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A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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Title: Contemporary Conflict in Black Teachers Politics: The Role of the Africanization of the Apartheid Education Structure, 1940-1992.

by: Philip Vilardo

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Introduction: The Bellville South Incident

On April 4, 1988 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), along with the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), initiated the teacher unity process by bringing the major "recognized" and "emergent" black teachers organizations together in Harare with the intention of forging a unitary, non-racial, non-sexist, and democratic teachers union.[1] Two years later, on October 6, 1990, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) was launched as the culmination of a difficult negotiation process between these recognized and emergent teachers organizations. Ironically, the formation of SADTU marked the end rather than the begining of teacher unity. The first blow came when the 35,000 member Transvaal United African Teachers Union (TUATA) and the Transvaal Teachers Association, an organization of white english speaking teachers, announced in the week before the launch of SADTU that they would be unable to sign the unity accord. On March 1, 1991, just five months after participating in its launch, the predominantly "coloured" Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA), with a membership of 22,000, also withdrew from SADTU. Monica Bot has attributed the failure of the teacher unity process to three fundamental differences of opinion between the established and progressive teachers' organizations: a preference on the part of recognized teachers' organizations, such as the CTPA, for professionalism over trade unionism; their demand that SADTU be a federal rather than a unitary structure; and an objection to the "charterist spirit" of the new teacher body.[2] This understanding of the breakdown of the teacher unity process takes at face value the explanations of the teachers organizations themselves without delving into the more deeply rooted divisions that I will suggest have doomed teacher unity from the outset.

If, for example, we look at the CTPA's decision to withdraw from SADTU a major reason given by the CTPA for its decision was the intimidation of one of its members, the principal of Bellville South Senior Secondary School, by SADTU activists.[3] The Bellville incident began in January of 1991 when the principal decided not to renew the contracts of three temporary teachers. While the decision to permanently appoint or renew the contracts of temporary teachers rested with the Department of Education and Culture (HoR), in most cases the recommendations of the principals' were simply rubber stamped by the Department. In the Bellville South case, the principal failed to recommend the three teachers for permanent appointment despite the support of Heads of Department and the students. Unfortunately for the principal, his decision coincided with the SADTU "Temporary Teachers Campaign" in

which the union called upon all temporary teachers without jobs to return to school in the new year and demand positions.[4] Reaction to his decision was swift. The Bellville South Education Committee was formed by students, teachers and community organizations for the purpose of persuading the principal to reinstate the dismissed teachers. The pressure tactics adopted by the committee included sending delegations of parents to meet with the principal as well as meetings and placard demonstrations held at the school. The principal's response was to seek a court interdict preventing community activists from entering the school campus. The situation rapidly deteriorated. Both the principal and the replacement teachers were allegedly harassed by "masked thugs", with the principal eventually leaving the school due to the personal toll the incident took on him.[5] By March the school campus was a virtual military encampment as Mr. Awie Muller, director of the "coloured" Department of Education and Culture, deployed security guards on the campus in order to prevent "pupils from being used to intimidate the newly appointed teachers".[6] One week later a protest of two hundred student supporters of the dismissed teachers was broken up with teargas by the police.[7] This pattern of confrontation continued throughout the month of March with Muller refusing to reinstate the dismissed teachers and the Education Committee refusing to back off.

The response of the CTPA to the Bellville South incident is revealing. While in principle supporting the permanent appointment of all temporary teachers, the CTPA objected to the confrontational approach of SADTU activists which, they charged, fostered "deep divisions" within schools and resulted in the alienation of "staff members who were previously supportive".[8] Instead they suggested that "the grievances of teachers ... be taken up with and solved by the relevant authorities outside the confines of the classroom and via due and proper means".[9] The CTPA's curious appeal to the legitimacy of existing educational authorities points to an interesting tension within teachers politics that has escaped the purview of Bot's analysis.[10] The CTPA, after years of successfully petitioning for the promotion of their members into positions of authority within the 'coloured' Department of Education and Culture, found themselves in the awkward position of having to defend a member charged with enforcing apartheid educational policy.

What is interesting about this particular event, and there are many like it scattered across the war torn landscape of South African educational politics,[11] is the fundamental schism within teachers politics it encapsulates. The Bellville South incident was not simply about the dismissal of three temporary teachers which pitted young SADTU militants against a conservative CTPA member; it was also about how the apartheid education structure is to be

transformed and the role that the membership of SADTU and the recognized teachers' organizations play in that structure. The conflict between SADTU and the CTPA at Bellville South points beyond the divisions identified by Bot to an underlying structural contradiction between teachers in positions of authority within the aparthied education structure and ordinary teachers, a contradiction that has prevented teacher unity across the board.

In what follows I will show how SADTU and the recognized teachers' organizations have historically come to represent different, and apparently conflicting, interests within the apartheid education structure. This paper will examine three periods in the history of black teachers politics. The first section of the paper will explore the radicalization of African teachers politics between 1940 and 1957 in which a demand by African teachers for the africanization of the "Native" Education system was articulated, a demand that posed a challange to the hegemony of incorporationist ideology. Borrowing on an already extensive literature, this section will explore the radicalization of the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) and the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) in the 1940's and early 1950's. In the second section will examine the reaction that occured in teachers politics beginning roughly with the formation of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association (TUATA) in 1957 and ending with the Soweto Uprising of 1976. I will argue that in this period the radical demands of teachers for the africanization of the "Native" education structure in the 1940s were accommodated within the system of Bantu Education and served to win the acquiescence of teachers' organizations to apartheid for nearly three decades. In the process of pursuing the africanization of apartheid education structures the members of recognized teachers organizations became entrenched in positions of authority within these structures. The final section of the paper, which will look at the period after 1976, will show how the past victories of established teachers organizations in winning promotional opportunities for their membership have now placed many of their members in the contradictory position of having to administer a besieged and illegitimate education system while at the same time claiming to be part of the 'liberation movement'. This is especially true in the present context where, under the Education and Training Act, schools have all but become the personal fiefdoms of principals.

The Radicalization of African Teachers Politics, 1940-1957.

As many historians and social theorists have argued, middle class politics has an unshakable tendency to follow the ebb and flow of the struggle between the two fundamental classes in capitalist society. Not surprisingly, then, the 1940's have been identified as a period of uncharacteristic radicalism on the part of African teachers. The radicalization of teachers politics corresponded with an intensification of class struggle brought on by major transformations in South African class relations during this period.[12] The spectacular growth of the manufacturing sector contributed to unprecedented levels of African urbanization and proletarianization, and was accompanied by a resurgence in African trade unionism and a wave of working class militancy centred around the issues of housing, transportation, and schooling.[13] One teacher active in the 1940's attributed teacher radicalism to the fact that teachers "worked closely with the parents and the trade unions" on educational and community issues and therefore could not escape politics.[14]

While the intensification of class conflict provided the context for the radicalization of teachers politics in the 1940's, concretely teacher anger centred on at least three grievances: "the financing of native education, the salaries and conditions of work of African Teachers, and the 'control' of Native education".[15] Low salaries were a particularly contentious issue and throughout the 1930s teachers increasingly began to connect their poor service conditions to the system of segregation.[16] The predicament of African teachers was exacerbated by the presence of higher paid white colleagues whose privileged positions made painfully apparent the contradictions of the mission schools incorporationist ideologies. M.L. Kabane, president of CATA, observed with more than a hint of incredulity that "current and proposed practices lead not a few Native leaders to the alarming conclusion that the civilised labour policy is being applied in the schools".[17] As in the case of the radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie in the wake of World War One, the economic deprivations and daily humiliations experienced by the African petty bourgeoisie and working class provided the common experiential basis for the emergence of a "populist movement of agitation".[18] The economic hardships forced on African teachers by low wages, which were drastically reduced during the depression,[19] increasingly led many to identify with the rapidly expanding African working class and to look to it as a potentially powerful ally. "For a long time the African teacher imagined himself to be somewhere between the oppressed and the oppressor", argued R.S. Canca of CATA, "Hence we [teachers] refused to identify ourselves with the struggling masses, for we considered ourselves to be above them. But events show us that all laws that affect the miner,

the garden boy, the kitchen girl affects us too ... We cannot so much as attain a single one of our objectives unless and until black South Africa has attained its freedom".[20]

Canca's statement is illustrative of the rising africanist discourse that began to capture the imagination of many young African teachers during this period. The influence of this emergent africanist discourse on teachers politics was evident in the demand for greater African control over "Native" education. "The sooner we make up our minds to rely entirely on Native teachers in all types of posts in Native schools the better for all concerned", declared D.D.T Jabavu and Z.K.Matthews.[21] This demand for the "africanization"* of education is also evident in a series of conference resolutions passed in the late 1940s by TATA which forcefully suggested that teachers "in African schools not under mission societies should be Africans", and that the mission societies "should give preference to Africans wherever vacancies occur".[22] Despite nuturing the hope of incorporation among a generation of African intellectuals the mission schools were little closer to realizing that promise than the increasingly segregationist social order in which they were imbedded. While the mission schools were only too grateful to employ an army of less qualified African primary school teachers, they were reluctant to leave post-primary education in the hands of African teachers. Of the 21,500 black teachers in 1950 only 1087 taught at the secondary level compared to approximately 500 white teachers.

Nor were demands for africanization limited to teaching positions. I.D. Mkize, the president of CATA, typified the shocked indignation many African teachers felt upon encountering segregationist barriers to mobility in a profession that had long preached a colour blind ideology of incorporation when he derisively suggested that Government authorities "would sooner have African schools closed than see an African appointed to such august bodies as the Departmental Examinations Committees or the Departmental Book Committee." "The chance pigmentation of the skin", he tellingly concluded, "is in South Africa more important than the grey matter encased in the cranium".[23] This disillusionment with liberalism was manifest in greater agitation for African control over the administration of African education. While I have been unable to determine the extent to which African teachers advanced to positions of authority, such as principalships, within the "Native" Education system, impressionistic evidence suggests that there were limited opportunities for upward mobility available to

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* I will use the term "africanization" to refer to the demands of all people of color in South Africa for greater black participation in and control over black education.

African educators within the profession. Several African educators who began teaching in this period suggest that while it was not unusual to find African principals in primary schools, secondary schools were largely under the guidance of White principals.[24] Even where African teachers were promoted by mission societies into principalships, real power rested with White school managers.[25]

> "The managers of these aided schools provided and supervised the religious and moral instruction of the pupils, ensured the school buildings were maintained in a satisfactory state of repair, nominated teachers to be considered for appointment by the Education Department, exercised general supervision over the schools, furnished all the required records, ... and suspended from service any teacherwhose conduct was grossly reprehensible".[26]

A little more evidence exists on the Inspectorate -- one area in which African teachers organizations pressed their demands for africanization. Up until the late 1940's the school inspectorate was woefully understaffed, with opportunities for African educators very limited indeed. In 1935, for example, the Cape Province employed thirteen White school inspectors who were assisted by only seven "Native supervisors".[27] By 1950 the situation had somewhat improved with 43 White school inspectors being assisted by 84 African supervisors.[28] Despite performing many of the same functions and duties as their White superiors African supervisors were prohibited from advancing to the inspectorate. It was in this context that TATA demanded the Transvaal inspectorate be open "to Africans who qualify for it".[29]

The 1940's, then, were in many ways a revelation for African teachers as they began to come to terms with the contradictions of incorporationist ideology and to demand the africanization of the education structure. In a privatised mission education system that nurtured the hopes and aspirations of incorporation into colonial society it is not surprising that the products of mission education, teachers, began to demand for themselves a larger role in the administration of and control over that system. However, as we shall soon see, these radical demands for the africanization of "Native education" underwent a dramatic transformation in the wake of the defeat of popular resistance to Bantu Education.

There is a tendency in the literature on teacher politics in the 1950's to emphasize the continuities between teacher radicalism in the 1940's and teacher resistance to Bantu Education in the 1950's.[30] Tom Lodge has suggested that teachers were the first to recognize

"the sweeping implications of the Eiselen Report and to mount a campaign against the commissions recommendations", while both Lodge and Hyslop have produced excellent histories of the role of CATA and TATA in resisting the implementation of Bantu Education through the school boycotts of the 1950's.[31] In the process of focusing on resistance, though, these accounts have neglected the continuities that bind the radicalism and resistance of the forties and fifties to the reaction and collaboration of the sixties and seventies, continuities which have important implications for contemporary teachers politics. As I will argue below, despite the radical demands of teachers for the africanization of education in the 1940's and their resistance in the 1950's, teacher politics was soon in the throes of a reaction. By the end of the decade the principal task of TUATA would seem to have been the extension of promotional opportunities for African teachers within the very structures of apartheid education the organization had refused to collaborate with just a few years prior. Here we see the adaptation of the demand for the africanization of the educational structure to the new context of apartheid education. How was it that teachers so quickly shifted from a position of principled and militant opposition to Bantu Education to nearly three decades of passive collaboration?

The answer to this question requires that we examine the defeat of popular resistance to Bantu Education and the reaction this set in motion within the African teachers' organizations. Hyslop has attributed the failure of popular resistance to: (1) the inability of the congress movement to organize "lumpen urban youth sub-culture"; (2) the success of Bantu Education in meeting the demand for mass education; and (3) the lack of a counter-hegemonic alternative.[32] Most significant, I believe, was the failure of the African National Congress (ANC) school boycott campaign to provide a viable alternative to Bantu Education. As Lodge correctly points out, "boycotts often involve the renunciation of power" whereas a counter-hegemonic movement attempts to establish an alternative power within existing institutional contexts.[33] The closest the ANC came to a proactive educational policy was the African Education Movement (AEM), but attempts to establish and sustain a parallel educational structure proved impossible in the face of state repression and resource limitations.[34] The AEM failed because of the ill placed attempt to establish a counter-hegemonic educational project outside of the existing structures of education. A "more viable" strategy is one that contests hegemony within existing structures of education, and it is exactly this that sets the "peoples education" campaign of the mid-1980s apart from the school boycotts and alternative educational projects of the 1950s.

Another explanation for the failure of popular resistance to Bantu Education is to be found in the defeat of the organized African working class. While the previous decade witnessed the unparalleled growth of black trade unionism under the Committee of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU), the 1946 African mine workers strike represented the high water mark of organized working class militancy. The defeat of the mine workers strike as well as repressive political and labor legislation sent the CNETU into a precipitous decline and effectively stifled African trade unionism.[35] The retreat of the organized working class in the face of concerted state repression left the African middle class, and especially teachers, vulnerable to state coercion and cooptation.

Finally, the populist turn of teacher organizations in the late 1940s produced a conservative reaction with both CATA and TATA experiencing splits over the issue of the politicization of education.[36] These splits have been attributed to geographical divisions between "rural moderates and urban radicals", a position that is not entirely without merit.[37] Additionally, Hyslop has suggested that the conservative turn of many teachers was rooted in a fear of state retribution against politically active teachers.[38] Given the limited opportunities available to educated Africans under apartheid the threat of sacking for political "misconduct", and the certain proletarianization such a job loss would have meant, was enough to persuade many teachers to avoid potentially dangerous organizations like TATA and CATA. Indeed, the threat of state repression and especially proletarianization were awesome disincentives for teachers to get involved in protest politics at a time when the working class was disorganized and in retreat. CATA, for example, experienced mass dismissals and black listings in the 1950s.[39] This fear of proletarianization among teachers is brilliantly exemplified in an exchange found in the Native Teachers Journal.[40] In it a teacher, Mr. Jili, cautioned his colleagues to avoid the temptations of wine, women, and "fallen angels" found in "the community". "They are trying to drag you to hell", he warned. It would be easy to dismiss this as a Christian appeal to save vulnerable middle class souls, and in many ways it was, but in a subsequent letter Jili clarified his statement. "By 'fallen angels' [I mean] those people who were sacked, or were unsuccessful in the teaching profession, and 'hell' is unemployment. I know quite a lot about unemployment ... It is hell on earth". Another teacher concurred with Mr. Jili, "I have myself grown up in a slum, and I have known an African's life at its worst". Clearly the fear of proletarianization was a very real disincentive for teachers to get involved in politics.

While the Cape African Teachers Union (CATU) and the Transvaal African Teachers Union (TATU) emerged in the early 1950s as the conservative voice of teachers, neither organization enjoyed widespread support while ANC led popular protests in education and elsewhere continued to hold the imagination of "the community". In CATU's case the organization could only muster 144 paid up members in 1958, more than five years after its formation.[41] In fact CATU continued to be the poor sister of the provincial African teacher organizations throughout the 1960s, perhaps because of the strong Congress tradition in the eastern Cape. Despite the ineffectiveness of the conservative teachers organizations, the general trend toward the moderation of teachers politics was in evidence even in the militant TATA. In 1953 a faction favoring unity with TATU ousted the Orlando radicals and began to moderate the organizations approach. Despite the militant rhetoric displayed by TATA at its 1955 Annual General Conference, the rising reaction was evident in two decisions not taken by the conference. The first was the decision to rescind a resolution disapproving of any "representation being made to the government on inferior education, syllabus and salaries", while the second was the defeat of a resolution to break off unity talks with TATU.[42] Clearly by the late 1950s teacher politics were experiencing a rising tide of reaction as the inability of the Congress Alliance to move a confident and increasingly intransigent apartheid state away from its segregationist course became apparent. For many conservative teachers intent on retaining what little privileges they had the best course of action was to widen their opportunities within the logic of apartheid education, and this is exactly what happened over the course of the next fifteen years.

Teacher Reaction and the Entrenchment of an Educational Elite, 1957-1976.

Hyslop has argued that Bantu Education failed to become hegemonic partly because it alienated teachers.[43] In its attempt to gain legitimacy among parents and to strengthen the "traditional African authority" so dear to apartheid ideologues, the Bantu Education Department instituted quasi-democratic school committees and school boards. These structures, argues Hyslop, had dictatorial powers over teachers and were the source of a simmering sense of grievance.

> "The role which the school boards and committees were supposed to play in underpinning the hegemonic project of Bantu Education was undermined by the assertive bigotry of officialdom, by the state's abandonment of teachers to the mercy of local tyrants, by the governments refusal to listen to criticisms of policy voiced by

> the representative structures which it had itself established, and ultimately by the long simmering traditions of popular resistance".[44]

While Hyslop is correct to argue that "the board system ... served as an obstacle, and not as an aid in [teachers] ideological incorporation into the Verwoerdian social order", he neglects other mechanisms -- principally the 'africanization' of the lower echelons of the Bantu Education bureaucracy -- of incorporating a segment of the teaching profession.[45] The effects of Bantu Education on the African teaching profession were differentiated, contradictory and not entirely alienating. On the one hand there was a concerted effort to weaken the professional autonomy of teachers evident in the repressive school board system, but on the other hand there were new promotional opportunities for "loyal and able teachers". One of the first acts of the Bantu Education administration, for example, was to create the new position of sub-inspector to be filled by forty nine African teachers, nearly doubling the number of administrative positions available to African educators.[46]

Conservative African teachers organizations picked up the radical demand for the Africanization of education and relentlessly pursued it within the logic of apartheid. At the first conference of TUATA,[**] for example, it was resolved "that qualified Africans be employed to do clerical and administrative work in Bantu Education Offices", while at its 1961 conference TUATA called for "all posts in the Bantu Education Department below the office of Regional Director be filled by Africans".[47] By 1960 ATASA could unabashedly declare:

> "the teacher is considerably better off under the present system than he was under the old Provincial system ... The teachers' opportunities for promotion have been greatly improved. Under this Department numerous additional posts have been created for Principals of schools, School Board Secretaries, Inspector's clerks, Supervisors, and sub-inspectors and there are greatly improved prospects for the loyal and able teacher".[48]

Throughout the 1960's the traditional teachers organizations pressed forward with their africanization project, but always within the parameters established by apartheid. In 1964

[**] The Transvaal United African Teachers Association was formed when the Transvaal African Teachers Association and Transvaal African Teachers Union merged in 1957.

OFSATA proposed at ATASA's annual conference that European principals in African High Schools and training schools be replaced with African Principals.[49] The next year, TUATA forcefully resolved that "the practice of employing European teachers in African State schools be discouraged" and "that the Department of Bantu Education ... open vacancies for African personnel in all its sections; eg. posts for administrative organisers, clerical positions in Head Office, Inspectors of Bantu Education, etc".[50] By 1966 TUATA thanked the Department for elevating the post of African sub-inspectors to that of Inspector, a decision that affected some 200 sub-inspectors and supervisors.[51] That same year an emboldened TUATA pushed for the Africanization of the entire Bantu Education bureaucracy, brazenly invoking the authority of Verwoerd to back its claims.

> "We would very humbly like to point out that we feel that our teachers are now sufficiently qualified to take over all the teaching posts in Bantu Education. We feel that is the spirit in which the Hon. Prime Minister, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, when he was Minister of Native Affairs, conceived Bantu Education. The idea, we feel, was that the Bantu Teacher should rise to the highest position in Bantu Education. As long as we have White Teachers as Principals and Vice-Principals in our Bantu State Schools, we feel that there is an opportunity for promotion that is denied the African teacher".[52]

Although one might look at the renewed demand for the africanization of the aparthed education structure as an attempt by the recognized teachers organizations to transform Bantu Education from within, the evidence suggests that this is a tenuous rationalization at best. As we shall soon see, it was not until well after the Soweto Uprising of 1976 that recognized teachers organizations began to tentatively push for non-racialism in education rather than the africanization of the apartheid education structure. The demands of the recognized teachers organizations for the promotion of Blacks into positions of authority within Black education departments reveals the extent to which apartheid ideology had become hegemonic within teachers organizations. If nothing else these organizations recognized the utility of apartheid ideology for advancing their own parochial interests. This hegemony was evident not only in the uncritical push for black advancement within the structures of apartheid education, but also in the 1965 ATASA constitution which proposed "to unify African teacher associations, to further the education of the African child, to promote the interests of the African teacher, [and] to promote the progress and development of the African in general".[53] Even in the wake of the Soweto uprising ATASA continued to call for the Africanization of the

Department of Bantu Education rather than the dissolution of racially and ethnically based Departments' of Education:

> "The time has come for Senior Administrative Posts to be given to blacks who qualify. We therefore recommend that in the region of Soweto, the Regional Director and Circuit Inspectors should be black as a starting point".[54]

For reasons that will become clear below, established teacher organizations were incapable of articulating a fundamental critique of the apartheid education system, instead continuing to push for greater black control over separate educational structures.[55]

The appeal to apartheid ideology in order to win greater promotional opportunities within the apartheid education structure was not limited to African teachers' organizations. The CTPA also expressed its "profound misgivings" that the most senior positions within the education section of the Administration of Coloured Affairs were in the hands of whites.[56] In a 1976 resolution the CTPA made their argument transparent:

> "This conference wants to emphasize its belief that ideally merit and not race should be the final norm in assessing the ability of the people with a view to promotion, but since the authorities have so structured our system that it is impossible for a person classified coloured to be appointed or promoted in other Education Departments we consider our demand a just one that coloureds be increasingly promoted to positions where effective power of decision making can be exercised".[57]

Aware of the opportunism of this resolution, the CTPA warned that it should not be construed as "a condonation or acceptance of the system" but rather a recognition of reality. "To expect us to brook obstacles in this single lane open to us", argued the CTPA, "would be both unreasonable and unrealistic".

By 1985 Bantu Education had transformed the landscape of Black education across the country. Under Bantu Education the teaching profession experienced a veritable explosion as the African teacher population increased from 22,000 in 1956 to well over 100,000 in 1985 excluding the TVBC states.[58] The expansion of secondary education was perhaps the most impressive of all with the number of secondary school teachers growing from 1,100 in 1956 to over 31,000 in 1985.

The massive growth of apartheid education provided rich opportunities for the recognized teachers organizations to pursue the africanization project. The success of nearly twenty years of fighting for black advancement within apartheid educational structures was undeniable, especially within the homelands. As the table below illustrates, by 1985 over 90% of the DET and homeland inspectorate was black.

The Inspectorate[59]			
YEAR	No. White	No. Black	% Black
1950	43	84	49%
1955	49	147	75%
1961	49	199	80%
1965	55	243	81.5%
1970	50	288	85%
1975	43	407	91%
1980	53	497	91%
1985	58	580	91%

The homeland Education Departments, not surprisingly, became the first arenas where the africanization project was pursued in earnest. With the granting of self-governing status to the Transkei in 1964 Mr. T. Mbambisa and Mr. A.B.C. Makasi became the first Africans ever to attain the position of Circuit Inspector in South Africa, and by the end of the decade the entire Transkean inspectorate was black.[60] The emergent homeland Education Departments created over 400 new positions within their Inspectorates for African educators between 1963 and 1985. It was largely the membership of recognized teachers organizations that benefitted from these new promotional opportunities, with TUATA bragging that "in Kangwane all our Black Education Officers come from the ranks of TUATA".[61] In fact so many "Tuatans" had advanced to the inspectorate that the organization considered re-evaluating its policy of excluding School Inspectors from its voting membership.[62]

Another area rich in promotional opportunities for "loyal and able" African teachers was principal and deputy principalships. While it has been impossible to get data before the implementation of Bantu Education as a basis for comparison, evidence on the expansion of principalships is available from 1972 to the present. In 1972 there were approximately 9,500 Black Principals, Deputy Principals and Heads of Department excluding single teacher schools out of a total African teaching force of approximately 53,000. By 1985 this figure had nearly doubled to 16,500 out of approximately 102,000 African teachers.[63] Clearly, in simple numerical terms, promotional opportunities abounded within the apartheid education structure for African teachers.

This successful "africanization" of the apartheid educational structure was also reflected in the composition of the leadership of established teachers' organizations. Mahlangu found that in the 1980's "almost all the elected TUATA top executive members [were] school principals", while a TUATA official acknowledged in 1992 that "the majority of TUATA members are either school principals or administrators".[64] The preponderant influence of this emerging bureaucratic elite within traditional teacher organizations was reflected in the demands they made on the Department of Bantu Education. A 1972 memorandum submitted by ATASA identified poor salaries of principals and assistant inspectors as a primary service condition to be addressed by the Department.[65] The preposterous extent to which TUATA was prepared to go in order to advance the parochial interests of the educational elite was revealed the next year in a resolution which proposed "that principals of Secondary Schools be supplied with G.G. [Government Garage] cars".[66] This proved too elitist for the majority and was rejected by conference. After nearly two decades of fighting for black advancement within the apartheid educational structures, TUATA and other recognized teacher organizations had come to represent the interests of an entrenched educational elite.

While recognized teacher organizations succeeded in advancing the opportunities and interests of principals and administrators, they failed to make significant advances where the interests of average teachers were concerned, especially women. Women teachers have long been the victims of salary discrimination. One of the cost saving transformations wrought by the Bantu Education Department was to take advantage of salary disparities by changing the gender composistion of the African teaching profession.[67] Whereas in 1956 women constituted 46% of all teachers, by 1986 over 65% of teachers were women.[68] While ATASA petitioned the government for salary improvements for all teachers throughout the 1960's it was not until the 1980's that women teachers achieved parity with men. Needless to say, this insecurity in

tenure and low status was reflected in the insignificant participation of women in the leadership of recognized teacher organizations. The low participation of women in the leadership of these organizations also points to their strongly patriarchal charactor. This was in evidence when TUATA noted that it was not "seriously affected by the dismissal of married female teachers".[69] Despite the failure of the established teachers organizations to adequately address issues affecting black female teachers they command the support of a large number of female primary school teachers, an issue that has to be explained by reference to the power and practice of patriarchal relations in the schools.

This is not to say that the recognized organizations failed to attract ordinary teachers, and especially black female primary school teachers. Despite the fact that they were largely powerless to effect changes in education policy and conditions of service, recognized teacher organizations did have a certain attraction in terms of helping teachers overcome chronic inefficiencies in the disbursement of salaries, salary grading, and the collection of pensions. There is also evidence that principals themselves have a long history of recruiting teachers, especially women, into their organizations.[70] In 1949 a Natal teacher complained that NATU principals were forcefully recruiting assistant teachers,[71] while in 1950 entire school staffs followed their principals into TATU when it split from TATA. Music competitions also served as a means of recruiting membership into ATASA and its affiliates as schools were not permitted to participate unless the entire staff were paid up members of the organization.[72]

Such recruiting practices point to the importance of paternalism and patriarchy to the authoritarian structure of the school. Authoritarian school principals behaved as the benevolent "fathers" of their school staff, often shepherding their teachers into the organizations to which they belonged. This ideology is especially strong at the primary school level where one often finds a male principal heading an almost entirely female staff.[73] It is important to note that the rebellion of teachers against principals and inspectors in the 1980's was largely confined to the secondary schools. An explanation for this might be found in the greater percentage of men teaching in secondary schools. One might interpret the rebellion of (predominately male) secondary school teachers against the authority of principals as a rejection of "fathers" by "sons" -- a rejection of paternalism but not patriarchy. It is interesting to note that the progressive teachers organizations have had great difficulty in mobilizing primary school teachers, a fact that again suggests the importance of patriarchal ideology to both the organization of teachers in schools and to teachers' organizations themselves.

The Radicalization of Teachers' Politics in the 1980's

The radicalization of black teachers politics in the 1980's occurred in a political and economic context similar to that of the 1940's. The economy was in crisis with chronic unemployment and inflation, while the racial division of labor had become an impediment to capital accumulation by creating a severe skill shortage.[74] The system of Bantu Education became a target of liberal criticism as business increasingly identified it as an impediment to the skilling of the black workforce.[75] This economic crisis was also manifest in a political crisis of unprecedented proportions. Beginning with the spontaneous strikes in Durban in 1973, the Apartheid state experienced a continuous wave of labor unrest and community protest. The Soweto Uprising posed the most serious challenge to white supremacy to date, but unlike in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 the violent suppression of the Soweto student revolt did not crush black political organization. The post-Soweto period witnessed the emergence of a powerful trade union movement, COSATU, and a vibrant civic life in the townships which operated outside the limits of legitimate political life proscribed by the aparthied state. For the first time since the 1950's nonparliamentary opposition politics and mass protest movements emerged in the form of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), while the spectre of community and labor organizations joining forces became a reality during the national insurrection of 1984-86. In a similar movement to that of the 1940's, the radicalization of teacher politics in the eighties occurred in a context of crisis and a resurgent working class militancy which made black middle class political autonomy increasingly untenable. The Soweto Uprising represented for teachers their own Rubicon, the crossing of which, for many, was aided by the prodding challenge of their students. It is to the responses of teachers and their organizations to these challenges that we now turn.

The particular form the social explosion of 1976 took, that is a student uprising, has been persuasively attributed to "the conjuncture of a set of economic, institutional and demographic factors that affected South African youth in this period".[76] Specifically, Bantu Education had experienced a demographic explosion as the number of African youth in school rose from 10% of the population in 1955 to more than one quarter of the population in 1985. The result of these demographic changes was to place the Bantu Education system under immense strain, and with the government unwilling to provide the necessary resources required to meet this rising challenge an over-crowded and under-resourced school system failed to adequately equip black students with the skills necessary to succeed in a shrinking job market. The

Nationalist Party further antagonized youth by insisting that classes be taught in Afrikaans, a decision that was interpreted by many young black South Africans as another attempt to disadvantage them in the labor market.

Despite consistently warning the Department in the year prior to the Soweto Uprising that the introduction of "the Afrikaans medium was a blunder", the rapid development of these events caught established teachers' organizations unaware.[77] The reaction of TUATA, for example, was to blame the uprising on radical teachers influenced by Black Consciousness (BC) ideology.[78] TUATA had been criticized by BC activists in the years prior to Soweto for their lack of militancy and policy of collaboration with the Department of Bantu Education. In 1972 TUATA responded to mounting BC criticism of conservative policies by defending its "pragmatic" relationship to the state and insisting on criticizing the Department "in our own responsible way".[79] L.M. Taunyane, the president of TUATA, scolded BC students for their "idealistic, utopian and totalitarian" politics.[80] It is not surprising then that ATASA all but blamed the uprising on the meddling of radicalized black consciousness teachers:

> "It was clear that some teaching staffs had played an important role in the recent outbreaks of unrest. There was thus need to discipline teachers through a code of conduct which ATASA had been commissioned to work out".[81]

Despite articulating qualified support for the students, established teachers' organizations cautiously distanced themselves from the militance of the protests. The CTPA, while supporting the "legitimate requests and demands of the community", disassociated itself "from any means other than constitutional and professional to attain legitimate objectives" -- especially violence.[82] TUATA was also galled by the success of confrontational tactics in winning concessions from the government.

> "Throughout the seventy years of [TUATA's] existence, the teachers have always employed the negotiating stance [in putting their] message across to the educational authorities ... Though politely received, these interviews achieved very little. Worse than that, the teachers became suspects and named 'collaborators' to the system ... Yet when violent action erupted the Department appears to be quick in granting concessions".[83]

As Hyslop and others have noted, the inability of established teachers' organizations to adequately respond to the Soweto Uprising and the carnage that followed marked the beginning of their decline.[84] If the student protests of 1976 vented a generally felt hostility toward Bantu Education and "the system", the next round of protests beginning in 1980 began to target teachers as "representatives of white autocracy and agents of oppression".[85] Cross and Chisholm have suggested that while the student protests of 1976 represented a spontaneous outburst of anger directed at the Bantu Education system in general, the school boycotts of 1980 signified a "more sustained and systematic mobilization and organization in schools across the country".[86] This mobilization centred on the demand for democratically elected SRC's, a demand that struck to the heart of an authoritarian education structure and represented an embryonic attempt to undermine that structure. Whereas in 1976 students took to the streets against "the system", by 1980 the system had acquired a human face and it was frequently that of principals and teachers. During the boycotts of the early 1980's students began to "challenge teachers to show where they stand", with teachers increasingly becoming targets of student anger.[87] For example, TUATA reported that in the western Cape many teachers chose to stay away from school during the 1980 boycott out of fear of being attacked by students.[88] The Natal African Teachers Union complained that during school strikes "teachers [were] not only disparaged, and their dignity and authority tarnished, but [they were] also molested and assaulted by students".[89] Throughout the eighties teachers and principals were physically assaulted, their property destroyed, and their persons escorted off campuses.

The hostility of students towards teachers and principals was rooted in the authoritarian nature of schooling under Bantu Education and a perception that teachers cared little about students academic performance. Pupils accused teachers of drunkenness, physical and sexual abuse, and insufficient dedication to their profession.[90] "It is difficult to learn", argued one student, "when we are always being beaten in the class. When you don't pass the test, they beat you. They make us afraid even to ask the teacher to repeat for us when we don't understand".[91] Indeed, corporal punishment was perhaps the single largest complaint students lodged against teachers during the height of the school boycotts in the eighties.[92]

The challenge posed by student confrontation was an important moment in the radicalization of teachers politics in the 1980's, with radicalized teachers pointing to it as a formative experience in their own political transformation. One school principal attributed his radicalization to "having experienced at first hand the trauma of rejection by pupils".

> "The crisis of authority as experienced in our schools has one root and that is that the highest authority in this country, the Government of South Africa, is not acknowledged by our pupils. In consequence, every institution however remotely connected with the state bears the taint and is similarly challenged. Any person or institution who either works through or acknowledges the government is strained and accused of compromise with the authorities".[93]

Many other teachers cited the lesson learned from the success of the students confrontational approach and the challenge they posed to teachers as a factor in their own radicalization.

In this context of educational crisis in which principals and teachers were increasingly identified by students as part of the system and thus part of the problem, the inability of established teachers' organizations to adequately respond to the crisis or openly support students in their confrontation with the state led to the emergence of "progressive" teachers' organizations.[**] The first progressive teachers' organization to emerge was the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee (STAC) which arose in the wake of the Soweto Uprising. The STAC led several hundred Soweto teachers in a mass resignation from the Department of Bantu Education in protest over the state's handling of the crisis, but this abstentionism, combined with the "normalization" of education in the wake of the repression, effectively prevented it from becoming a permanent alternative to the established teachers' organizations. A Teachers' Action Committee also emerged in Cape Town in the wake of the 1980 school boycott as the organizational expression of progressive teachers' support for the students, but it too proved to be a structure with a limited life span.[94]

It was only with the formation of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), a non-racial educational association founded in Johannesburg in 1980, that a permanent organizational home for progressive teachers was established. The early leadership envisioned the role of the organization as facilitating the emergence of a non-racial educational body by consulting with established teachers' associations, but the lack of a positive response led NEUSA to adopt a position more critical of the recognized bodies.[95] The inability to win over the established teachers' organizations affected the growth of NEUSA as its exposure to

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[**] As I stated earlier in the paper I will be using the terms "progressive" or "emergent" for the group of teachers organizations that emerged in the 1980's and shared a broad commitment to the democratic movement, congress politics, non-collaboration with the educataion authroities, and the quest for a non-racial education system.

black teachers was limited. Indeed while NEUSA could claim 500 members on the Witwatersrand in 1981, the majority of these were white teachers and academics. The recruitment of black teachers thus became an obsession of the organization during the first few years of its existence.[96] Despite these limitations, and perhaps because of its earlier failure to win over the recognized associations to a non-racial practice, NEUSA experienced sudden and massive growth in black membership after 1983. Reasons for this growth can be found in the strong non-racial perspective its militants had painstakingly developed over the previous three years and its early affiliation to the United Democratic Front, but ultimately its growth must be attributed to the insurrection of 1984.[97] Young township based teachers, many of whom had been students in 1976, were profoundly dissatisfied with the "collaborationist" policies of the recognized teachers' associations and turned to NEUSA as a progressive alternative. Within two years NEUSA was transformed from a predominantly white organization based on the Rand to a predominantly black and township based organization with over fifty branches across the country.

While NEUSA was the largest and most widespread of the progressive teachers' organizations, the localized character of educational conflicts as well as state repression assured it was not the only one. Progressive teachers' organizations were formed in large numbers in 1985 in response to many and varied local educational crises. They generally emerged as organizational expressions of teacher solidarity with protesting students. Speaking on the formation of the Democratic Teachers' Union (DETU) which organized teachers in Cape Town's African townships, one teacher pointed to student demands that teachers "prove themselves" by forming a progressive body as a major impetus behind the organizations formation. The formation of the Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU), which organized teachers in Cape Town's 'coloured' schools, has been attributed to the Matthew Goniwe[98] assassination and the need for teachers to show tangible support for the student protests that followed.[99]

The imposition of the state of emergency in July 1985 and again in March 1986 made it difficult for progressive teachers to build a national organization, and as a result the growth of the progressive teacher movement tended to be decentralized and poorly coordinated. A progressive teachers' organization often emerged in an individual township within each racial community rather than being constructed on a regional or national basis. For example, the Progressive Teachers' League which organized in the Indian township of Lenasia outside of Johannesburg emerged at the same time that the Progressive Teachers' Union was formed in

the neighboring Coloured township of Eldorado Park. A number of progressive teachers' organizations also emerged in African townships not organized by NEUSA. Despite these difficulties all progressive teachers' organizations were united by a common commitment to non-racialism, non-collaboration, and the quest for a unitary and democratic education system.[100] They also shared a similar support base of young politicized teachers, many of whom were students during the Soweto Uprising. Unlike their counterparts within the established teachers' organizations, only rarely did members of progressive organizations occupy positions of authority within the education structure.

Established teachers' organizations were not immune to student pressure and the militant mood of the community, and by 1985 they too began to experience a radicalization. Ian Moll, NEUSA General Secretary from 198X to 198X, has suggested that intense student and community pressure lay behind ATASA's decision to participate in the NECC and to withdraw from DET structures in 1986.[101] The organization admitted as much itself when it confided to the Conference of Ministers of Education that "intimidation and pressure from activists played a major role in formulating the decision to cut off links with various educational committees".[102] The government's attempt to win support in the 'Coloured' and 'Indian' communities through the implementation of the tri-cameral constitution also served to radicalize established teacher organizations in these communities. Franklin Sonn[103] identified the petty nepotism that accompanied the implementation of the tri-cameral constitution as a crucial moment in the left turn of the CTPA.

> "To our great dismay it soon became clear that in purely administrative terms, the offices of power were going to be used in a petty and nepotistic, if not corrupt, manner. The greatest blow came when merit and recognition were disregarded in favour of party affiliation".[104]

Hidden in this eloquent defense of meritocracy lurks the old petty bourgeois concern for the promotional opportunities available to his organization's membership. While this in itself is not a bad thing, in a context where parents, teachers and students are demanding the democratic restructuring of education these objections seem a bit parochial to say the least. In fact, as the Bellville South case illustrates, these concerns would eventually be transformed into a defense of members who occupy positions of authority within the besieged apartheid education structure and thus a defense of the structure itself. Listen, for example, to the

CTPA defence of Inspectors of Education, a favoured target of student and teacher resistance in the 1990's:

> "The Cape Teachers Professional Association firmly believes that the present system of education must be replaced, [but] until such a time as the new system comes into effect the Association accepts that Inspectors of Education still have certain administrative functions to fulfil ... Notwithstanding the inefficiencies of the present system of education, the CTPA cannot support a call for the summary removal of Inspectors of Education and Subject Advisors in absence of a workable alternative".[105]

What type of new education system the CTPA envisioned, and how it is to "come into effect" without a struggle, is never explained. An explanation for their position, though, is found in the fact that many CTPA members have attained the lofty professional heights of the Inspectorate with many more apparently aspiring to it. It is exactly this contradiction -- between the insertion of many CTPA members in the structure of authority relations within apartheid education and the organization's self proclaimed role as a leading liberation organization -- that the Bellville South incident highlights. We will return to this point below.

By 1989 all mainstream black teachers' organizations had, at least rhetorically, moved significantly to the left under the prodding pressure of young militants. The need to be seen by "the community" as progressive was frequently cited as a major reason for the radicalization of the established teachers' organizations. Randall Peteni, the President of ATASA, declared "the teacher who wishes to keep control and maintain discipline must hold political views which are pragmatic and progressive".[106] Peteni's pragmatic politics were shared by the CTPA, whose decision to adopt the Freedom Charter was justified on the grounds that it would improve the organization's standing in the community.[107] Unfortunately the brief wedding engagement of the progressive and established teacher organizations ended amidst bitter recriminations at the door of the church of unity. The unification of established and progressive teachers' organizations was pushed by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) as part of its campaign for a united front against apartheid education, but this proposed unity was undermined by the very transformative strategies pursued by the NECC under the slogan of "peoples education for peoples power". The NECC and many progressive teachers' organizations failed to recognize that unity would be impossible as long as the membership of established teachers' organizations remained

entrenched in the apartheid education structure. This attempt to forge a multi-class "united front" harks back to the old anti-fascist "popular front" politics pursued by communist parties in the 1940's, and like popular front politics, the politics of united front have turned a blind eye to the structural contradictions that prevent real unity. Teacher unity -- that is the unity of inspectors, principals and teachers -- could only be achieved at the cost of accepting the existing education structure. The call for teacher unity by the NECC was in many ways a failure to properly analyze the implications of its people's education campaign for the teaching profession.

The formation of the NECC in December of 1985, with its call for people's education for people's power, was a watershed in educational politics. This marked a qualitative transformation of the educational struggle as it moved from "protest to challenge". Whereas the student boycotts of the early eighties symbolically rejected apartheid education by withdrawing from its institutions, people's education began to articulate, at least rhetorically, a hegemonic alternative to apartheid education. It did so by challenging the legitimacy of the education structure through the struggle for Parent Teacher Student Associations (PTSA). Teachers in the emerging progressive teachers' organizations came to play a leading role in challenging apartheid education through the development of alternative curriculum and the defiance of existing educational structures, a defiance that frequently brought them into conflict with principals and inspectors. As Levin, Moll and Narsing have correctly observed, the people's education campaign was revolutionary not because it attempted to establish an alternative curricula (although they note the importance of the project) but because it attempted to establish a counter-hegemonic power within the schools, a hegemonic struggle that I would suggest continues to this day.[108] What the NECC, and many militants in progressive teachers' organizations, failed to realize, though, was that this struggle for control over the education structure directly threatened many members of established teachers' organizations, especially those who held positions of authority.

It is this contradiction that remains the major stumbling block to teacher unity, for despite the rhetorical radicalization of established teachers' organizations the implementation of the people's education campaign placed many of their members in a very difficult position. As I have argued above, after years of fighting for the "africanization" of the various apartheid education Departments the active membership of established teachers' organizations tend to occupy positions of authority within the apartheid education structure. For example, in a preliminary survey, conducted in 1992, of 100 teachers actively involved in teachers'

organizations in the Transvaal I have found that 78% of TUATA members hold posts of Head of Department or higher while only 20% of SADTU members occupy such positions. This has meant that where the educational struggles of the eighties have found teachers and principals coming into conflict, they have also found established and progressive teachers' organizations on opposite sides of this divide.

In the late-1980's progressive teachers began to target inspectors and authoritarian principals as instruments of state education policy and as the principal obstacles to the achievement of peoples education.[109] It was for this reason that NEUSA and other progressive teachers' organizations embarked on a "defiance campaign" in which school inspectors and many principals were expelled from school campuses. One teacher pointed to the campaign to expel school supervisors as important for creating liberated zones in which teachers could be politicized and peoples education pursued.[110] This campaign against the apartheid education structure has not targeted mere abstractions; it targets real people as the representatives of state authority, which in many cases means the members of established teachers' organizations. NEUSA, for example, accused the recognized teachers' organizations, by virtue of their being recognized, of having accepted the legitimacy of a racially segregated educational system and therefore of having "little capacity to advance the educational interests of South Africa as a whole".[111] The recrimination was mutual, with L.M. Taunyane, the president of TUATA, attributing many of the problems surrounding the education crisis to the instigation of NEUSA, accusing the organization of "using students to harass teachers against TUATA".[112] The accusation was not entirely without merit, for the educational landscape of the late-1980's is littered with examples of progressive teachers expelling inspectors and principals from school grounds. To cite just a few examples, in Ikageng township in Potchefstrom eight principals were expelled from their schools by angry teachers after several teachers had been placed on probation.[113] When a number of these teachers were dismissed for refusing to be evaluated by school inspectors the entire teaching force went out on a prolonged sympathy strike.[114] In Atteridgeville in Pretoria and Mdantsane in the Eastern Cape SADTU activists were suspended for expelling school inspectors, while in Tembisa 38 school principals were expelled by teachers until they returned from the DET with permanent appointments for all temporary teachers.[115] In another incident, teachers participating in a strike against the DEC (HoR) in the Transvaal demanded that "all inspections by inspectors, principals and heads of departments ... be suspended immediately".[116]

The seriousness of the threat posed by the progressive teachers campaign against apartheid education structures was evident in a court order attained in 1990 by DET Minister Stoffel Van Der Merwe restricting SADTU members from "instructing and encouraging principals, teachers and pupils to hinder inspectors or other department officers from entering school premises to perform their duties".[117] The government opposed what it perceived to be the revolutionary onslaught of peoples education by waging its own campaign against progressive teachers organizations. Neusa was banned under the 1986 state of emergency, while both DETU and WECTU were banned in December of 1988 for promoting "an ANC inspired peoples education".[118] In a telling case in 1987 a long serving principal in a "coloured" school in Cape Town was demoted by the DEC (HoR) for having an "attitude" that was "not always satisfactory".[119] The principal's "attitude problem" appears to have been related to his membership in WECTU and his strong commitment to "democratic principles" manifest in the active involvement of the local PTSA in the affairs of the school. The high esteem in which the principal was held was apparent in the prolonged but unsuccessful campaign waged by the community for his reinstatement.[120] In a similar incident in KaNgwane a principal who was a NEUSA activist was forcibly removed from the campus by the SADF after he refused to be "promoted" to the Siberia of the inspectorate.[121]

These few examples, and there are many more like them, scratch the surface of a systematic government campaign against progressive teachers and the whole democratic project in education in the period. Government intimidation of progressive principals served to discourage other principals from pursuing the democratic alternative proposed by peoples education. One former principal from Soweto suggested that the government often used "strong measures to deal with the principal" who failed to toe the departmental line.[122] He also attributed the conservatism of many principals to their reluctance to place their privileges, such as government housing subsidies and pensions, at risk.

One explanation for this harsh treatment of progressive and democratically minded principals by the government is found in the role principals and school inspectors have come to play in the wake of the collapse of the old school board system.[123] With the implementation of the Education and Training Act of 1979 African teachers were no longer at the mercy of school boards. The powers of the school boards to hire and fire teachers as well as the control over financing now rested entirely with the Department of Education and Training, although the Minister could and did delegate these powers back to local structures.[124] In fact school committees continued to function under the new act, albeit with greatly diminished powers.

School committees, consisting of elected parent representatives and the school principal, constituted the administrative structures of schools, although in practice the principal was the real power behind the committees.[125] While school committees were limited to making recommendations on the appointment of teachers with the Department having the final authority, in practice the recommendations of the committees (read principals) were routinely approved by the DET. The school committees came under fierce attack in the eighties with the Council for Education and Training complaining that "attendance was lamentably poor" because "pressure groups such as NEUSA discredit the committees as irrelevant. The image of the school committees is terribly dented", concluded the Council.[126]

The DET response was to implement a number of reforms aimed at legitimating its authority by making the education structure more open if not entirely democratic. In 1984 they formed a "communication structure" intended to facilitate communication between "students, staff, governing bodies, parents, the community and the Department".[127] This included provision for democratically elected student representative organizations, but the good intentions of the Department were subverted by its unwillingness to invest any real powers in these structures beyond making recommendations and "maintaining order and discipline".[128] These communication structures were swiftly rejected by the very "pressure groups" they were intended to mollify. Again in 1988 the DET attempted to legitimate local school administration by transforming school committees into management councils. The differences between these two structures is hard to discern as they are both elected parental bodies wthe limited a limited advisory role.

The unwillingness of the state to establish legitimate administrative structures capable of addressing the popular demand for democratic control over education resulted in increased powers for principals and inspectors. Indeed, the Education and Training Act of 1979 greatly enhanced the powers of principals, charging them with the responsibility of "running the school completely along with the school committee".[129] The DET apparently viewed principals as the key to maintaining authority within the schools. The Minister of Education and Training in 1979 noted in a meeting with ATASA, "The responsibility of the principal as the professional head of the school ... entails that he will have to accept full responsibility to control and discipline his teachers and the pupils under his control".[130] With these enhanced powers and responsibilities principals, along with inspectors, became the linchpin of the authority structure and as such they also became favored targets of the popular assault on the apartheid education structure.

By the mid-1980's then, with the education structure in disarray, principals and inspectors became the government's only hope for reasserting its authority. As we have seen, one way in which the state secured the cooperation of principals was to deal harshly with those who stepped out of line. One principal noted that the powers of school inspectors over principals "are even more now that children are dismissing them because they can call the principals into the office and discipline them there".[131] Another way in which the DET secured cooperation was through the articulation of a technocratic ideology of the role of principals as "professional managers" and "management experts", an ideology that fell on sympathetic ears within established teachers' organizations.[132] "Until the principal can be a real manager with real authority", suggested TUATA President L.M. Taunyane, "then there will always be basic problems at our schools".[133] This ideology was well received in some quarters because it played upon the middle class aspirations of a segment of the teaching profession.[134] In a 1983 editorial Mr. Rikhoto of TUATA railed against the involvement of parents in educational affairs. Parents involvement should be limited to discussing the pupils "problems with teachers and social workers ... Anything further will constitute interference in education", warned Rikhoto.[135] He went on:

> "The introduction of extra courses and workshops for teachers and principals in administration and methods has made teaching a highly specialised profession. This makes the participation of school committees and governing councils a silly appendage to the profession. It is argued that since it is their children we teach, parents must have a say in their education. That is true but they seem to want to say everything and anything. As long as we allow laymen to interview teachers before appointment; as long as they can dictate the policy of the school, so long shall we help bring down the noble profession".

Even though this criticism was directed at government sponsored school committees, it would appear to be applicable to the democratic movement's demand for popular accountability as well. In fact, TUATA refused to accept that the Pretoria school boycotts of 1984, in which students were demanding democratically elected SRC's, were widely supported expressions of popular anger at the apartheid education system. They variably blamed the media, the UDF, intimidation, and "elusive or unknown adult bodies" for school disturbances.[136] These conspiracy theories served to rationalize TUATA's continued collaboration with apartheid education structures, for it was impossible for the organization to accept that student and teacher protests were a revolt against the education structure without acknowledging its own

membership's complicity in maintaining these structures. Indeed, Tuata rationalized its membership's continued participation in the authority structure of apartheid education by arguing that any education, even "in a poor school without an SRC", is better than no education at all.[137] It was on this basis that TUATA legitimated its participation in the repression of student activism through its cooperation with the police and the filing of "daily reports to the DET".[138]

While the casting of this alternative between apartheid education and no education may have certainly been true in 1984, it was no longer valid in 1986 when the advent of "peoples education" posed a new alternative. By the late 1980's student and teacher campaigns to liberate schools from the grip of apartheid educational authorities had placed principals in an untenable position. One principal complained, "we are caught between raging students and the DET", while another declared "we are rejected by the students [and] can no longer control the situation.[139] Franklin Sonn, President of the CTPA, fingered this contradiction when he commented on the "invidious position of the inspector of education".

> "He is caught between his rigid line of authority on one hand, ... and school principals on the other who clearly tell him what they will and will not do and it is in this climate that suspicions of the inspectors cooperation with the police emerge".[140]

As the president of an organization with a significant number of principals among its active membership it is obvious why Sonn chose to present principals as stalwarts of the democratic movement, but principals are every bit as entangled in the web of contradictions that surround school inspectors. As "managers" of the state education system principals are expected to implement state policy, but as members of an oppressed community they are also expected to be responsive to popular demands. In Soweto, for example, principals were forced by the Congress of South African Students to present a list of demands to the DET for improving conditions in black schools. "We are in the most difficult position imaginable", said one principal, "the community expects a positive response to come out of our demands in a very short time".[141] In another incident in Cape Town the principals of "coloured" schools were forced by the DEC (HoR) to distribute Department propaganda to parents warning them of the "blatant lies" told to pupils by teachers in their attempt to "incite our children to boycott or cause unrest".[142] Thus, principals have become entangled in a web of contradictory expectations cast by the state and "the community" in a struggle for hegemony over education. As servants of the state principals are expected to implement state education

policy, but to do so means incurring the wrath of militant teachers, students and parents. As the expulsion of principals illustrates, teachers are increasingly challenging the very authority of principals to administer schools without their consent. On the other hand, if principals are responsive to popular demands for democratic education structures they place their jobs at risk. It is in this context of hegemonic conflict over the education structure that established teachers' organizations, as organizations that have historically come to represent the interests of school principals and administrators, have now again turned to the ideology of professionalism and managerialism as a means of depoliticizing educational administration and legitimating their continued participation in the besieged structures of apartheid education.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to ground an understanding of conflict in contemporary black teachers' politics in an historical analysis of the development of established teachers' organizations. It has shown how the radical demands of teachers for the africanization of mission education in the 1940's were accommodated through the africanization of apartheid education in the 1950's and 1960's. The success of established teachers' organizations in winning increased promotional opportunities for their members served to entrench many of their members in the apartheid education structure. As a result the established teachers' organizations increasingly came to represent the interests of this new bureaucratic elite. When the political and economic context of teachers politics changed in the 1970's, established teachers organizations could no longer meet the needs of a younger generation of teachers reared in the confrontational politics of the post-Soweto period. This younger generation identified with the democratic movement and sought a transformation of apartheid education through the politics of confrontation pioneered by students and youth. Through new progressive teachers' organizations young teachers embarked on a stratagy of non-collaboration and defiance that increasingly brought them into conflict not only with the government but also with their counterparts in the established teachers' organizations. The fact that progressive and established teachers' organizations have historically come to represent different segments of the teaching profession remains the biggest stumbling block to teacher unity. As long as the membership of established teachers' organizations continue to identify their interests with the maintenance of a hierarchical and authoritarian education structure, and as long as progressive teachers continue to fight for the transformation of the apartheid education structure into a democratic one, these hegemonic conflicts will continue to paralyze black education.

NOTES

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1. The established teachers organizations are those that date their origins to before the Soweto Uprising of 1976 and that have historically sought for and received recognition from the various government education departments. I will also occasionally refer to these as "recognized" teachers organizations because of the fact of their recognition by various education departments as the legitimate representatives of teachers. I will use the term "emergent" teachers organizations to refer to those organizations which emerged in the 1980's as part of the broad Democratic Movement and strongly identified themselves with Congress politics. I will also refer to this second grouping as "progressive" teachers organizations because of their close identification with the democratic movement and because they defined themselves as such.

2. "UTASA and affiliates legal opinion on the NTUF Draft constitution", South African History Archives PTL Collection (Hereafter SAHA), (Other Organizations File).

3. The information in this paragraph is drawn from an account of the incident available in SOUTH February 7-13, 1991, and from Interviews A, D, and E.

4. South December 6, 1990.

5. Interview A.

6. Mr. Awie Muller quoted in the Sunday Times Extra March 10, 1991.

7. Cape Times March 16, 1991.

8. CTPA Focus (March 1991).

9. CTPA FOCUS March 1991 (my emphasis).

10. see Monica Bot, The Politics of Teacher Unity (SAIRR 1992).

11. In a similar incident at Bopa-Senatla High School in Soweto the principal, a TUATA member, blamed a school disruption on radical teachers belonging to the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA): see "TUATA General Executive Council Meeting on February 13,1988", UNISA Documentation Center for African Studies (Hereafter UDCAS) ACC 121 (Unsorted Box).

12. For an excellent analysis of the impact of popular protest on teachers politics see Jonathan Hyslop "Teacher resistance in African education from the 1940s to the 1980s", in Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa, Mokubung Nkomo (ed) (Trenton, Africa World Press 1990), pp. 93-119.

13. Alf Stadler, The Political Economy of Modern South Africa (Johannesburg: David Philip 1987), pp.57-64; Tom Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa since 1945 (New York: Longman 1983); and Jack and Ray Simons Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 (1983), pp.570-578.

14. Interview B.

15. Kerry Devine, "Towards an understanding of the radicalisation of the Cape African Teachers Association in the period from 1935-1948", (B.A. Honors Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1991), pp. 60-61; see also Jonathan Hyslop, "Social conflicts over African education in South Africa from 1940's to 1976", (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1990), Chapter3.

16. Devine Ibid., (1991), pp.44-45.

17. quoted in Ibid., p.89.

18. Philip Bonner, "The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917-1920: the radicalisation of the Black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand", in eds. Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone, Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness 1870-1930 (New York: Longman 1982).

19. R.L. Peteni, Towards Tomorrow: The story of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (Morges 1978), p.53.

20. quoted in Hyslop "Social conflicts over African education", (1990), p.173.

21. DDT Jabavu and ZK Matthews, "European Teachers in Bantu Schools", South African Outlook (February 1940), p.39, my emphasis.

22. "Conference Resolutions of 1947", UDCAS 121 (TUATA Conference papers for 1947-1966).

23. quoted in Devine, (1991), p.70.

24. Interviews B and G.

25. The Union Government Report 29 of 1936: "Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936", pp. 36 & 70, found that, with the exception of the Cape Province where African ministers of religion became school managers in significant numbers, the local management of the "great majority" of mission schools was in the hands of white school managers; see also A.L. Behr and R.G. MacMillan. Education in South Africa (Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik 1966), pp.343-345; and R. Hunt Davis, "The Administration and Financing of African Education in South Africa 1910-1953", in Peter Kallaway (ed), Apartheid and Education, (1984).

26. A.L. Behr and R.G. MacMillan, Education in South Africa, (Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik Ltd. 1966), p. 344.

27. UG 29 of 1936: "Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935-1936", p. 127.

28. UG 53 of 1951: "Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951", pp. 78-79.

29. "Conference Resolutions of 1948", UDACS 121 (TUATA Conference Papers for 1947-1966).

30. Hyslop in particular has argued that Bantu Education failed as a hegemonic strategy because it antagonized and alienated teachers. See Jonathan Hyslop, "School boards, school committees and educational politics: Aspects of the failure of Bantu Education as a hegemonic stratagy, 1955-1976", in Holding Their Ground, Philip Bonner and et. al. (eds.), (Johannesburg: Ravan 1989); see also Tom Lodge, Black Politics, (1983), pp.114-121; Devine, (1991); and Frank Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", in Peter Kallaway (ed) Apartheid and Education, (Cape Town: Ravan Press 1984) pp. 89, 96-101.

31. Tom Lodge, Black Politics, (1983), p.117; Jonathan Hyslop, "Teacher resistance in African education", (1990), p.98.

32. Jonathan Hyslop, "Social conflicts over African education", (1990), pp. 237-274; see also Thomas Karis, Gwendolyn Carter and Gail Gerhart, From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964 (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press 1977), p. 34; and Tom Lodge, Black Politics, (1983), pp. 122-129.

33. Tom Lodge, Black Politics, (1983), p.128.

34. Tom Lodge, Black Politics, (1983), pp.122-129; Jonathan Hyslop, "Social conflicts over African education", (1990), pp. 253-258; Karis, Carter and Gerhart, From Protest to Challenge Vol III, (1977), p.34.

35. See Jack and Ray Simons, Class and Colour, (1983), pp. 569-578 and Ch. 25; and Tom Lodge, Black Politics, (1983), pp. 17-20 and Ch. 8.

36. Jonathan Hyslop, "Teacher resistance in African education", (1990), pp.102-104.

37. R.L. Peteni, Towards Tomorrow, (1978), pp.57; See also, for example, S.M. Kumalo's letter to the editor in Bantu Teacher Journal 33:4 (July 1954), pp.380-381, in which he objects to "complaints about the poor attainment of the children in some country schools" presumably from the urban secondary schools that received them, pointing out that rural schools face difficulties not encountered by their urban counterparts.

38. Jonathan Hyslop, "Teacher resistance in African education", (1990), pp.104-105.

39. See Leo Sihlali, "Bantu Education and the African Teacher" Africa South Vol.1 No. 1 (Oct-Dec 1950) pp. 42-51; Jonathan Hyslop, "Social conflicts over African education", (1990), pp.295-296.

40. The following exchange is drawn from a series of letters to the editor submitted by G. Jili to the Native Teachers Journal 32:3 (April 1953) p.229; and G. Jili, Native Teachers Journal 33:1 (October 1953) pp. 36-37.

41. Jonathan Hyslop, "Teacher resistance in African education", (1990), p.104.

42. "Minutes of the 49th Annual General Conference of TATA, 21-23 June 1955", UDCAS 121 (Conference Papers 1947-1966).

43. Jonathan Hyslop, "School Boards, School Committees", (1989), from which the following summary is drawn.

44. Ibid., p.203.

45. Ibid., p.209.

46. "Appointment of Bantu Sub-inspectors", Bantu Education Journal 1 (7) (June 1955), p.232.

47. "TUATA Minutes of the 1st Annual General Conference"; and "1961 Conference Resolutions", UDACS 121 (Conference Papers 1947-1966).

48. "Notes on Discussion between the Federal Council of Teachers [ATASA] and the Minister of Bantu Education, September 2, 1960", UDCAS 150 14.1.1.

49. "ATASA 1962 Conference", UDCAS 150.4.4.

50. "TUATA 1965 Conference Resolutions" UDCAS 150.4.7.

51. "TUATA Diamond Jubilee Conference, June 25-27, 1966", UDCAS 121 (Conference Papers 1947-1966).

52. "TUATA Diamond Jubilee Conference, 25-27 June 1966", UDCAS 121 (Conference Papers 1947-1966).

53. "ATASA 1965 Constitution", UDCAS 150.1.2.

54. "Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of Bantu Education, September 27, 1976", UDCAS 150.14.1.2.9.

55. This inability of "established" teacher organizations to articulate a critique of apartheid education continues throughout the most intense period of educational conflict in the mid-1980s. As late as 1988, while the emergent teacher organizations were demanding one non-racial

education department TUATA continued to "note with concern" the governments failure to promote black educationists within the DET: see "66th ATASA Annual Conference Report, January 4-6, 1988", UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box).

56. CTPA Conference Resolutions, June 1975 (unsorted papers held at the CTPA Offices in Bellville).

57. Educatio (4th Quarter 1976).

58. This and the following data are drawn from the Bantu Education Bulletin and the DET Annual Reports.

59. The data from this table is compiled from the Bantu Education Bulletin, the DET Annual Reports, the Transkei Education Department Annual Reports, the Boputhatswana Department of Education Annual Reports, and the Kwazulu Department of Education and Culture Annual Reports. This table is based on an interpretation of the surnames of Circuit Inspectors and Inspectors of Schools as the criteria for racial categorization. It may, therefore, not be entirely accurate. The table includes Circuit Inspectors, Inspectors of Schools, sub-inspectors,and "Bantu" supervisors, although the latter two catagories were elevated to that of Inspectors of Schools by the Department of Bantu Education in 1966.

60. Transkei Education Department Annual Reports, 1964-1970.

61. The South African Teacher 7:1 (July 1987), p.9.

62. "TUATA minutes of the General Executive Committee August 18, 1979", UDCAS 121 (Conference Papers 1947-1966).

63. DET Annual Reports, 1972-1986.

64. Petrus Mahlangu, "The rise and decline of the influence of TUATA amongst black teachers, 1957-1986", (Masters of Education Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987), p.19; Interview C; see also S.P. Lekgothi, "African Teachers Associations in the Transvaal: From Militant Challange to Moderate Protest, 1950-1976", (B.A. Honors Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1991), pp.95-96.

65. "Memorandum submitted to the Secretary for Bantu Education September 1, 1972", UDCAS 150.14.1.2.4.

66. "TUATA 67th Conference held September 1-3, 1973", UDCAS 121 (Conference Papers Box III).

67. The Eiselen Report shows that in 1950 women teachers were consistently paid about 25% less than men with the same qualifications (see UG 53 of 1951, p. 206).

68. Statistics drawn from Bantu Education Bullitin (Pretoria: Government Printer 1957), p. 280; and DET Annual Reports (Pretoria 1986), p. 223.

69. "1960 Conference", UDCAS 150.4.2. The Department of Bantu Education had a policy of dismissing married female teachers in favor of single female teachers. While this was rationalized through the patriarchal ideology of married women's income serving as supplemental to the husband's and therefore not essential, the purpose of this policy can only have been to lower the cost of Bantu Education through the employment of an army of temporary female teachers.

70. Interview H.

71. E.J. Zulu "Letter to the Editor" Native Teachers Journal 37:4 (July 1949), p.264.; "TUATA 75th Anniversary booklet of addresses and papers, pp.43-37", UDCAS 121 (Conference Papers).

72. W.T. Nkosi, "Letter to the Editor" TUATA (April-June 1977).

73. Interview with H.

74. See Anthony Black and John Stanwix, "Manufacturing Development and the Economic Crisis: Restructuring in the Eighties", Social Dynamics 13:1 (1987), pp.47-59; Fuad Cassim, "Economic Crisis and Stagnation in South Africa", in Glenn Moss and Ingred Obery (eds), South African Review 4 (Johannesburg: Ravan Press 1987), pp. 235-250; and Robert Davies, "Capital restructuring and the modification of the racial division of labour". Journal of Southern African Studies 5:2 (1979) pp.181-198.

75. see Jonathan Hyslop, "Social Conflicts over African education", (1990), p.362 and 417-420.

76. The following paragraph is drawn from Jonathan Hyslop, "Schools, Unemployment and Youth: Origins and Significance of student and youth movements, 1976-1987", in Education: from poverty to liberty Bill Nasson and John Samuel (eds) (David Philllip: Cape Town 1990), pp.79-85; see also Colin Bundy, "Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985", Journal of Southern African Studies, 13:3, (April 1987).

77. Interview B; see also Petrus Mahlangu "The rise and decline of Tuata", (1987), p.37; and TUATA (Feb 1975), pp.12-13.

78. The view that teachers and intellectuals influenced by black consciousness played an important role in the Soweto Uprising was advanced by John Kane-Berman in Soweto: black revolt, white reaction (Ravan: Johannesburg 1977) and supported by Jonathan Hyslop, "Social conflicts over African education", (1990), pp. 455-456, who suggested that teachers influenced by black consciousness "passed on their political ideas to their pupils". This view has been questioned in a number of books on the Soweto Uprising, see summary in Tom Lodge, Black Politics, (1983), pp. 330-336.

79. "Editorial", TUATA (August 1972), pp.2-3.

80. "TUATA 66th Conference September 2-4, 1972: Report of the Education Committee", UDCAS 121 (Conference Papers Box II).

81. "Advisory Council for Bantu Education: Summary of Preceeding of Executive Committee meeting held December 9, 1977", UDCAS 150.14.8.4.

82. CTPA Conference Resolutions 1976 (Athelone).

83. "TUATA Report to the 63rd ATASA Conference", UDCAS 150 (Unsorted Box).

84. Jonathan Hyslop, "Social conflicts over African education", (1990), pp. 456-457; see also Petrus Mahlangu, (1987).

85. Randall Peteni quoted in TUATA (January-April 1980); see also Petrus Mahlangu, (1987), p. 6.

86. Cross and Chisholm, "The Roots of Segregated Schooling in Twentieth Century South Africa", in Pedegogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa, Mokubung Nkomo ed., (Trenton: Africa World Press 1990), p.62.

87. Interview D.

88. TUATA, "Teachers Fear Hostility of Pupils", (January-June 1981).

89. "NATU General Secretary Report to ATASA Conference, January 4-6, 1984", UDCAS 150 (Unsorted Box).

90. Quoted in Alan Simon, "Reasons provided by Black Pupils in Rural Mahlabatini Area in Natal Province, South Africa for poor Academic Performance in Black Secondary Schools", Journal of Negro Education, 60:4 (1991), pp. 581-592.

91. Ibid., pp. 581-592.

92. See, for example: The Weekly Mail August 27 - September 4, 1986; The Star July 30, 1988, The Star July 13, 1990.

93. Brian O'Connell, "The Crisis of Authority in Schools", CTPA Archives (1981 Conference).

94. Interview E.

95. "Minutes of the Executive Committee July 3, 1980"; and "Minutes of the First Annual General Conference, Motion K, October 24, 1981", Church of the Province of South Africa Archives Gardiner Collection held at the University of the Witwatersrand (Hereafter CPSA).

96. "General Council Minutes 19/6/80", CPSA; "Executive Council Minutes 17/4/83", CPSA; and NEWSA April 1981.

97. NEUSA was one of the first organizations to develop a critique the De Lange Commission Reports, see NEUSA "De Lange ... Marching to the Same Order", (Johannesburg: National Education Union of South Africa 1982).

98. Matthew Goniwe was a school teacher and political activist in the small eastern Cape township of Cradock. As a prominant and popular political figure, he was largely responsible for the rapid growth of NEUSA in the region after his decision to join the organization in 1984. Goniwe was assassinated, most probably by the government, in 1985.

99. WECTU No. 6 (June 1986), pp.2-3, SAHA (Other Organizations File).

100. See, for example, the constitutions of NEUSA, WECTU, DETU, and the PTL, all of which call for a "unitary, non-racial and democratic education system, SAHA.

101. Ian Moll. "Towards One Teachers Union", South African Labor Bulletin, 16:1 (1989).

102. "Minutes of the first meeting of the Conference of Ministers of Education and ATASA held on August 7, 1987", UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box).

103. Franklin Sonn, the son of a prominant "Coloured" educationist in Cape Town, became the president of the CTPA in 1976 while serving as principal of the prestigious Spes Bona High School in Athelone. As president, Sonn presided over the rapid growth of the CTPA and guided it through a very difficult period in which the organization was under increasing attack for being "collaborationist". Sonn was one of a few Blacks to serve on the De Lange Commission in 1981, a decision for which he received some criticism. Franklin Sonn presided over the "radicalization" of the CTPA in the mid-1980's, including the decision to adopt the freedom charter taken in 1988. Sonn retired as president of the CTPA in the months before the organization was to join SADTU (from Franklin Sonn, A Decade of Struggle (Cape Town: CTPA 1986).

104. CTPA Focus June 1990.

105. CTPA FOCUS March 1991.

106. TUATA January-April 1980.

107. Interview A.

108. Richard Levin, Ian Moll and Yogesh Narsing. "The specificity of the struggle in South African education", in Elaine Unterhalter and Harold Wolpe, et. al. (eds), Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles, (Johannesburg: Ravan 1991).

109. See, for example, "NEUSA National Executive Committee Minutes for June 22, 1983", and "NEUSA Annual General Conference Minutes on October 7, 1984", CPSA.

110. Interview F.

111. "NEUSA Information Sheet", SAHA (File on NEUSA).

112. "ATASA Minutes of the National Council Meeting, August 7, 1987"; and "Minutes of TUATA General Executive Meeting, February 13, 1988", UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box).

113. City Press October 14, 1990. Teachers who were placed on probation were required by the DET to submit to evaluation by school inspectors or face dismissal. The SADTU defiance campaign encouraged teachers to refuse all state inspections and evaluations until such a time as new review procedures were negotiated, thus by placing SADTU teachers on probation the Ikateng principals effectively dismissed them.

114. New Nation August 2, 1991.

115. Sowetan November 23, 1990; Sowetan November 29, 1990; Daily Dispatch April 25, 1990; Sowetan September 14, 1990.

116. "Memo to the Minister of National Education from the Action Committee of Teachers, 18 May 1990", SAHA (Progressive Teachers Union File).

117. Sowetan November 22, 1990.

118. The Progressive Teacher Vol.3 No. 1 (February 1989), SAHA.

119. Argus October 6, 1987.

120. Cape Times October 8, 1987.

121. City Press November 6, 1988.

122. Interview B.

123. See Jon Hyslop, "School boards, school committees and educational politics: Aspects of the failure of Bantu Education as a hegemonic stratagy, 1955-1976", in Holding Their Ground, Philip Bonner and et. al. (eds.), (Johannesburg: Ravan 1989), for a history of these structures.

124. "The New Education Act", Educamus Vol. 26 No. 1 (February 1980) pp.2-3.

125. Interview B.

126. "Minutes of the Committee of Council for Higher Education and Training, Highveld Region, September 23, 1986", UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box). The 25 member Council for Education and Training is the highest statutory advisory body on education in the Department of Education and Training and consists of leading Black community, religious and academic leaders.

127. "DET Communication Structure", UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box).

128. See "DET Communication Structure", UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box).

129. Sowetan November 25, 1988.

130. "Report of a meeting Between ATASA and the Department of Education and Training, September 21, 1979", UDCAS 150.13.1.2.37.

131. Interview B.

132. "Mr. Principal, You are a Professional Manager", Educamus Vol. 33 Nos.1 & 2 (January/February 1987).

133. Sowetan September 16, 1987.

134. Hyslop has identified an elitist streak among teachers in the 1950's, especially around the question of the involvement of less educated parents in the administration of the school, see "School boards, school committees", (1989).

135. P.E.D. Rikhotso, "Editorial", TUATA (January-June 1983), p.3.

136. "Report on High School Disturbances" in TUATA (July-December 1984), pp.27-29, UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box).

137. Ibid.

138. ibid.

139. The Daily Mail June 25, 1990; "Paper presented by Mr. M.N. Moloko to the Highveld Inspectors Regional Conference, August 7, 1985", UDCAS 121 (Unsorted Box).

140. South November 26, 1987.

141. Sowetan June 7, 1990.

142. Sunday Times Extra August 30, 1987.