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EDUCATION POLICY

This policy was prepared by the Education Secretariate of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION ie AZAPO, in December 1980 and adopted by the First Congress of AZAPO at Houtbospoort on 25 January 1981. Some of the ideas propounded in this Education Policy are only now coming into vogue: ideas such as the Constituent Assembly of the Azanian people, the need for effective pupil government and the use of English as an Azanian lingua franca. The Central Committee of AZAPO approved of the following revised version on 19 October 1984 and is offering it to all formations for comment, criticism, correction and questions.

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PREAMBLE

One of the aims and objectives of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO) is "To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively to the needs of Azanians." (AZAPO Constitution, Section 2, Sub-section 2). In this pursuit AZAPO notes that the unjust, oppressive and exploitative practices and beliefs which riddle South Africa's political, cultural, social and economic life are displayed primarily in the existence of manifold educational systems catering for so-called "different races and ethnic groups."

AZAPO contends that no just and equitable system of education can thrive and function in an unjust and exploitative society. We are conscious of the fact that the means of communication and education are owned and controlled by the ruling class in order to promote, perpetuate, sustain and maintain its self-interest. And we assert that education is not a privilege but is an inalienable right.

Education plays a fundamental role in the maintenance, sustenance, renewal and restructuring of the totality of relations in society. The self-delegated monopoly of the professionals and the intelligentsia in the structuring and orientation of education must be replaced by a form of education which involves the entire community.

EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CRITIQUE

Some Points of Departure

A. The present philosophy of education has dogmatic religious shortcomings.

- \* The religion of the dominant group subordinates the religion and culture of the oppressed.
- \* It enslaves the mind to religious dogmas and hence hampers freedom of inquiry in the broadest sense.
- \* It perpetuates hierarchical views of society which foster the superior-inferior, master-servant, ruler-ruled relationships and thus reinforce class divisions.

B. The apartheid system of divide-and-rule is embedded in the educational philosophy and the system of education.

- \* It creates an impression and an illusion that white values, culture, norms, etc are superior.
- \* Racism and ethnicity are promoted as the norm even in the differentiated facilities and opportunities available to the so-called "different races and ethnic groups".
- \* It perpetuates and sustains the exploitative and dehumanizing

economic relationships of production.

- \* Whites are orientated to think in national terms while Blacks are orientated to view life in parochial and ethnic terms.

C. The present philosophy of education fosters the process of alienation.

- \* The school itself has been dissociated from life and society.
- \* The philosophy of education does not fulfill the ideal of democracy.
- \* It alienates the parents from the students and vice-versa.
- \* It entrenches racism and ethnicity.

D. The ultimate aim of education in capitalist society serves the interests of capital and the minority at the expense of the working class majority.

- \* It inculcates a sense of ruthless competition and rivalry.
- \* It fosters individualism.
- \* It engenders bourgeois values and aspirations.

E. Colonialism and neo-colonialism are inherent in the present philosophy of education.

- \* South Africa is projected as closely linked politically, culturally, socially and economically to the West rather than to Africa and the developing countries of the world.
- \* Closely linked with this view is the conception that progress, development or change within South Africa should follow a Western model rather than emanate from the oppressed and the exploited.

#### Some Relevant Opinions:

The white settlers have always considered themselves to be the bearers of civilization and have consequently considered Blacks to be backward. The educational system tends to be inclined to favour a traditional elitist form of education and in no way provides education for the masses. It follows then that education presently serves to justify inequalities. Imperialism has always been served by using the schools as instruments to this end.

- \* Education is book-orientated without emphasis on practical experience.
- \* Education destroys the personalities and cultural traditions of the people- making them despise their past and their way of life.
- \* Teaching methods directly reflect relations of oppression and exploitation.
- \* Education is essentially for the minority of exploiters and not education for the toiling masses.
- \* An ever-increasing emphasis is placed on mother-tongue instruction and later the burden of two further languages serving as mediums of instruction is added.
- \* The present educational system both indoctrinates and domesticates.
- \* Education encourages the desire to ape the oppressors.
- \* Education helps people to adapt to a world designed and created by

others.

- \* Education is conducted in a way that authority is accepted without question. We strive to satisfy the authority.
- \* Education is there to entrench the exploitative system and white culture models.
- \* No government or ruling class can dominate or control the educational process absolutely. This is especially evident during periods of political and economic upheaval.
- \* Involvement in mere schooling for certification (education for employment) amounts to voluntary collaboration with the system.
- \* Students must learn how to learn, how to solve problems.

### Curriculum and Syllabus

The dominant ideas of any society are those of its ruling class. It arrogates to itself all areas of government and means of enforcement thereof and thus is able to organize society so as to entrench itself and keep in subjugation the other classes. Education is a key weapon in a vast array at its disposal which it uses to preserve the status quo. It is clear therefore that no fundamental change is possible without a change of the ruling class and the eradication of the norms and values it represents.

The South African ruling class has its origins in the Western power elite- the colonizers of Africa, the plunderers of its resources, the enslavers and merciless exploiters of its people. They are the local caretakers and junior partners of the Western power elite and thus develop grandiose ideas of their own status and of their powers over a subjugated and oppressed people. Society in all its facets is regimented to maintain and bolster this insecure ruling class and undermine the progressive forces of the oppressed.

Education, in its curricula and syllabi, is just one facet of the oppressive regime's amouring to maintain its position in society. It is clear that the ruling class cannot effect any meaningful change in the interests of or to the benefit of the oppressed and the exploited. This change can only be brought about by the oppressed and exploited in the process of national liberation. The contradictions of the oppressive regime must inevitably lead to its collapse under the pressures of the dispossessed.

#### 1. Criticism of Existing Curricula

Within the framework of the above criticism of the oppressive regime we can enumerate some of the ways in which curricula maintain the status quo.

- I. No attempt is made to meet the needs of society as a whole. On the contrary, the schooling provided for the oppressed is intended to enable them to acquire the minimal standards to create the wealth of the ruling class and to perpetuate

- their own kind to sustain this process.'
- II. Curricula develop the individual to fit into the existing establishment and hence entrench social divisions and the dominance of the ruling class. The existing curricula are presented as the ideas of an enlightened and highly educated class. Those who dare to challenge them in any fundamental way are branded as radicals, non-conformists, non-scholars and extremists who are totally unacceptable to "society".
  - III. Those who are close to the establishment and who conform to the prevailing social norms of the ruling class and uphold its "ideals" as enshrined in curricula, are rewarded as the enlightened and highly educated class. A defence mechanism is thus built in.
  - IV. The history, traditions, values and norms of the conquered are given such minimal attention so as to entrench the idea that these are the history, traditions, values and norms of an inferior and backward people. The psychological and spiritual demolishing of the oppressed has the temporary effect of making the ruling class less vulnerable to being overthrown.
  - V. The history, traditions, values and norms of the ruling class are given such prominence as to invoke the belief that these represent the height of human civilization throughout the ages. It encourages each and every member of the caretaker and junior partner establishment to fraudulently claim the accumulated knowledge of all mankind as the creation and property of its own "white group."
  - VI. Curricula bolster the value system in which theoretical academic pursuit is regarded as the height of intellectual development and the natural objective of the leisured and monied classes, while artisan and technical training is for the lesser intellects and naturally the pursuit of the working classes. Even in this category the oppressed is denied access to certain avenues as this may undermine the privileged position of the white labour aristocrat, which he enjoys by virtue of the super-exploitation of the Black worker.

## 2: Criticism of Existing Syllabi

The norms and objectives of the curricula are pursued in the individual syllabi. Here, too, no fundamentally meaningful changes can be made without changing the curricula and totally re-organizing society. We may cite the following general areas of criticism of the syllabi:-

- I. The study of language, and of the English language in particular, is the study of the literature and culture of the Western power elite or of the local establishment. The emphasis this receives leads inevitably to the inference that this literature and culture represents the values to which society and every learned person should aspire. The study of African languages is justified, when at all, on purely utilitarian grounds. The very minor position given to this inevitably leads to the idea that it represents an inferior culture: what is superficially treated "must be superficial and not worthy of serious pursuit."
- II. The study of history is the study of the success of the conqueror over the conquered, the suffering of a courageous people at the hands of uncivilized hordes, the taming by hardworking, dedicated people of a hostile environment, the torchbearers of an "enlightened

- civilization" uplifting the "natives". The exploitation and enslavement become heroic deeds of teaching the dignity of labour and curbing the wandering, marauding and plundering ways of the natives.
- III. The study of geography is by and large the study of the resources of the country as discovered by the colonizer; the development, exploitation and distribution is the study of the accumulation of capital in the hands of the ruling class. It does not study the unequal distribution and exploitation of resources to meet the needs of the vast majority of the population. It does not study the distribution of disease in relation to the provision of resources and amenities. It does not study the unequal development of manpower resources and the creation of labour reservoirs or the dumping of "excess" labour in inhospitable regions without the facilities for keeping body and soul together.
- IV. The study of the sciences is geared to the needs of large-scale industry and agriculture. The medical sciences devote fantastic resources, human and physical, to meet the "needs" of a small elite and the academic and monetary aspirations of the individual medical practitioner. The needs of the vast majority of the population are only superficially met if at all. Thus we can have kwashiokor, cholera, tuberculosis and other social diseases widespread amongst the oppressed while highly specialized medical centres serve a minute fraction of the population with the wealth to pay for this special attention. Highly developed veterinary services are provided for the pets of the wealthy but mediocre and minimal veterinary services are provided for the peasants in the rural areas.
- V. The study of the mathematical sciences is geared to the needs of the physical sciences. Hardly any attention is given to the role it can play in the social sciences to meet social problems. It is presented as an academic pursuit suitable for the academically orientated person and as if it has no bearing on the lives of workers other than in a few rudimentary arithmetical calculations.

### 3. Curriculum and Levels of Education

A curriculum is understood, in its usual sense, to be a group of courses offered by an educational institution or by a department of such an institution, which must be mastered by a student in order to obtain a credit or a certificate, a degree or a diploma. Frequently "curriculum" and "course" are used interchangeably as in "the course of study" or "a programme of studies". More generally, curriculum refers to all the experiences a student has under the direction and guidance of school authorities.

Curricula are designed to meet the various stages of the development of the individual answering to different age groups, hence the setting up of separate levels of schooling. These levels of education or schooling are divided into the following major categories:

- \* Primary or Elementary level;
- \* Secondary level and
- \* Post-Secondary or Tertiary level.

These levels are further sub-divided into the following:

- \* Pre-school (24 months- 72 months) including Kintergarden;

- \* Infant or lower primary school (6 years to 9 years);
- \* Senior primary (10 and 11 years);
- \* Junior Secondary (12-14 years);
- \* Senior Secondary (15 + years).

The division between Junior and Senior Secondary is unwarranted as it hampers the smooth running of education.

The secondary school curriculum is extremely rigid presently; it is entangled in tradition and geared towards producing robots.

#### The Administration of Education

Education always has a particular objective, one which expresses the interests of the dominant class. The question of the administration of education is linked with the broader controversy which characterizes the ordering and structuring of society. The educational system expresses the innermost beliefs, ideals and aspirations of a people. We may also accept the position that a nation's educational system is but the reflex of her history, her social forces and of the political and economic situations that make up her existence.

In our experience schools have been used to further the policies of the government of the day. The government in power has always engaged itself in giving the interpretations and detailed specifications to legislatures in order to assert and justify its position. In South Africa organs with general authority for the administration of education are government-instituted. These organs exercise co-ordinating control over organized education on the whole or part of the country.

#### Culture and Education

The white dominant group maintains its position of power by fostering and encouraging ethnocentrism in the country. Linked with this it is quite clear that lack of freedom on the part of the Black people signifies a deprivation of their own authentic culture. The position of the settlers can be understood when we realise that politics, economics and culture are inextricably tied up, and that nowhere on that spectrum can capitalism, as it operates and manifests itself in South Africa, offer any hope for genuine progress and social justice that can be accessible to all.

A dominated people are a culturally subject people. This is clear in all institutions including the educational system where white schools are considered high standard schools attended by the privileged and those who can afford exorbitant fees. They are also attended by the children of those amongst the oppressed who have a stake in the present ordering and structuring of society. These non-white parents have been culturally alienated from the popular culture. The status quo aims at making the subject people despise their culture and lose confidence in their capability at contributing creatively to the progress of mankind.

Capitalism produces an anti-human culture which expresses and manifests itself in the following manner:

- \* It encourages and deepens sectional and conflicting interests.
- \* The means of production are removed from control and ownership by the workers.
- \* A stratified society with a stratified culture or sub-cultures emerges with adverse consequences for society.

- \* Individuals and social groups become alienated from themselves and their environment.
- \* People are educated with an emphasis to rule, to dominate and to suppress the interests and aspirations of others.

Racism looms large in South Africa and we consider it as pervading all the fundamental institutions in the country. It gives South Africa the character of a closed society and caste elements. The racist culture nurtures subservience, self-hatred and mutual suspicion in society. The educational system reflects inequalities which arise from a racial pyramid which is typical of our society. Those at the base of the racial pyramid are made to despise their self-image and to consider white culture as the model for "a good life". A culture which is the preserve of a few cannot be a national culture since it is imposed and has to be ruthlessly enforced. Such culture can only serve to rationalise the exploitation and oppression of the masses in the name of civilization. Such a culture is typical of capitalist ways of life and behaviour.

In our analysis of education we should realise that we are also analysing an aspect of culture. Where cultures come into contact acculturation and "assimilation" take place. The ruling class always stood to benefit in such contacts at the expense of the indigenous people. Black people have always been the objects of assimilation or indirect rule or direct control. Apartheid emerged from direct control. The most important elements of the culture of the Black people were to be directly or indirectly done away with. A permanent and sustained repression of the cultural expression of the people was maintained. Hence the neutralizing or paralyzing of a people's culture. The consequence was that people were stripped of their history and values and also denied their historical and cultural development.

The significance of culture lies in making an individual understand and be integrated into his environment; making it possible for individuals and groups to identify with the fundamental issues and aspirations of the people and providing the energy and motivation to accept the possibility of change and progress in a society as well as in different societies. The exploitation of the people is perpetrated and perpetuated by repressing the cultural life of the people and also provoking and developing the cultural alienation of a part of the population through "assimilation" or the promotion of social gaps between elites and the masses. Divisions are encouraged and deepened by the dominant race and class.

The cultural alienation of the elite amongst the oppressed who are the victims of what is referred to as false consciousness, by virtue of their colonial mentality, superiority complex and their relatively favoured economic position, necessitates that they be re-converted to Black culture. They must rid themselves of cultural values based on racist and capitalist motives. They must embrace the cultural values of the indigenous people.

The European conquest of Africa meant the disruption of all cultural and institutional elements of African existence. This situation dictates to the Black people to affirm their personalities and their pasts in their quest for self-determination culturally, politically, economically, socially and educationally.



### EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION:

Education is a process towards liberation. Liberation is ultimately the humanization of man. To be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world. Man is a being of relationships. He is not only in the world but with the world. Man relates to his world in a critical way. He looks critically at the past, understands the present and moves towards the future, as if permanently asking "Where do I come from, where am I and where am I going?" The role of man is not a passive one. He participates in the creative dimension as well as intervenes in reality in order to change it. Thus the liberated being, the humanized man is able to perceive reality, the contradictions that lie therein and thereby respond to solve these contradictions on the basis of his perception.

In a state of oppression man is a dehumanized being, an adapted being, He has lost his ability to make choices, he is subject to the choices of others, his decisions are no longer his own, they result from external prescription. The adapted man represents the weakest form of self-defence. If man is incapable of changing reality he adjusts himself instead. Adaptation is symptomatic of man's dehumanization. The adapted being accepts his submission and servility through the historical experience of the oppression of man by man. The oppressor introjects his values, his external authority into the being of the oppressed whereby the oppressed internalize this and thus develop a consciousness which "houses" oppression, which creates what we so often call "slave mentality" or colonial mentality. The adapted person is referred to as person as object.

Education that is liberatory is that which integrates man with reality. Integration is a distinctively human activity which results from the capacity to adapt oneself to reality plus the critical capacity to make choices and to transform that reality. The integrated person is a person as subject as opposed to an adapted person as object. The subject person is a participant in change, a liberated being who is an architect of his destiny. This, then, is what we call a conscientized person.

Education should be a process of extrojecting ie destroying myths and values which have been introjected into the oppressed by the oppressor to maintain and perpetuate his position of privilege.

In this respect we must avoid being sectarian. Liberatory education and sectarianism are incompatible. Sectarianism is predominantly emotional and uncritical. It is arrogant, anti-dialogical and thus anti-communicative. The sectarian disrespects the choice of others, he tries to impose his own choice on others. Herein lies the inclination of the sectarian to activism: action without the vigilance of reflection; the sectarian sloganizes, which remains at the level of myths and half-truths and attributes absolute values to that which is relative. The liberatory educationist rejects mere activism and submits his action to reflection.

The sectarian whether rightist or leftist sets himself up as the proprietor of history, as its sole creator and the only one entitled to set its pace. Rightist and leftist sectarians are similar in imposing their own convictions on others, whom they thereby reduce to mere masses and objects. For the sectarian the people matter only as supports for his own goals. They are not supposed to think. Someone else will think for them. Their relationship with people is either that of blatant contempt (rightist) or

patronage (leftist). They still think in terms of "us" (leaders, students, etc) and "them" (workers and peasants). Sectarians can never create a truly liberating revolution because they themselves are unfree.

The liberatory educator on the other hand is truly a radical. He is subject to the degree that he perceives historical contradictions in an increasingly critical fashion. However, he does not consider himself to be the proprietor of history and while he recognizes that it is impossible to stop or to anticipate history, he is no mere spectator in the historical process. On the contrary he knows that as a subject he can and ought, in tandem with other subjects, to participate creatively in that process.

Education for liberation is not restricted to institutionalized education at the school or university. It is a process which takes place in every aspect of life, whether in the factory, the farm, the home or the street. It aims at transforming men from being mere objects submerged in reality to that of being subjects and active participants in history and change.

It recognizes the school and other such institutions created by the system as mirrors which reflect the oppressive society we live in. Liberatory educationists believe that instead of educators or teachers we ought to have co-ordinators; instead of alienating syllabi, we need to have relevant learning experiences to reflect upon; instead of lectures, where pupils or educators are regarded as receptacles for useless facts, we must have true dialogue. Hence, the move is to do away with a leadership clique which is prevalent in most societies. The aim of education is not to create a leadership divorced from the people, but rather a leadership which co-ordinates the action of the people. Leadership should be like a froth on a wave, dependent on the wave, which represents the people, forever moving, forever renascent.

#### EDUCATION IN AZANIA: BROAD IDEAS

##### Some Points of Departure

The aims of education should give direction to it and motivate it as well. The learner and the community should use their energies and resources in order to realize these aims. What is clear is that the current educational system needs to be supplanted rather than amended or perpetuated. All those concerned with education should attempt to identify the defects of society and devise means to rectify these: the aims of education will find their expression from this attempt. It follows that educational aims will emerge from concrete situations which confront people in their lives. In establishing aims for education we must strive to give the educational practice a semblance of daily living. Education should portray a popular way of life and a preparation for the future. Aims should not exclusively stress the social dimension at the expense of the individual. Aims of education should not be chosen by the few for the majority.

- \* Education must be integrated into the overall struggle for liberation.
- \* Education is fundamentally linked to the general aims of revolution and the building of a new society, so that it can make the maximum contribution to the national and cultural needs of the people.
- \* The emphasis is on the education of the human personality as a whole.
- \* Education should primarily be a social process.

- \* Education must aim at change as man struggles to find reality and truth. It should equip students for change.
- \* Education must embrace an increasing proportion of the individual's life span.
- \* Education must seek to affirm the being of people, it must spell freedom from ignorance, fear, dehumanisation and oppression.
- \* Education must be a judicious mixture of participation in present life and a preparation for subsequent events.
- \* Education should cater for all in aim, content and organisation and satisfy the needs and aspirations of the majority of people in the society.
- \* Educational aims should be defined in terms of needs, goals and aspirations of a people.
- \* Education should aim to achieve a high degree of integration of school and community.
- \* An educational system that is worked out, discussed, analysed, experimented with and rectified, should be devised.
- \* We should recognize that the masses are teachers of the traditional culture and of history. The masses are at once students and teachers.
- \* Education should promote and create programmes to combat prejudice.
- \* Educational institutions should be re-organized with a new emphasis on social issues.
- \* Education is for the liberation of man not his domestication...it should not alienate man.

#### Some Relevant Opinions

- \* Education and culture to serve the Azanian people should be developed.
- \* A new educational system which emphasizes a sense of collective responsibility must be developed.
- \* Education should be an act of liberation intended to "conscientize" people- to make them initially aware of this situation and to realize that they can and must change it.
- \* People must re-learn, re-discover and re-evaluate their own culture and history.
- \* Associate the school with life, with the community.
- \* Emphasis in the schools should be on co-operation and collectivity in both work and in day-to-day relationships.
- \* Education must strengthen the process of social change and also help people to understand the need for that change thus enabling them to become active participants in the process of change.
- \* The horizons of our inventiveness must transcend huge institutions which provide costly services: a new system of education must not simply create more elaborate schools and teachers who are trained for longer periods.
- \* All racial, ethnic, class and sex discrimination in education must be abolished.
- \* Study and work go hand in glove raising the level

of education and economic progress.

- \* Students must be prepared while at school to assume power and responsibility on the principles of co-operation, equality and collectivity.

### The New Curricula and Syllabi

The new curricula and syllabi will be dictated by the forces brought into being in the process of the existing oppressive social order being swept away by the national liberatory movement. The oppressive society must inevitably collapse under the weight of the liberatory movement and in its place must arise a new social order in which the oppressed become the dominant group in society. The dominant ideas of the new society will be those of the liberated oppressed: more specifically, those of the Black working class. These ideas will not arise phoenix-like from the ruins of the oppressive society but will grow, as they grow even now, as the liberatory struggle gains momentum.

No detailed educational programme can be worked out at this stage. Thus for example we cannot now speculate on the programmes of the re-education centres which must come into being. We can, however, say that the new curricula and syllabi must set new values and norms, such as:

- \* Service to the community as a whole.
- \* Developing the potential of all the people in the service of the community.
- \* Examining the needs, resources and social, political and economic development of the country as a whole and its relationship to Africa and the world.
- \* Developing the human personality in full in relation to the above.

Bearing in mind the limitations mentioned above the new educational institutions should provide for the following transitional training:

- \* Providing training to produce highly qualified and motivated manpower which could effectively grapple with the problems of the country in its social, political and economic facets.
- \* Providing the technically qualified and socially motivated manpower to implement development ideas.
- \* Providing training at an essentially in-service level to raise the level of manpower and give the social motivation in order to create a social base to make the above possible.

The aims and objectives of the new educational institutions shall of course be determined by the Constituent Assembly of the new society which must arise as the present minority white oppressive regime falls apart and collapses in ruin. A new nation with new ideas is already being born and when it fully sees the light of day it shall write the detailed educational programme..

### Curriculum and Levels of Education

Plato's idea that the nature and scope of the curriculum is a matter of concern to those who view education as vitally important to the welfare

of the state will be broadened progressively to ensure the presentation and advancement of the social order within which schools and other educational institutions operate. This naturally presupposes that the existing social order would have ceased to function.

Adapted to modern demands, the curriculum must comply with three basic principles viz.:

- \* The curriculum should consist of a selected amount of traditional ideas to be transmitted to the emergent generations as a means of maintaining the continuity of national life.
- \* It should centre in the study of current social problems to the end that the student may thereby be prepared to grapple with the realities of modern life and to participate intelligently in the reconstruction of society.
- \* It must be evolved in accordance with the psychology of learning, noting of course that the education process and learning process are complementary.

In thinking of a curriculum for different levels, it is imperative to consider the development requirements of the various age groups. Adaptations from previous experiences will initially be necessary: thereafter, the curriculum will be adapted to changing circumstances. This requires careful re-adjustment and re-orientation as we are looking forward to a changed social and political order.

The curriculum must make provision for re-education.

### 1. Elementary Curriculum

Basically this curriculum must anchor on literacy and numeracy, to be supplemented with writing, language, social studies, natural sciences (including health education), music and the arts. How this is developed is a matter for detail. Civics should be less of a text-book curriculum, but must focus attention to qualities of citizenship and participation in pupil government.

Natural science will embrace the introduction into science study and health education, safety and physical environment and at this stage movement should be from local, regional and national and possibly scanning the international horizon.

Whether the curriculum will be extensively or intensively accented will be a matter for debate; both have their merits.

### 2. Secondary Stage Curriculum

This is the main battleground. Here it should be decided whether the emphasis will be traditional or revolutionary: initially, the latter will be favourable. This curriculum has to produce the adult and it is often geared to meet accreditation requirements for various fields of endeavour viz college preparedness, commercial field, economics, agriculture, the arts, engineering, etc

It must try to place acute accent upon goals of utility and security. It should prepare young people for early occupational competency and ensure them with a personal concern for the preservation and advancement of the social order. It must be of a dynamic nature and be more shifting than is the case presently. It must assure young people freedom to grow according to their capabilities and to make them increasingly eager to engage in self-improvement.

It should cultivate interests and ideals which will direct and safeguard the individual through his years as a free citizen.

### 3. Tertiary Curriculum

Except for teacher training courses, tertiary institutions generate their own curricula since they have departments and faculties. In the case of the university, research and undertakings constitute the main vortex of the curriculum. Even at these levels the development of an individual to consider freedom as a pre-requisite is essential.

All education from 30 months to 11 years must be free and compulsory.

### Administration of Education

If education is to be considered without bias in favour of sectional, racial or class interests, the government in power must be democratically elected and must institute a single and democratic educational policy, defined and guided by the views of the exploited masses. Education becomes the concern of all citizens and passes into the hands of democratic bodies of local administration.

### Culture and Education

In our search for cultural liberation we should never lose sight of the fact that political and economic liberation are a sine qua non. Culture and education have no meaning apart from the social organization of life on which they are built. All institutions of society must not be considered in isolation and therefore, our position, in our pursuit to retain our culture and create from it relevant values for living, must be a dialectical approach.

It must be emphasised that Africanization or Blackening of the personnel in the economic and other social institutions will not give expression to the Black personality. Our concern is not centrally with multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial or non-racial education but with anti-racist education (which by its very nature would include the study of various cultures).

We must take note of the following salient points in our discussion:

- \* Culture has inherent elements of strengths and weaknesses, of virtues and failings, positive and negative aspects, progressive and retrogressive factors. We must therefore be critical in our acceptance or rejection of any culture.
- \*\* Positive cultural values of every social group should be considered an asset in our endeavour to harmonize and develop these values within the national context. Good qualities should contribute towards the work for a national ideal.
- \* Culture, like history, must be considered an expanding, flexible and developing phenomenon.
- \* Culture does not warrant indiscriminate compliments such as "Back to Africa" or "Back to

Nature" approach.

- \* Cultural virtues must be exalted and cultural faults must be condemned.
- \* Culture reflects at every moment the material and spiritual reality of society.
- \* No cultural values should be blindly accepted without critically examining them and eliminating regressive or potentially regressive elements.

The following pronouncements must be understood in the light of the foregoing:

- \* Black people must affirm their cultural personality as a means of destroying the exploitative and oppressive culture.
- \* Traditional culture in the form of songs, dances and theatre should form an integral element of education.
- \* The people must retain their culture and create from it a set of living values.
- \* The development of a meaningful self-image is dependent on the complete re-structuring of society.
- \* We must orientate ourselves towards placing our situation in the centre of all cultural and educational efforts. Everything else is to be placed on the basis of its relevance to a given situation.
- \* Educational institutions are very important to our self-image and hence a radical re-structuring is required in every aspect of learning.
- \* Schools and universities should be involved in the creative struggle of the people.
- \* The development of African languages should not be inimical to national unity and consciousness. Our cultural renaissance should act as a bulwark against being alienated from the language of the masses.
- \* We must develop a culture to transcend tribal traditions or national boundaries, a culture that looks outward to Africa and the world at large.
- \* In our quest for cultural affirmation and determination all energy and resources at our disposal should be utilized. The role of the media and educational institutions can never be over-emphasized.
- \* The correction of historical faults such as Black-white relationships, racist cultural norms and values and formal education within the status quo should be a priority of the Azanian people in the cultural, political and economic struggle. Institutions for learning should devote attention to portraying the Black experience in the history of man and identifying the Black experience as seen by the Black people themselves.

- \* Rare books, manuscripts and reference material on all aspects of the human experience must be collected.

### TOWARDS A STRATEGY FOR THE PRESENT

Even in the most rigidly controlled system of educational provision, the very nature of the educational process gives rise to space or gaps in the structure of control, openings that can be exploited consciously or filled intuitively by those forces that are critical of or opposed to the powers-that-be. Intervention in the educational arena is predicated upon an estimate of the probable impact of such intervention. We need to work on programs designed for the long-term reorientation and transformation of the schools and other educational institutions. Preference should be given to those projects that are intended to equip people for life in an anti-racist, socialist Azania. Of course, one has to bear in mind that any educational project irrespective of its provenance inevitably contains a large status quo element.

As we work towards the complete overhauling and restructuring of the present educational system, we must:

- \* Encourage the formation of study groups with the sole purpose of breaking away from the limitations pertaining to official classroom education.
- \* Encourage students and teachers to initiate and/or participate in community-based, co-operative projects with the aim of enhancing their respect and commitment in working within the community.
- \* Increase the critical awareness of parents on questions which affect the education of the child.
- \* Examine and critically assess methodologies, ideas and learning approaches that suggest alternatives to the present ones.
- \* Encourage direct participation of Black educationists in the process of research and of establishing creative responses.
- \* Implement a national project to teach the English language to all Black people. This will ensure that Azania will not be isolated from the rest of the world and will play an integral part in nation-building. English as a lingua franca allows for communication across so-called tribal, racial and ethnic barriers.
- \* Infuse science projects with a political-cultural dimension and thus prevent science education from producing morons.
- \* Initiate rural education projects which will thwart the state's intention to make the majority of Black people a pool of cheap labour.
- \* Introduce labour education programmes which help workers to understand the economy and



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