlomo in Chapter 3.
196. C.E. Finn Jr "Teaching democracy: Why and How it must be taught in a democratic society" remarks in Nicaragua Civic Education Conference, Nicaragua, June 1991, p.1.
197. Ibid, p.2.
198. Ibid, p.2.
199. Ibid, p.2.
200. Ibid, pp.2-3.
201. D.A. Welton. "Social studies and the elementary teacher" in *Social Education* October 1985, Vol. 49, No. 7.
202. Ibid, p.604.
203. D.A. Byrnes, "Children and prejudice" in *Social Education* Vol. 52, No. 4 April/May 1988 p.267.
204. Ibid, p.267.

205. P. Enslin "Should nation-building be an aim of education?" Inaugural Lecture, University of the Witwatersrand, 22 September 1993, p.19.
206. F.M. Sonnenschein "Countering prejudiced beliefs and behaviours: The role of the Social Studies professionals" in *Social Education* Vol. 52 No. 4 April/May 1988.
207. Ibid, p.265.
208. J.M. Rich, "Autonomy and the purpose of schooling" in *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, vol. 18 No. 2, 1986, p.35.
209. Ibid, p.35. This is also true with the views of the role of the individual in the Southern African Black communities. See this on the views expressed by Inkatha and BCM as reported in Chapter 1 and also the views expressed by Nyerere in Chapter 2 of this mini-thesis.
210. Y. Tamir, "Democracy, nationalism and education" in *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, vol. 24, No. 1, 1992, p.23.
211. Ibid, p.25.
212. J.A. Banks, "Cultural democracy, citizenship education, and the American dream" in *Social Education* Vol. 47 No. 3, March 1983.
213. Ibid, p.222.
214. Ibid, p.222.
215. D.A. Welton, *op cit.* pp.605-606. Welton refers to cultural absolutism as the tendency to regard one's culture as superior and thus denigrate all other cultures. Cultural relativism on the other hand is an attitude which might be seen as the tolerance of other cultures. An example is when individual would say "well, we have our way and they have theirs".
216. D.A. Byrnes, *op cit.* p.269.
217. Ibid, p.269.
218. S.H. Engle and A. Ochoa "A curriculum for democratic citizenship" in *Social Education* Vol. 50 No. 7, November/December 1986. p.514.
219. C. Nziramasanga "A view from Zimbabwe" in *Social Education* vol. 53 No. 1, January 1989, p.25.

220. Ibid, p.25.

221. (a) Ibid, p.25. I also want to draw the attention of the reader to the structure of Ubuntu-Botho syllabus and the manner in which information from various disciplines is included in the syllabus as different units.

(b) Also note what Mphahlele in Chapter 4 of this mini-thesis is saying about the activities of the Council for Black Education and Research.

222. P. Enslin, *op cit.* p.7.

223. I believe that what Banks says about America is also true with many African states who tried to forge national unity and ignore the cultural backgrounds of various cultural or ethnic groups.

224. In Tamir's language the national culture is that of the ruling cultural group.

225. J.A. Banks, *op cit.*, p.230.



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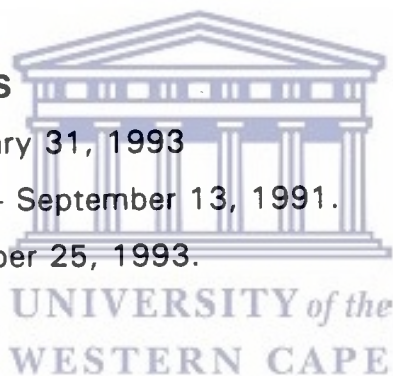
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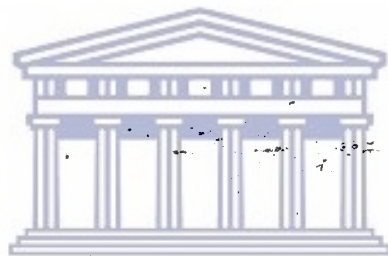
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SYLLABUS FOR UBUNTU/BOTHO



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

KwaZulu GOVERNMENT SERVICES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
1991

<https://etd.uwc.ac.za/>

S S A

UNIT 1: UBUNTU

- (a) Ubuntu - Philosophy and Practices.
- (b) The Zulu family - kinship ties, parent - child relationship.

5.2 Safety First - harm habits (throwing stones, hanging out of windows in buses, riding on the backs of moving buses or other vehicles, breaking bottles on paths and roads, playing with sharp objects, lying etc.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA

African Religion..

2.1 The story of Inkatha

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL

- (a) what it is.
- (b) what it stands for.
- (c) why it is necessary.

2.2 Zulus as a Nation

2.2.1 Nationbuilding:

- (a) Shaka
- (b) Dingane

2.2.2 National Unity:

Inkatha by King Solomon

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE

Oral Traditions: Izithakazelo
Izinganekwane

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFE STYLE

4.1 Rural Life - Characteristics, needs and Problems.

4.2 Urban Life - Characteristics, needs and Problems.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

5.1 Sound health is essential in building up a strong nation. Essential food constituents for a healthy body. Name some enemies of good health (fifth, starvation, some insects etc.)



UNIT 1: UBUNTU

- 1.1 Ubuntu - Philosophy and Practices.
- 1.2 The Zulu Family
 - 1.2.1 Kinship ties: blood relationship by birth.
 - 1.2.2 Parent-Child relationship.

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA.

- 2.1 Nation building:
 - 2.1.1 Mpande.
 - 2.1.2 Cetshwayo.
 - 2.1.3 Dinuzulu.
- 2.2 The role of young people in nationbuilding and nation progress (identity, education etc).
- 2.3 Relationship between adult and youth in nationbuilding: early times before Western influence; modern times.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

Oral Tradition: Izithakazelo; Izinganekwane etc.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFESTYLE.

- 4.1 Rural Life - Characteristics, needs and problems.
- 4.2 Urban Life - Characteristics, needs and problems.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Enemies of good health: smoking, alcohol, drugs etc.
- 5.2 Safety first: Review of SSA syllabus.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

- 6.1 Unifying role of religion - refer to African religion.
- 6.2 Religion, morality and good conduct.

UNIT 7 - PRACTICAL



STD I

UNIT I: UBUNTU

- 1.1 Ubuntu: Philosophy and practices e.g. Communication.
- 1.2 The story of the Liberation struggle in South Africa before 1960.
 - 1.2.1 The arrival of the whites
 - 1.2.2 Their influence on the African way of life.

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA.

- 2.1 African reaction to whiteman's arrival.
 - 2.1.1 King Shaka and his humanity towards the arrival and reception of the whites within his kingdom.
 - 2.1.2 King Dingane and his relation with the whites.
 - 2.1.3 Events leading to the battle of Encombe in 1838.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 Oral Tradition:
 - 3.1.1 Brief explanation of what oral tradition is.
 - 3.1.2 Izithakazelo; Izinganekwane; Iziphicaphicwano etc.

UNIT 5. ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1. Health Habits.
 - 5.1.1 Danger of smoking.
 - 5.1.2 Physical fitness.
 - 5.1.3 Nutrition.
- 5.2. Goodcitizenship.
 - 5.2.1 Respect for public property.

- 5.2.2 Avoidance of littering.
- 5.2.3 Open fires (dangerous/avoidance).

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

- 6.1 Principles of christianity comparable to those of african religion.
 - 6.1.1 Concern for your neighbour.
 - 6.1.2 Unity in religious ceremonies and rituals.

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL



STANDARD 2

UNIT 1: UBUNTU

- 1.1 Principles.
- 1.2 African Communalism (Practices).
Ilimo; Ingina; Ukuganiselana.

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA.

- 2.1 African Reaction to whiteman's arrival.
- 2.2 King Mpande and the role of whites in the battle of Ndodakusuka in 1856.
 - 2.1.2 King Cetshwayo and events which led to the battle of Isandlwana and Ulundi in 1879.
 - 2.1.3 The reign of King Dinuzulu and the events which resulted in the Bambata resistance in 1906.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 Practices of African Culture and their Importance.
 - 3.1.1 Sharing.
 - 3.1.2 Greeting.
 - 3.1.3 African Dance.
- 3.2 Oral Tradition: The role of the ff. in African Culture:
 - 3.2.1 Izibongo
 - 3.2.2 Music
 - 3.2.3 Izaga nezisho. (with emphasis on Ubuntu.)

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFESTYLE.

The importance of supporting the African business organisations and their role in african communities.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Ecological Studies: Nature Conservation.
 - 5.1.1 Planting of trees
 - 5.1.2 Green Revolution: flower and vegetable gardens.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES

- 6.1 African Religious Rituals and their significance:
 - 6.1.1 Ukusukela.
 - 6.1.2 Ukuzila (after the death of family relative).
 - 6.1.3 Umngcwabo.
 - 6.1.4 Ancestral worship (Ukuthetha amadlozi).
 - 6.1.5 Ihlambo.

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL



STANDARD 3

UNIT 1: UBUNTU.

- 1.1 Ubuntu: the principles and practices.
- 1.2 The story of the ANC up to 1960.
- 1.3 The formation of the PAC up to 1960.
- 1.4 The formation of Inkatha.

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA.

- 2.1 The contribution of Educational leaders in the Liberation struggle:
 - 2.1.1 Prof Z K Mathews.
 - 2.1.2 Dr J S Moroka.
 - 2.1.3 Dr J L Dube.
 - 2.1.4 Prof S B Ngcobo.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 African Cultural Practices:
 - 3.1.1 Ukubutha.
 - 3.1.2 Ukujuba.
 - 3.1.3 Umkhosi womhlanga.
- 3.2 African Communalism:
 - 3.2.1 Ukvenana.
 - 3.2.2 Ukusisa.
 - 3.2.3 Barter system.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFESTYLE.

- 4.1 Problems of modern life and how to cope with them:

- 4.1.1 Unemployment.
- 4.1.2 Poverty.
- 4.1.3 Housing.
- 4.1.4 Education.
- 4.1.5 Industrialization.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Stress on the role of the youth.
- 5.2 Water conservation projects.
- 5.3 Recycling of metals e.g. copper and paperwaste.
- 5.4 Ecological studies:
 - 5.4.1 Nature Conservation.
 - 5.4.2 Local tree and plant values.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

- 6.1 African religious rituals and their spiritual significance.
- 6.2 Christianity in South Africa: a brief history.
 - 6.2.1 The role of missionaries in South Africa in the promotion of Education among africans.
 - 6.2.2 The role of missionaries in the shaping up of a political future for africans.
- 6.2.3 The role of missionaries in Western medical training and practice.

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL.



STANDARD 4.

UNIT 1: UBUNTU.

- 1.1 Ubuntu: The principle and practices.
- 1.2 The responsibilities of a citizen to:
 - 1.2.1 The Family.
 - 1.2.2 The Nation.
 - 1.2.3 The State (country).
 - 1.2.4 The Breadwinner.
- 1.3 The role of the youth in nationbuilding.

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA.

- 2.1 The stories of leading personalities in the liberation struggle.
 - 2.1.1 Pixley kaIsaka Seme
 - 2.1.2 Inkosi A J Luthuli.
 - 2.1.3 Sol. T Piatjle.
 - 2.1.4 J T Jabavu.
- 2.2 The story of the I.C.U. with reference to the role played by its prominent leaders, viz.
 - 2.2.1 Clement Kadille.
 - 2.2.2 A W G Champion.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE

- 3.1 African Communalism.
 - 3.1.1 Ilobolo.
 - 3.1.2 Ukwenana/Ukwethekela.
- 3.2 Oral Traditions: Imlolozelo and Izibongo zamakhosi,

Izinganekwane.

- 3.3 Cultural Renaissance - Music;
- 3.4 Traditions eg. Umkhosi womhlanga; ukubuthwa.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFESTYLE.

- 4.1 Problems of Modern life style.
 - 4.1.1.1 Unemployment.
 - 4.1.1.2 Housing.
 - 4.1.1.3 Ukwanda kobulelesi/Hooliganism.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Possible Nature Conservation Projects.-
 - Tree planting and importance thereof.
- 5.2 The green revolution (its significance).

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

- 6.1 Contributions made by individual prominent missionaries.
- 6.2 The role of certain church organisations in alleviating some social problems.
 - 6.2.1 Zululand Council of Churches (Z.C.C.).
 - 6.2.2 South African Council of Churches. (S.A.C.C.).

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL

STANDARD 5

UNIT 1: UBUNTU.

- ✓ 1.1 Ubuntu: the principles and practices.
- 1.2 The Constitution.
 - 1.2.1 What is the constitution?
 - 1.2.2 Its significance.
- ✓ 1.3 The role of youth in nationbuilding.

UNIT 2: HISTORY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA

- 2.1 The rape of Africa in broad outline.
- 2.2 The colonisation of Africa and the Western influence.
- 2.3 The struggle for liberation from colonisation (outline only).

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 Oral Traditions - their role and significance in African culture. i.e. memory training; character moulding and transmission of african history from generation to generation.
- 3.2 The cultural renaissance: music, art, traditions, government.
- 3.3 A selection of some customs for close study e.g. ukwenana, ukusiselana, ihlamba;

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFESTYLE.

- 4.1 Need for support of African organisations and business e.g. Inyanda, African Bank, Khulani.
- 4.2 Study of the need to reorient some of our values in the light of changing time; and lifestyles.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 The green revolution - It significance.
- 5.2 Sex education in simple outline: Behavioral pattered for young people.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Discussion of church organisations like Idamasa, Zululand Council of Churches, Diakonia.

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL.

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STANDARD 6

UNIT 1: THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

1.1 Liberation organisations and their strategies for Liberation: National Aims and Objectives:

- 1.1.1 Inkatha.
- 1.1.2 A.N.C.
- 1.2 The role of leaders and the led.

UNIT 2: AFRICAN HISTORY.

2.1 The african struggle for self-determination from 1652 to 1910: with particular interest to the wars in:

- 2.1.1 Cape.
- 2.1.2 Natal.
- 2.1.3 Orange Free State.
- 2.1.4 Transvaal.

2.2 The struggle for liberation: West Africa; Discuss two countries viz. Ghana and Algeria

NB: Only those highlights related to African nationalism and the liberation struggle.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

3.1 Significance of culture in nationhood (mention few aspects of culture e.g. Language, customs etc.)

- 3.2 Oral Tradition:
 - 3.2.1 Izithakazelo
 - 3.2.2 Izibongo (Praise poems)
 - 3.2.3 Ukusisa, Ilimo, Inhlonipho etc.
 - 3.2.4 Protocol-Channels of communication in the African Society.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFE STYLE.

- 4.1 Problems of: Unemployment, Housing, Poverty and Breaking up homes.
- 4.2 African enterprise and problems encountered in its development.
- 4.3 Racial discrimination in the market-place, the effects of discrimination legislation such as the Group Areas Act.
- 4.4 The need to support African economic development.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Sex education with emphasis on traditional norms.
- 5.2 Alcoholism: Drug abuse - its dangers: rehabilitation centres.

5.3 Health Education on: cholera, etc - cure them.

5.4 Training on how to initiate, plan and carry out a community project: road repairs, dam building bridges, etc.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

6.1 African religious practices and traditional rites.

6.2 Significance of African religious rituals.

6.3 Possibilities of indigenization of religion as reflected in the independent church movement.

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STANDARD 7

UNIT 1: THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

1.1 The leading personalities in the struggle for liberation:

- 1.1.1 O R Tambo.
- 1.1.2 Dr W Z Chonco.
- 1.1.3 M R Sobukwe.
- 1.1.4 Dr A H Zulu.
- 1.1.5 H S Msimang.
- 1.1.6 Steve Biko.

UNIT 2: AFRICAN HISTORY.

- 2.1 The African struggle for selfdetermination from 1910 to 1960.
 - 2.1.1 The stories of land and political struggle within this period.
 - 2.1.2 The land acts of 1913 and 1936 and their impact on the lives of africans.
- 2.2. The struggle for liberation in East Africa: Mozambique and Tanzania.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 Communalism and Ubuntu re-emphasised.
- 3.2 Discussion and analysis of some African Customs that may need revival and encouragement. e.g. Inhlonipho, Umkhosi womhlanga.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFE STYLE.

- 4.1 Problems and some ways of alleviating them: migrant labour system; Labour Acts, Influx Control, Group Areas Act etc.
 - 4.1.1 The effects of the above on employment and

unemployment.

- 4.1.1.2 Housing, family (structure) instability; Educational provision.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 How to plan community projects.
- 5.2 Initiation of new projects.
- 5.3 Sex Education: How a young girl/boy should behave/preserve himself/herself.
- 5.4 Drugs: Drug abuse; Alcohol: The effect of the above mentioned on human health-rehabilitation centres.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

- 6.1 Contribution that can be made by the church in the liberation struggle.
- 6.2 The role of religion and the church in the liberation struggle with reference to the following personalities:
 - 6.2.1 Martin Luther King.
 - 6.2.2 The Hon Rt. Rev. Dr A H Zulu.
 - 6.2.3 The Hon. Archbishop Dr D M Tutu

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STANDARD 8

UNIT 1: THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

1.1 The stories of the leading personalities in the struggle for liberation:

- 1.1.1 A M Lembede.
- 1.1.2 Zephaniah Mthopheng.
- 1.1.3 N R Mandela.
- 1.1.4 M G Buthelezi.

N.B. Their contribution in the advancement of the course of the African struggle for liberation. (Discuss in details).

UNIT 2: AFRICAN HISTORY

2.1 The African struggle for selfdetermination from 1960 to date.

- 2.1.1 The role played by the ANC and PAC in exile.
- 2.1.2 The Black Consciousness Movement.
- 2.1.3 Inkatha and its contribution in the liberation struggle.
- 2.1.4 The unbanning of the liberation movements.
- 2.2 The struggle for liberation in Southern Africa: Zimbabwe and Angola.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 The multicultural character of South Africa.
- 3.2 Problems of Culture contact.
- 3.3 Introduction to the cultural renaissance movement.
 - 3.3.1 Revival or preservation of our cultural heritage. Manifestations of cultural renaissance movement.
 - 3.3.2 Role of individuals in the cultural renaissance training. Renaissance movements.

3.3 African Customs: Ilobolo, Ukubuthwa kwamabutho.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFE STYLE.

- 4.1 Employment: Demands of modern life style.
- 4.2 Unemployment: causes and consequences.
- 4.3 Role of the African organisation in fighting unemployment:
 - 4.3.1 Role played by Inkatha in fighting unemployment.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Importance of green revolution.
- 5.2 Proper preparation and importance of climatic seasons in the utilization of soil.
- 5.3 Work and leisure in relation to struggle dignity of labour; Importance of hard work, recreational activities.
- 5.4 Qualities of good leadership. Importance of communication and commitment.
- 5.5 Sex education-with special reference to traditional African norms.
 - 5.5.1 Abuse of drugs and alcohol.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

- 6.1 Review church organisations.
- 6.2 Church leaders in the liberation struggle:
 - 6.2.1 Reverend Skhakhane.
 - 6.2.2 The Honourable, the Rt Dr A H Zulu.

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL

STANDARD 9

UNIT 1: THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

- 1.1 The Liberation movement in South Africa: Aims, Policies and Strategies:
 - 1.1.1 Inkatha.
 - 1.1.2 PAC.
 - 1.1.3 ANC.

N.B. This discussion should also include the relevance and the role of the youth in nation building and national progress.

UNIT 2: AFRICAN HISTORY.

- 2.1 The Struggle for liberation in Africa and the influence of the following ideologies:
 - 2.1.1 Pan Africanism.
 - 2.1.2 Communism.
 - 2.1.3 Socialism.
 - 2.1.4 African Socialism.
- 2.2 The story of legal and illegal race discrimination in South Africa- 1948 to date.
- 2.3 The formation of the OAU.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 The multicultural character of South Africa.
- 3.2 Problems of culture contact.
- 3.3 The cultural renaissance movement in South Africa.
- 3.4 Contribution made by individual participants in specific field of achievement.
- 3.5 Study of cultural tendencies within the africans of South Africa e.g. Nguni; Sotho, Venda etc.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFE STYLE.

- 4.1 Rural life; characteristics; needs.
- 4.2 Urban life; characteristics,; needs and problems.
- 4.3 Problems of urban life and their impact on the african family: Employment, unemployment, housing and poverty.
- 4.4 How to cope with urban life problems:
forming organisations and clubs e.g. cultural clubs and recreational clubs, self help associations etc.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Ecological Studies:
 - 5.1.1 Nature conservation projects.
 - 5.1.2 Tree planting & combating soil erosion.
 - 5.2 Problems of African Development.
 - 5.2.1 Labour Problems - Job Reservation acts.
 - 5.2.2 Educational problems - illiteracy, Bantu Education Act. Stress the impact of the above on the African family.
 - 5.3 Government problems - legislation on race. In adequate economic structure.

Urbanisation - Population migration into and out of (Urban) areas.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES

- 6.1 The South African Council of Churches (SACC).
 - 6.1.1 Composition of the SACC.
 - 6.1.2 National Aims of the SACC.
- 6.2 IDAMASA.
- 6.3 The World Council of Churches (WCC)
 - 6.3.1 Composition of the W.C.C.
 - 6.3.2 Aims and objectives of the W.C.C.

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6.3.3 Significance of the W.C.C.

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL



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STANDARD 10

UNIT 1: THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

- 1.1 Leadership.
 - 1.1.1 Types of leaders.
 - 1.1.2 Discipline and conduct for a member of an organisation.
 - 1.1.3 Leadership effectiveness and training.
 - 1.1.4 Public Speaking and stage conduct.
 - 1.1.5 Planning and conducting meetings.

UNIT 2: AFRICAN HISTORY.

- 2.1 The struggle for liberation in Africa and the influence of the following ideologies:
 - 2.1.1 Democratism.
 - 2.1.2 Totalitarianism.
 - 2.1.3 Liberalism.
 - 2.1.4 Capitalism.
- NB: Quote one example of the country where this particular ism prevails.
- 2.2 Homelands and future of South Africa.
- 2.3 The O.A.U. and its role in African progress.

UNIT 3: AFRICAN CULTURE.

- 3.1 The cultural renaissance in South Africa.
 - 3.1.1 Contributions made by individual participants in specific fields of achievements.
 - 3.1.2 Role of individuals in cultural renaissance.
- 3.2 Rural and Urban life: Characteristics, needs and problems.

UNIT 4: MODERN LIFE STYLE.

- 4.1 Study of problems of: Housing; Poverty and Diseases; Instability.
- 4.2 How to cope with urban life problems:
 - 4.2.1 Forming of organisations and clubs e.g. Cultural Clubs, and recreational clubs.
 - 4.2.2 Significance of these clubs of self help associations.

UNIT 5: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES.

- 5.1 Ecological studies.
 - 5.1.1 Nature conservation projects.
 - 5.1.2 Tree planting.
 - 5.1.3 Anti-litter campaigns.
 - 5.1.4 Respect for public property.
- 5.2.1 Land problems - inadequate and inefficient utilisation of land.
- 5.2.2 Literacy problems - large numbers of people not able to read or write.
- 5.2.3 Urbanisation - development of schemes to alienate problems of electricity, piped water, etc.
- 5.3 Interdependence.
 - 5.3.1 The economic infrastructure.
 - 5.3.2 Transport and communication systems - the development of roads, rails, air terminals, seaports.

UNIT 6: RELIGIOUS STUDIES.

- 6.1 Significance of the African religious practices and rites.

- 6.2 The World Council of Churches (W.C.C.). (A comprehensive study).
- 6.3 The South African Council of Churches - a comprehensive study of its work. (S.A.C.C.).
- 6.4 The Interdenominational African Ministers Association of South Africa. (IDAMASA) (Comprehensive study).

UNIT 7: PRACTICAL.



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