ILLUS. 1
MAP OF LEBOWA AND LOCATION OF COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

1. DR CN PHATUDI
2. KWENA MOLOTO
3. MAMOKGALAKE CHUENE
4. MAPULANENG
5. MODJADJI
6. MOKOPANE
7. SEKHUKHUNE
8. SETOTOLWANE

INTRODUCTION

The Mokopane college of Education is located in the township of Mahwelereng which lies 5 km north - west of the town of Potgietersrus on the great north road to Zimbabwe. It is situated in a predominantly Ndebele - speaking area demarcated as Mokerong, which formed an integral part of the self-governing homeland of Lebowa. This college started as the first black state teacher education institution under the Nationalist Government in the Transvaal in 1948. (1)

The graduates from Mokopane college together with the various other colleges in this region were responsible for basic education provided to thousands of students from the late 40s to the late 80s in schools set up by Bantu Education authorities. These students spent most of their school vacations working on farms and agro-industries in this region in the period between the 1940s and the late 1960s.

The initial part of the thesis attempts to show that the development of the Mokopane College and of subsequent colleges in this region broadly accorded with the aims of Bantu Education, and was closely related to the need to provide teachers to staff, control and teach basic skills to students rapidly brought under institutional control. It argues that the production of teachers cannot be abstracted from the broader process of educational massification witnessed in this region. It thus played a part in facilitating the process of the social reproduction of the black working class in this part of rural South Africa. With sensitivity to the charge of reductionism, the analysis situates the process of educational restructuring within the context of the interests of local agricultural capital and of the broader political economy.

The major part of the study concentrates on resistance at this college. The 1980s has been a decade of resistance in education. Very little has been written on resistance by student teachers. If there is to be any restructuring of teacher colleges, then there needs to be an understanding of power relations and the forms of resistance historically operative in these institutions. It is within this important area that the relevance of the latter part of this thesis is to be located. It also offers a case study for examining the relationship between structural constructs, consciousness and the issue of human agency.

The study begins by tracing the emergence of this specific teacher training institution in relation to the nature of Bantu Education and the political economy of the social formation pertaining to the period. It is therefore important to start by examining briefly the dominant interpretation of Bantu Education.

The dominant approach to Bantu Education until the 1980s was a liberal economic one, pioneered by Malherbe as well as Muriel Horell who worked under the auspices of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). It demonstrated, with extensive reference to statistics, the inequalities that accompanied separation according to race. (2) The establishment of Bantu Education was viewed as a kind of racist ideology prevailing against capitalist rationality which thwarted the inherent developmental and liberalising capabilities of a free economy. It was argued that blacks had been excluded from advanced education at a time of acute skilled labour shortages. (3)
In the 1980s, studies by Unterhalter, Wolpe (1989) and Cross (1989), point out that while the liberal critique provided a very important refutation of the segregationist position, its narrow

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

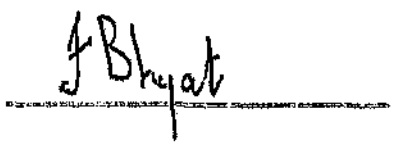
I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Linda Chisholm for having given me the opportunity to undertake this study. She provided direction when it was needed most. Dr. Michael Cross needs a special thank you for graciously assisting me in the supervisor of the final draft of this thesis. I would also like to thank Aslam Fatar, who assisted me with some important formulations in different parts of the dissertation. I would like to thank my wife Zuleikha for helping me with the finer details of this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank Charles Matlakala, an ex political detainee, who unselfishly provided so much of his time to co-ordinate interviews with various key activists in this region.

DEDICATION

For Joyce Mabudafasi, Alpheus Tsoane, Gladys Tibane, Sophonia Mamabolo, Kamela Masuku, Vaaltyn Kekana, Ndo Mangala, Boysea Thole, Joyce Thlongwane, Imraan Loonat, Saad Cachalia, Sentle Fanyane, Felix Malunga and Given Ramaru. These individuals were some of the key activists that played an important role in creating counter-hegemonic structures to facilitate the process of political expression in this region.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.



Faizul Bhyat

23rd day of October 1996

ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns itself with resistance during the decade of the 80s. Much of the literature has focussed on student resistance. There has in general been very little that has examined resistance of student teachers. Student teachers are vital change agents in education for the future. If there is to be any intervention in teacher training colleges, then there needs to be an understanding of historical power relations and the forms of resistance in these institutions. The aim of the research report is to document and explain why and how student teachers at the Mokopane College of Education become politically militant during the decade of the 80s. The contention is that under extremely repressive and authoritarian conditions such as those faced by student teachers in homeland institutions, resistance can take many forms. However, as the study concludes, it became general and militant in this instance, only when it was able to break out of its isolation and establish links with wider political structures. This study is based on primary sources, interviews and secondary sources. It has engaged archival sources as well as important interviews from both activists and teachers who have taught under both Missionary and Bantu Education.

Key words:

teacher-trainees
politicisation
unionisation
critical-consciousness
resistance
contradiction

THE MOKOPANE COLLEGE THROUGH THE YEARS, 1940's - 1990's

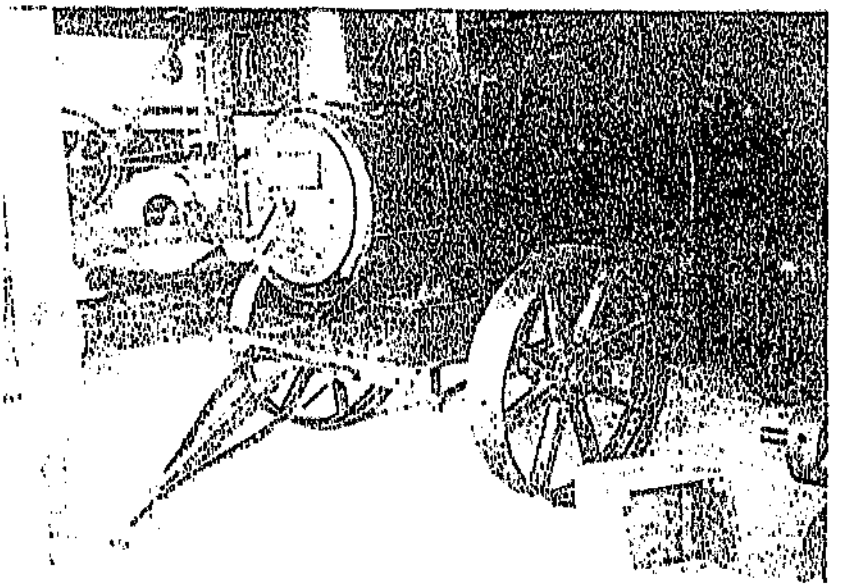
Faizul Bhyat

A Masters thesis submitted to the Faculty of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education, December 1995.

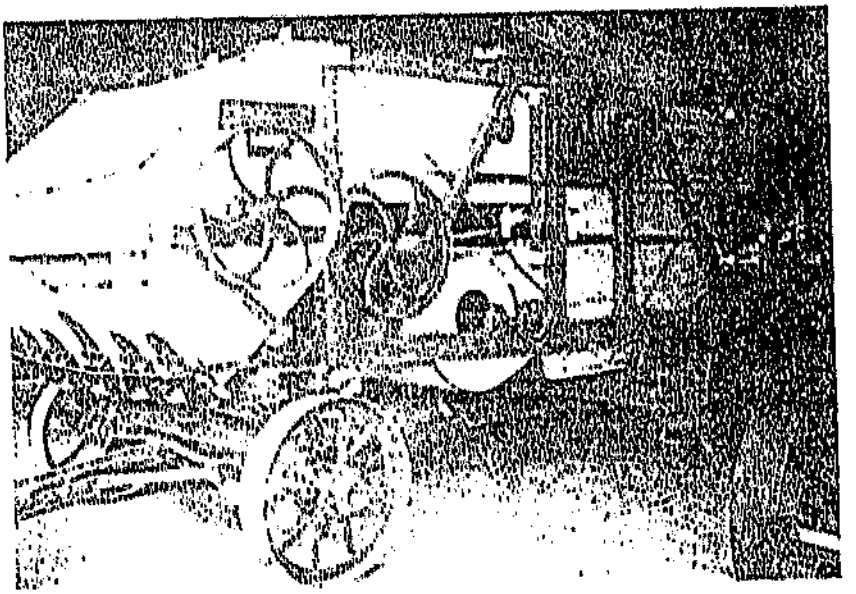
THE MOKOPANE COLLEGE THROUGH THE YEARS, 1940's - 1990's

Faizul Bhyat

ILLUS. 6



An imported American corn-thrashing machine in use in the Potgietersrus district in the late 30s



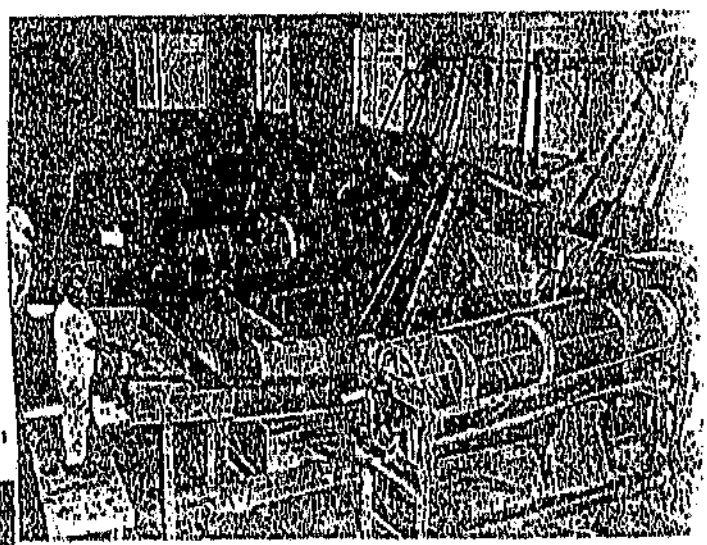
Aldertons, the first factory in Potgietersrus in the late 20s. Photograph taken in the 40s

ALDERTON (POTGIETERSRUST) (PTY.) LTD.

EERSTE FABRIEK IN POTGIETERSRUST

Die heer *William Alderton* het in 1916 sy eerste fabriek in *Duiwelskloof* geopen waar hy gebly het tot in 1925. In dieselfde jaar verhuis hy met sy besigheid na Potgietersrust. Sy destyds fabriek is nou nog gelee in die hartjie van 'n bloeiende grondboneproduserende area.

In 1928 het hy 'n maatskappy gefloteer naamlik ALDERTON LTD. waar grondboneolie, gesuikerde en gesoute grondbone asook grondbone-ontluytmeel op 'n baie groter skaal as voorheen vervaardig is. Vanaf 1929 tot 1933 het hierdie Maatskappy ook grondbone-olie alhier uitgepers.



maar omdat Potgietersrust nie sentraal gelee is nie en om vervoerkoste te bespaar, is 'n gedeelte van die fabriek verplaas in 1933 verplaas en wel na *Johannesburg*.

Alderton (Potgietersrust) (Edms.) Bpk. het in 1933 ontstaan as 'n dochtermaat van *Alderton Ltd.* en het bestaan tot 1942 toe hulle ontbind het en elk vir sy eie rekening voortbestaan het.

Hierdie fabriek op Potgietersrust fabriseer nog steeds gebakte grondbone in klein hoeveelhede, maar geniet baie groot ondersteuning van die mark wat ruit grondbone vir veeteeltdoeleindes betref, asook 'n gunstige aanbod in die tuinmark wat gereel word en onder beskerming staan van die *Oliemaatskappyvereniging*.

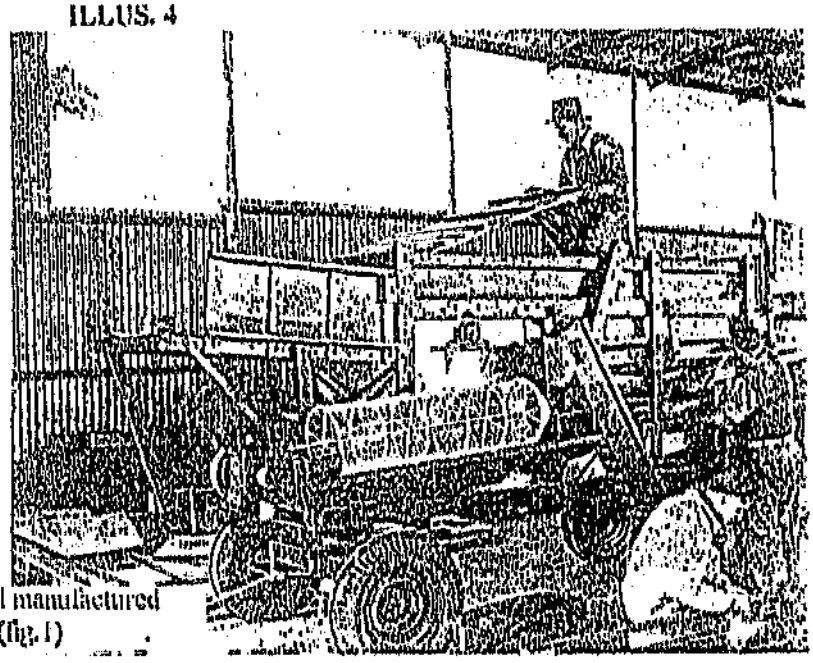
Hierdie Maatskappy bied vandag nog groot hoeveelhede hand-uitgesoekte grondbonesaad aan, wat 'n afsetgebied vind oor gehele dele Unie van S.A. By lyse is 'n aanvraag vir *Hand-uitgesoekte saad* so groot dat 'n uitgesoekte tekort dan ondervind word.

ILLUS. 4

T. D. SLATTERY & SON
(Voortrekker Rd.)

Photo shows a Peanut Picker, developed and manufactured by this progressive firm, in the early 1940's.

Manufacturing Engineers

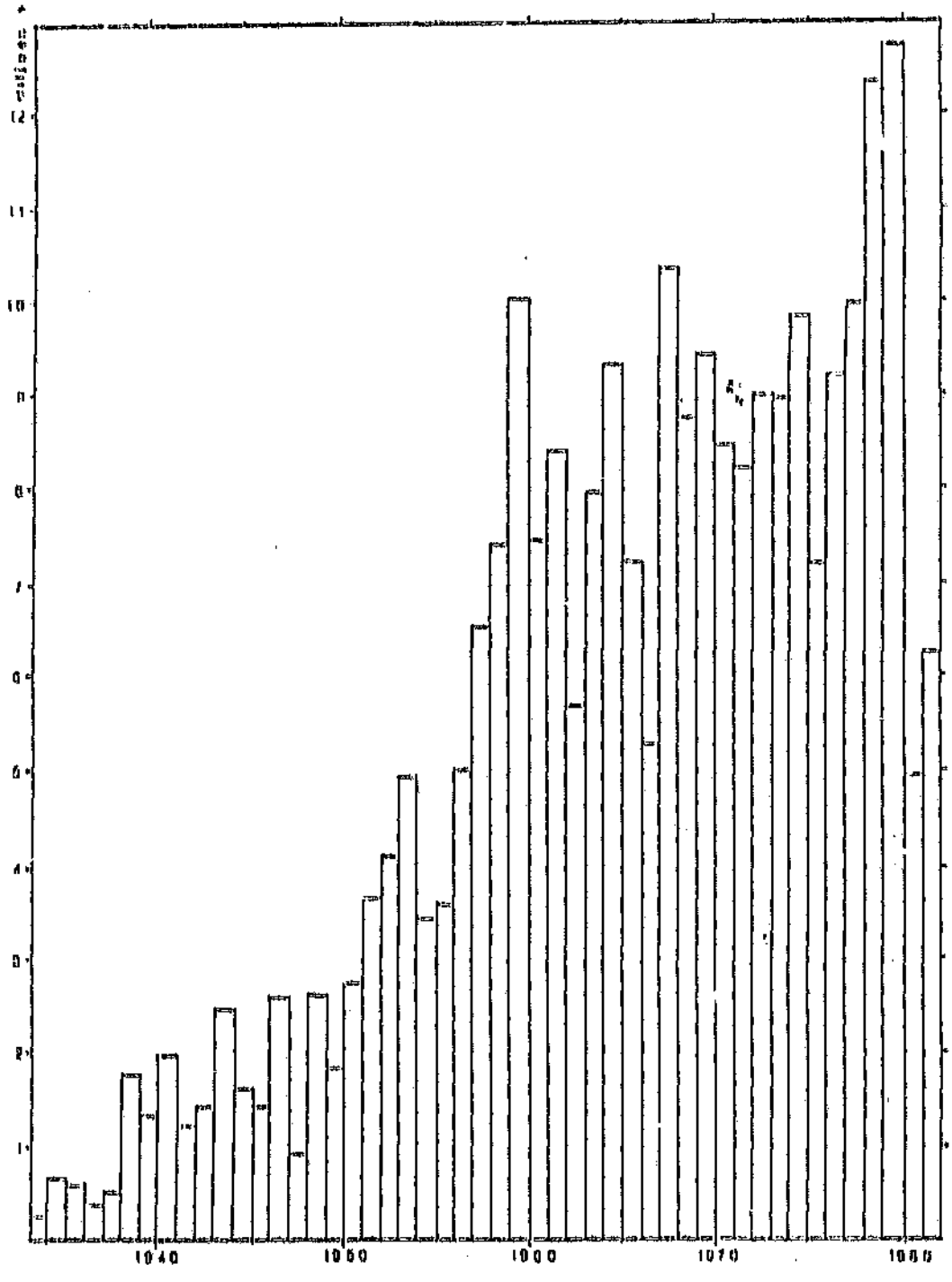


A peanut picker machine developed and manufactured by T.D.Slattery and Son in the 1940s. (fig.1)

A mule-drawn plough used in the mid 1930s in the Potgietersrus district. (fig.2)

Two of the oldest tractors that were used in the same district before the 1940s. (fig.3)

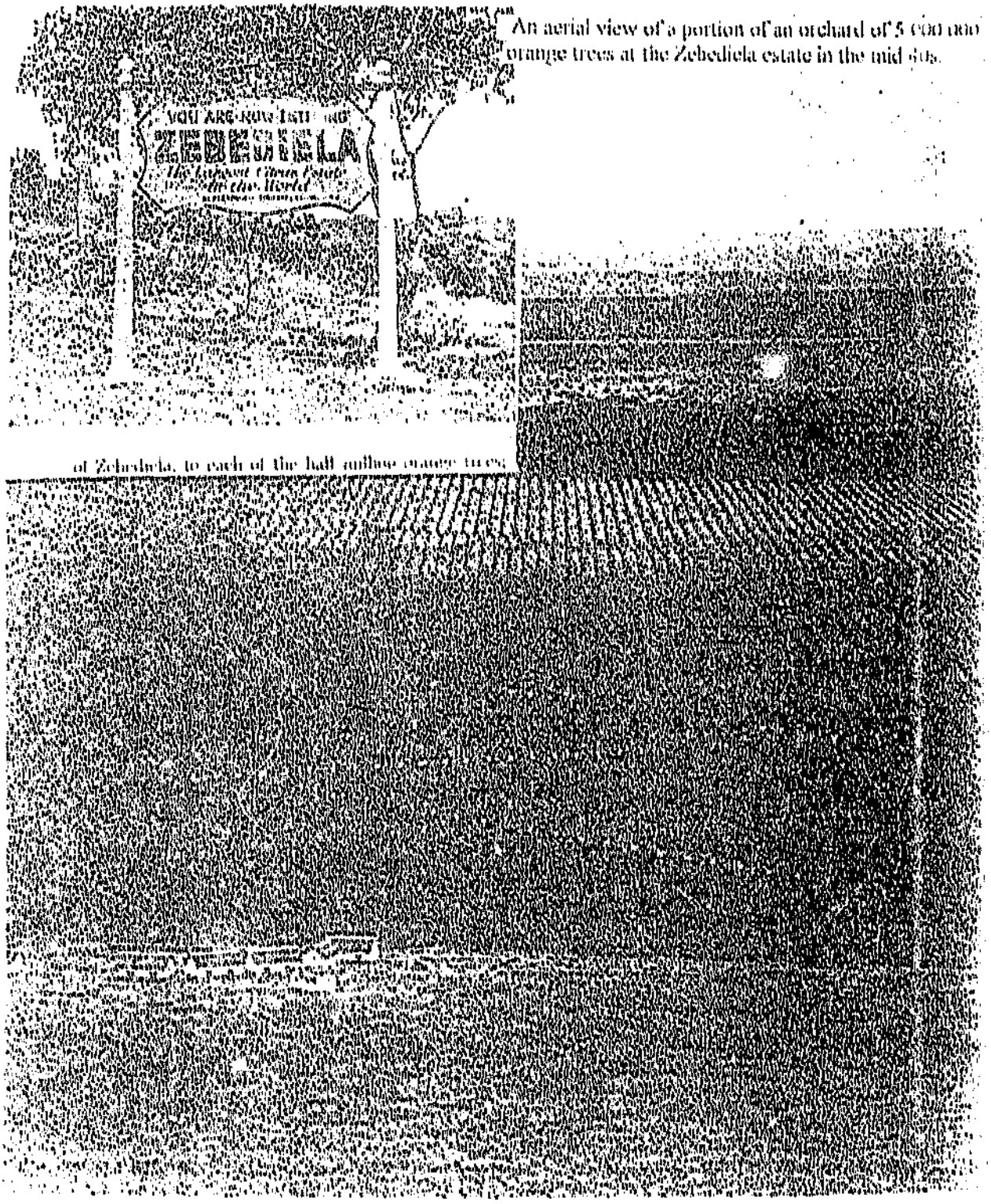
ILLUS 3



TABAK INGENCEM

Graph depicting the growth of tobacco output at the Potgietersrus Tabak Ko-operasie 1940 - 80 .

ILLUS. 2



An aerial view of a portion of an orchard of 5 000 000 orange trees at the Zebediela estate in the mid 60s.

of Zebediela, to each of the half million orange trees

its consequent focus on the African 'homeland'. (9) However as Cross has pointed out, the change in teacher curriculum was part of a process initiated in the Transvaal in 1905, ratified in 1915 and again under Bantu Education. (10)

The discussion that follows attempts to establish the relation between this college and the process of centralisation and reconstruction of education, engineered under Bantu Education. It will first examine the socio-economic and political imperatives that led rapidly to the broadening of the educational base at primary level, showing how this created conditions for the social reproduction of labour. The analysis thereafter proceeds to argue that the establishment of this college and of subsequent colleges broadly accorded with the need to provide teachers to teach basic skills and transmit other aspects of hegemonic curriculum to a large and increasing proportion of students in primary schools created under Bantu Education.

Drawing on certain historical precedents, Hyslop has demonstrated that in general the transition to mass schooling coincided with the development of monopoly capitalist industrialisation and sought to solve the promblems of new labour needs and social control. It also sought to regulate the lives of working class youth and to establish ruling class political hegemony. (11) Hyslop's analysis on the transformation of the educational order under conditions alluded to above, provide interesting comparisons and seem to echo certain similarities when extended to cover the context and process of educati estructuring set in motion under Bantu Education in this specific context.

It has been argued by Cross and Chisholm (1990) that by the 1950s, monopolies constituted the dominant feature of the African economy, not only in mining, commerce and industry, but in agriculture as well. (12) The historical evidence suggests that this was also true of the process of agrarian transition in this region. This development was accompanied by some drastic changes in the conditions of black labour and of its reproduction in this specific context. There was also the breakdown of traditional forms of control with implications for the issue of social control so essential for labour stabilisation. The discussion following argues that the restructuring of the educational terrain in this province was one among different strategies adopted by the state to stabilise black labour and guarantee the conditions for the reproduction of agrarian capital.

By the late 1940s and 1950s, this sub-region of the Northern Province witnessed dramatic growth of specialised agriculture accompanied by rapid mechanisation and capitalisation. This specific district for example became one of the leading producers of certain cultivars of tobacco, citrus, groundnuts and later cotton with a well-developed export market during the period under review. (13) This increasingly generated the need for a more regimented workforce equipped with basic skills and an internalised work ethic.

While employment opportunities for Africans in many urban areas expanded as a result of the growth of secondary industrialisation during the period of the 1940s, serious land shortages in the reserve areas resulted in impoverishment and lack of economic prospects for the majority of africans in the reserves. (14) This accelerated the exodus from the reserves to the urban and peri-urban areas, predominantly from white-owned farms. (15) African farmworkers of all ages, but mainly the younger men and women turned to temporary or permanent migration to the towns for purposes of survival. (16) The migration of youth, both male and female, critically affected the farmers, because it was for them an immense movement off the land of their most productive workers. (17)

CHAPTER 1

THE RATIONALE UNDERLYING THE EMERGENCE OF THE MOKOPANE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

This chapter traces the rationale underlying the development of the Mokopane College within the wider socio-economic and political context. It contends that the emergence of the college cannot be abstracted from the process of educational massification evidenced in this terrain during the late 1940s and 1950s. The historical evidence seems to suggest that thousands of students were rapidly brought under institutional control under Bantu Education and their labour regularised in agro-industries and farms in this region. The implication for the argument is that the emergence of Mokopane College and of subsequent colleges in this region was closely related to the need to provide teachers to staff, control and teach basic skills to the burgeoning number of students in these schools rapidly created under Bantu Education. With sensitivity to the charge of reductionism, the analysis situates state policy within the conflicting interests of different sectors of capital.

The Mokopane Teacher Training College was the first black teacher education institution established in 1948 in the Transvaal under the new Nationalist Government. (1) The Nationalist idea of extending separate development to all facets of society included the siting of Mokopane College in an area which was later to become part of the homeland of Lebowa. Hartshorne suggests that the motive was to minimise the influence of missionary education, especially those that were English medium, in favour of Afrikaner influence in the education of the African. This, it was believed, could be exercised through increased state control. (2) The appointment of Dr. M. J. Madiba as principal of the College in 1948, was no coincidence. He worked in the region as an associate inspector with G.H. Franz as early as the 1940s. (3) Mminele writes that :

> The founder principal himself, Dr. M.J. Madiba was a prolific writer, who was determined to promote the Northern Sotho language. He was a protagonist of mother-tongue instruction as well. (4)

Having written two novelettes, namely " Tsiri " (1942) and "Nkotsana" (1955), He also wrote a primary school reader series Mahlontebo. (5) This was prescribed reading under Bantu Education for sub A to standard VI, at all primary schools within the Lebowa region until the late 60s. He was also reported to have conducted oral interviews in the late 40s, calculated to gather information on Northern Sotho folklore and idioms. (6)

In conjunction with inspector G.H. Franz and Achterburg, he was instrumental in implementing the policy of mother-tongue instruction at all primary schools within the region (7) From 1956, the salient feature in the lower primary classes was instruction through the mother-tongue with both English and Afrikaans taught as subjects. (8)

Black teachers, notes Randall, were to be important agents in the inclusion of the 'proper' mindset among the black youth. He argues that a teacher education curriculum was developed under Bantu Education, that suited the intentions of its protagonists in its emphasis on scripture, manual training and the vernacular and an adherence to the policy of apartheid with

4. E. Unterhalter & H. Wolpe, p. 2.
5. M. Cross, p. 193.
6. P. Enslin in " Is the dominant tradition in studies of education in South Africa a liberal one? " Perspectives in Education, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1985, p. 145.
7. M. Morris, "The Development of Capitalism in South African Agriculture : Class Struggle in the Countryside ", Economy and Society, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1976.
D. Posel, The making of Apartheid, 1948 - 1961, Conflict and Compromise, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991), p. 136.
8. Andrea van Niekerk, " The Use of White Female Labour by Zebediela Citrus Estates, 1926 - 1953", ,M.A. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1987).
9. J. Hyslop, "Social Conflicts over African Education in South Africa from the 1940s to 1976 "(PhD. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988), p. 61.
10. J. Hyslop, p. 61.
11. Ibid, p. 62.
12. Ibid, p. 30.
13. Carnoy and Levin, Schooling and Work in the Democratic State, (Stanford University Press, 1985)
14. J. Hyslop, pp. 30 - 80.
15. M. Monyokolo, " How should we understand the relationship between school curriculum and the wider social structure ? " (M.A. dissertation, University of London, September, 1994), p. 10. See also Giddens, The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of Structuration, (University of California Press, 1984).
16. L. Tikly, p. 25.
17. M.W. Apple, "Resistance and Contradictions in Class, Culture and the State : Culture as Lived II " in Education and Power, (London, 1982), p. 106.

expression of an oppositional culture and of viewing the educational terrain as an important site of struggle.

Chapter four analyses the period of resistance between 1989 - 1991. This period, characterised by the development of a structural crisis, shows how economic, demographic and institutional features coupled with the element of spontaneous student reaction, fused to shape the form and content of student resistance. Similar to the students in Everhart's study who "clearly exercise a fair amount of informal power in the school setting", this chapter shows how the students in this study also "both participate in and at least partially reproduce hegemonic ideologies". (17) This chapter further probes the issue of "critical consciousness" as it relates to aspects of student action during this period at this institution.

This thesis employed research strategies such as archival work and interviews, which were integrated with secondary reading material. Archival work involved data collection from the "Potgietersrus Tabak Ko-operasie" archives, the "Morester" newspaper archives as well as the Mokopane College archives. However, material on the early history of the college proved difficult to locate. This was a result, I was informed, of the misplacement of essential files during the process of the relocation of the college in the early 1990s. I was very fortunate to have located a batch of files at the college archives which provided rich primary source material such as the minutes of Governing Council meetings and official correspondences between the College Administration and the Lebowa Department of Education, pertaining to issues of student resistance. These files also gave an indication of the official college policy spanning the decade of the 80s.

The research further consisted of interviews with students and activists who were particularly involved during the heat of struggle in this region. This provided important insights into the strategies and nature of resistance employed. Their evidence, in many instances was corroborated with evidence obtained from official files. Interviews were also conducted with former teachers Sydney Maaka and Peter Mashabela, who both taught under the missionary and Bantu Education systems. As concerns aspects of the resistance history of the Potgietersrus district pertaining to the period of the 1940s, I was extremely lucky to have secured an interview with Gottlieb Moatlo, a former member of a trade union movement who played a political role in the town of Potgietersrus in the late 40s and early 50s. There was also an important interview with Mr. Slattery, who was a partner in the foremost engineering firm servicing the needs of farmers in Potgietersrus and larger districts from the mid-30s to the late 60s. These interviews provided an important glimpse into the nature of the agrarian transition in this region.

NOTES

1. K. Hartshorne, Crises and Challenge : Black Education 1910 - 1990, (Cape Town University Press, 1992), p. 228.
2. E. Unterhalter & H. Wolpe, "The Politics of South African Education, 1960 - 1988 ", (Paper presented at Conference on Economic Change Social Conflict and Education in S.A. , Essex University, UK, March 1989), p. 2.
3. M. Cross, "A Historical Review of Education in South Africa : towards an assessment" in Comparitive Education Vol. 22, No. 3, 1986, p. 192 - 193.

'disidentification'. In Tikly's words, it poses a challenge to the subject position posited by the dominant discursive formation. It thus works on and against prevailing practices of ideological subjection and can be brought about by political and ideological struggles. (16)

There is the contention above that structures, apart from being determining, can also be enabling. This, coupled with the notion that a change in consciousness can be brought about by political and ideological struggle, provides us with a theoretical framework closer to understanding the impact of counter-hegemonic structural forces on mass consciousness. This is especially relevant when applied to the development and impact of a counter-hegemonic bloc on the national resistance struggle in South Africa. It is also particularly useful when applied to this specific case-study. It shows for example, how counter-hegemonic structures emanating from the national resistance struggle increasingly impacted on consciousness even at the regional level and importantly influenced the action of agents within the institution under study. Closely related to Gramsci's notion of the role of organic intellectuals, this study also shows how the action of the relevant role players determined in turn conditions within this institution and its immediate context.

This thesis draws on revisionist writer's such as Levin, Moll, Molteno, De Clerq, Hyslop, Cross, Chisholm and Enslin as well as Seekings to help analyse critically certain aspects of the form and content of student resistance. It has also drawn on both Gramsci and Apple to explain the contradictory aspects of resistance in this specific institution.

The study that follows is arranged in four chapters. The first chapter outlines the dominant features of the agrarian economy of this region, covering briefly the decades just prior to National Party control. It proceeds to analyse the general and specific political economy illustrating the broader labour crisis pertaining to the period. This chapter shows the emerging difficulty over securing and regimenting labour within the context of the specific agrarian transition and its articulation to the urban political economy. In its relationship to educational development, it shows how the reconstructed form and content of education in its articulation to the specific agrarian economy played a role in providing future labour with the required level of preparation and conduct needed for the specific nature of the economy. Within the context of the broader labour crises, the state, among some of the methods employed to control, regulate and secure cheap labour for the agricultural sector, directly harnessed, prepared and employed student labour as one means in its attempt to guarantee the conditions for the reproduction of capital. The Mokopane College is firmly entrenched within this context. This chapter makes the argument that the emergence of Mokopane College and subsequent colleges of education facilitated the need to produce teachers to staff, control, teach basic skills and impart other aspects of the hegemonic curriculum ' students rapidly brought under institutional control by Bantu Education.

Chapter two turns to a consideration of the institutional context and terrain of the resistance subsequently analysed. It shows how the administration and control of the institution, through a network of rules and surveillance practices served to entrench control over the student body.

Chapter three records aspects of informal power posed by students against institutional power and explores this in terms of the concepts of agency, contestation and struggle. This chapter also shows how teachers and students contest and mediate elements of the school curriculum. Chapter three in many ways exemplifies revisionist contentions. It stresses the importance of the concept of relative autonomy by showing the capacity of agents to create spaces for the

While the first part of this thesis situates the establishment of this College within the context of Bantu Education, the latter part argues against the functionalist tendencies of reproductionist thought by a focus on resistance as displayed by students in this specific institution. Hyslop (1990) argues that the reproductionist position cannot account for those periods and features of education policy in which capital's needs were not met by the education system. Rather, at particular points, Bantu Education policy assisted capitalist development and in other moments and other aspects, obstructed it. (9) This position has affinities with Wolpe's recent argument that :

> ...the relationship between capitalism and white domination must be seen as a historically contingent, not a necessary one...the relationship will be both functional and contradictory at the same time : functional for the reproduction of certain relations and class positions and contradictory for others. (10)

Criticising further the functionalist aspect of reproductionist thought, Hyslop argues that where Bantu Education served capitalist interests, that result was the outcome of successful political struggles by capital. (11) Hyslop draws on Poulantzas' view of the state as a field of conflict; on the one hand, conflicts between the different capitalist fractions and also between the different state apparatuses, and on the other, between dominant and dominated classes. Subsequently, the state is seen neither as neutral arbiter, nor as an instrument of domination, but as a battlefield. (12) In keeping with Poulantzas' views, Carnoy and Levin have developed an approach that sees the state educational structure as a field of struggle between contending class forces. It is argued that capitalist fractions struggle to define the reproductive needs that they want the education system to fulfil and to have those needs met by the state. However, dominated classes also attempt to impose their own educational aims on the state. (13)

The forms that the education system takes is an outcome of those interacting struggles. It is constantly reshaped by conflict. Such an approach takes the importance of both structure and agency into account and shows how popular movements have shaped education policy, especially during the last decade and a half. Thus the revolt of 1976 led to the withdrawal of the Afrikaans instruction policy and the change from Bantu Education to DET and some modification of department policy. The De Lange report, proclaiming the attempt to reform education in the 1980s, emerged from the period of the 1980 school boycotts. The reduction of racial inequalities in educational spending must be seen within the context of government's attempts to refashion education to contain the massive youth revolts of the 1980s. ( )

The structure-agency dualism provides a strong case against crude determinism and brings to the fore the concept of relative autonomy. Such an analysis allows us to locate schools within the wider socio-economic and political context. It also allows us to examine the structural constraints that impact on the day to day running of the school on the one hand and enables us to understand the role of conscious human agency on the other.

It is also this concern to reconcile the structuralist and humanist approaches that lies at the heart of Gidden's theory of structuration. In contrast to the structure-agency dualism, he speaks of the duality of structure and argues that structure is not only a constraining or determining feature of life, but is in fact also enabling. Structures, it is argued, act as both the medium and outcome of the reproduction of social activity. Agents, according to Giddens, are capable of making a difference. (15) This shares similarities to Pecheux's concept of

focus precluded it from posing questions about the conditions of reproduction and change within the education system. The effect, it is stated, was to obscure the impact of economic, political and ideological changes in the society on educational struggles. (4) The attempt merely to describe the development of educational policy, argues Cross, without at the same time to problematise either the process of schooling itself or the historical context of which it forms a part is also criticised. (5)

The inadequacies of the liberal critique in analysing education in relation to capitalism ushered in the emergence of a new generation of educationists and historians who, arguing within the new-marxist tradition, contended that South African education had to be understood predominantly in terms of the needs it had fulfilled of the dominant capitalist class. In direct rebuttal of the liberal critique, Kallaway argues :

> The state policy of Bantu Education was not an 'irrational' interlude in South African politics, as it is often presented in liberal literature, but a reflection of the state's attempt to secure the appropriate conditions for the reproduction of capital in general at a particular phase of South Africa's political development under the hegemony of Afrikaner Nationalist ideology in the 1950s and 1960s. (6)

This thesis draws on the richnessof this more radical scholarship of South African educational historiography. It presents a brief historical analysis of the specific agrarian economy in its relationship to the rural educational terrain strongly supports the view articulated by Kallaway above. However, it needs to be noted that most revisionist writers in their consideration of the rural context of Bantu Education, have relegated its importance to an attempt by the state to create functionaries to both service and provide the ideological legitimacy for the homeland system. There has been a neglect of a more focused analysis of specific agrarian economies and their articulation to the rural educational terrain. This thesis argues that the economic imperatives warrant as serious a consideration as the political for a clearer understanding of the nature of Bantu Education. Such an analysis broadens our understanding of the nature of Bantu Education in particular and of South African educational historiography in general.

The initial part of this study draws on Morris' analysis of agrarian transition and Posel's analysis of the relationship between agricultural interests and the state prior to 1948. Their studies provides crucial information on the deteriorating relationship between farmers and youth labour and vividly records farmers' incessant pleas for the stabilisation of the labour force which were made throughout the decades of the 30s and 40s. Their coverage of the labour tenancy system also extends to cover the far reaches of the Northern Province. (7)

Van Niekerk's case study of the historical growth of the Zebediela Citrus Estate is also of particular use to our study because it provides important insights into the unevenness of the process of agrarian transition in this region. (8) Her study, arguing against any unilinear progression, shows how vulnerable certain crops were to market conditions and the vagaries of nature. It also takes account of the tensions over labour between Northern agricultural interests and the Government throughout the decades of the 20s, 30s and 40s. This is of particular concern because this study situates the educational process within the context of the National Party Government's frantic attempts to resolve the critical issue of labour shortages as it pertained to that specific period.

32. Bantu Education Bulletin (Pretoria, 1987), as cited by J. Hyslop in "State Education Policy and the Social Reproduction of the Urban Working Class ; the case of the Southern Transvaal 1955 - 1976 ", in Journal of Southern African Studies, (vol. 14, no. 3, April 1988), p. 452.

33. Department of Bantu Education Annual Report for the Calender Year 1962, (Pretoria, 1962)

34. S. Maaka, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, February 1994; P. Mashabela, interview with F. Bhyat, Mankweng, Pietersburg 17 December 1992; J. Malulcka, student at the Rooiskool School in the immediate vicinity of Potgietersrus in the 1940s, interview with F. bhyat, Potgietersrus, 14 June 1994; R. M. Rampola, teacher in the Mahwelereng area during the 1940s an 1950s, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, 7 February 1994.

35. S.P.P. Mminele, p. 64.

36. D. Posel pp. 69 70; this also shows the inner dynamics of state power and is an example of her non-instrumentalist account of the state.

37. S. Maaka, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, February 1994; P. Mashabela, interview with F. Bhyat, Mankweng, 17 December 1992; L. Rekana, student at the Anglican Missionary School in Potgietersrus in the late 1930s, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, 16 June 1994; M. Mashi'o, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, 20 June 1994.

38. This train of thought was influenced by Beverley Grier's article, "Invisible Hands : the Political Economy of Child Labour in Colonial Simbabwe, 1890 - 1930 ", in Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 1 March 1994, p. 50.

39. P. Christie & C. Collins, "Bantu Education : Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction ", in Apartheid and Education, P. Kallaway (ed), (Ravan Press, Braamfontein, 1984), p. 169.

40. J. M. Ramushu, "Upgrading of Teacher Training in Lebowa ", (M. Ed. thesis, University of the Orange Free State, 1989), p. 172.

41. Mminele, p. 291.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid, p. 290.

44. Ibid, p. 76.

45. P. Mashabela, interview with F. Bhyat, Mankweng, 17 December 1994.

46. Ibid.

47. R. M. Rampola, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, 7 February 1994.

48. Mminele, p. 70.

15. Ibid. pp. 28 -29; see also van Niekerk p. 45.

16. Hansard. 20- 04- 1945. col. 4707, a comment by Jansen, Minister of Native Affairs in relation to the migration of farmworkers; see also M. Morris, "The Development of Capitalism in South African Agriculture : Class Struggle in the Countryside", in Economy and Society, 3 March 1976. pp. 328 - 329.

17. Ibid. p. 329.

18. Isabel Hofmeyr, " We Spend Our Years As A Tale That Is Told : Oral Storytelling, Literacy and Historical Narrative In The Changing Context of A Transvaal Chiefdom", (D.Phil. thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1991), p. 102.

19. A. van Niekerk p. 39; Van Niekerk's case study of the Zebediela Citrus Estate, records the tensions within 'National Capital' predominantly over labour that persisted throughout the decades of the 30s and 40s in the Northern Transvaal. Her study also aptly captures the level of agrarian capitalisation and monopolisation in this region.

20. A. Pienaar, PTK - 50 Jaar, (Potgietersrus Drukkery (EDMs) BPK), p. 40; located in the archives of the Potgietersrus Tobacco Co- op.

21. Van Niekerk, pp. 45 -51.

22. M. Morris, p. 323.

23. Ibid. p. 328.

24. Ibid. p. 331.

25. J.A.P. Venter, "Boere Organisasies", in Potgietersrus Centenary Album, 1854 -1954, (Morester Drukkery, Potgietersrus 1954), p. 123.

26. D. Posel, p. 57.

27. R. Davies et al (eds), "Setting the Scene", in The Struggle for South Africa, (London, 1985), p. 16; see also Jonathan Hyslop, "The concepts of reproduction and resistance on the sociology of education : The case if the transition from 'missionary' to 'Bantu education 1940 - 1955", in Perspectives in Education , September 1987, p. 14.

28. I. Vadi, "Historical Overview of Black Resistance, 1932 - 1952", in Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter Campaign, (New Delhi, 1995), p. 19 - 62; see also D. Posel p. 32.

29. D. Posel, p. 75.

30. F. Molteno, "An Introduction to the Study of Education for Blacks in South Africa ", in Kallaway (ed). Apartheid and Education, (Ravan Press, 1984), p. 92.

31. D. Posel, pp. 120 - 139.

NOTES :

1. K. Hartshorne, Crisis and Challenge : Black Education 1910 - 1990, (Cape Town : Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 228.

2. Ibid, p. 228.

3. P. Mashabela, teacher at Mokopane College in 1949, interview with F. Bhyat, Mankweng, Pietersburg, 1st December 1992.

4. S.P.P. Mminele, "Teacher Education in Lebowa, 1953 - 1983 : An Historical - Educational Study", (D. Ed thesis, University of the North, 1989), p. 377.

5. Ibid, p. 373.

6. S. Mnuka, teacher at the Anglican Missionary School in the immediate vicinity of Potgietersrus in 1939 and later under Bantu Education, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, February 1994.

7. P. Mashabela, interview with F. Bhyat, Mankweng Pietersburg, December 1992.

8. S.P.P. Mminele, p. 78.

9. P. Randall, "The Role of the History of Education in Teacher Education in South Africa, with particular reference to developments in Britain and the USA", (D.Phil. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p.188.

10. M. Cross, Resistance and Transformation, (Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg, 1992), pp. 127 - 131.

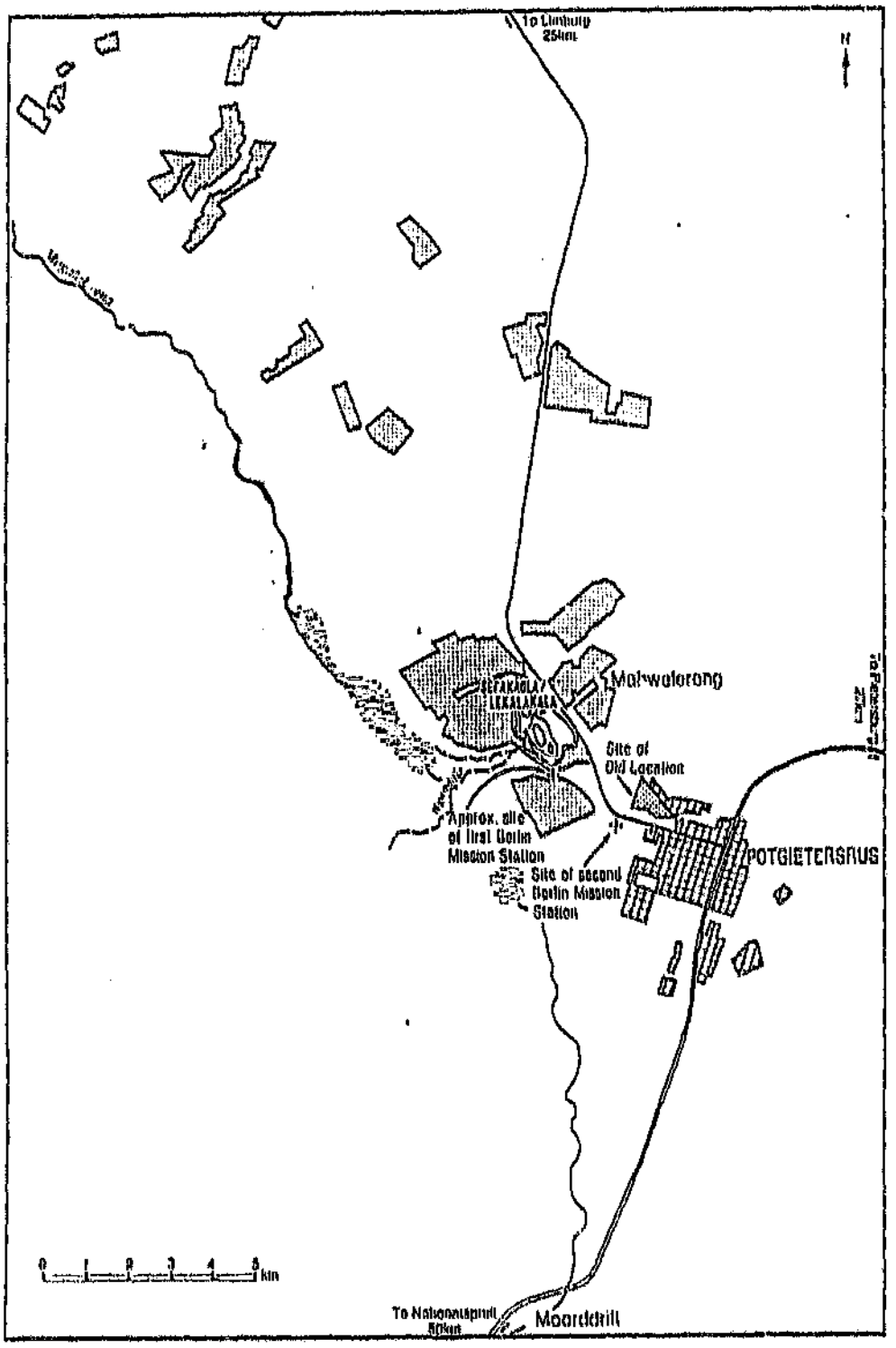
11. J. Hyslop, "The concepts of reproduction and resistance in the sociology of education : the case of the transition from 'missionary' to Bantu education, 1940 - 1955 ", Perspectives in Education, 9 February 1987, p. 12.

12. Cross and Chisholm, "The Roots of Segregated Schooling in Twentieth Century South Africa", in M. Nkomo (ed), Pedagogy of Domination, (Trenton : Africa World Press, 1990), p. 54.

13. G. F. Combrink, "Die Potgietersrus Tubak Ko-operasie"; J.S. Marais, "Die Landbou Potential van Potgietersrus", in Centenary Album - Potgietersrus 1854 - 1954, (Morester Drukkery, Potgietersrus, 1954); See also Andrea van Niekerk, "The Use of White Female Labour by Zebediela Citrus estates, 1926 - 1953", (M.A. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987); Reverend Louis Sharp, Who served as an accountant for the peanut agro - industry, Aldertons (Potgietersrus) (PTY) LTD. from the 1930s to the 1960s, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, June 1994; Douglas Slattery, who was part of the Slattery & Sons team of engineers responsible for servicing farmers' machinery from the late 1930s to the 1960s, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, 8 June 1994, this engineering firm was also foremost in bringing into production farming machinery such as peanut pickers and maize combines which were more suitable for South African conditions.

14. D. Posel, The Making of Apartheid, 1948 - 1961, Conflict and Compromise, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991), p. 136.

ILLUS 10



. Potgietersrus, its villages and surrounding vicinity

M. Madiba B.A., H.D.E.
First principal of
Mokopane College in
1948.

Members of the teaching staff at the Mokopane College. Photograph, 1953, in Centenary Album - Potgietersrus.

Nationalist Government was determined to site all African teacher training and University facilities in the homelands and :

> As teachers were subject to influx control regulations, having trained in these rural institutions, they could not take up posts in urban institutions because they did not have residence rights. (49)

Moreover, as Cross and Chisholm have argued, the establishment of tertiary institutions in homelands 'would also provide a means of ideological incorporation in the bantustans of an elite to staff its apparatus' (50)

To summarise, the period of the 1940s and 1950s saw rapid strides in t' process towards agrarian capitalisation in this region which intensified the production process and increased the demand for more regimented labour. While agro-industries and farmers' needs for labour expanded, the process of proletarianisation resulted in large migrations of youth to the urban areas. This was a severe setback for commercial agriculture, which considered this as a loss of its most productive labour. The period also witnessed the breakdown of traditional forms of control and socialisation problems of insubordination and desertion of workers which affected farmers critically during seasonal harvest.The study has also alluded to the tensions within 'national capital', predominantly over labour, that persisted throughout the decades of the 30s and 40s. All these factors combined with the structural inefficiencies of missionary institutions to provide sufficient quantities of labour for a rapidly changing agrarian economy, were precipitating factors in the state's move to earnestly set about a restructuring process in education that brought vast numbers of youth under control and regularised their labour on farms and agro-industries in this region. In this way it also provided a socially acquiescent ideology, procured and prepared labour to stabilise and guarantee the conditions for the reproduction or accumulation of capital in this region. The analysis concurs with Hyslop's observation that "educational terrains are restructured by dominant classes precisely because it required schools to play a reproductive role". (51)

An important contention of this chapter has been that the establishment of the Mokopane College cannot be abstracted from the context of the process of mass primary education discussed above. It has argued that the emergence of this college, the content of education and the subsequent restructuring of colleges previously under missionary control, satisfied the designs of Bantu Education. It broadly accorded with the need to train and provide teachers for purposes of staffing, controlling and transmitting basic skills and other aspects of the hegemonic curriculum to the burgeoning numbers of students increasingly brought under institutional control. With sensitivity to the charge of reductionism, the analysis has situated state policy within the conflicting interests of different sectors of capital. It would also caution against any over-simple correspondence between the economy and schooling which :

> underestimates the complexity of the institutional forms of capitalist society, of which schools are one and the fact that these areas are sites of struggle and contradictions, rather than mechanistic response to capitalist demands. (52)

Indeed, as subsequent chapters will show, the Mokopane College itself became an important site of struggle and contradiction.

The post-standard 6 certificate course which prepared students to teach in the lower primary school consisted of the following subjects :

> Mother Tongue, English, Afrikaans, Arithmetic, Religious Education, Health Physical Education, Environment and Social Studies, Nature Study, Music, Art and Craft, Needlework and Agricultural Science.

Professional subjects included :

> Principles of Education, Child Study and General Method, School Organisation, Chalkboard Work and Educational Media (Teaching Aids). (43)

The students also did 'Practice Teaching' in local schools with Mother Tongue mainly used as medium of instruction.

The subjects offered in the higher primary classes at schools (standards III - VI) consisted of :

> Religious Instruction, Afrikaans, English, Vernacular, Arithmetic, Social Studies, Health Education, Nature Study, Singing and Games, Needlework for girls, Tree Planting and Soil Conservation for boys, Handwork A for both boys and girls, Homecraft for girls (Standard V and VI), Agricultural Science for both boys and girls (Standard III - V). (44)

The curriculum certainly displays a vocational bias and was geared to instruction in basic communication, literacy and numeracy with a stress on agricultural fundamentals. This suited the local agrarian economy and did not warrant training beyond any semi-skilled level. Apart from the vernacular, there was also increasing emphasis on agricultural science and Afrikaans which received stringent periodic inspection. (45) This was in accordance with policy which dictated that language to be used would be decided on the basis of which was the predominant language amongst the white community in the area involved. (46) After the introduction of the Bantu Education Act, Afrikaans was thus introduced as the first official language as early as sub B, while English was to be introduced in Std One three years later. This affected all African schools stretching from Nylstroom to Potgietersrus and further North. (47) The purpose of this type of language instruction was undoubtedly to facilitate communication in the language of the employer. The curriculum, with its emphasis on religious instruction, coupled with the overt and covert code of conduct that schools often instil in their students, thus provided a socially acquiescent ideology.

In order to increase the production of more teachers for the lower primary schools, the Department of Bantu Education in the mid 50s earnestly set about establishing four junior secondary schools with hostel facilities in the region and introduced the Lower Primary Teachers Course (LPTC) in addition to the Junior Secondary Course within these schools. These were Arthurseat (near Acornhoek), Mokomene (near Sockmokaar), Ngwana-Mohube (near Pietersburg), and Emmarentia Geldenhuys (near Warmbaths). The existing missionary Teacher institutions such as Bethesda and Botshabelo, which were increasingly brought under Departmental control, were also instructed to offer the Lower Primary Teachers' Course in addition to the Higher Primary Teachers' Course. (48) The rapid establishment of these additional teacher training courses was also in keeping with the policy of influx control. The

late 60s under Bantu Education. There is evidence to suggest that a large proportion of students from these schools eventually became permanent employees on these agro-industries and farms in this region. (34) This accomodated the needs of a changing local agrarian economy which was rapidly expanding, intensifying production and displaying a growing level of mechanisation. This increasingly demanded a labour force equipped with basic skills, a level of numeracy and an internalised work ethic. The massive expansion of education thus prepared, procured and brought vast numbers of youth under a curriculum that was to impact on their "outlook and employability".

It is also important to note that Bantu Education remained solely under NAD jurisdiction until the late 1950s. (35) It was through this specific organ (NAD) that the Nationalist Party instituted its influx control policy as an instrument for procuring and controlling the allocation of African labour. It is also important to note that Eiselen, who played a crucial role in fashioning Bantu Education policy , was appointed Secretary of Native Affairs in 1951. This appointment was made over the heads of more senior and experienced NAD officers. (36) He thus played a crucial role in addressing the labour crisis.

To legitimate the use of student labour, the state co-opted tribal chiefs who mediated between farmers and parents thereby creating the conditions for securing child labour. The farmers would approach the chiefs just prior to school vacation periods and the relevant chiefs would subsequently convene meetings with parents to secure their permission. (37) Aspects of customary law were strengthened with the " Tribal Authorities Act " and must be seen within the context where capital continues to rely upon the survival or revival of traditional or patriarchal forms of control as a means of procuring cheap and disciplined labour. (38) The analysis thus far seems to concur with the view that :

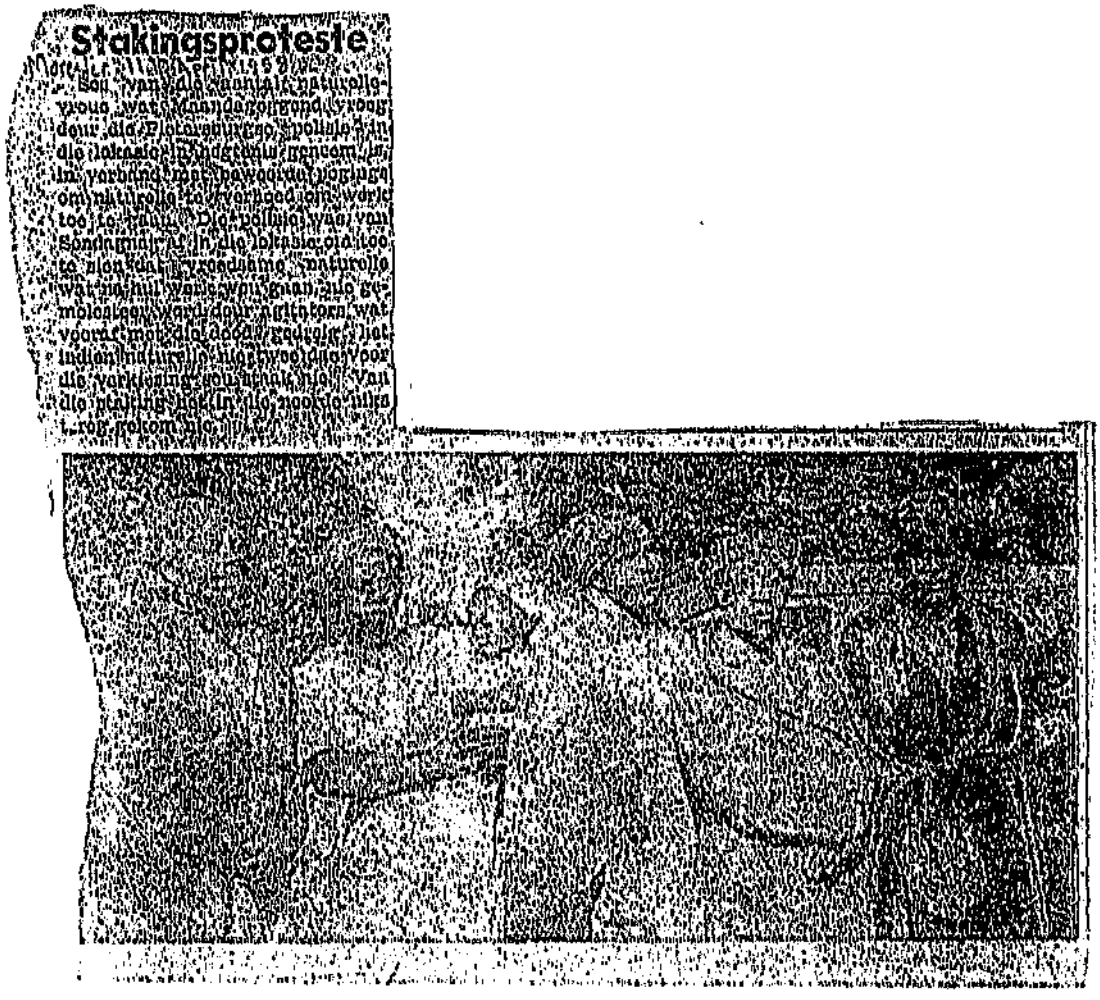
> Given the role of schooling in the reproduction of labour and without resorting to a reductionist argument, it is not unexpected that these changes in the conditions of black labour and its reproduction, both urban and rural, would result in some response in the area of schooling. (39)

The discussion now following shows the establishment of Mokopane College as integral to the process of educational massification sketched above.

The Mokopane college started by offering the native Primary Higher Teachers' Certificate Course (N.P.H.), which was changed in name to the Lower Primary Teachers' Course (L.P.T.C.) in 1949. This course was later followed by the Higher Primary Teachers' Course (H.P.T.C.) which could be taken after successful completion of the junior certificate. (40)

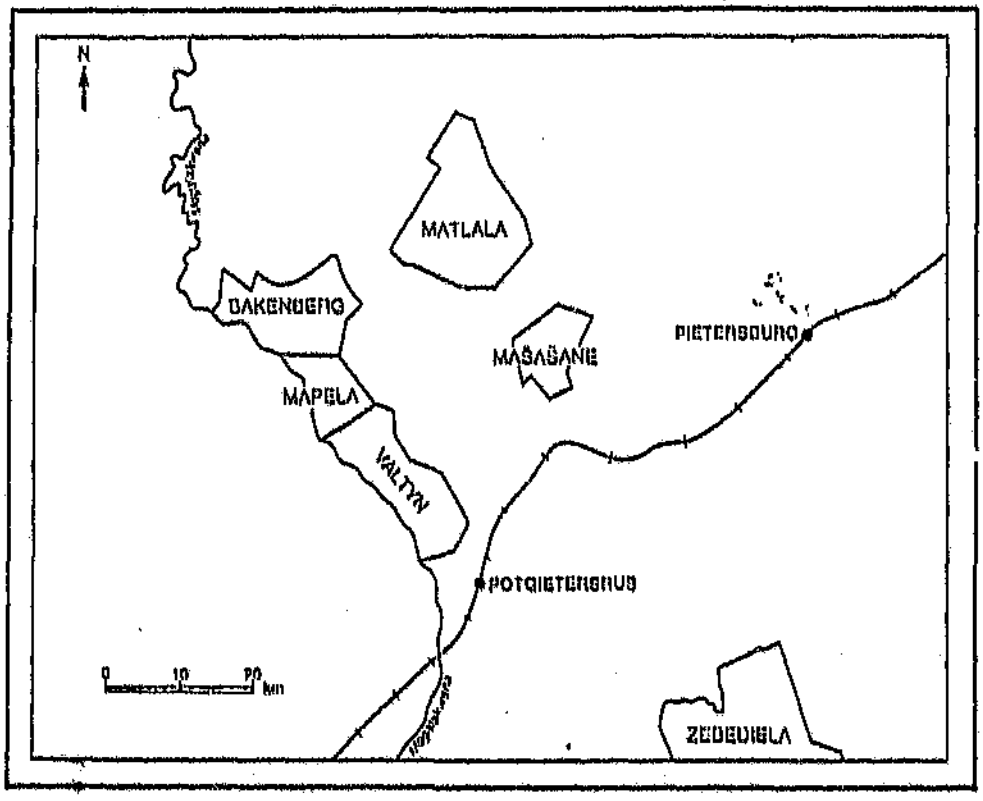
The Department worked on minimum academic certificate requirements and enrolled students with a pass in standard VI to the Lower Primary Teachers' Course. The L.P.T.C. was concerned with work in the lower primary school (Sub-standard A to standard 2), while the H.P.T.C. was concerned with work in higher primary schools (standard 3 to standard 6). (41) The college later introduced a Primary Teachers' Certificate course which was a merger of the L.P.T.C. and the H.P.T.C. effected in 1969. (42) The P.T.C. course prepared students to teach from sub-standard A to standard 6 (later to standard 5). Thus, until the late 60s the courses offered at Mokopane College were generally geared to prepare student teachers for work in the primary schools.

ILLUS. 8



Women in Resistance in the Pietersburg locality in the late 1950s

ILLUS. 7



Location boundaries in the Potgietersrus area in the 1940s.

The South African Agricultural Union (S.A.A.U.) on which the Potgietersrus Tobacco Co-op was well represinted since the early 1940s, (25) reached consensus in 1944, that new forms of state control over farm labour were immediately required. They advocated differentiation between agricultural and industrial labour, to be created by erecting influx control barriers on farm workers migration townwards. (26)

As a result of the dramatic economic growth of the late 1930s and 1940s, the urban African proletariat continued to expand, reflecting the growing white demand for African labour in an increasing variety of jobs, (27) while white farmers as has been noted, complained bitterly about critical labour shortages. However, as the industrial dependence on African labour deepened, so too did the white electorate's alarm at the growing militancy and volatility of urban African workers. In contrast to the relative quiescence of the 1930s, the socio-economic conditions of the 40s ushered in a decade of political turbulence, rising political expectations and militancy. (28)

The Afrikaner Nationalist alliance that came to power in 1948, though having competing conceptions of apartheid relating to white dependence on African labour, had a commitment to the political disenfranchisement of Africans as an essential condition of renewed white political supremacy. In attempting to resolve both the labour and political crises, the national Party through its organ, the Native Affairs Department (NAD), instituted its influx control policy as an instrument for procuring and controlling the allocation of African labour and extending control over the cities by limiting the growth of the urban African proletariat. NAD thus undertook to ensure an adequate supply of African labour to white employers in both the urban and rural areas.(29) In an attempt to deny political franchise to Africans and destroy emerging African Nationalism, the Nationalists embarked on retribalisation. The result was a fragmentation that would obstruct the further development of black nationalism. (30) It was primarily for this purpose that the Bantustans were devised and white political supremacy ensured.

Some of the laws and practices enacted by the state to procure and distribute labour for farms were, the Petty Offender's act, prison labour as well as efflux control measures (measures instituted to stop the flow of labour at the source, which in this instance meant farms). (31) The state also harnessed and procured student labour (akin to youth labour) as one means in its attempt to address the labour crisis and guarantee the conditions for the reproduction of agricultural capital. This it did by rapidly expanding the educational base at lower levels of schooling and bringing enormous numbers of students under institutional control and regularising their labour on farms and agro-industries in this region. By 1962 there were 200 144 students registered in rural northern Transvaal exceeding at this point in time even that of the Southern Transvaal (32) - an increase of over 100 000 students since 1957, and nearly 300 000 since its inception. (33) It becomes clear that Bantu Education vastly increased a work force prepared for semi-skilled labour. From the 1950s many thousands of students from the various schools around the Potgietersrus demarcated region worked on citrus, peanut, tobacco and cotton fields as well as in related agro-industries. They were used in a labour cycle that involved planting, tending, harvesting as well as sorting and grading. Most of them worked during their school vacations which coincided with the agricultural cycle. They worked alongside both tenant labourers and part-time labourers trucked in during seasonal harvests from African reserves around the area. The historical evidence seems to suggest that in this region, student employment on farms was already in existence under missionary education, but was used more extensively from the mid - 50s to the

Reports indicate that by the 1930s, 70 persent of men from the Potgietersrus area were said to be working in the mines. As a result of overcrowding and land deprivation, the immediate vicinity around Potgietersrus, which was the Vaaltyn location was "likened to the Sahara Desert and singled out by betterment planners as one of the worst in the Transvaal". (18) The tensions over labour between Northern agricultural interests, urban industrial interests and the government persisted throughout the decades of the 30s and 40s in this region. As the following statement indicates, labour during this period was proving extremely difficult to procure. The estate manager, Mr. P. Quinn of Zebediela, the premier South African citrus exporter, based in this region, prevailed upon the Director of Native Labour in 1936 to restructure existing regulations to make it easier for the estate to contract black labour outside the Union. He commented that :

> It is no exaggeration to say that due to the present labour scarcity, the industrial development of the Northern Transvaal as well as both farming and mining on which millions of capital has been spent, may be wrecked soon unless the labour regulations are adjusted to meet modern requirements. (19)

A. Pienaar, who wrote an article on the historical growth of the Potgietersrus Tobacco Co-op (P.T.K.) also observed that :

> Dit is interresant dat in 1937 gekla is oor die ernsitge tekort aan arbeid en dit is gewyt aan die feit dat groot getalle arbeid deur die myne gewerf word. Drie jaar later word dieselfde klag geopper....(20)

The South African Agricultrual Union (S.A.A.U.) during the late 30s and throughout the decade of the 40s, speaking on behalf of farmers in general complained about the single most debilitating problem of recurring labour shortages. This problem had arisen primarily because large numbers of Africans chose to work in urban areas above employment on white farms paying considerably lower wages. (21)

The issue of social control and the stabilisation of labour was a recurring concern for commercial agriculture. The curtailment of land and grazing resulted in a deterioration of the racial situation within rural areas with farmers complaining that Africans "have lost respect for them", and resigned to the fact that "a strained relationship between the two exists now". They also complained that "the young natives treat their contractual obligations with contempt". (22) Commenting on the nature of the labour tenant system, Morris writes :

> The effects of the economic class struggle on the political and ideological aspects of labour tenancy were such that the very structure of native administration in the rural areas seemed to be threatened. It ate away at the basis of the social and ideological role of chief and headman on the farms and was a source of friction between the state (Department of Native Affairs) and many farmers....(23)

As the Farm Labour committee commented in 1939 :

> Instead of a class of skilled and contended agricultrual labourers being developed, we have a class of Natives who divide their services between agriculture and industry and seldom attain any high degree of proficiency in either...(24)

4.6. Lebowa Rector's Council

With the increasing politicisation of College from the mid - 80s onwards, Rectors from the various Colleges within the region formed the Lebowa Rector's Council. This council's role extended to co-ordinate control over students. At a meeting held at the Modjadji College in August 1987, a recommendation by the Rector's Council advocated that :

> The Rectors should be permitted to have a "say" in the form of a recommendation (confidential report) when products from colleges are finally employed by the Department of Education. This will help in curbing the disciplinary problems encountered at colleges from student-teachers if such a report is acknowledged and considered in all new appointments. The behaviour of many student-teachers leaves much to be desired. (45)

5. Aspects of the Hegemonic Curriculum

5.1. Induction Course

The state's attempt to foster a regimented apolitical teacher corps was at times quite explicitly embedded within the curriculum as an induction course offered to students at the Mokopane College in 1979 demonstrates. The purpose of the induction course was "to impress ideas upon the minds of young officers and new entrants to the Public service in order to establish a high standard of efficiency and conduct". Among some of the "important factors" to be borne in mind were an "undivided allegiance" and "loyalty" to the "Government Service", the "Department" and "senior officers". Trainee teachers were moreover asked to acquaint themselves with the provision of the "Public Service Act", and to "have a sound knowledge" of their "conditions of service". They were reminded to avoid "politics" and "confrontation at all costs". (46) In other words, the state tried to foster teaching as a type of "Professionalism" totally abstracted from the political reality of society. Student teachers were thus called upon to "set an example in many things" as they were "looked upon as an elite corps of men and women". (47) Apart from external coercion characteristics of "total institutions" the college also contained elements of "greedy institutions" as it tended to "rely on voluntary compliance and to evolve means of activating loyalty and commitment". (48) These recommendations were thus designed to bind teachers to a comprehensive code of conduct.

a meeting of other class leaders. Such a meeting would only be "called by the Rector or his representative". These class leaders were moreover required to "perform their duties during 'college hours' and study time" and were to report all their requirements strictly to the "class lecturer". (41) Similar to the "inmates" in Chisholm's study, on reformatories and industrial schools in the 30s and 40s, disciplinary control over students was also "exercised through a strict regulation of space, time and movement" enforced and monitored by a structured hierarchy of power. (42) By controlling and institutionalising the lives of both students at the hostels and of students attending formal classes, the college administration was thus able to exercise control over virtually every aspect of students' lives : their recreation time, when, where and how they worked, when, where and how they ate, and when, where and how they slept.

4.5. Supervisor's Report

Regarding the nature of the bureaucratic structure another important measure of control related to a bi-monthly report that had to be completed by an "officer's or employee's immediate supervisor". The reporting "officer" had to be "at least one grade senior to the officer being reported on". The list below were among some of the probing and invasive questions to be reported upon. It would best be presented as tabulated below.

(a) The officers sense of responsibility in respect of observing of working hours, official appointments, care of government property, etc. is ...
(b) His conscientiousness is ... (i.e. Does he give immediate attention to his work or must he be prodded?)
(c) His character in general as far as friendliness, courtesy, loyalty, etc., are concerned, can be described as ...
(d) His disposition, conduct (including training of subordinates where applicable) towards his seniors, subordinates (if any) colleagues and the public is ...
(e) His abi y to organise his work in such a way as to obtain maximum productivity with the least expenditure of time and energy is ...
(f) The officers utilising of official time is ...
(g) Has the officer during this period been guilty of and punished or reprimanded for - insubordination or other irregular action? (Quote file references and dates where these have a bearing on the matter) (43)

Gordon points out that a key component of the exercise of power relates to "surveillance activities". Citing Giddens he writes that surveillance activities :

> refer to two connected phenomena. First, to the accumulation of "information" symbolic materials that can be stored by an agency or collectivity.
> Second, to the supervision of the activities of subordinates by their superiors within any collectivity. It is as important to distinguish these as it is to emphasise the potential connections between them. The garnering and storage of information is a prime source of time-space distinction and therefore of the generation of power. Power is also generated by the supervisory activities of super ordinates since supervision is one medium of co-ordinating ... (44)

evidence seems to suggest that the rules pertaining to gatherings and college property were bolstered to provide for more effective administrative control over students. Since hostels emerged as the epicentre of student unrest at this college, the rules pertaining to them will be described in more detail.

Subsequent to disturbances in 1984 all meetings which were to take place on the college campus by boarders were henceforth to be approved by the hostel superintendent. This required "a written application" to be handed to the superintendent three days in advance stating the reason for the meeting and also providing the agenda for the meeting. Besides "recognised hostel leaders", no "outside person, organisation or association" were allowed to convene a meeting of boarders. Any form of celebration, including birthday or farewell parties required an application in writing two weeks in advance. The requirement also entailed furnishing the names of boarders who were to take part in the celebration. As a rule "no outsiders" were allowed to attend these celebrations. All lecture rooms were to be "locked" after college hours, and boarders who needed to use lecture rooms for study purposes were to negotiate the issue with the College Administration. Permission to use the lecture hall was usually granted under the condition that the names of students who were to use the lecture room be submitted with an added requirement of electing a leader to take "charge of such a lecture room". As subsequent chapters will show, these rules were in all probability aimed at isolating the residences from the heightened political climate of township life. Visitors to hostels for example were to be "reported to the hostel administration immediately". Boarders who wished to take leave from the hostels were to inform their "leaders" about their intention "explaining clearly where they intend to go". The "leaders" in turn were to "record" such informa.'.n. (38) The evidence suggests that students did indeed experience an enclosed, formally administered round of life over at least 3 decades. Drawing on Goffman, Nasson writes that "institutional routines tend to grind out the same customs and rituals of enclosure and depersonalisation ..." (39)

Because of the ease with which activists were able to mobilise students around their discontent over the issue of food, regulations were immediately tightened and enforced after the 1984 food boycott. Boarders were henceforth expected to "respect" the catering staff and "to operate" with them in "all matters regarding their feeding". Those who did not adhere "strictly" to "serving times" and who were "not punctual" were "not to be served". Boarders having commitments forcing them to dishonour the "meal timetable" were to inform the catering staff "through their leaders in advance". "Unbecoming behaviour" during "meal times" was "not to be tolerated". (40)

4.4. Class Leaders

During the 1984 student unrest at the Mokopane College (dealt with more extensively in the subsequent chapter) an important aspect of student contention centred around the prefect system. It was therefore not surprising that the Rector in 1985 instituted a system of class leadership. The composition, duties and powers assigned to this body indicate that the change in name was simply a euphemism for the prefect system. It was a process that tried to streamline control over a terrain increasingly under threat. The students in each class were to elect in "the presence of a class - lecturer" a "leader and deputy leader". The class-lecturer was to be in "charge of the election". These "class-leaders" were to perform "daily duties" assigned to them by the Rector, through their respective class lecturers and to "report the activities of the class" to the College authorities. A "class - leader" however had "no power" for convening

In addition, the duties extended to "supervising in a general way" the students at the school and hostel and to ensure that the "duties he has delegated have been properly carried out". Among some of the surveillance displaying activities it was also required of the Rector to pay "regular visits to classes", "control the students" written work, draw up "general school rules" and "maintain school discipline". (32)

4.3. Hostel Administration

The hostels were administered by the superintendent who was usually the principal on behalf of the Department of Education. This was done in consultation with a hostel committee which included matrons, boarding masters, administration clerks and student leaders. Disciplinary control over students was exercised and legitimated through a network of rules and regulations and enforced through different levels of the command structure. It was thus the duty of the superintendent to ensure that "all department regulations, instructions and directions" relating to hostels were "strictly complied with and carried out". The superintendent was also required to detail in writing the "duties of the supervising, domestic administrative staff under his control" and to ensure that "such staff are fully conversant with" and "strictly discharge such duties". He was also to undertake "regular inspections" to "ensure" that the "prescribed ration" and "diet scale is applied", that "no wastage" take place and that the "necessary cleanliness" is maintained. (33)

Bill Nasson, commenting on the character of residential institutions, writes of their "need to regulate the lives of inmates into a common "discipline". (34) In the pervasiveness of institutional authority indicated above, the student hostels often resembled what E. Goffman has labelled a "total institution".

> ... a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut-off from the wider society, for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life. (35)

Supervision and control permeated nearly every level of the structure. The effective management of hostels was further facilitated by both hostel student and dormitory leaders. In regulating control the hostel student 'leaders' were to liase with both the superintendent and hostel committee in "bringing law and order" to the hostels and "assisting in the discipline" of the hostel. They were also required to "promote punctuality" with regard to "morning lessons, assemblies, and meal times". (36)

This structure of command filtered further through to dormitories to ensure a more streamlined control. "Dormitory leaders" were assigned to liase with the hostel administration through the 'hostel leaders'. They were required to record "absentees of members" of their dormitories, to assist in the "discipline of dormitories" and to "take up any duty assigned to them " by the superintendent. (37)

The hostels were thus governed by a formidable hierarchy of control. These rules clearly intended to regiment student behaviour, and were as subsequent chapters will show, consistently and effectively challenged by students. Life was perhaps not as harsh as in an asylum or prison, but in many respects the student hostel did resemble a "total institution". The rules described below were drawn from a Mokopane College circular that had emerged subsequent to the firsts serious disturbances experienced at the college hostels in 1984. The

> were embedded in a dense social institutional network in which the Department of Native affairs was a key central organisation concerned with the administrative sequestration of blacks. (25)

Drawing on Giddens, he argues that the use of "Bantu Law" was an essential part of state strategy of co-opting Chiefs and other petty political figures into the central apparatus. (26) This instituted a system of "informal justice" which it is argued,

> rendered conflict conservative and disguised the expanding coercive centralising dominance of the state. (27)

In 1983, when teacher training colleges were upgraded to the status of Colleges of Education, the Advisory School and Hostel Committee was henceforth transformed into the "Governing Council". This council was to include both the Rector and Vice-Rector within its composition. In addition to being able to make recommendations with regard to the appointment of teachers and government over hostel matters, its powers were extended to convene meetings and formulate policy over matters pertaining to student unrest which assumed increasing prominence after 1984. The minutes of all these meetings were to be submitted to the Inspector of Education for transmission to the Secretary of Education. (28)

The process of negotiating student resistance and maintaining consistency of policy proved to be rather difficult and the Governing Council often found itself at odds with Head Office. The Rector in 1986 addressed the Secretary of Education over the issue of student suspension, and remarked that

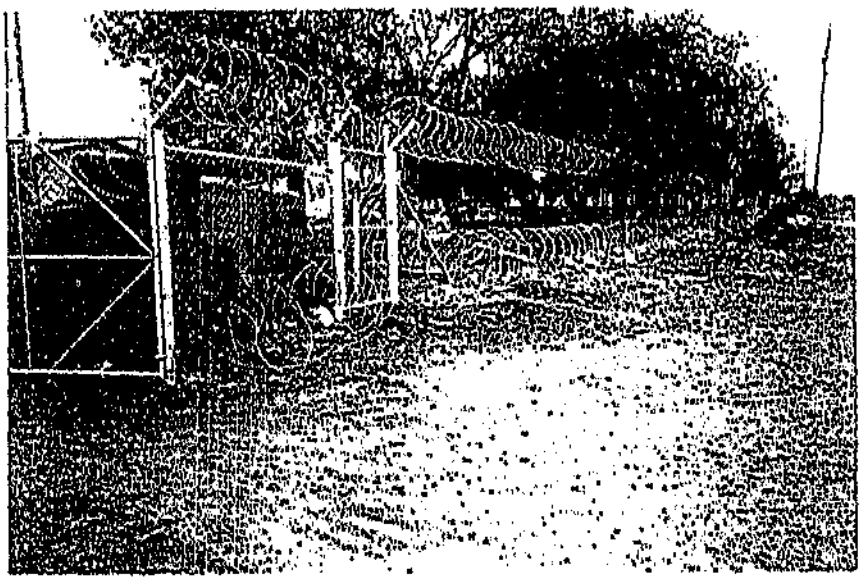
> The reason why we ask you as a Department to give us direction is that quite often when a college takes a decision the Department may at first accept and later change their minds, as I quoted the instance of Gladys in 1984 and Sophonia in 1986. This is a standpoint which I feel should be brought to the attention of the Department. It is very dangerous for a Rector. If a student is suspended, a reverse is a serious action and has a lot of implications for the rector who is the man on the spot. I am sorry to remark on this sensitive issue. I don't intend to be insolent to the Department but I can't help remarking. (29)

4.2 Responsibilities of the Principal

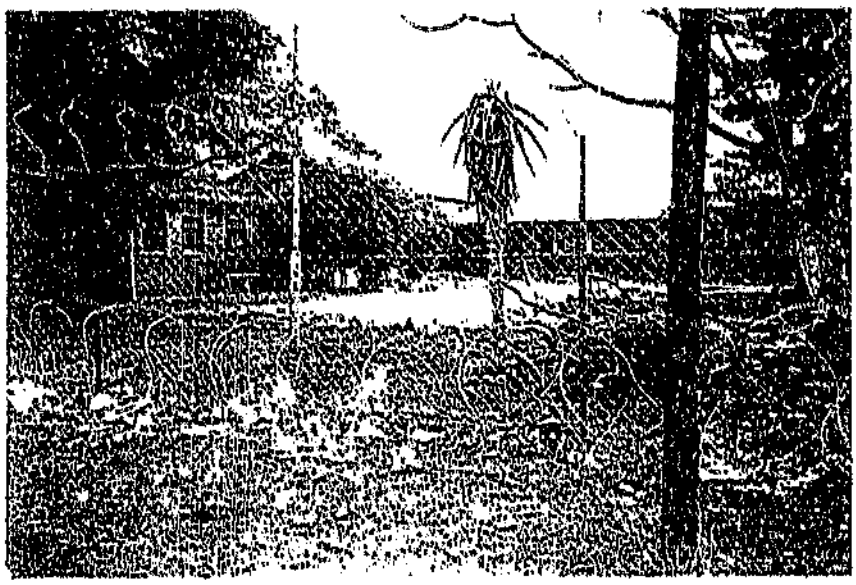
Principals were regarded as employees of the education department or its agencies. They were expected to produce "good quality work", to display "loyalty" and "integrity" and to maintain a "strong liaison" with the education department and its agencies. They were to familiarise themselves with the "education laws" which "spell out in detail the powers and responsibilities" of the various "agencies of education". (30)

Among some of the varied duties, the most important revolved around delegation and supervision. The process of delegation involved allocating part of the "work" to "subordinates" with the necessary "authority to carry out the work". It also involved setting up a "control mechanism to ensure" that work is "done according to predetermined standards". (31)

ILLUS. 12

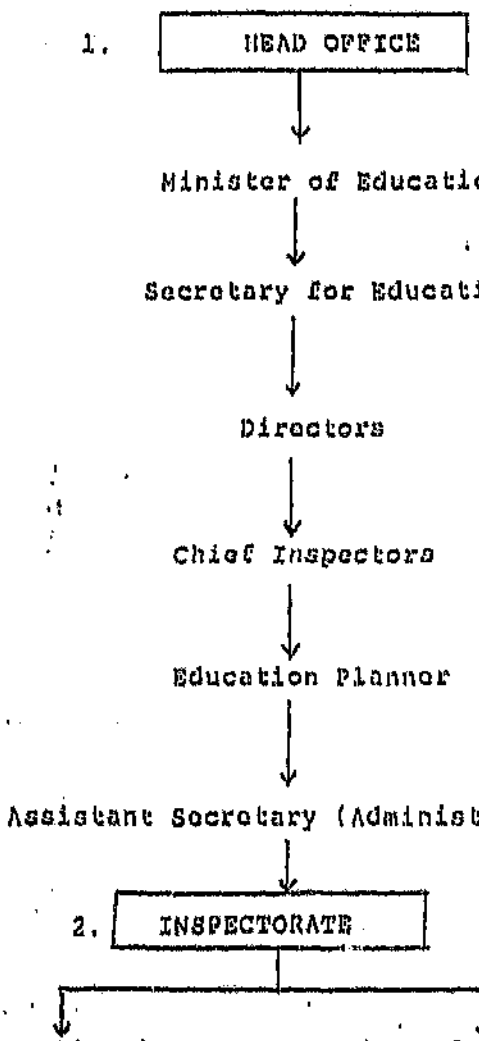


Barracks-like appearance and fencing of the Mokopane College - late 1980s



ILLUS. 11

. Diagrammatic representation of the top-down administrative structure of the Lebowa Education Department as in 1982 .



Inspection Circuits		Teacher Education Institutions
(a)	Bohlabela	Dr C.N. Phatudi
(b)	Dennilton	Mamokgalake Chuana
(c)	Mahwelereng	Mokopane
(d)	Polokwane	Kwena Maloto
(e)	Ramokgopa	Modjadji
(f)	Sekhukhune	Sekhukhune

> they were all framed on the architectural principles of confinement and exclusion from the outside world and surveillance inside the institution. (19)

An additional feature of control that militated against the rapid political conscientisation of college students relates to its site location within the township. The Mokopane College was situated within a predominantly middle class section of the township of Mahwelereng. Houses that had surrounded the college belonged to Lebowa Government bureaucrats and civil servants thereby inhibiting the expression of protest. The police - station was situated only metres from the college. The college was thus insulated from working class township life, limiting the infusion of political influences emanating from this terrain. The formidable challenges posed by students however, show that these institutions rarely fulfil the intended aims of dominant forces unproblematically.

4. College Administration

4.1. The Advisory School and Hostel Committee

An Advisory School and Hostel Committee was established as early as 1961 at the Mokopane College. (20) This Committee was to consist of five members and in its composition generally reflected the interests of more conservative forces within its immediate context. Thus in 1979, the criteria used in selecting the candidates as stipulated represented the interests of : the churches; the business sector; both the Vaaltyn Tribal Authority and Amandebele Regional Authority; the school Committee as well as the Mahwelereng Town Council. (21)

The duties assigned to this committee concerned :

> (a) making recommendations as regards appointment and Dismissal of Hostel Staff
> (b) assisting the Superintendent in working out rules, diet scales, boarding fees, suspension of scholars, renovations of buildings, extending grounds for school or hostel.
> (c) discharge duties assigned to them by the Secretary for Education. (22)

The activities of this Committee thus centred on discipline. S.P.P Mminele, points out that the issue of discipline was at times very delicate because it involved the suspension or expulsion of students. (23) Thus, part of the rationale behind the composition of this Committee from different interest groups was to legitimate the contentious issue of expulsions and discipline and was to protect the image of the principal. The Circuit Inspector of the Mahwelereng Circuit, L.M.J. Ngoasheng, writing to the Principal of the Mokopane College, stated that :

> The crux of the matter is that the Council Advisory School and Hostel Committee itself as direct representatives of the parents, should themselves take up cudgels, while the principal remains impartial to avoid accusation and involvement. (24)

The criterion for selecting the class of administrative candidates to this Advisory Committee noted above must be seen within the broader context of South African state policy. As Gordon points out, the state's policing activities :

"prescribed, described and decided everything appertaining to teacher education for Blacks". (11) The role of officials of the Department of Bantu Education extended to include an all white association of teaching staff called the "Vereeninging van Blanke Onderwysers in Bantoe Onderwys (VBOBO)". This association played a significant role in the administration of certain black teacher education institutions individually and collectively within Lebowa. With the change in the name of the Department from "Bantu Education", to "Education andTraining", the Association's name was changed to the "Vereeninging van Blanke Onderwysers in Onderwys en Opleiding". (12) According to the former president of thi Association, D. A. Scholtz, who served for a period of six years as principal of this Association and for a period of six years as principal of the Setotolwane College, this Association contributed significantly towards the curricula and syllabuses in Black Education. (13) It was solely accountable to Central Government and was undoubtedly used "to watch very closely the type of Black teacher that was produced". (14) When Lebowa was granted Territorial Authority in 1969, these inspectors under the Department of Bantu Education continued working in close co-operation and co-ordination with inspectors and organisers appointed by Lebowa. The Lebowa Education Department under direct advice from the Department of Bantu Education/Department of Education and Training, invited the inspectors from the Department of Education and Training "to join hands with their inspectors and organisers, mainly to give the necessary guidance". The Central Government was in this way able to monitor and maintain its influence over the homeland Department. (15)

The crucial link between the Lebowa Education Department and Bantu Education/Department of Education and Training was the Secretary for Education in Lebowa. Indicative of the control exercised by the Central Government, the first incumbent of this post was Dr. J. L. van Dyk who was a retired Secretary under Bantu Education. Van Dyk served as Secretary for Bantu Education from 1961 to 1968, and subsequently served as Secretary for the Lebowa Education Department from 1972 to 1980. The Professional Advisers were thus in all their activities accountable to him. (16)

From the discussion thus far, it is clear that state decision-making structures and processes during the period under discussion were influenced by senior bureaucrats and administrators. There was no consultation with other interest groups from within the broader society. It was thus a sectional, bureaucratic and non-inclusive process. The exercise of power buttressed within this bureaucratic structure obscured visibility of the way in which it operated. This tendency "for certain groups to appropriate power and to transform it into hidden power, can also be conceived of as the centralisation of power". (17)

3. Structure and Location of Mokopane College

The structure of the College until the early 90's before its re-location appears to have been socially engineered to supervise under controlled secure conditions. Its barracks - like appearance created two - arenas surrounded by classrooms. All student activity between lectures were centred in these areas. The Rector's office was centrally located to overlook the entrance to the College as well as the student enclosure. This enabled controlled monitoring of student activity. The College itself was cordoned off with security fencing and razor wire. Visitors were strictly screened before being permitted to enter. (18) An analogy can be drawn with Chisholm's depiction of the physical and surveillance features of reformatories and the structure and nature of "total" and "complete and austere institutions". She writes that :

student "has been approved", and that the student "be excluded permanently from the Mokopane Training School only". (6) The policy making style was thus closed and top-down. The result, it has been argued, "is that policy tended to be formulated and implemented by the bureaucrats within the system, with little public access to the process". (7) The discussion that follows shows how such bureaucratised, top-down control filtered through to affect power relations within the institutional domain itself. This chapter deals with the control and administration of the institution as was exercised through the inspectorate, the college administration, the role of the principal and the running of hostels. It shows how the administration and control of the institution, through a network of rules and surveillance practices served to entrench control over the student body. Activities of the student body itself were severely circumscribed by the parameters that were drawn for them. The structure of control and surveillance was perhaps most visible in the location and architecture of the institution. It also shows how Fundamental Pedagogics being the dominant theoretical discourse at this institution, implicitly excludes the political as a legitimate dimension of theoretical discourse.

2. Role of Inspectors and Specific Officials

Inspectors appointed by the Department of Bantu Education periodically inspected teacher education institutions in Lebowa to control activities related to their respective subjects. These included specialised fields such as : Religious Education, Physical Education, Music, Art and Crafts, Needlework and Gardening, Library services and audio-visual Education. Apart from these, an area which was particularly singled out by the Department of Bantu Education was the inspection of hostels attached to the teacher education institutions. This was significant because "it was always in the catering for students that most students' unrest's originated". (8) In addition to this general pattern of inspections, another effective form of control consisted of an inspection panel. This panel consisted of a team of five inspectors who would visit a teacher education institution for two to three consecutive days, inspecting every aspect of the institution. (9)

During the early period under Bantu Education the Department appointed a Teachers' Examination Committee through which it could extend firm control over teachers' examinations. This committee constituted five Regional Directors, two Inspectors of schools, four "European" teachers who were principals of teacher education institutions, and four "Bantu" teachers who were attached to teacher education institutions. This Committee met biannually with responsibilities to :

(a) formulate courses for teacher training
(b) frame syllabuses for the courses
(c) amend syllabuses where necessary
(d) set and control examination for the various courses;
(e) appoint examiners and moderators,
(f) prescribe books for the various courses;
(g) consider complaints in regard to examination papers,
(h) investigate irregularities in examinations;
(i) deal with any other matter concerning examination courses for teachers(10)

The composition of the above Committee which was predominantly white and composed of authorities from within the Bantu Education Department suggests that this Department,

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL ORDER WITHIN THE INSTITUTION - THE STRUCTURE OF AUTHORITY POWER AND CONTROL, 1969 - 1989.

1. Introduction

The previous chapter has briefly situated the restructuring of the educational terrain in this region within the wider South African political economy. It has shown how schools and colleges in this specific region were rapidly brought under central control. This was in accordance with broader National Party policy on education, which stressed a planned centrally controlled schooling system for blacks. The analysis also concurs with revisionist writing on educational historiography, by showing how the centralisation and restructuring of the educational terrain in this province also facilitated the process towards stabilisation and reproduction of black labour.

As a follow up to the discussion of the process of centralisation and restructuring of the educational terrain in the previous chapter, it is important to analyse the social order within the newly created institutional structure of Mokopane College under the Nationalist Government. While education for black teacher trainees during the period of Bantu Education fell under the sole control of the Minister of Bantu Education, the creation of bantustans after 1968 for different African ethnic groups produced new methods of decentralisation. Bantustans were subsequently granted the right to develop their own education system and policies. (1)

As a result, Lebowa, after gaining the status of territorial authority in 1969, instituted its own Department of Education and Culture. Control over teacher education was thereafter shared between Lebowa and the Central Government, with the central Government retaining control over crucial matters such as the budget and a common examination system which was administered by the Department of Education and Training. (2) As Pregs Govender has pointed out, "a country's values are reflected in its Budget, which shows who and what it values, whose work it values whom it rewards and whom it doesn't". (3)

Thus, an important function of this Department of Education and Culture was to formulate policy in accordance with the educational blueprint relating to black education as legislated by the National Government. The execution of policy was the responsibility of the secretary of Bantu Education who in liaison with a Planning Section, in existence by 1972, offered administrative assistance to the Minister of Bantu Education. This Planning Section consisted of a Director, assisted by a Deputy Director. A chief Education Planner in charge of "Teacher Training" was directly responsible to the Deputy Director. (4)

This bureaucratic machine was responsible for the formulation and implementation of policy under Bantu Education. An important aspect of policy entrusted to this Department related to the determination of courses and syllabuses, including the type of library books, journals and newspapers to be read at the teacher educational institutions. (5) The Secretary of Education had the final say even over specific issues concerning the suspension and/or expulsion of students at the specific institutions. As a case in point, in 1968, in reply to the recommendations of the authorities of the Mokopane College, the Inspectorate and the Regional Director, the Secretary for Bantu Education ratified that the expulsion of the said

49. J. Hyslop, "The concepts of reproduction and resistance in the sociology of education : the case of the transition from 'missionary' to 'Bantu' education 1940 - 1955", in Perspectives in Education, vol. 9 February 1987, p. 452.

50. Cross & Chisholm, p. 67.

51. J. Hyslop, p. 452.

52. Christie & Collins, p. 164.

against workers was forbidden. Dismissed workers were reinstated. Working conditions were proved and a living wage was the minimum to be paid. For a conservative town like Potgietersrus, these concessions were perceived by workers all over town as a great victory and this helped swell the ranks of CCAWUSA. Boysen, together with shop stewards Seota, Shogole and Manganyi in the span of two years unionised more than 60 percent of the black work force of Potgietersrus. The rapid spread of CCAWUSA created some consternation among both the white and Indian merchant class, who resorted to legal representation in order to improve their bargaining position. (36)

An additional cameo will serve to illustrate the political role played by certain teacher activists. Kamela Masuku was one of those teacher activists who played a pivotal role in the process of teacher radicalisation in the immediate vicinity of Potgietersrus. Risking expulsion by college authorities, Masuku agitated and led a food strike by male hostel dwellers at the Mokopane College in 1982. While teaching at the Madikana High School in the neighbouring village of Moshate in 1983, he complained of TUATA's "bureaucratic structure" and their "obsession with music and beauty competitions". Disillusioned with TUATA's apolitical agenda, he often shared the following feelings with other teacher activists:

> While students and unionists were actively involved in struggle, teachers were not making any advances on the political front in this region. (37)

These were part of the reasons that motivated Masuku's participation in the inauguration of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) at the University of the North in 1986. He was one of three activists from the region that attended. These activists helped to popularise the alternate discourse on teacher unionisation. Masuku, together with Vaaltyn Kekana and Solomon Rasefate, both teacher trainee activists from Mokopane College, started organising teachers around this concept of an alternate teacher union. There was a call for a meeting of teachers, which excluded principals, from the Mahwelereng Circuit. A decision was taken at this meeting to launch the Mahwelereng Teachers Organisation (MATO). The meeting revealed the deep divide between these parties. However as a result of "poor caucusing" and the subsequent state of emergency, key activists were either detained or on the run, severely impacting on MATO, which eventually led to its disintegration. Kamela Masuku however, was to play a pivotal role in the launch of NOTTU (Northern Transvaal Teachers Union) three years later. (38) The subsequent chapter which focuses on the period of the late 80s, will briefly elaborate on both the NOTTU launch and the composition of its first area committee. This will give us some indication of the role played by both lecturer and teacher trainee activists from the Mokopane College.

The developing scenario resembled the emergence of what Gramsci called "organic intellectuals" who were articulating the demands of the working class and were influential in developing its various political strategies. The regular interaction of these forces prior and subsequent to the formation of the youth congress MAYCO reflected the growth of student, worker and national democratic forces converging upon the local terrain, and the educational institution during the mid-1980's. The emergence of this front resulted in the unleashing of popular forces which seriously challenged institutional and wider state power. The phenomenal growth of a counter-hegemonic consciousness during this period posed a threat to state hegemony and resulted in extreme repression of political activism during the state of emergency.

network, remarking that during periods of stress membership declined leaving at times only the core structure to function (33)

As a direct consequence of the lack of secondary schooling facilities for Indian students in Potgietersrus, Imraan Loonat attended the Benoni High School for Indians. His involvement with the Benoni and Lenasia Youth Leagues brought him into contact with many Indian activists organising against both the South African Indian Council and emerging ideas over tricameralism. According to Loonat, many of these students linked up with activists detained during the 76 uprising, and who were now released in 1981 having served their 5 year detention period. Imraan Loonat's involvement with the national democratic struggle importantly shaped the influence of his activities within the region. Loonat and Saad Cachalia, a labour lawyer, who on several occasions served on the advisory committee of a branch of CCAWUSA in Potgietersrus, together with other activists, organised the youth in the Indian township of Akasia against the tricameral election. Both linked up with activists and trade unionists in the Mahwelerong township, which is situated only two kilometres from the Indian township.

Imraan Loonat commented that at various discussion groups he introduced a manual for political organisation called "Organising People for Power", by Felipe E. Maglaya, and published by the Asian Committee for People's Organisation. This manual discusses various strategies adopted by the oppressed in Latin America and especially in the Phillipines in organising effective counter-hegemonic strategies among the oppressed. (34) This widely read and circulated manual provides a wide spectrum of examples concerning conflict-confrontational situations, providing diverse strategies of action that could be employed by activists organising in struggle. There is a stress on the democratisation of decision making within organisations with an emphasis on dialogue and broad consensus. It also alludes to the often problematic nature of the relationship between middle-class intellectual organisers and the working class proper.

Another key player in the formation of MAYCO, was Boysen Thole. He together with James Seota, Joyce Hlongwane and Foxy Segole organised and recruited workers for CCAWUSA now changed to SACAWU (South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union). After the formation of COSATU and in line with the policy of bringing common sectors under one federation in 1985 the Retail and Allied Workers Union (RAWU) and the Hotel and Allied Workers Union (HAWU) were brought together under SACCAWU. This was the dominant trade union operating in Potgietersrus during the mid-80's. Boysi, working for a chemical company in Germiston in 1981, returned from a radical culture of trade unionism emerging within the Rand, to commence work at the Potgietersrus branch of the OK Bazaars in 1983. He together with James Seota initiated the formation of this first dominant union, CCAWUSA, in the town of Potgietersrus during the early 80's. Benefiting from the advice of colleagues at his previous work place and together with James Seota and Foxy Segole he recruited and organised the work force at OK. CCAWUSA played a vital role in organising the first successful consumer boycott of the OK Bazaars in 1985.(35)

This was the first time the Conservative Party dominated town of Potgietersrus witnessed a workers picket. In Potgietersrus CCAWUSA won many concessions for workers during the turbulent mid-1980s, but not without difficulties. Unionists were detained and harassed and workers randomly dismissed. OK Bazaars, at the insistence of the Union, was the first to remove petty apartheid signs from its premises in this conservative town. Derogatory language

SRC's. The formation of SRC's within the high schools in Mahwelereng was influenced directly by MAYCO. Substantial groupings of students absconded from AZASM to join the MAYCO dominated SRC's. (29) This led at times to inter-ideological conflict between the two groups. The conflict was concentrated on differences between adherents of the Black Consciousness ideology and Charterist - oriented students. Its origins can be traced to the period when AZASO abandoned the B.C. ideology. The conflict originated when AZASO abandoned the black consciousness ideology. The following statement from an AZASO policy document aptly captures AZASM's discontent:

> This act (change in outlook) constituted an inexcusable abrogation of responsibility to the legacy of the South African Student Organisation ..... began a new to organise themselves as Black Students, because of their unique position in relation to the historically evolved social and national peculiarities of the Black people in this country ....To AZASM, B.C. is still the unquestionable ideology that will usher the Black oppressed masses into the new envisioned order ... (30)

Malunga, the principal of D.G. Tsebe high school, played a mediating role between the conflicting groups and helped in part to resolve the conflict. Significantly, as was pointed out earlier, he allowed activists to hold workshops at the school, and was to become Rector of the Mokopane College in 1989. He was the first rector who was sympathetic to the aims of the democracy movements. The launching of MAYCO led to the mushrooming of youth congresses in surrounding villages. This led to the emergence of the Madiba Youth Congress, the Mosesetjaan Youth Congress and the Magongoa Youth Congress among others. (31)

Activists such as Joyce Mabudafasi, Alf Makaleng, Saad Cachalia, Imraan Loonat, Boysea Thole were among some of the prominent activists that provided Charterist literature to student activists. Loonat it is ascertained liaised regularly with both Mokopane student activists, Mamabolo and Tibane and unionists, Boysea Thole and James Seota. (32) An important feature of the SRCs was their role in student empowerment, although at times their focus narrowed down to student issues only. The emergence of youth congresses on the other hand created the conditions enabling the consolidation of that crucial alliance between students, unionists and the broader society.

The following section describes briefly the role certain leading activists among others played in linking national and local struggles, African and Indian students, worker and national democratic concerns at Mahwelereng. Thereafter the discussion will turn to focus on the emergence of structural forces converging upon both the immediate and institutional terrains.

4. The Role of Leading Activists

Joyce Mabudafasi was elected general secretary of the Transvaal Region of the UDF in 1985. Her work with the UDF meant that she had to travel all over the Northern Transvaal, helping to organise people in this part of the country. As the Northern Transvaal representative of the NECC she worked feverishly with Alf Makaleng a UDF representative from Pietersburg, Marie Stella Mabotja, a member of the Detainees Support Committee, and other activists to initiate the formation of Youth Congresses and SRC's in the Northern Transvaal. She indicated that the state of emergency had impacted severely on the organisational capacity of the

By late 1985 students were liasing with trade union and high school students on a regular basis at both the Roman Catholic Church and the D.G. Tsebe High School. To secure a venue during these turbulent times was very difficult. The principal of D.G. Tsebe, Mr Malunga, was an ANC sympathiser and represented the Northern Transvaal region at the first NECC conference in Durban in 1986. He was accompanied by Gladys Tlbane, a prominent activist from Mokopane College. He made available to activists a classroom where political workshops were organised, with representatives from trade unions, activists from Mokopane College and other democratic organisations in the township. Discussions were held on the character of the national democratic struggle as well as the organised formation of youth and worker structures. (25) These preparatory discussions were to lead to the launching of the Mahwelereng Youth Congress (MAYCO) in late 1985.

During this period of heightened student politicisation an important event occurred. In October 1985 an SRC president at Lebowa's neighbouring Modjadji College, Mr Ngwako Ramalepe, died after being held by the Lebowa police in the aftermath of a clash between students and the authorities. His death sparked off regional college boycotts. Commemoration services were held at various college campuses. An inter-college meeting of SRC's, where Mokopane College was also represented, suggested the renaming of the Modjadji College as the Ngoako Ramalepe College of Education. (26)

3. Launch of Mahwelereng Youth Congress

On the 16th of December 1985 (Heroes Day-Commemoration of the first attacks by Umkhonto we Sizwe) following lengthy preparatory discussions between activists within the township, unionists, members of the UDF and representatives of the Transvaal Indian Congress from the neighbouring Indian Township, the Mahwelereng Youth Congress was launched. Founding members indicated the broad range of social forces involved. They included among others Joyce Mobudafasi a librarian at the University of the North, (member of the Northern Transvaal region of the UDF and the NECC), Boysen Thole and James Seota (prominent trade union activists and organisers of CCAWUSA), Sophonia Mamabolo (student activist at Mokopane College instrumental in the launching of the SRC), Ndo Mngala (student activist at the D.G. Tsebe High School and later president of the SRC at Mokopane College in 1989) and both Imraan Loonat and Saad Cachalia, (members of UDF and representatives of the Transvaal Indian Congress in the township of Akasia). An invitation to attend the launch was also extended to the unemployed youth of the Mahwelereng and neighbouring villages. More than 600 people attended the launching of MAYCO, which took place during the International Year of the Youth. An activist indicated that dominant literature from Lenin's analysis of youth revolutionaries were widely disseminated, which resembled a country-wide phenomenon. (27) Conversations conducted with the MAYCO leadership reinforces the view expressed by Swilling in his description of the Uitenhage Youth Congress. Writing that they were relatively well educated he comments :

> This group had a remarkably clear political ideology derived from a reading of the alternative media banned literature (usually ANC material) and some well used Marxist texts (especially Lenin)... (28)

During the launch decisions were taken to co-ordinate strategy between the different interest groups referred to above, which were all broadly aligned to the national liberation movement. A decision was also taken to go back to schools and colleges and demand the formation of

to be a costly case, because in principle the SRC issue could not be rejected by college authorities. Its form however could be modified.

A few teachers, sympathetic to the student movement, also expressed their disagreement at the expulsion of certain activists. Minutes of a staff meeting in early 1985 records the rector addressing staff:

> Cases arising out of students' misconduct are handled according to departmental regulations and decided as thought fit. Why and how some of you, during lessons come to discuss and criticise the way students are expelled one cannot understand ... (17)

In early January 1985, the rector in the hope of placating students and shifting student sentiment away from the call for a democratic SRC instituted non-representative student bodies such as a system of "class leaders" an "all sports committee" and a "students hostel committee". This foisting of a top-down structure took the form of assigning certain "duties" to "class leaders" via lecturers. These leaders were to report the activities of the class to the college authorities, and their duties were to be limited to extra-mural activities within the college. A class leader, moreover had no powers to convene a meeting of other class leaders. Thus the rector attempted to re-establish the hierarchy of control that had been threatened by student conflict. By limiting students to the intra-mural activities of the college, he attempted to restructure the space and terrain of student activity. (18)

The students were not to be easily dissuaded and continued their defiance. There were reports that from among the re-admitted students, there are some who are not "abiding by college regulations". It notes that these students are being "closely observed". (19) Student activists, Sophonia Mamabolo, Ntsie Solomon and Motau Victor, were to be called to the rector's office to be made aware of their "undesirable behaviour". (20)

Students at the time were selling Saspu National (a national student publication)and a Detainees Parents Support Committee publication called Unzima Lomthwalo and recruiting workers at the college for the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) which had an affiliate in Pietersburg. This was a union known to have close links with the UDF. Activists apparently liased on a regular basis with SAAWU.(21) The newly appointed rector Mr Kganakga introduced monthly tests to follow a particular programme in mid-April 1985. The timing of this initiative seems to suggest that this was a strategy to keep students concentrating on the official syllabus, curtailing time for extra-mural (political) activities. (22)

In July 1985 students launched the first democratic SRC. Before the launch, student activists displayed posters all over the college campus, calling for the formation of an SRC. At a time when students congregated in the assembly hall, a few activists were instrumental in locking the door of the hall and seizing the space to address students. There was some discordance within student ranks over the issue. PTC students who were to complete their diplomas refused to support the call to form an SRC. However, the majority of students voted in favour of its formation. (23)

The SRC organised several meetings in an effort to consolidate their position. They divided portfolios and mobilised students. They operated amidst threats of security police, who demanded student names and harassed activists. (24)

at colleges in the post - 1976 period was initiated by students in the matriculation classes attached to teacher training institutions such as Mokopane, Sekhukhune and Setotolwane. (2) While the "principal exercised good control and enjoyed the confidence and co-operation of the student body" at th ...opane College in 1976, (3) the high school attached to the College closed earlier for the winter vacation "due to disturbances in schools in Soweto and Pretoria ". (4) The matriculation classes had by 1976 been discontinued at the Mokopane College. (5)

There is little evidence to support the view that there had been any overt political motivation underlying student reaction for the period 1981 - 1983. There were registered hostel disturbances over unsatisfactory food which led to a food boycott during which a student was suspended for confrontation with a hostel superintendent. (6) This situation was normalised only to be followed by a series fo misdemeanours in 1982. The College Council in an emergency meeting decided to expel several students implicated in student pregnancies. (7) Disciplinary action was also instituted against a student from a neighbouring school who entered the College premises without permission. (8) The emergence of political undertones in student discourse appeared in late 1983 when groups of AZASM (Azanian Students Movement) supporters took issue with the appointment of Johan Groenewald, a member of the SADF, to the teaching staff. (9) Student resistance, following a trend nationally, assumed more overt political dimensions in mid - 1984. There were registered hostel disturbances which were followed by students staging a food boycott. Students expressed grievances such as the allocation of food rations, lighting facilities and interrupted water supply.

The process thereafter assumed overt political dimensions. Male Students singing the African National Anthem, marched to the female section of the residence to enlist their support and a unanimous decision was taken to boycott classes from the 28th of August to the 3rd of September 1984.(10) Prefects, who were perceived as tools of administrative surveillance, were stripped of their status and in a display of organisational ability, replaced by an elected interim committee. Permission was sought for a mass meeting during which the formation of n SRC was called for.(11) This request for an SRC was rejected by the Rector. At an emergency meeting of the College Council, decision was made to "discipline" the "ring leaders". Student reaction to this official r ,onse was to create a state of "lawlessness" on campus and continue the boycott of classes. As Jonathan Hyslop has pointed out, the 'food riot' was only partially about food. A host of issues relating to questions of authority , power and politics, condensed around and were symbolised by the issue of food. (12)

Head office immediately responded by issuing an ultimatum to students to vacate campus and the college was closed until the 9th of October. Two prominent activists, Gladys Tibane and Sophonia Mamabolo, against whom disciplinary action was instituted, were both lodgers from Atteridgeville near Pretoria(13) which was one of the epicentres of the 1984 student uprisings, suggesting the influence of urban national links with local expressions of resistance. The food boycott thus became a central and persistent feature of the repertoire of protest because of its ability to absorb new underlying agendas. (14)

The suspended students immediately consulted, an eminent political lawyer, Priscilla Jana, to represent them. Jana on behalf of the students challenged the validity of the suspension.(15) This seemed to cause some consternation within administrative ranks. Head office, contrary to Advisory Council recommendations, decided to reverse its decision on the expulsion of the students. (16) This decision may have been taken for fear of embarking on what could prove

CHAPTER 3

IMPACT OF STUDENT, WORKER AND NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FORCES ON THE MOKOPANE COLLEGE AND ITS IMMEDIATE CONTEXT, 1983 - 1989.

1. Introduction

The preceding chapter focused on institutional structures and power relations revealing the hegemonic interests underlying state education policy. Both this and subsequent chapters by contrast have their focus on student resistance and show how the structural determinants under Bantu Education failed both in their role as an effective agency of social control and in reproducing a docile labour force.

This chapter argues that it was the ability of political activists to break out of the isolation and to overcome the barriers to the free flow of information, that played a major part in the rapid politisation of the rural community. This chapter also shows how activists engaged in a "dialogical encounter" developing effective means of communication, consultation and involvement with both the student mass and different sectors of the broader society.

It illustrates the complexities of the structure - agency dualism and provides an example of the effects of counter-hegemonic structures on consciousness. This and the following chapter both embrace the elements of agency, contestation and struggle. Focusing on the resistance within and around the immediate context of the Mokopane College of Education between 1984-1988, this chapter intends to show that :

> only once local power struggles in education, or for that matter any other region of society are considered in the context of general political relations can their form and content be explained. (1)

2. Resistance at the Mokopane College from the late 70's to the mid 80's

Between 1976 and 1990, students at educational institutions became central to the wider opposition and resistance to apartheid. Through education they challenged all forms of control. In the 1980s, resistance within the educational terrain coalesced nationally around school student, youth and teacher movements. In 1985 the formation of the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) gave these movements a wider national and political reach. The NECC was formed in the midst of a national insurrection between 1984 and 1986 and in the context of wide spread repression leading to the declaration of two States of Emergency. Educational struggles were coordinated both internally as well as with other sectors, such as trade unions and national political movements, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF). The national demand for SRCs and "peoples education" was central to educational mobilisational campaigns. All these developments were echoed in and around Mokopane. Events in this decade brought to a decisive end the forms of control described in the previous chapter. Whereas this chapter focuses on the general mobilisation of students at the college in the period 1983 - 89, the next chapter examines the educational form and content of this resistance as it changed in the succeeding period more closely.

Student reaction at the Mokopane College, despite the 1976 student uprisings on the Rand, did not appear to be politically motivated until the mid 1980's. All politically motivated unrest

32. Mminele, S.P.P. , p. 154.
33. Mminele, p.164-165.
34. Nasson, "Farm Schools : Bitter Harvest for Black South Africans", in Perspectives in Education, Volume 10 No. 1, June 1988, p.14.
35. E. Goffman, Asylums : Essays on the social situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates (Harmondsworth 1961), (p.xiii).
36. Mokopane College Archives, File F-23/892-4, circular on "Hostel Rules and Regulations", undated.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Nasson, p.14.
40. Mokopane College Archives, File F-23-892-4, Circular on "Hostel and Regulations", undated.
41. Mokopane College Archives, File A-23-892, Circular from the Rector Puka, titled "The Student Representative bodies", dated 1985-01-18.
42. L. Chisholm, "Reformatories & Industrial Schools in South Africa - A Study in Class, Colour & Gender, 1882-1939" (P.Hd. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1989), p.199.
43. "Report By Supervisor", a bi-monthly report No. 28, circulated by the Department of Education to D. Mogoto, administration clerk, at the Mokopane College of Education, August/September 1987.
44. J. Gordon, p.91.
45. Mokopane College Archives, File A-23/892-14, A meeting of the Lebowa Rector's Council, concerning "Employment of newly qualified teachers at colleges", held at the Modjadji College on 5 August 1987.
46. Mokopane College Archives, File E-819/9 Vol.2, a circular titled Induction Course", issued by the Department of Education in 1979.
47. Ibid.
48. D. Nasson, p.14.
49. S.W.B. Engelbrecht, J.C. Yssel, G.A.J. Griessel, T.L. Verster, "Education I,II and III", Education and Teaching Series (Goodwood : Via Afrika LTD, 1984).
50. This idea was influenced by a comment on Fundamental Pedagogies offered by one, Harvey, in the letters section of the Weekly Mail in early 1995.
51. Steven Segal, "The Arbitrariness of Fundamental Pedagogies" in Perspectives in Education, Vol.14 No.2 1993, 181-188.
52. The argument here has been influenced by Melissa King and Owen van den Berg's Critique on the South African School Curriculum, pp. 17-18.
53. P. Enslin, "Science and Doctrine : Theoretical Discourse in South African Teacher Education", in Nkomo (ed), Pedagogy of Domination, (Trenton : African World Press, 1990), p.88.
54. H.A. Giroux and P. McLaren, "Teacher Education as Cultural Politics : Towards a Counterpublic Sphere", in New Education, Vol.8, No.1, 1986, p.4.
55. J. Gordon, p.91.
56. S.P.P. Mminele, p.332.
57. Ibid, 334.
58. Ibid.
59. Mminele, p.362.
60. S.P.P. Mminele, p.337
61. Ibid.
62. Writer's personal observation.

what was thus embedded. All this created conditions for resistance in the 1980s which simultaneously challenged institutional, social, political and economic control. The following chapters, however, drawing on a dialectical notion of human agency, will show how students, contrary to being simply passive in the face of domination, actively resisted it.

NOTES :

1. National Education Policy Investigation Report on Governance & Administration (Oxford University Press, Cape Town), ch.3, p.6.
2. Ibid, 6.
3. Mail & Guardian, October 6 to 12 1995.
4. S.P.P. Mminele, "Teacher Education in Lebowa, 1953-1983 : An Historical-Educational Study" (D.Ed. Thesis, University of the North, 1989), 105.
5. Ibid, 105.
6. Ibid, 106.
7. National Education Policy Investigation Report on Governance & Administration, ch.3, p.14.
8. S.P.P. Mminele, 108
9. Ibid, 108.
10. Ibid, 114.
11. Ibid, 114.
12. Ibid, 107.
13. S.P.P. Mminele, p.107.
14. Mminele, p.107 & 108.
15. Ibid, 108.
16. Ibid, 114.
17. M. King, and O. Van den Berg, The Politics of Curriculum - Structures & Processes (Pietermaritzburg : Centaur Publications 1991), p.24.
18. The writer's personal observation as a teacher at the Mokopane College in 1983.
19. L. Chisholm, p.190.
20. Mokopane College Archives, letter from the Inspector of Bantu Education to the Principal of Mokopane Teaching Institute, 13-12-1961.
21. Mokopane College Archives, file D-819, letter from Circuit Inspector of Education to the Principal of Mokopane Training College, 19-02-1979.
22. Mokopane College Archives, file D-23/892, minutes of an Advisory Council Meeting held on the 14-04-1982.
23. S.P.P. Mminele, p.150.
24. Mminele, S.P.P. 150. See also Mokopane College Archives, file No d-819 - letter from the Circuit Inspector L.M.J. Ngoasheng to the Principal of Mokopane College dated April 14, to 1977.
25. J. Gordon, "Serving the Volk with Volkekunde", in J. Jansen (ed), Knowledge & Power in South Africa, (Braamfontein : Skotaville Publishers, 1991).
26. J. Gordon, p.91.
27. J. Gordon, p. 91.
28. Mokopane College Archives, File D-23/892, minutes of an Advisory Council Meeting dated, 19-04-1982.
29. Mokopane College Archives, File A-23/892/19, letter by Rector M.J. Kganakga to the Secretary of education in Lebowa concerning "Students Who Have Disappeared", dated 14-09-1986.
30. R. Walters, School Management in Teaching Practice, (Cape Town 1992). Prescribed reading at Mokopane College of Education.
31. Ibid, 19.

Thereafter the principal would bless the participants by saying "The Grace". Hymn 301 from the Lutheran hymnal would then be sung. This practice which was conducted under the principalship of C.M. Puka was discontinued upon his departure in 1985. The subsequent Rector, M.J. Kganakga re-introduced it in 1988. Mminele (1989) comments that :

> A service such as this one must have had a lasting positive influence on the behaviour of students as teachers in the field. Having to pledge "under oath", with the right hand raised, was most committing to these students. One sees the whole ceremony as a consummation of all the content, teaching methods that had been taught to the students. It also most fittingly consolidated the effect of the "Professional Guidance Courses" which were conducted by Mr Manthata, and other Psychological officers. It was indeed a worthwhile exercise. (58)

Commenting on the effect of this "Pledge Service" on his former students C.M. Puka stated that :

> From the feedback, through letters and verbal communication, from ex-students and headmasters of schools where these ex-students were/are teaching, one could deduce that the pledge had a lasting motivating effect on most ex-students of Mokopane. Even today (1988), some earlier completers still remember "Pledge Service" very vividly and try to do what they pledge they were going to do - rendering good service, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. (59)

6. National Servicemen

What could be regarded as another measure of control was the appointment of National Servicemen of the South African Defence Force on the teaching establishments of the teacher education institutions in Lebowa. When student unrest started assuming increasing proportions within schools in Lebowa during the 70's, National Servicemen were brought in to "lend a helping hand" at these institutions in Lebowa.(60) Early in 1976, the Secretary of Education in Lebowa, Dr. Van Dyk, called a meeting of all principals of teacher education institutions in Lebowa in Pietersburg, and brought to their attention the fact that each institution would get two National Servicemen who were going to serve as sports referees (at first only) on days when schools held the sporting festivities. (61) However, as from the early 80's, National Servicemen became a common feature specifically on the teaching establishments of some of these institutions in Lebowa. At Mokopane College for instance, Johan Groenewald was appointed as an instructor in physical education in 1983, to be followed by Engelbrecht appointed as a librarian in 1984, both National Servicemen who were clad at all times in their military attire complete with pistols attached to their sides. (62) When one considers that these servicemen were regularly visited by members from the local army command, one cannot rule out the feeling that their conspicuousness was part of a concerted attempt to neutralise the restive situation emerging within educational institutions during the mid 80's.

This chapter has essentially argued and shown how control entered into the very heart of the operation of the institution : the rules defining behaviour, the structure of authority, the architecture. The curriculum based on Fundamental Pedagogics did not in any way challenge

5.2. Philosophical Underpinnings of Educational Theory

Fundamental Pedagogics even to this day remains the dominant theoretical discourse underpinning educational theory at Mokopane College. The Educational And Teaching Series by Engelbrecht (et al) were prescribed reading for Education I,II,III, teacher-trainee students at the Mokopane College for the greater part of the 1980's. Mokopane College is probably the only College still teaching Fundamental Pedagogics even at this present time. The dominant theme that runs throughout these texts is the claim that "Pedagogic authority is a service rendered by an adult to a child who is eager to realise himself as an autonomous being in the reality of life". "Adulthood" within the contest of Christianity is described as the all encompassing aim of education. (49) Such a definition presupposes that upon reaching the magic state of adulthood, learning need no longer continue. This neglects all other learning that can occur in life. (50) This unilinear view of education prevents students from being able to contextualise education within the wider power relations operating in society. The above readings totally neglect the political economy and there is subsequently no development of any critical language skills that would enable students to demystify aspects of the hegemonic curriculum.

Critics of Fundamental Pedagogics have argued that it masquerades its own "prescientific" assumptions as if they were scientifically derived conclusions; that while claiming to be phenomenological as regard to the nature of its research, its practitioners engage in a kind of etymological analysis of the origin of words.(51) Thus the pretensions to scientific objectivity of Fundamental Pedagogics, and the positivist manner in which it is taught, prevents teachers from developing an understanding of the dialectic between schooling and society and the historical context within which it operates.(52) It neutralises and depoliticises educational discourse, and does not provide students and teachers with the concepts necessary to assess critically its claims about education. The institutionalisation of the discipline of Fundamental Pedagogics legitimates its practice at the concerned institutional sites. Teachers are thus compelled to take courses in Fundamental Pedagogics and its related disciplines in order to become accredited. (53) The State thus "mandates the form and content of teacher education paradigms through the legislation of certification requirements for prospective teacher". (54) The impact of the discipline of Fundamental Pedagogics must be of some concern especially if "Power is at its most durable and intense when running silently through the repetition of institutionalised practices". (55)

5.3. Solemn Pledge Service

Another aspect of the ideological dimension of the teacher-trainees' educational experience at Mokopane College concerned a solemn "Pledge Service" as a method of promoting dedication to the teaching profession. This practice was initiated by D.G. Tsebe, a teacher at the Mokopane College in 1971, who felt that a ceremony entailing the pledging of dedication to the teaching profession, would concretise what he had taught them in his subject called the "Principles of Education". (56) The pledge read as follows :

> I am sowing you, sending you, scattering you, go out into the world and serve the nation ... Keep the name of Mokopane and Never despair
> (NIL DESPERANDUM) (57)

THE TEACHERS CODE OF DEDICATION

As a teacher I shall strive:

1. *To create in the classroom an atmosphere of respect and trust within which love of learning can be expected to grow;*
2. *To be loyal to my colleagues, school and educational authorities and to do everything in my power to uphold the honour and dignity of my profession;*
3. *To know that I am a learner along with my pupils and to be thoroughly prepared for my work every day;*
4. *To be punctual and prompt in the discharge of professional, organizational and administrative duties;*
5. *To develop in my pupils self-reliance, initiative and the confidence to be agents of their own learning;*
6. *To be a supportive guide and friend to the pupils in my care; to protect their sense of worth and dignity, and not to misuse the authority that I shall hold;*
7. *To release and refine capacities in the child to grow and learn and to ease the flight of the unfettered human mind.*

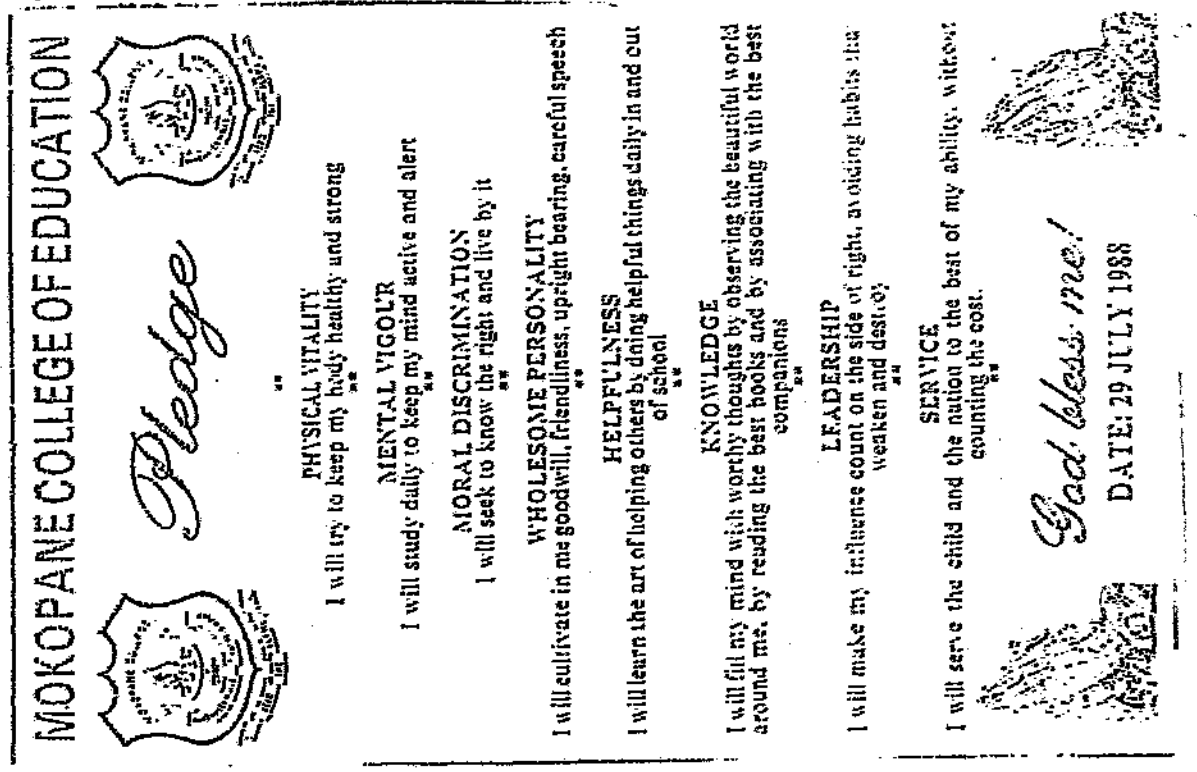
ILLUS. 15

THE TEACHER IS A PROFESSIONAL

- *Professionals have a high sense of calling and dedication.*
- *Professionals have specialized knowledge.*
- *Professionals adhere to an implicit and/or explicate code of ethics.*
- *Professionals are morally sound, loyal, responsible and people of integrity.*
- *Professionals require high standards of the prospective entrants to the profession.*
- *Professionals provide a unique and indispensible service to society*
- *Professionals continually keep abreast of new developments through in service training and their own studies.*
- *Entry into practice is dependent upon passing difficult examinations and/or achieving high-level qualifications.*

  Professionals enjoy high status and considerable community prestige and influence.
- *Professionals are highly devoted to the interest of the people they serve and financial gain is of secondary importance.*
- *Professional training is specialized, specific, demanding and lengthy.*
- *Professionals are registered practitioners.*

Aspects of the ideological dimension of the teacher trainee's experience at the college. An attempt to present teaching as a 'professionalism' abstracted from its political context.



35. Doyson Thole, trade unionist for CCAWUSA, interview with F. Bhyat, Mahwelereng Potgietersrus, November 1993.
36. Joyce Tlhongwane, unionised worker at the OK Bazaars, Mahwelereng Potgietersrus, December 1993.
37. Masuku Kamela,teacher activist in mid 80s, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, October 1995.
38. Ibid.
39. Collective interview : Abram Papo, Ndo Mangala and Charles Matlakala, Potgietersrus, July 1992.
40. Interview with Edla Selolo, student activist, Potgietersrus, March 1994.
41. Mokopane College Archives,File D 23/982-2 "Report of Unrest at Mokopane : 1986-03-03".
42. Mpho Lesiba, student activist during the mid-80's, interviewed by F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, June 1994.
43. J. Seekings, p. 63.
44. Letter to F. Bhyat from student activist, Vaaltyn Kekana, March 1994. Letter in the possession of F. Bhyat.
45. Minutes of inter-college meeting held at Dr. Phatudi college of Education on the 12 April 1986.
46. P. Vilardo, " Contemporary Conflict in Black Teachers Politics : The role of the Africanisation of the Apartheid Education Structure, 1940-1992" (Seminar paper, African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, August 1992) p.16.
47. P. Lekgoathi, "Teachers have rights too : The radicalisation of the teachers in the Northern Province, 1989 -1994" (Research Seminar, Education Department, University of Witwatersrand, 30 August 1995) p. 6.
48. Vilardo, P. p.26-28.
49. Ibid, p. 24.
50. P. Lekgoathi, p.6.
51. M.K. Mphahlele, Teacher Struggles for Democratic Professionalism in the Northern Transvaal (University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg) pp.16-18.
52. Gladys Tibane, student activist Mokopane College, interview with F. Bhyat, Mahwelereng, Potgietersrus, November 1992.
53. Ibid.
54. E. Unterhalter and H. Wolpe, "Introduction : Reproduction, reform and transformation; approaches to the analysis of education in South Africa", in Unterhalter et al (eds), Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles, (Johannesburg : Ravan Press, 1991), 11.
55. R. Levin, I. Moll and Y. Narsing, as cited by Philip Vilardo, p.23.
56. Mokopane College Archives, File 9/1, minutes of inter-college meeting held at the Madjadji College of Education on 4 May 1986.
57. Mokopane College Archives, File A-23/892 : letter to the Director General of D.E.T. from the Rector, Mr. M.J. Kganakga, dated 11 August 1986.
58. Race Relations Survey : 1986, part 2, p.660.
59. Ibid p.662-663.
60. Ibid,
61. Collective interview with Ndo Mangala, Charles Matlakala and Abram Papo, Potgietersrus, July 1992. See also Race Relations Survey Part 2, pages 660-661.
62. Race Relations Survey Part 2. page 662.
63. Ibid p.662.
64. Ibid
65. Collective interview with Ndo Mangala, Charles Matlakala and Abram Papo, Potgietersrus, July 1992.
66. C. Bundy, "South Africa on the Switchback", in New Society, 3 January 1986.
67. E. Ritchken, "Experiences of Secondary Schooling in the Mapulaneng District, Lebowa, 1989", (Research Report No. 4, Education Policy Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, January 1990) p.2.

8. Mokopane College Archives, File A-819, and A-23/892, Letter from Rector C.M. Puka to Mrs Joyce Lesibe, and letter from Rector Puka to the Principal of Gojela High School, dated 3 May 1983, and 23 April 1984.
9. Billy Senn, student at Mokopane College, 1983, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus June 1994.
10. Mokopane College Archives, File 10/1/1, hostel inspection report dated May 1984; File FR 23/892-5, report; of student grievances as tabulated by students; File D23/892, letter addressed to the Department of Education, Lebowa Government from Rector Puka, dated 28 August 1984.
11. Mokopane College Archives, Rector's Log, (events dated from end August 1984 to February 1985) pages 88-110; Gladys Tlhane, student activist at Mokopane College 1984-1986 interview with F. Bhyat, Mahwelereng July 1992.
12. Mokopane College Archives, Rector's Log, pages 97-110. See also Jonathan Hyslop who has shown how the 'food riot' was only partially about food. A host of issues relating to questions of authority, power and politics, condensed around and were symbolised by the issue of food. It became a central and persistent feature of the repertoire of protest because of its ability to absorb new underlying agendas. J. Hyslop, "Food, Authority And Politics : Student Riots in South African Schools 1945-1976" African Studies Institute, Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 29 September 1986.
13. Mokopane College Archives, Rector's Log, pages 100-108. Sophonia Mamabolo, student activist at Mokopane College, 1984-1986, interview with F. Bhyat, Mahwelereng, March 1993.
14. Jonathan Hyslop.
15. Sophonia Mamabolo, student, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, September 1994.
16. Mokopane College Archives, minutes of Advisory Council Meeting, dated 27 January 1985.
17. C. M. Puka, "Relationship Between Teacher and Teacher, Teacher and Student", (Circular presented at a staff meeting at the Mokopane College in 1984).
18. Mokopane College Archives, File a-23/892, Circular from Rector C.M. Puka, 1985.
19. Minutes from Advisory Council meeting, dated 25 March 1985.
20. Mokopane College Archives, Rector's Log, pages 100-108.
21. Sophonia Mamabolo, student, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, June 1994.
22. Rector M.J. Kganakga (Circular to members of staff in April 1985).
23. Abram Papo, students activist, Mokopane College 1984-1986, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, July 1992.
24. Sony Kekana, student activist, Mokopane College, 1984-1986, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus 1994; OMCP, File A-23/892/19, letter from Rector Kganakga to the secretary of the Department of Education, 9 September 1986.
25. Interviews with F. Bhyat : Sophonia Mamabolo, student activist - September 1994, Potgietersrus; Abram Papo, student activist - June 1994, Potgietersrus; Mr. Malunga, ex-rector, Mokopane College - December 1993, Mahwelereng.
26. Minutes from inter-college meeting held at the renamed Nganko Ramalepa College of Education on 4 May 1986. Sony Kekana, student activist, Mokopane College 1984-1986, interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus, September 1994.
27. Collective interview, Ndo Mangala, student activist, Abram Papo and Charles Matlakala, Potgietersrus, July 1992. Interview with Sophonia Mamabolo, Potgietersrus, March 1993.
28. J. Seekings, In Heroes or Villains? youth politics in the 1980's (Johannesburg; Ravan Press, 1993),pp. 4-59.
29. Interview with Charles Matlakala, Potgietersrus, July 1992, Sophonia Mamabolo, Potgietersrus, September 1993.
30. Collective interview with, Ndo Mangala, Abram Papo and Charles Matlakala, see above.
31. Letter in possession of F Bhyat, from Sony Kekana.
32. Collective interview with, Ndo Mangala, Abram Papo and Charles Matlakala.
33. Joyce Mabudafhasi, UDF activist, interview with F. Bhyat, Mankweng, Pietersburg, November 1993.
34. Imraan Loonat, UDF and TIC activist, interview with F. Bhyat, Akasia town Potgietersrus, April 1993.

within the township. Saturday afternoons were also an ideal time to gather inconspicuously on the soccer fields because of regular league fixtures. (84)

The development of these proactive groups that enabled the exposure of alternative curricula to students, demonstrates again the crucial impact of conscious human agency. This is a good example of the ability and momentum of black resistance "to initiate and create space for itself even under the most hostile conditions". (85)

A second important development which could be related to "democratic organs of people's power" was the emergence of the Marimu Cultural Group in the district of Mokerong in early 1989. This group, influenced by COSATU's educational programme within which aspects of culture were to be used as a medium of conscientisation, was significantly comprised of unionists and students. Thus the Marimu Cultural Group among others included unionists such as Sophy Tlhongwane, James Seota, Boysea Thole coupled with activist such as Vaallyn Kekana, Gladys Tibane and Sophonia Mamabolo from the Mokopane College of Education. Drawing on worker-inspired praise poetry, enacting plays and widening their ambit to include African Cultural Musicians, the Marimu Cultural Group became a powerful medium of mobilisation and conscientisation within rural villages in the district of Mokerong. (86)

To summarise, the decade of the 80s thus witnessed the emergence of mass protest movements in the form of the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement which included over six hundred affiliates including vibrant civic organisations. The period also saw the emergence of one of the most formidable trade union movements in the form of COSATU with 30 000 well trained shop stewards. Apart from a factory-floor role, COSATU played a political role in establishing democracy and getting labour involved in decision making, with its presence strongly being felt in civil society. The emergence during this period of a charterist dominated union in 1985, the Catering Commercial and Allied Workers Union (CCAWUSA) signalled the beginning of consistent and sustained trade union activity in Potgietersrus. This chapter has shown how the structural alliance between UDF and COSATU affiliated unions solidified the relationship between students, unionists and civic organisations. This led to the joint development of counter hegemonic initiatives which impacted on mass consciousness within the region. The historical account presented in this chapter thus substantiates an important contention of this study, which is that resistance can become general and militant only if it is able to break out of its isolation, both practically and in terms of consciousness.

NOTES :

1. R. Levin, I. Moll and Y. Narsing, "The specificity of struggle in South African education", in Unterhalter et al (eds), Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg), p. 237.
2. Mmunele, p. 174.
3. Mokopane College Archives, File C 23/892, Letter from the Circuit Inspector of Education to the Secretary of Lebowa Education referring to a hostel inspection report, dated September 1976.
4. Mmunele, p. 174.
5. Ibid.
6. Kamela Masuku, Interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus November 1995.
7. Ibid.

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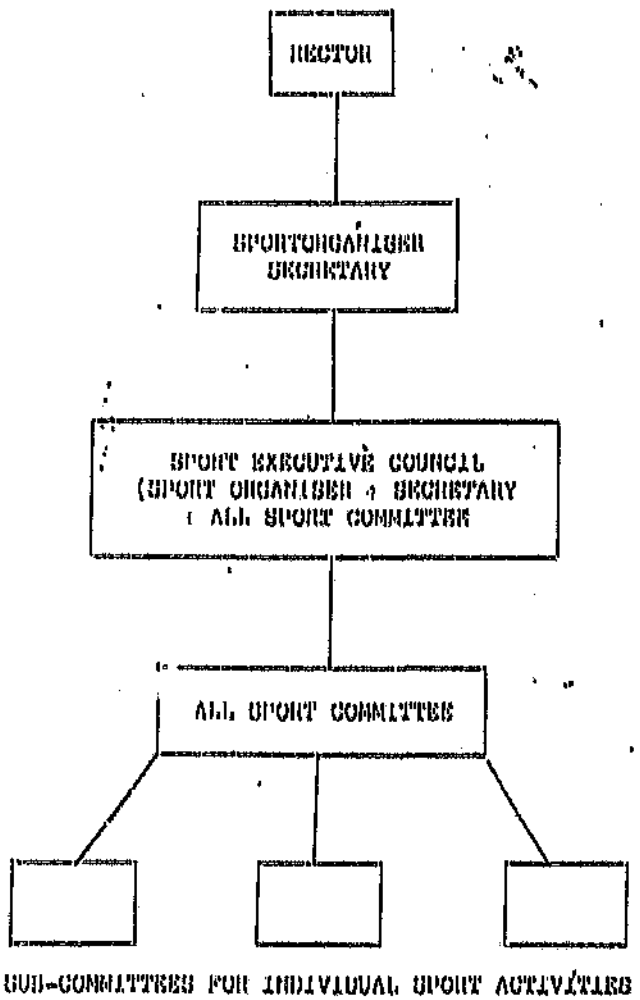


Top-down structure of "The all Sport Committee"

Apart from these events, there was no registered evidence of political activism during the period 87-end-88. As the rector himself later in a meeting between parents and the college administration commented :

> In 1987 and 1988 Mokopane college had no SRC and for your information there were no strikes in those years.

Referring to the sub-committees he writes "each of these committees had an executive of five rep- resentatives ... a constitution which worked smoothly". (81) A referendum conducted in 1987 to gauge student acceptance of an SRC revealed that 75 percent of students rejected the SRC. (82)

As a result of the lifting of the state of emergency in 1989, ther was a re-engagement of student activism. This suggests that the conditions prevailing under the state of emergency was a serious factor militating against student activism during that period.(83)

During this period most of the established student structures were weakened and fragmented as a result of state repression under the emergency regulations. MAYCO activists went underground and established in late 1988 the Mahwelereng Interim Youth Structure. This organisation divided the township into blocks. Activists were elected to serve the different blocks and given the task to form block committees. These UDF affiliated committees organised alternative programmes of education. Students spent time in workshops dealing with themes situating education within its broader socio-economic and political context. The trade union movement CCAWUSA provided activists with relevant literature.

Particular booklets such as "the ABC of Dialectical Materialism" : the "ABC of Social and Political Knowledge" sub titled "What are Classes and the Class Struggle" by A. Vermakova and V. Ratnikov, publications of The African Communist, as well as Lenin's On National Liberation and Social Emancipation all became an important part of the alternative syllabus.

It was the task of the elected representatives to prepare the coursework and distribute the material to students. Students were given time to read the material and a discussion was held on the second meeting for the week. Each student was asked to share his opinion on the topic to be discussed. Students, aware of the dangers of police and informer surveillance during this period chose Tuesday and Thursday nights for block meetings because those were the nights when TV2 broadcasted dramas. Aware that the community at large would be busy viewing the dramas, students seized this space and time of least curiosity and attraction to movement

On September 24th 1986, students at the college, suspecting administrative complicity in the detention of activists, began stoning administrative buildings. They also "strongly" threatened the night-watch Mr Thebethe who "now feels that his life is in danger". (75)

In reaction to the turbulence of the year, minutes of a rector's meeting held at Kwenamoloto College of Education in November 1986 indicated that students were in future to be thoroughly screened. This was to serve as a "measure to regulate unwanted elements in both classes and hostels at colleges of education". Registration of students regardless of course was to be valid for one year only. This was "undoubtedly" to "improve the conduct of students". The rector was also assigned additional powers to refuse registration of any student without having to give reasons. In response to a question as to whether SRCs could use college funds for attending their meetings it was categorically stated that only sporting activities and not political meetings should be financed with college funds. It was also resolved to "station two trainer security guards" at each college of education "to protect departmental property". (76)

7. Student Resistance in the Period 1987-88.

During this period 87-88 the college administration tried to regain the initiative and attempted to placate and co-opt students by re-instituting sub-committees such as:

(a) The All Sports Committee
(b) The Student Christian Movement
(c) The Cultural Committee
(d) The Athletics Committee
(e) The Committee of Class Leaders (77)

Both the All Sports Committee and the Committee of Class Leaders were to have a rigid top-down organisational structure. Thus the All Sports Committee was to constitute the "Sport Executive Council" at the college. Its chairman and secretary were to be lecturers representing the rector.

All decisions taken by this SEC were subject to approval by the rector and the input of the 'All Sport Committee was to be via the "Sport Executive Council". This council was to report to and deal directly only with the rector. (78) This is a typical characteristic of homeland institutions. Francine de Clerq referring to the socio-political nature of homeland institutions notes, "The top administration tends to dictate its decisions to university members from whom it expects compliance and little independent initiative or critical thinking". (79)

In early 1988, the rector, referring to a meeting held to elect hostel representatives, commented that :

> there is an underground movement that discourages the election of student leaders ... during the process of distributing the rules and regulations to boarders, I saw many boarders simply tearing them and dumping them into the wastepaper baskets. (80)

policemen and councillors, the dismissal of popular leaders, the death at police hands of a local activist, the tactic of consumer boycotts, have in different communities become precipitants for new level of organisation and militancy". (66)

These events took place within the context of a general recession coupled with the severe drought and a dismally failing economic policy of decentralisation. Industries such as Tongaat Cottons Mills and NTK (Northern Transvaal Korporasie), two of the major employers in the specific area were liquidated and relocated during the mid 1980s. Marginal mines in the surrounding locality were cutting back sharply on labour. The lack of local employment opportunity and limited access to agricultural land resulted over time in the institutionalisation of migrancy in the average household. (67) With the formal economy possessing a limited ability to provide employment opportunities, almost 40 percent of the potential labour force participate in the informal and subsistence sectors of this Northern Region. (68) By 1987, Mahwelereng and the neighbouring village of Vaaltyn were described as "overcrowded ghettos". (69) The Mokopane College of Education is situated in the district of Mokerong which is a constituent of sub-region 3 of the Northern Province. (70) The population, marginalised into informal and subsistence agriculture within Mokerong, rose from 36,8 percent in 1980, to 40,5 percent in 1986. The male absenteeism rate recorded at 44,1 percent by the mid-80's implied that a considerable number of economically active males were working outside the Mokerong district. This was indicative of inadequate local job opportunities. (71)

The analysis thus far has shown how conditions within the general economic and political context filter through to affect both the regional and specific terrains. It has also shown how the development of counter-hegemonic forces was also the outcome of the conscious agency of activists organising within structures and acting as agents of conscientisation. The changing terrain had also begun to shape issues within the college. On the 7th of April 1986, the SRC reported the death of a member of AZAPO in the township, to the rector. They warned that it would not be prudent to continue with lessons. The reason given was that the college should show some concern in the matter. Both the staff and students after consultation concluded that lessons should be suspended until the burial of the deceased. Condolences were to be conveyed to the family of the deceased. A delegation of members from both the staff and SRC were sent to represent the college. Members of the council complimented the rector for the manner in which he handled the situation. (72)

The apparent softening of the previously autocratic stance adopted by the college administration may have been the result of a context wherein youth were constantly waging a concerted campaign against conservative forces coupled with the intensification of political fronts such as the UDF and AZAPO. A positive effect emanating from this articulation of forces was the decision by the college authorities to consult jointly with students over the issue. A later refusal however by the Lebowa administration to an inter-college demand in mid-May 1986 for a recognition of SRCs and AZASO in all colleges, led to the subsequent boycott of all colleges from the 18th of May onwards. (73)

During the state of emergency which came into effect on 12th of June 1986, executives of all democratic organisations were either detained, harassed or placed under house arrest. Radical publications were banned and political activities severely restricted within the region. Activists of the college SRC such as Abram Papo, Vaaltyn Kekana and Sophonia Mamabolo together with Imraan Loonat were subsequently detained and transferred to the maximum security prison in Nylstroom. Gladys Tibane managed to cross the border and reached Zambia. (74)

in most villages in January, demanded equal and free education and an end to white rule. Moreover, the death of a member of the youth congress, Mr Solomon Moletse, resulted in a student boycott at most high schools. (59)

By September, the Lebowa cabinet, including MPs, police, councillors, mayors and chiefs convened a meeting to review "unrest prevailing in almost every part of Lebowa". The meeting resolved to dismiss public servants who were active members of 'subversive' organisations namely the UDF and AZAPO. In accordance with a decision taken at the meeting, the Lebowa administration closed boarding facilities at most high schools, effectively banning hundreds of pupils from the urban areas from local schools in an attempt to curb unrest. (60) This strategy adopted by the Lebowa administration is a demonstration of the effect students from urban areas were having on the political consciousness of rural students.

A brief summary of the broader developments impacting on student organisation will help towards a more critical understanding of the period now under review. In late 1985 the first community meeting involving workers, students, unionists and the community at large was held at Molala's hotel to express indignation at the treatment meted out to OK's black clientele. The disruption of this meeting by police and their treatment of both young and very old, shocked and radicalised the community of Mahwelereng. October 1985 saw the reverberations the death of Ngoako Ramalepe caused throughout regional colleges. In December 1985 the launching of MAYCO brought together students, unionist, the unemployed youth and wider democratic forces, changing the character of the political terrain. This stimulated the mushrooming of many youth congresses in surrounding villages, with the Mokopane College becoming the central venue for inter-congress meetings. MAYCO also spurred the formation of congress-alligned SRCs on school campuses which led in early 1986 to the formation of a confederation of SRC's. The emergence of NECC structures also influenced the formation of both Mahwelereng and Parents Crisis Committees. Two of the founder members of MAYCO Segola and Boysea together with the help of other shop stewards began organising and recruiting workers for SACCAWU, an affiliate of COSATU and the first dominant trade union movement in the town of Potgietersrus.

The community of Mahwelereng in part-response to the increasing economic deprivation, launched massive rent and bus boycotts in April 1986. From the end of March 1986, youth in Mahwelereng were reportedly waging a concerted intimidation campaign against "collaborators". In mid-April the Mahwelereng home of Lebowa's Minister of Education, Mr S. Kwakwa was destroyed in a petrol-bomb attack. Students also burned the education and rent circuit offices. (61) On the 4th of April a Lebowa Times journalist Mr Makompo Kutumela was arrested and subsequently died in police custody. Within days of this incident police randomly shot and killed Mr Makgae, a working class citizen of Mahwelereng. These deaths sparked wide scale student boycotts and unrest. (62)

Both the UDF and AZAPO called a successful stay-away in the Potgietersrus area on the 18th and 19th of April in honour of Mr Kutumela. (63) This called was endorsed by the Mahwelereng confederation of SRC's. The burial held on the 19th of April was attended by thousands of people. (64) Funerals were highly politicised with prominent speakers from the UDF and AZAPO. The township was brought to a standstill. New student membership started swelling the ranks of MAYCO. (65) Thus the fusion of both economic and political factors resulted in the convergence of rent, consumer and student boycotts and unrest. There was thus a general trend in the fusion of issues throughout the country : "high prices, attacks on black

what could be conceived of as a people's education. This increasing co-ordination between different colleges was again illustrated on the 4th of May 1986, when the Modjadji College of Education hosted an inter-college c[illegible]ence. The purpose of the conference was stressed by the president of the SRC as "the unification of colleges and the formation of co-ordinating structures". These colleges were represented by students from their respective SRC, AZASO, and women's organisations. In an attempt by students to gain more space and control over the institutional terrain it was resolved that "no floor should be given to any member of the Department of Education and Training" during graduation ceremonies. The significance of this resolution is the opportunity it provided for activists to seize the space that graduation ceremonies provide to address large gatherings of students. A decision taken at this meeting to expel all soldiers from colleges displays a resolute stand against the strategy surveillance over students. There was thus a growing challenge to established power relations. (56)

The DET's attempt to placate students by offering to establish a form of student representation included teachers, rectors and official college committee members. This led to some uncertainty and confusion among administrative ranks over the constitution governing SRCs. An excerpt from a letter dated 11/08/86 addressed to the Director General of DET from the rector Mr Kganakga reflects the confusion as follows :

> I discussed this matter with the Lebowa Government because I thought it to be a local matter, but their feeling is that it is rather general. College students are now organising themselves at inter-college level. Is there no departmental regulation against it? Can the SRC operate outside the campus? (57)

In principle the SRC could not be rejected by college authorities and it was this uncertainty over the implementation of the guidelines, as a result of the deliberations between the DET and student bodies, that created space for students to form political organisations.

This period was characterised by a surge in student militancy, increased politicisation and ruthless state repression. To enable us to understand both the conditions under which students operated and the nature of the articulation between students and broader democratic forces we need to focus briefly upon the regional context and thereafter more specifically upon the immediate context of the Mokopane College.

6. Regional Political Conditions in the Mid 80's

During 1985 the Lebowa region witnessed disturbances at various schools including the University of the North. A year after its formation in February 1985, the regional branch of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal centred at Lebowa, had grown rapidly from having 30 to more than 60 affiliates. AZAPO was also a growing presence in the region. Various campaigns were initiated to pressurise the homeland's MP's to resign and to isolate members of the Lebowa Police, South African Police and SADF. (58)
On the 10th of April, the Northern Transvaal president of the UDF Mr Peter Nchabeleng was detained in Sekhukhuneland and subsequently died while in police custody. The funeral, which was addressed by the vice-president of the UDF Eastern Cape Region, Mr Henry Fazzi, was attended by between 20 000 and 30 000 people from the region. There was a reported display of ANC and SACP flags at the funeral. A UDF branch in Northern Transvaal indicated in April 1986 that a two month state of "civil war" had existed between security forces and the people of Sekhukhuneland. It was also reported that youth congresses that had mushroomed

the main obstacles to the achievement of people's education. (49) In the Northern Province as well,

> In the eyes of most, especially the younger generation of teachers, TUATA was a tool of the apartheid State limited to a consultative role in education.(50)

In response to the localised character of educational conflicts as well as state repression, many smaller progressive teacher organisations were formed in the late 80's. Thus the 1985 graduates of Mokopane College, together with other teacher activists, attempted to form the first progressive teacher organisation in Mahwelereng called MATO (Mahwelereng Teachers Organisation) in early 1986. After state harassment during the emergency, MATO fragmented, but was revived in 1988 to initiate the formation of the Northern Transvaal Teachers Union (NOTTU) which was launched at the Mokopane College in 1989. (51) This Union (NOTTU) eventually merged into SADTU. At Mokopane College TUATA membership constituted of the older generation of teachers who found it extremely difficult to shed their authoritarian positions. In their rejection of TUATA and acceptance of NEUSA, students were reconstituting the established and unequal student/staff relation. They were thus beginning to articulate and challenge aspects of the hidden dimensions of the curriculum.

The resolve to pledge solidarity in common problems confronting college students, and the decision to enlist the support of the community in voicing the demand to re-open high school hostels displays the broadening of the ambit of student alliances to include both community and student organisations. This signifies an awareness that the problems facing students was a popular problem facing the community as a whole, and the realisation that a linking up of oppositional forces would be able to pose a more formidable challenge to the state. The prominence given to gender concerns was the outcome of the conscious agency of female activists organising women into groups around gender issues at college level. (52)
The decision to rename the Dr. C.N. Phatudi college to the "Peoples College of Education" must be traced to the growing effect emerging structures like the NECC within the region were having on student consciousness. It needs to be remembered that the secretary of the Mokopane SRC, Gladys Tibane together with the principal of the D.G. Tsebe High School in Mahwelereng, represented the Northern Transvaal Region at the NECC conference held in Durban. Tibane returned to report on resolutions taken at this conference. (53)

Even though the idea of a "Peoples Education" was certainly present among the various college SRCs as was reflected at the inter-college gathering, there was no coherently articulated strategy for alternate education. At this particular historical juncture the transformative role of 'peoples education' was not seen to be in the content or character of 'peoples education' but rather in its use as a means of mobilising and organising teachers, students and parents as a political force in a particular sphere of the struggle for national liberation. (54)

It has been suggested that the People's Education campaign was revolutionary not because it attempted to establish an alternative curriculum, but because it attempted to establish a counter hegemonic power within the schools (55) and to that extent I would argue that the people's education campaign was very successful. Moreover, the state of emergency severely restricted the development of an alternate curriculum, apart from important aspects of a peoples history. However, the development of street and block committees as well as cultural groups, that will be elaborated upon later in this chapter, did provide important elements of

to break out of their isolation, liasing with other national forces and SRC's, facilitated this process of conscientisation.

5. Broadening Base of College Student Resistance

In early May 1985, the college SRC extended its network to high school SRC's and liased on a regular basis with both MAYCO and the Mankweng Youth Congress near Turfloop. During this period the Mokopane SRC also spearheaded the formation of the SRC confederation of colleges in the Northern Transvaal. Four members of the Mokopane college SRC served on the executive of the regional structure. Gladys Tiban. was elected as chairperson, Stanley Kgosana, as treasurer, and Solomon Rasefate and Vaalyn Kekana as joint organising secretaries. This confederation seized the space created by inter-college sporting activities (which were promoted by college authorities as a strategy to water-down political activities), and turned these events into political symposiums. (44)

A meeting held at Dr. C.N. Phatudi College of Education on the 12th April '986 included resolutions to boycott all activities organised by TUATA and prominence to be given to NEUSA; to pledge solidarity with other colleges with common problems; to enter into negotiations involving pupils and the community with the Department over the issue of the closure of hostels in secondary schools within the region; to rename the Dr. C.N. Phatudi college of education to "the People's College of Education"; to address the issue of female students subjected to "hard labourship" in dining room chores. (45)

The rejection of TUATA and acceptance of NEUSA must be situated within the context of NEUSA's launch at the University of the North in early 1986. Even though NEUSA met with limited success in this region, its ideas after the launch were popularised in parts of the Northern Province by teacher activists. As has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, Kamela Masuku and Vaalyn Kekana, a teacher trainee activist from Mokopane College, helped popularise NEUSA's agenda in Mahwelereng. Teacher trainee activists were thus well aware of NEUSA's alignment to the broad democratic movement. The disillusionment with TUATA must also be located within the broader historical context of the development of established teacher organisations. The radical demands of teachers for the Africanisation of mission education in the 1940s were accommodated by the state through the Africanisation of apartheid education in the 1950s and 1960s. The success of established teachers' organisations such as TUATA in gaining increased promotional opportunities for its members served to entrench many of these teachers in the apartheid structure. As a result these teacher organisations increasingly came to represent the interests especially within homelands of a new elite. TUATA was criticised by progressive teachers for its lack of militancy and policy of collaboration with the Department of Bantu Education. (46) In the Northern Prov... TUATA was also "seen to be too conformist to the educational administration, rather than defending the interests of the teachers". (47)
The inability of established teachers' organisations to respond to this crisis or openly support students in their confrontation with the state had led to the emergence of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) in 198'. "Progressive" teachers, dissatisfied with the "collaborationist" policies of the recognised teachers' associations turned increasingly to NEUSA as a progressive alternative. (48)
In the late 80s, younger NEUSA-aligned teachers began to target TUATA, inspectors and authoritarian principals, who were regarded as instruments of state education policy and as

In late 1985, trade union activists together with members of AZAPO, called a mass meeting at Molala's Hotel in Mahwelereng township to discuss both the harassment and random searching of the black clientele at the local OK Bazaars in Potgietersrus. The issue of an increase in the bus-fare was also placed on the agenda. Police stormed the meeting. Both students and members of the community, young and old, were baton-charged and tear-gassed. In the ensuing panic people jumped out of second floor windows and many elderly citizens were injured, some critically.

Later, the same week, students from all the neighbouring schools, supported by the community which was incensed by such insensitive brutality held a mass meeting where they unanimously decided to march to the police station and demanded the immediate release of detained students and members of the community. This event had a unifying and radicalising effect on the community of Mahwelereng bringing students, parents and the broader community closer together. Parents organised funds and legal aid for the detained students and community members. Members of the community, students and workers, decided to boycott the OK. The boycott was so effective that OK offered an official apology and rescinded the decision to search black clientele. (39)

Early the following year, on the 3rd of March 1986, high school students, after having formed SRC's as a result of the MAYCO resolution, decided to stage a collective student march to demand the erection of another high school in order to alleviate the increasing overcrowding at present schools. Coupled to this was the demand for an increase in stationary at established schools. The marching students decided to enlist the support of the Mokopane College students. The college students were divided over the decision to join the march, with some eventually consenting to it. This indecision was met by the chant "if you don't join us you don't teach us". (40) There was also an element of intimidation as high school students after having entered the lecture rooms immediately forced the students out. Police who are situated only metres from the college brutalised students, who retaliated with stones. Many were injured and detained. (41)

Apart from the effects of institutional factors on resistance, the politically more militant attitude displayed by high school students needs to be understood contextually. A feature militating against the rapid political conscientisation of college students in earlier years was its insulation both geographically and socially from urban and working class township life. This severely restricted external political influence on the college and limited the infusion of political ideas emanating from the broader political terrain. A prominent student activist pointed out that secondary schools on the other hand were situated within working class sections of Mahwelereng. They were more easily accessible to student activists. Students were also more able to mix with both working and unemployed youth. During breaks students would often stroll to nearby cafes and were exposed during times of turbulence to burning barricades and political graffiti. An interviewee mentioned that "it would excite us to see a target burning", and many students would readily join in. (42) As Seekings has written "students were not only motivated by educational grievances, civic concerns or political idealism. A sense of adventure, even of fun, encouraged many of them to participate". (43)

As political activists at the College were better able to organise, articulate and intensify the process of political consdientisation, they were able to unite the students against institutionalised forces. The politically heightened terrain coupled with the ability of students

CONCLUSION

The introductory chapter of this thesis takes issue with South African educational historiographers about the general neglect of the economic imperatives in their historical accounts of rural education. It has argued that these warranted as serious a consideration as the political in an attempt to understand the broader context of Bantu Education.

This is followed by an outline of the dominant features of the agrarian economy of this region, covering briefly the decades just prior to National Party control. Thereafter the analysis examines the general and specific political economy illustrating the broader labour crisis pertaining to the period. It proceeds to show the emerging difficulty over securing and regimenting labour. This has been explored within the context of the specific agrarian transition and its articulation to the urban political economy.

The first chapter of the thesis, drawing on the reproductive paradigm, locates the restructuring of the educational terrain and development of the college within the theory of labour and the capital accumulation process with reference to the specific labour-repressive form of the economy. The historical account presented in this thesis argues that it was the broader structural conditions that concerned the state : the disintegration of tribal authority and the consequent weakening of parental authority, resulting from land deprivation and a growing rural population; the large migration of youth regarded as the most productive labour for commercial agriculture; socialisation problems of insubordination and desertion which affected farmers critically during seasonal harvests. All these factors combined with the structural inefficiencies of missionary institutions to provide sufficient quantities of labour for a rapidly changing agrarian economy were precipitating factors in the state's move to earnestly set about a restructuring process in education in this region. This policy initiative under Bantu Education was thus one attempt to address the labour crisis. This it did by rapidly expanding the educational base at the lower level of schooling, which brought vast numbers of youth under institutional control providing them with basic numeracy, literacy and a socially acquiescent ideology. The stress on primary education met some of the needs of commercial agriculture. In this way it was able to regularise their employment on farms and agro-industries within this region. The implication for the argument is that the emergence of Mokopane College and of subsequent colleges in this region was closely related to the need to provide teachers to staff, control and teach basic skills to the burgeoning number of students in these schools rapidly created under Bantu Education.

It could be asked whether student labour did in fact constitute an important component of the farmer's total labour force. There is historical evidence to suggest that farmers made considerable use of youth labour during the colonial and missionary periods. Moreover, within the context of critical labour shortages, as this thesis has shown, the use of student labour did indeed provide an important source of labour for farmers. The analysis has avoided crude determinism by situating the educational restructuring process within the context of the interests of different fractions of capital.

The training and employing of teachers to serve these aims was important for both the ideological and structural imperatives of broader state strategy. It was for these reasons that the first black teacher training institution, the Mokopane College of Education, was established in 1948 in the Transvaal. In order to increase rapidly the production of more teachers for the lower primary schools, the Department of Bantu Education from the mid-80s

18. Ibid, p. 14.
19. Lekgonthi, p. 14.
20. Peter Lekgonthi, p.12.
21. Mpho Mashabela, English lecturer, Mokopane College, interview with F. Bhyat, Mokopane College, Mahwelereng, March 1993.
22. Francine de Clercq, p. 52.
23. Mokopane College Archives, File AA 12, letter from Mokopane SRC executive to the Rector, concerning "Resolutions taken at the mass meeting, 22-05-89 ".
24. Ibid, letter from the Rector to the Secretary of the Department of Education reporting on " Meeting of Parents at the Mokopane College on 02 July 1989 ".
25. Mokopane College Archives, File AA 12, letter from Rector M.J. Kganakga to the Secretary of the Lebowa Department of Education regarding " Mid-year Examination for Student Teachers", dated 8 August 1989.
26. Ibid, letter from Rector Kganakga to the Secretary of Lebowa Education Department over a "Report on August Test", dated 8 August 1989.
27. Mokopane College Archives, File II 23/892-3, letter from members of the college staff to Rector Kganakga concerning the "Reasons for Resolutions", undated. File AA 12, official letter from Rector Kganakga to the Secretary of Lebowa Education, commenting on a meeting of the Advisory Council and the SRC, held on 22-09-89; this correspondence was dated 25-09-89.
28. Mokopane College Archives, File II 23/892/3, copy of resolutions taken by members of staff and handed over to Rector Kganakga in 1989.
29. Apple, p.
30. Mokopane College Archives, File A 22, statistics contained in a "report on the Selection of New Students Teachers for 1989".
31. Mokopane College of Education, "Staff Meetings Minute Book", Minutes of staff meeting dated 18 January 1991. Minutes of staff meeting dated 6 January 1991. Minutes of staff meeting dated 28 January 1991. Minutes of an 'Emergency Staff Meeting', held on 7 February 1991 and another held on 11 February 1991. Official letter from the Administration to the Secretary of Lebowa Education, dated 14 February 1991. Minutes of Staff meeting held on 18 February 1991. For a more recent update on serious tensions related to this issue, see Weekly Mail & Guardian, June 17 - 23 1994.
32. Jonathan Hyslop, "Schools, Unemployment and Youth : Origins and Significance of Student and Youth Movements, 1976 - 1987", Perspectives in Education, (1988/9, vol 10, no. 2), p. 66.
33. Apple, p.
34. K. Naidoo, "The Politics of Student Resistance in the 1980s", in M. Nkomo, (ed), Pedagogy of Domination - Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa, (Trenton : Africa World Press, Inc.).
35. Cliven Ramarn, SRC Executive Member, early 90s and founder member of SANSCO, Mokopane branch, interview with F.Bhyat, Mokopane College, Mahwelereng, October 1993.

for political issues. The mass political rallies reminiscent of the earlier periods were now much less well attended. There appeared to be an emerging process described by Kumi Naidoo as "de-conscientisation". (34) This process seems to have emerged out of a context that witnessed the collapse of the Soviet Union followed by the rapid unbanning of both the SACP and the ANC. These events have impacted on national consciousness. The unbanning of political organisations and the process of negotiations politics seems to have had the effect of watering-down the national democratic struggle and revolutionary fervour of the 1980s.

There is also a positive development, albeit small, of a core group of student activists who expressed themselves within the discourse of the language of class struggle. They were predominantly affiliated to SASCO, share strong loyalties with COSATU and expressed the hope for radical transformation. Presently they are acquainting themselves with Nkomo's Pedagogy of Domination. (35) As the struggle of resistance has shown, small beginnings do not necessarily have to mean little endings.

NOTES

1. F. Molteno, "The 1980 boycott of Coloured Education in the Cape Peninsula", Students Take Control, University of Cape Town, 1 - 4 July, 1985, p.4.
2. P. Willis, Learning to Labour, (Saxon House, Farnsborough, England, 1978), quotations cited by M. W. Apple, "Resistance and Contradictions in Class, Culture and the State : Culture as Lived - II", in Education and Power, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982) p. 104.
3. P. Willis, Learning to Labour, (Saxon House, Farnsborough, England, 1978), quotations cited by R. Sharp, "Ideology and schooling", in R. Sharp, Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of schooling, (london, 1980), p. 138.
4. Ibid. p. 138.
5. Ndo Maugala, founder member of MAYCO (Mahwelereng Youth Congress), Abram Papo and Charles Matlakala, collective interview with F. Dhyat Potgietersrus, July 1992.
6. Mokopane College Archives, File AA 12, letter from Rector M.J. Kganakga to the Secretary of the Lebowa Education Department, concerning the "draft constitution for the SRC", 22-05-89.
7. Pamphlet titled "Launching Rally of Mokopane SANSCO Branch Women's League", 09 August 1990, obtained from SRC office, Mokopane College. Collective interview with Ndo Maugala, (SRC President 1989), Abram Papo and Charles Matlakala, Potgietersrus, July 1992.
8. Mokopane College Archives, File A 12/23/892, the original but rejected 'Draft Constitution Mokopane SRC', dated 1989.
9. Ibid. the 'approved' preamble of the Mokopane SRC.
10. Mokopane College Archives, File AA 12, minutes of a Mokopane Council meeting, reporting on "Student-Lecturer conflict at the Mokopane College of Education", 14 September 1989.
11. Mokopane College Archives, File D 23/982/8, minutes of meeting of the Council and HODs, undated.
12. S. Fanyane, lecturer at Mokopane College 1989, interview with F. Dhyat, Mahwelereng, October 1993.
13. Mr. Malunga, ex Rector, Mokopane College 1989 1990, interview with F. Dhyat, Mahwelereng, December 1993.
14. Kamela Masuku, prominent teacher activist during the mid 80s, interview with F.Dhyat, Potgietersrus, October 1995.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid
17. P. Lekgoathi, "Teachers have rights too : The radicalisation of the teachers in the Northern Province, 1989 - 1994"(Research Seminar, Education Department, University of Witwatersrand, 30 August 1995), p. 12.

5. Resistance Revolving Around Limited Resources

Within the context of both dwindling employment opportunities and demographic concerns such as the rapid growth in secondary enrolment during the decade, the college recorded an increase from 7 000 applications in 1987 to more than 14 000 by 1991. (30) This is a phenomenal increase of a hundred percent within a period of three years. The college resources, designed to cater for approximately a thousand students, became the focus of student contention during the late 80s and early 90s. Student resistance which included the strategy of boycotts and class disruptions contained an element of intimidation as well. Unadmitted students disrupted classes in an attempt to enlist the support of admitted students with members of staff and the administration becoming targets of student anger and frustrations during the process.

The SRC in an attempt to resolve the problem demanded the right to be included on the administration's admission panel. The authorities conceded the request. This attempt led to the re-admission of a hundred more students. This was stretching institutional resources to their limits and further increased the large pupil-teacher ratio. The SRC and the administration were both unable however to resolve student concerns which was in essence a structural problem. There were still the explosive concerns of hundreds of unadmitted students. This situation threatened to split the democratic student movement. The SRC was asked by the student masses to step down and resign. The administration, members of staff as well as the executive of the SRC were threatened with assault. (31) Hyslop has aptly commented that :

> Since education provides the key to the very limited employment opportunities available, and since it is the site of socialisation and daily existence for masses of working class youth, it is understandable that it should become an arena of contention over scarce resources. (32)

This truncated vision of the problem by the students unable to articulate it within its structural context prevented them from mobilising and enlisting the support of the entire student body within the numerous schools as well as the community at large. Student anger instead of being directed at both members of staff and the SRC would have yielded more productive results had it been directed at the Lebowa administration as both NEHAWU and SADTU strikes within the region had proven. However the problem was still fundamentally a structural one, encompassing both wider economic and political dimensions. In relation to the concept of "critical consciousness", students as is evident above, did not completely comprehend their position within the wider relations of power and structures of capitalism. Even though they posed formidable challenges to the College Administration, there were "limitations" to their "penetrations". Thus in Apple's words, "student action while holding out the possibility of economic and political awareness, in this instance was "relatively disorganised and unguided". (33)

The period was thus characterised by the development of a structural crises which included economic, demographic and institutional features coupled with the element of spontaneous student resistance.

There was also the emergence of a new trend during this period of the early 1990s. Interviews with activists ascertained that large numbers of students displayed a general lack of enthusiasm

The presence of members among staff affiliated in progressive teacher organisations such as NOTTU and NEUSA and their affect as agents of conscientisation reflects the interaction between different terrains of contestation. As de Clerq aptly comments "these internal agents (the administration, academics and students) do not operate in a vacuum; they are themselves located within and are influenced by the broader balance of social forces in society. It is in that sense that internal and external terrains of struggle are constantly interrelating and influencing one another." (22)

4. Elements of Student Intimidation

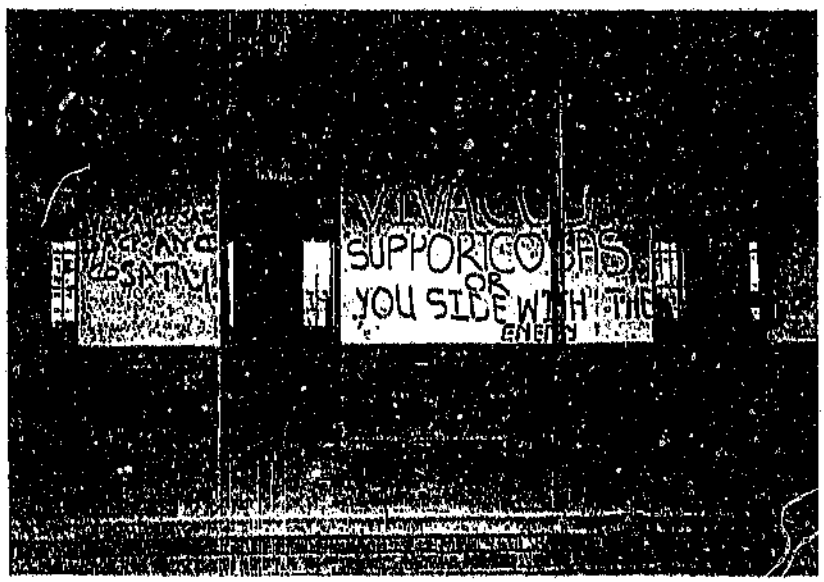
There were also elements of both intimidation and student opportunism. Student boycotts centred for the greater part of the year around the issue of "credit subjects". In 1989, students resolved that no mid-year exams would take place until the administration gave an assurance that no students would have to repeat the whole course having failed one of the credit subjects.(23) In an attempt to resolve a prolonged boycott by students, parents met with members of the administration in July 1989 and urged students to return to classes. (24) The call however was not heeded by students. Although student demands over "credit-subjects" seemed legitimate, later student demands were articulated within the very logic of certification. Thus students were later to demand that all teachers hand over the mid-year question paper for "revision". Generally some teachers were not happy with the demands but finally papers had to be handed over to the students because of "pressure and intimidation" (25) On the 8th of August during the course of a mass meeting, teachers were called in and "instructed" to reduce the scope of work, which they did. (26) On the 14th of September after students were reprimanded for infringing on examination regulations by Mrs. Seroka, a lecturer at the college, she was called into the SRC offices and "interrogated" by the SRC "disciplinary committee". (27) These incidents threatened to create some discord between students and lecturing staff who complained that:

> no meaningful education shall and can take place under the circumstances described above, and we therefore resolve to suspend lectures until such time the safety of lecturers at the college can be restored. (28)

Although the students challenged authority by not following rules, they did not fundamentally challenge the content of education and the system of credentialing. Students did not recognise the ideologically laden content as problematic. In this way they reconfirmed the social reproductive role of the educational institution. Reproduction is thus "carried out as much through contradiction, through the relative autonomy of the lads at a cultural level". (29)

By the end of the decade, the cumulative effects of a deepening recession coupled with the drought, demographic and institutional factors, began to impact on both regional and local context, shaping the nature of resistance. There are only four private training centres and training schemes in region G compared to more than 30 in the remaining regions. Moreover, the Mokopane College of Education is the only tertiary institution within the district of Mokerong. There is presently within Mokerong, no other training college, nor any technikons. Thus, the pressures are increasingly beginning to impact on the educational terrain and the Mokopane College is in this respect particularly affected.

ILLUS. 16
Graffiti at the Mokopane College during the highly politicised period 1989-1990



committee constituted among others, Sentle Fenyane, Solly Moralana, Mash Matsitela,(all lecturers at the Mokopane College in 1989), Joseph Diphofa, a former teacher trainee activist from Mokopane College, Dudu Madisha, a former activist from Setutulwane College, who subsequently died under police detention, Kamela Masuku and Lebogang Mphahlele, both teacher activists in 1989. (16) This seems to confirm Legoathi's findings that :

> It was largely those teachers whose political experiences had been shaped by the 1976 revolt, the 1985 - 86 mobilisation in the schools and especially those who had participated in student politics at various colleges and universities who proved to be receptive to the idea of forming a new union. (17)

Subsequent to the launch, the Area Executive Committee established branches in most parts of Lebowa. However, while some of the campaigns undertaken by NOTTU were "a reclamation of teacher's erstwhile professional autonomy, an interesting restatement of professionalism", (18)

> a large number of teachers took the defiance campaign to be a licence to be irresponsible, to fail to turn up for classes, and do not do their school work properly. Some arrived late at school and departed early. There was no code of conduct. (19)

NOTTU's operation and growth however, cut "deeply into the disenchanted membership of TUATA". (20) As a result of the National Teacher Unity Forum's initiative to create teacher unity, NOTTU eventually merged into SADTU, in the early 90s.

The period between 89 - 90 saw the launching of the Mokopane SANSCO branch of the Women's League. It was itself also influenced by the relaunching of the Women's League in Durban on the 9th of August 1990. The members articulated the importance of aligning forces with women's leagues, teacher unions, civic organisations and with PTSA's. As was indicated earlier, speakers such as Billy Ranokgopa, the former national president of SANSCO, as well as Dr. Kgati from Medunsa, a high ranking member of SANSCO, were invited to address student rallies. AMAYCO had also merged into NOTYCO (Northern Transvaal Youth Congress) during this period and many among the leadership of the Mokopane SRC shared a dual membership with NOTYCO. The interaction of democratic forces between the institutional and local terrain was by now quite apparent. As an English tutor Mpho Mashabela commented "the language that students used to articulate grievances was definitely not theirs. There was certainly a process of consultation with groups from outside." (21)

The students consistently rendered problematic the functioning of both the formal and hidden dimensions of the curriculum. Members of the council of heads of departments indicated at a meeting that "student-teachers want to have a say in both academic and professional matters such as the quality of a test, the subject matter to be tested and the desire to control the classroom activities of the lectures." (11)

3. The Role of Pro-active Teachers

Teachers also played an important role in the process of struggle. One of these teachers was Fanyane, who was a prominent member of the Northern Transvaal Teacher's Union, (NOTTU), which had an alliance with the broad liberation movement. He taught a course in school management at this institution. The course stressed both governmental rules and regulations governing teachers as well as teacher duties and expectations in terms of conduct. These were challenged with great effect by Fanyane, who manipulated the prescribed curriculum to challenge "state indoctrination". The "unilateral drafting of the curriculum", the per-capita income of racial groups and the surveillance role of prefects were among some of the issues discussed with students, (12)

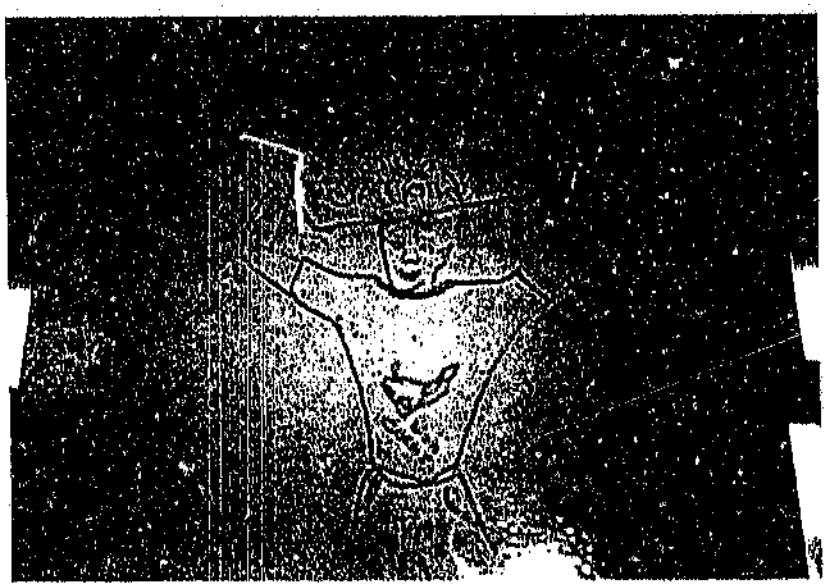
The period also saw the appointment of Mr. Felix Malunga as vice rector to the college. As was indicated much earlier, Mr. Malunga in his previous role as a principal at Gojela High attended the NECC conference held in Durban in 1986, as a candidate from the Northern Transvaal. This influenced his role in initiating the formation of Mahwelereng Parent's Crises Committee (MECC). During the mid 80s he played an important mediating role in the conflict between UDF and AZASM aligned SRC's within the high schools. During the brief absence of the autocratic rector, Mr. Kganakga in early 1989, Mr. Malunga assumed the post of acting-rector. Seizing the space provided, Malunga re-admitted most of the activists who played a prominent role in the 85 - 86 college uprisings and were detained during the state of emergence y and subsequently released in early 1989.(13) Thus the role played by both students and progressive teachers indicates that power is not absolute but importantly mediated by the specific activities and relationships of agents within institutions.

These teacher activists also played a crucial role in facilitating the process that led to the launch of the Northern Transvaal Teachers Union (NOTTU) at the Mokopane College in 1989. The formation of NOTTU must be seen within the context of the increasing disillusionment of teachers with TUATA, (noted in the previous chapter), and the broader movement in the late 80s to organise all teachers into progressive unions aligned to the broad liberation movement.

Teacher activists from Mokopane College such as Sentle Fenyane, Felix Malunga, the vice rector in 1989 and Mash Matsitela were among others who actively participated in and provided at risk to themselves, a venue at the Mokopane College for the numerous meetings held to workshop ideas for an alternate teacher structure prior to the launching of NOTTU. These meetings were also well attended by teachers such as Vaaliyn Kekana, Joseph Molobi and Stanley Kgosana, who were teacher trainee activists at the Mokopane College during the mid 80s. (14)

NOTTU was launched on 10 November 1989, at a meeting attended by about 120 teachers at the Mokopane College of Education. (15) The membership of its area executive committee reflects the mediating role that teacher activists played in the process of struggle. The

ILLUS. 15
Graffiti at the Mokopane College during the highly politicised period 1989-1990



Graffiti at the Mokopane College during the highly politicised period, 1989-90

It was unanimously decided to revitalise the SRC, empowering students and enabling them to articulate their grievances. An Ad-hoc committee was formed. Following lengthy discussion with the college administration, students were asked to hold a referendum to gauge feelings towards the SRC. There was an overwhelming yes vote with 80 percent of students voting in favour of an SRC. (6)

This period also saw the formation of the Mokopane Women's League being established on campus, under SANSCO. Sisulu's release was celebrated. Speakers such as Billy Ramokgopa, the former national president of SANSCO as well as Dr. Kgatl from Medunsa, a high ranking member of SANSCO were invited to address student meetings. The Mokopane SRC during the period initiated the dismantling of the segregated Lebowa Sporting Competition, which was headed by the administration. This spearheaded the formation of the first college branch of SATISO (South African Tertiary Institution of Sports Congress). The college hall was also transformed into a people's hall, providing a venue to discuss community grievances, or any political meeting initiated by the community. The SRC now had its own coffers, a well equipped office with access to typewriters and photocopying machines.(7)

The preamble of the SRC constitution submitted by students indicated an awareness by students of their role within the broader society. They stressed that :

> We the black students of Mokopane College of Education, realising that we are members of an oppressed community before we are students and committing ourselves to a non-racial democratic society free of exploitation and national oppression in which harmony among people will prevail, find it necessary to articulate the aspirations of the students of Mokopane College of Education in a united and organised manner, are therefore determined :
> a. To organise students so that they could play a more meaningful role in the community in general.
> b. To organise students of Mokopane College of Education so that they could take up their demands for a relevant role in society. (8)

This constitution was subsequently rejected by the administration which was by now fully aware of student capability and foisted its own version of the constitution on them. The preamble read :

> The Mokopane Students Representative Council is not a political body. It shall therefore not identify itself with any political parties, associations, organisations or any such movements inside or outside the campus of Mokopane College of Education. The SRC shall function within the structures and instruction of the Lebowa Department of Education as executed by the Mokopane College of Education. It shall not work as a pressure group in the administration of the college; instead it shall advise and make relevant recommendations of matters within its jurisdiction. (9)

The students, although reluctantly accepting this, did not subscribe to the conditions imposed by the administration. Students in fact manipulated the space provided by this constitution to stage political activities. They were accused on numerous occasions of reneging on the agreement. Thus in mid-September 1989, the advisory council, voicing concern about the action of the SRC, stated :

> They convene mass meetings almost every other week without permission by college authorities. They disregard all stipulations, rules and regulation thereby jeopardising the whole process of teacher-training then rendering it useless as it were. (10)

CHAPTER 4

NATURE OF STUDENT RESISTANCE FOR THE PERIOD 1989 - 1991.

1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the period of resistance between 1989 - 1991. The initial part of the discussion records the formidable challenges posed by students to college authority. It also shows how pro-active teachers contested elements of the school curriculum. There are striking parallels to Molteno's description of the student/staff relations in his article on the 1980 Cape boycotts. He writes that prior to the boycott, teachers and principals perceived nothing problematic in their imposition of authority of students who, for there part, took its legitimacy for granted. It was precisely this fundamental aspects of the relationship of control of students by staff which was consistently and completely inverted during the course of the boycott. Student/staff relations were thus rapidly being reconstituted. (1) Students managed to transform significantly the internal social relations of power. The latter part of the chapter shows how economic, demographic and institutional imperatives, coupled with the element of spontaneous student reaction, fused to shape the form and content of resistance.

It draws on Willis's concepts of "penetration and limitations" to note how "students participate in the contested reproduction of the ideological and material system of which they are a part". (2) The students under Willis's study do to a degree penetrate and demystify the structure of inequality reproduced in schools. These "partial" glimpses are however foreclosed by "limitations" which prevent them from discerning the "complete" nature of capitalism as a "system of class domination based upon the appropriation of surplus value emanating from their own labour power". (3)

Such an analysis provides a non mechanistic view of how ideology works :

> by being actively constructed and reconstituted through the ongoing apparently oppositional lifestyles of youths such as the subjects of his study, resulting in a mode of existence in adult life which is precisely what capitalism requires. (4)

2. Re-engagement of Student Activism

The student generation of 89 - 90 emerged from the turbulent mid - 80s displaying a more militant political stance against the college administration. Its leadership consisted of students who were prominent members of the youth congresses since the mid - 80s.

Sensing the mood of the students and given the political space created by the lifting of the state of emergency, student activists such as Ndo Mangala, a founder member of MAYCO, in conjunction with Joshua Bambo and Sam Mashao, issued a pamphlet calling on students not to pay administration fees until further clarification. A mass meeting was called. Students rallied around issues such as increments in college fees and of sexual harassment of female students by members of staff. (5)

68. For a more recent update of economic conditions related to the Northern Province, see also 'Northern Review, dated 7, July 1995.
69. I. Hofmeyr, "We Spend Our Years As A Tale That Is Told : Oral Storytelling, Literacy And Chiefdom", (P.Hd. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1991) p.125.
70. DBSA report, "Economic and Social memorandum Region G", 1989, p.68-74
71. Ibid.
72. Mokopane College Archives, File D-23/982-8, "Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Governing council", dated 15 April 1986.
73. Letter in the possession of F. Bhyat from student activist, Vaaltyn Kekana.
74. Collective Interview : Ndo Mangala, Abram Papo, and Charles Matlakala, Potgietersrus , Winter 1992. See also OMPC, File A-23/892/19, addressed to the secretary of the Lebowa Department of Education from Rector Kganakgn, for a report on detained students.
75. Mokopane College Archives, File A-23/892-14, Minutes of Rectors meeting held at Kwenamoloto College of Education on the 11 November 1986.
76. *Mokopane College Archives, File AA-12, letter from Rector M.J. Kganakgn to the secretary to the* Lebowa Education Department, dated 22-05-89.
77. Mokopane College Archives, File A-23/892-14, "Sport Policy for Colleges of Education", issued by the Lebowa Rector's Council, undated but in all probability for the period 1987-1988.
78. Ibid.
79. F. de Clerq, "Black Universities as Contested Terrains". Perspectives in Education, 12,2 (Winter 1991) 52.
80. Mokopane College Archives, File FR 23/892-1, letter from Rector M.J. Kganakgn to the secretary of the Lebowa Department of Education reporting on a meeting of [illegible]rs held on 17-02-1988.
81. Mokopane College Archives , File AA-12, letter from Rector M.J. Kganakgn to the Secretary of the Lebowa Department of Education reporting on a meeting of parents held at the Mokopane College on 2 July 1989.
82. Mokopane College Archives, File AA-12, letter from Rector M.J. Kganakgn to the Secretary of the Lebowa Education Department reporting on the "Draft Constitution for the SRC", dated 22-05-1989.
83. Such a view could be supported by Hyslop's analysis on student protest in an article on "Food, Authority and Politics' where he has observed how, with the crushing of underground political movements during the period between 1964-1974, the level of student agitation subsided 'drastically'. This decision by students to reject the SRC seems also to contain an element of the suggestion by de Clerq that ; "The majority of academics and students will protect their political and economic interests which often coincide with the status quo, although they might occasionally clash with the state and other dominant groups", Francine de Clerq, page 52. I would argue that this decision by *students was influenced by a combination of the views expressed above.*
84. Mpho Lesiba, June 1993 and Sony Kekana, September 1993, both prominent activists, interviews with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus.
85. Seekings, page 15.
86. Sophonia Mamabolo and Sophy Tlhongwane, unionised worker in the mid-80's, collective interview with F. Bhyat, Potgietersrus December 1993 in Maiwelereng.

Mminele, S.P.P. "Teacher Education in Lebowa, 1953 - 1983 : An Historical-Educational Study" (D.Ed. thesis, University of the North, 1989)
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Tikly, L.

Van Niekerk, A. "The Use of White Female Labour by Zebediela Citrus Estates, 1926 - 1953" (M.A. thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1987)

III. INTERVIEWS (all conducted by F. Bhyat at the places and on the dates indicated)

Fanyane, S. Mokopane College, Mahwelereng, October 1993.
Lesiba Mpho, Mokopane College, Mahwelereng, March 1993.
Loonat Imraan, Potgietersrus, December 1993.
Kekana Lucky, Potgietersrus, March 1994.
Kekana Sony (Vaaltyn), Potgietersrus, June 1994.
Maaka Sidney, Potgietersrus, February 1994.
Mabudafhasi Joyce, Mankweng, Pietersburg, November 1993.
Mafuleka, J. Potgietersrus, June 1994.
Malunga, F. Mahwelereng, December 1993.
Mamabolo, Sophonia, Mahwelereng, March 1993, June 1994 and September 1994.
Professor Manaka, University of the North, February 1994.
Mangala Ndo, Papo Abram, and Matlakala Charles, Potgietersrus, March 1993.
Mashabela Mpho, Mokopane College, Mahwelereng, March 1993.
Professor P. Mashabela, Pietersburg, December 1992.
Matlakala Charles, Potgietersrus, July 1992.
Moetlo Gottlieb, Sekgakgapeng, Potgietersrus, September 1994.
Papo Abram, Potgietersrus, July 1992.
Pieterse Stoffel, Potgietersrus, July 1994.
Ramaru, G. Mokopane College, Mahwelereng, October 1993.
Rampola, R.M. Potgietersrus, February 1994.
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Mokopane as it evolved under apartheid. Students contested authority relations, curriculum and efforts to contain and isolate them physically and mentally.

But the analysis covering the period of resistance in the late 80s and early 90s also probes the issue of "critical consciousness" in relation to recorded aspects of student intimidation and individualism. It has revealed how teacher trainees in this institution, both engaged in and partially reproduced hegemonic ideologies. This part of the thesis has also shown how demographic imperatives, the lack of alternate tertiary institutions and dismal economic conditions, which included the critical lack of employment opportunities, importantly came to shape the form and content of resistance.

Finally, in respect to the need for transformation, the Mokopane College has established a Governing Council that represents community and professional structures. These structures, established in 1995, include SADTU, TUATA, SANCO, COSATU, NEHAWU, SACC, the Department of Education (North), Pensioners Association, the Mokopane staff and the SRC.

Presently, as a result of new national policies to reduce the production of teachers in teacher colleges and the teacher unemployment crisis in this region, the intake at teaching colleges is to be drastically reduced to prevent the training of surplus teachers. Within the context of the lack of alternate tertiary institutions in this sub-region, the state approved establishment of technikons (1) would certainly ease the problem and lead to skills empowerment. However, the current unemployment rate is 48 percent, with only two out of every ten new entrants to the labour force finding employment. (2) The establishment of technikons without any parallel development of the economic infrastructure will not ease the plight of the unemployed who may now include further numbers of teachers. As this thesis has suggested, the resistance in later years was a symptom of the deeper economic crises of unemployment and an impoverished economic infrastructure. Even if aspiring teachers were to be re-directed to technikons, there would have to be employment vacancies to accommodate them. The imminent process of teacher rationalisation without any subsequent stimulation and restructuring of economic conditions in this province will not ease the plight of teachers.

On a positive note, the Urban Renewal programme has approved projects in the area which include low cost housing, the provision and upgrading of water and sanitation, roads and stormwater, electricity, recreation, educational, and transport facilities and health services. This, it is anticipated, will result in the creation of local job opportunities, a situation conducive to skills transfer and capacity building, community empowerment and the general improvement of the quality of life of the local residents. (3)

The important question that remains, concerns the sustainability of such projects over a period of time and its strict monitoring to ensure that it benefits the powerless. To plan for longer term economic development, there would have to be a thorough investigation of the various sectors of this regional economy and of the potential for growth. Thus, policy makers will have to strategise around the socio-economic dynamics referred to above in order to bridge theory and practice.

onwards quickly established four Junior Secondary schools with hostel facilities in the province and introduced the Lower Primary Teachers Course in addition to the Junior Secondary Course. Missionary institutions within the region were also brought under the control of the Department of Bantu Education and instructed to offer the Lower Primary Teachers Course (LPTC), in addition to the Higher Primary Teachers Course (HPTC). The policy affected Missionary institutions such as Bethesda and Botshabelo.

Finally, this initial portion of the thesis has also suggested that political considerations such as the Nationalist idea of extending 'separate development' to all facets of civil society also involved the siting of Mokopane College in an area which was later to become part of the homeland of Lebowa.

The second part of this thesis, which focuses predominantly on resistance, begins by outlining the social order of authority, power and control established under the social regime of Bantu Education. The third chapter illustrates how the administration and control of the institution, through a network of rules and surveillance practices served to entrench control over the student body. It also argued that Fundamental Pedagogics, as the dominant theoretical discourse underpinning educational theory at Mokopane College, neutralises and depoliticises educational discourse and does not present students and teachers with the concepts necessary to assess critically its claims about education. The subsequent chapters of the thesis however, show how Bantu Education failed in its attempt both to effect social control and to create docile functionaries for capital.

The approach to this latter part of the thesis, by combining the structuralist and interactionist accounts, avoids the trap of economic determinism. This part of the thesis examines how the general political relations characteristic of the mid 80s, which entailed both the rapid outgrowth of UDF and trade union structures, importantly influenced the regional and specific political terrain. Embracing the elements of agency contestation and struggle, it has also shown how the role of activists resembled the emergence of what Gramsci called "organic intellectuals" who articulated the demands of the working class and were influential in developing various political strategies.

This part of the analysis has also shown how the emergence of youth congresses in the region in the mid 80s created the conditions enabling the consolidation of the crucial alliance between students, unionists and the broader society. The period witnessed how teacher trainee activists from Mokopane College broadened their base of resistance by liasing and sharing ideas with trade unionists and student activists from neighbouring colleges. These developments posed a growing challenge to established power relations; as such it is a major contention of the thesis that resistance became general and militant in this instance only when it was able to break out of its isolation, both practically and in terms of consciousness. It has emphasised the importance of the concept of relative autonomy by showing the capacity of agents to create spaces for the expression of an oppositional culture. The educational terrain thus became an important site of struggle. Finally this period was also characterised by rent and other boycotts, indicative of impoverished economic conditions, which fed into the political and influenced in part the form and content of resistance in this region.

In sum, the form and content of resistance to education in the period studied related to forms of economic, political and educational control manifested in the structure and organisation of

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Name of thesis: The mokopane college through the years 1940-1990

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
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