

PRAISE OF LEARNING

Learn the simplest things. For you
whose time has already come
it is never too late!
Learn your ABC's, it is not enough,
but learn them! Do not let it discourage you,
begin! You must know everything!
You must take over the leadership!

Learn, man in the asylum!
Learn, man in prison!
Learn, wife in the kitchen!
Learn, man of sixty!
Seek out the school, you who are homeless!
Sharpen your wits, you who shiver!
Hungry man, reach for the book: it is a weapon.
You must take over the leadership.

Don't be afraid of asking, brother!
Don't be won over,
see for yourself!
What you don't know yourself,
you don't know.
Add up the reckoning.
It's you who must pay it.
Put your finger on each item,
ask: how did this get here?
You must take over the leadership.

From Selected Poems by Bertolt Brecht

EDUCATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES



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FOREWORD

This collection contains articles which were published in THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL (the official organ of the Teachers' League of South Africa) as part of a series entitled "Education in other countries" which the Journal carried from July, 1984 to June, 1986.

Broadly, the countries under scrutiny may be divided into three groups: (i) "developed, Western" industrial countries, (ii) "Third World" countries which gained independence by means of a neo-colonial settlement and (iii) "Third World" countries in which the people liberated themselves through struggle.

Particularly those in the latter group deal with issues with which we in South Africa, in our search for an alternative system of education, have been grappling for a number of decades, but more particularly since 1976.

At the present time, workers, parents, teachers and students are much concerned about the need for what is popularly called "people's education". We hope that the publication of the series in this form will stimulate thought and inject new ideas into the ongoing debate in the education crisis which is central in our struggle for a system of education which will benefit all in a truly non-racial, democratic South Africa.

As the series serves only as an introduction to the study of changes which have occurred in the education systems of other countries, source material for further reading is provided.

SEPTEMBER 1986

Education in other Countries

For Change or for the Status Quo?

This new series will take a look at Education systems in various countries. For a variety of reasons, chief of which in certain instances will be the difficulty of finding detailed information, no article will convey an exhaustive picture of the system it will examine. We hope, therefore, that the articles will evoke a response from our readers in the form of information and views additional, or even contrary, to those the articles contain.

The first in the series is one of three articles that will examine the nature of the changes that have come about in education in countries that either have won their independence through the overthrow of their imperial master or have gained "independence" as a result of neo-colonial settlements such as those that have taken place in so many countries in Africa. In all ex-colonial countries a legacy of neglect, gross backwardness and selective indoctrination of collaborating classes was left by the colonial power as it moved out and handed over management of the "independent" state to the new, local executives that sprang from the liberation movements. Their efforts to bring about change in, perhaps even modernisation of, their countries demanded the overhaul of their educational systems. What they have done and what they have actually achieved cannot but be instructive. South Africa itself will need to restructure its education system as part and parcel of the process of liberation and the extension of the benefits of full democracy to all. We will have to learn from the experience of those who have gone before us.

Education in Nigeria

A university education was the philosopher's stone. It transmuted a third class clerk on a hundred and fifty a year into a civil servant on five hundred and seventy, with car and luxuriously furnished quarters at nominal rent. And the disparity in salary and amenities did not tell even half the story. To occupy a "European post" was second only to actually being a European. It raised a man from the masses to the élite whose small talk at cocktail parties was: "How's the car behaving?" (From No Longer at Ease by Chinua Achebe)

Although a work of fiction, Achebe's novel highlights many of the problems of post-independent Nigerian society and of the education system in particular. It is a society with harsh divisions between rich and poor, privileged and under-privileged, educated and illiterate, where education is a passport to upward social mobility. As such it is a society that breeds corruption and intellectual elitism. In short, it is similar to so many other Third World countries in the stranglehold of imperialism and its colonial heritage.

Background to Political and Economic Conditions

After World War II the British Colonial Administration succeeded in establishing in Nigeria a colonial economy that served as a basis for consolidating and maintaining underdevelopment. This involved systematic appropriation of the economic surplus for Britain's development, the discouragement of manufacturing, stagnation of agriculture, as well as the maintaining of mass illiteracy and sustained technological backwardness.

Nigeria gained its "independence" from Britain in 1960. Yet twenty-three years later it is still, in many essential ways, a colonial-oriented society. It has a single-export economy (oil accounts for

more than 90% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings), and in spite of its natural wealth it continues to be in a state of unhealthy dependency, with growing external debts and deficits in balance of payments. (Nigeria's most immediate need is a 3 billion dollar loan from the IMF to help it pay the interest on its existing debts.) There is mass unemployment and underemployment in the country and a low productivity of labour; a disparity in the distribution of income; and an imbalance in consumption patterns.

For almost a quarter of a century since "independence" the country has been under the heel of an indigenous lumpen-bourgeoisie. Political-military campaigns have left the most populous state in Africa reeling under tribal conflict and the richest African country north of the Limpopo mortgaged to Imperialism.

That the inequalities in the class structure of Nigerian society should be reflected in the education system is not-surprising. The two are inextricably linked. The mode of production in any society has a profound effect on its education system. In turn, the education system is crucial to the reproduction and continuation of that society's class structure.

Objectives of Education

National Policy in Education (section 3, subsection 14, 1977) sets out the objectives of Primary Education as follows:

- (a) the inculcation of permanent literacy and numeracy, and the ability to communicate effectively;
- (b) the laying of a sound basis for scientific and reflective thinking;
- (c) citizenship education as a basis for effective participation in and contribution to the life of the society;
- (d) character and moral training and the development of sound attitudes;
- (e) developing in the child the ability to adapt to his changing environment;
- (f) giving the child the opportunities for developing manipulative skills that will enable him to function effectively in the society within the limits of his capacity;
- (g) providing basic tools for the further educational advancement, including preparation for trades and crafts of the locality.

Many factors in the Nigerian social, political and economic setup have made it impossible for these objectives to be realised. A scheme funded in the main by loans from the World Bank and UNESCO was launched to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 1979. While enrolment at the Primary level did increase by 64%, the aim was far from realized, as the following figures illustrate.

	Primary	Secondary	University
Enrolment	4,97 million	507 290	32 386
1975			

1979 10.23 million 1 650 300 53 000
1981 18 million

(The figures for 1975 and 1979 are taken from *Modern Nigeria* by Arnold and that for 1981 is taken from the Nigerian Year Book 1981, which supplies no figures for Secondary and University enrolment.)

Out of a population of 70 million only about 20 million inhabitants are literate and 90% of these received no education beyond the Primary School level. What is more, only 15% of those who receive Primary School education come from the four, poorer, northern states which contain half the total population of the country. (These estimates are based on figures in Arnold's *Modern Nigeria*, 1977. No other figures are available.)

The most serious restraint on the programme to achieve Universal Primary Education was, and continues to be, the lack of manpower. There have not been enough teachers or educational administrators to execute the scheme effectively. It became necessary to recruit foreign teachers and to use university undergraduates on a one-year basis (National Youth Service Corps). However, with the Primary School population expanding at an ever-increasing rate, the manpower shortage remains critical. In addition there are overcrowding, maladministration, inadequate funding and facilities, which makes the 40-60% drop-out rate at the Primary School level quite understandable, as it also makes the fact that "... the majority of the pupils who complete Primary School education cannot communicate effectively in any language. In fact many of their teachers are not even literate ..." (Lawrence O Ocho, 1982).

Science is not examined in the entrance examination to Secondary Schools, nor in the first School-Leaving Certificate examination, because most teachers in the Primary School have little or no background in Science. It is therefore impossible to "lay a sound basis for scientific and reflective thinking" (objective b) or to equip children to "adapt to their changing environment" (objective e), which is crying out for skilled technicians and professionals in every field.

And the majority of Nigerians, having only a Primary education, are not equipped for "effective participation in the society" (objective c), except in the capacity of low-paid workers with no hope of advancement. Either that, or they join the ranks of the unemployed or the subsistence sector. (Only 40% of the available labour force is employed and 70% of these people are employed in agriculture.)

Secondary Education is neither free nor compulsory and it caters for only a fraction of the potential school-going population. It is modelled on the British traditional system and is still rooted in British culture and tradition, despite attempts at reform. It is beset by many of the problems that hamper Primary School education and is bedevilled too by rampant corruption. (Year after year there are scandals of examination paper leaks; of the falsification of results and of rackets in the issuing of certificates.)

Weaknesses Inherent in System

In an article "The factors militating against effectiveness and efficiency in our schools" (1982), L O Ocho cites as among the most serious factors poor planning, government directives (for example the withdrawal by the Federal Government of direct financial support for UPE and Technical Education), and the inadequacies of educational administrators.

Inefficient Administration

The co-ordinating, planning, financing and direction of the total education programme are placed in the hands of the State Ministry, Department, or Directorate of Education. At a local level there is a supervisory Councillor for Education. He is usually a government appointee and is also chairman of the Education Committee. He interviews, appoints, transfers and disciplines teachers and headmasters; supervises and directs headmasters on professional matters. As a political appointee he often makes decisions guided by political considerations, and victimization of teaching staff on purely political grounds is not uncommon.

The knowledge explosion demands that administrators be equipped themselves so as to be capable of deciding what should be taught. How-

ever, it is a fact that government appointees at all levels of the education system often can barely read or write, so do not realise the implications of their limited political and educational vision. (Information from Ocho, 1982)

There are eight universities in Nigeria, staffed largely by expatriates. At these institutions of higher learning the emphasis "is still based on bourgeois scholasticism aimed at preserving colonial mental dependency" (Arnold 1977). In fact, at the tertiary level the emphasis tends to be on white-collar rather than on technical education, and "when the College of Technology was first opened there was no one to take advantage of it." (Arnold 1977)

Unfulfilled Expectations

This cursory examination of the education system will explain why in Nigeria there is widespread dissatisfaction in many quarters: among parents, pupils, employers, church and political leaders. (An opinion poll quoted by the Nigeria Union of Teachers in 1969 showed that 98% of parents were dissatisfied with Primary School education. And Dr N A Nwagwu (reported in Ocho 1982) puts the dissatisfaction down to the fact that "people are led to expect too much out of the educational institutions. They feel frustrated and disappointed and this results in the age-old practice of blaming the schools for the ills and failures of society."

These frustrations arise because the education system raises high expectations and encourages aspirations that many people will be unable to achieve. Parents are led to believe that education will secure for their children highly-paid white-collar jobs and consequent material comfort.

The media play a strong role in spreading and reinforcing these misapprehensions and it is the belief that education will counter the disequalizing forces inherent in the economic system. However, there can be no piecemeal reform of the education system. Such a reform must go hand in hand with a radical revision of the overall economic and political structure because, as has been mentioned, all these are inextricably linked.

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Education in other Countries

Mozambique

After the Palace revolution in Portugal in 1974, the new regime offered Mozambique independence within a Portuguese Commonwealth. Recognizing that this would not bring the country total political and economic independence of the kind for which it had been waging an armed struggle against its Colonial masters since 1964, FRELIMO (the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) rejected this offer. In 1975 FRELIMO made a formal Declaration of Independence by which Mozambique cut all ties with Lisbon. After that all aspects of Mozambican activity has been directed towards sustaining the struggle and completing the revolution from Colonialism to a new socialist society. The organisation of Education has been an important and integral aspect of this continuing struggle.

The Colonial Era

To the time of the declaration of independence in 1975 Mozambique had endured the yoke of Portuguese colonialism for 500 years. The savage oppression and exploitation that had been practised had caused untold suffering and misery. The plunder of Mozambique and its people had resulted in poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. The harsh colonial rule had brought about severe debasement in the quality of education; the Mozambican people had been denied the benefits of 20th century technology and culture; and they had been driven apart, with tribalism and ethnicity forced upon them. General illiteracy was the order, and the use of so many dialects compounded the tribal divisions. Racism was inherent in the system of colonial-fascism.

Towards a New Society

The political, economic and social deprivation at the time of independence was so great that fewer than 1% of the people had an elementary education. FRELIMO was aware that winning political power was merely the first of the vital steps in the struggle for liberation. A new quality of man and woman would have to be evolved to consolidate and defend the revolutionary gains. A new quality of human being was required for the building of the new society: one free of ignorance, of oppression and exploitation of man by man. To give meaning to the watchword 'a luta continua' it was essential to train and educate cadres that would be capable of advancing the struggle. If the revolution was to be successful these cadres would have to transform Mozambique from its colonial-bourgeois past to a socialist future; from a society based on domination to one founded on democracy; from reaction to revolution. FRELIMO has been attempting to develop a system of education capable of serving Mozambique in this way.

Education for Democracy

To break down the old, colonial, attitudes and allegiances; to rid Mozambique of the legacy of fascism and extractive capitalism, it has been necessary to educate the entire nation. FRELIMO recognizes that schools are vitally important centres for generating and sustaining change; for creating new attitudes and ideas; and for building new allegiances. The schools have to produce the *continuadores* of the revolution, those who will sustain and advance the process of change from the pre-independence society to the democratic, socialist order envisaged for the country and its people.

To be effective the school has to be closely linked with the rest of the community. It has thus become the duty of the various Sections (see later) at each school to forge these links and to organise joint initiatives with the community. These include: literacy sessions with local illiterate workers, peasants and their families; work sessions with the communal villages, such as helping with the harvesting of cotton, maize, cashew nuts and sunflowers; organizing cultural or political events; joint sanitation and cleaning sessions; work sessions in factories and hospital; and gathering information to compile the unwritten local history.

Students and teachers participate in these projects. Many students run literacy classes in the afternoons after school. Furthermore, students and teachers often spend weekends and school vacations on co-operative farms and in the factories. The barrier between the school and the community is thus being broken down, hence the maxim: 'Let's make the entire country a school where everybody learns and everybody teaches!' That people should be educated during the process of struggle, with learning being combined with teaching and theory with practical experience, is a fundamental.

Reconstructing of Education System

The new education system has been structured to cater for the needs of Mozambique. There are FOUR aspects to it.

1. The General Education System

(a) Primary Education

Children enter school at the age of seven. The first seven years of schooling are compulsory. Pupils may then leave school to work in the factories or on the farms, or they could do a Secondary course. The third alternative is enrolment at a Technical school.

(b) Secondary Education

This is divided into two phases. An initial three-year course is followed by a two-year pre-university course. The final year of Secondary education is the equivalent of the British O levels or the South African matriculation examinations in academic standard.

The Curriculum

The schools have a common curriculum. Primary education begins with Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Science and History are introduced in the third year. The Secondary school curriculum contains the Sciences, History, Geography, Mathematics, Technical Drawing, Portuguese (the First language) and English (the Second language). FRELIMO chose Portuguese as the principal medium and First language not only for its potential as a teaching instrument, but for its potential as a unifying agent, as it would cut across the tribal dialects.

English is learnt through direct dialogue. The emphasis has moved away from the teaching of grammar and mechanical learning to oral English. Students work in groups, exchanging words in conversation and language drills. A minimum of grammatical terminology is employed.

A Marxist interpretation is given of subjects such as the Sciences and History, and emphasis is placed on the economic aspects of Geography. Political education proceeds at all levels, as does manual work.

The normal school day runs from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. Students return to school for a further three hours, from 3 o'clock to 6 o'clock, to engage in a variety of extra-mural activities. Many schools run three shifts to accommodate the vast increase in student numbers since independence.

2. Technical Schools

After completing the seven-year Primary school course pupils may enter a Secondary Technical school. Tertiary technical courses are offered to students who have completed three years of general Secondary schooling. Technical schools offer a wide range of subjects. These vary from shoemaking and welding to journalism and agriculture. Agricultural schools offer theoretical and practical training in Agriculture.

Technical and Agricultural schools are given priority in Mozambique. They receive the ablest pupils and are given a disproportionately large share of the available resources, this reflecting the most urgent needs of Mozambique. More Technical and Agricultural schools are being built than ones for academic education. However, certain schools function at the same time as Technical, Commercial and Academic (Licieu) institutions. The emphasis on Technical and Agricultural schools became essential in Mozambique in the wake of the exodus of skilled Portuguese workers and technicians after 1975 and because of the ravages to the country's economy.

3. Literacy Campaigns

The FRELIMO government instituted universal literacy campaigns to combat an illiteracy rate of over 90% at Independence, the deplorable legacy of colonial rule. These campaigns are carried out in work-places, in schools and communal villages. Students organise and run them. Literacy is regarded as essential for enhancing the understanding and broadening the vision of the Mozambican worker. Moreover, it plays a decisive role in helping to unite the people of Mozambique and welding them into a single nation.

4. Adult Education

Adult education programmes are run at many schools each day from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. The Literacy programme has been incorporated into the Adult Education structures. The Adult Education programmes make it possible for the more advanced workers to qualify for technical and university education.

Examinations

Students have to sit for a number of tests and examinations, this being regarded as very necessary for preventing a drop in the standard of education following the departure since Independence of large numbers of Portuguese teachers. The examinations, which emphasize individual achievement, are resented by many pupils and are seen as a contradiction of the doctrine of collective work and comradeship. It happens often that students who participate fully in organisational work and cultural activities do so at the expense of their academic commitments and run the risk of performing poorly in their examinations. This is a problem that has yet to be resolved.

Staffing the Schools

There is a chronic shortage of teachers in Mozambique. Many senior students have to double as teachers. In 1977 Mozambique's entire senior school population was given a six-month teacher-training course and sent back to the schools to teach. Prospective university students are required to teach for two years before entering a university.

The School as a Democratic Centre

When Mozambique declared its independence in 1975 confusion and instability prevailed at many schools. Those in areas liberated by FRELIMO before independence were the notable exceptions. They had provided the testing ground for the educational system that FRELIMO introduced after 1975. The State quickly took over all the schools in Mozambique, including Private and Mission institutions. New schools are being built in many areas.

In 1976 'Dynamizing Groups' were formed at community, village, factory, work-place and school level. The groups concerned with schools initiated the reorganisation of the education system. They were the main political structures in the schools up to 1977, when they were replaced by Political Committees. Despite very great effort, however, many schools remain ill-equipped and understaffed. Unqualified teachers and senior students have had to step into the breach.

FRELIMO stresses collective school management as an essential part of the policy of collective work. Students are encouraged to participate actively in the administration of the school and to share responsibility. The organisation of the school therefore becomes the joint responsibility of the students, the teachers and the other school workers — administrative staff, caretakers and maintenance workers.

Several structures have been created to ensure that the schools play their part in the struggle.

The Turma (Class)

This forms the base of the democratic school and is its most important structure. On average a turma consists of 30 to 40 pupils, the number varying from school to school. Pupils are not streamed so that a turma should consist of pupils of comparable ability. The pupils (of varying ability) of a turma are divided into six groups, each with a combination of more and less advanced members. The pupils in each group work together at their academic tasks, in the school vegetable gardens and orchards, at cleaning the school and in cultural activity. Collective work forms the basis of most school activities.

The turma initiates activities and organisation and plays a big role in maintaining discipline in the classroom. It resolves a number of school, social and personal problems by collective discussion and participation. Problems vary, and include those caused by the poverty of certain pupils and the comparative wealth of others. Racism, sexual and class discrimination — among the vestiges of the old order — are vigorously tackled.

Each group within the turma elects a representative and from these group representatives is elected one turma representative. This student liaises between the members of the turma and the other school structures. She or he is present when the turma is being discussed by the teachers. Each turma elects a 'director' from among the teachers. The director, the turma representative and the group representatives together form the turma council. The council meets weekly and is responsible for dealing with all the social, disciplinary and administrative problems of the turma.

The Sections

Seven Sections are selected by the school Directive Commission (see later) after each turma has made its recommendations. Each Section consists of the member responsible for it and other members from among the teachers, students and school workers. In addition, the turma selects an 'activist' from its ranks for each Section. It is the special job of these 'activists' to motivate their colleagues to initiate and support the work and projects undertaken by the Section.

The Pedagogical Section co-ordinates all academic and teaching tasks. The Administrative Section deals with finance and general organisation at the school. The Section for Disciplinary and Social Affairs resolves problems to which the turma has failed to find the answers. The Section for Health, Hygiene and Cleaning co-ordinates school cleaning tasks and runs a first-aid room, vaccination sessions and health education programmes. The Production Section manages agricultural activities by students on land allotted to the school, and organizes other manual work. The Section for Cultural Matters organizes plays, poems and songs for presentation on special days. Most of these are written and performed by the students. Regularly updated newsboards are features of most classrooms and schools. A Sport Section organizes all sporting activity.

The Directive Commission

This is the highest structure in the school. Each year teachers elect the Directive Commission, which consists of three teachers. One is responsible for political matters, another for matters of education and the third for school administration. These three teachers are allowed a slightly decreased teaching load. Any problems unresolved by the Sections are forwarded to the Directive Commission. The essential communication between the head and the base in the school structure is maintained.

There is no hierarchy in the teaching staff. There are no principals, deputy principals or heads of departments in Mozambique. All teachers are paid the same salary.

The School Council

This body consists of representatives of all the other structures. Its function is to analyse and evaluate all aspects of the school. Teachers, school-workers, and students participate fully in frank discussions which may continue for three to four days. The Council makes recommendations for the planning of the school's future.

The Political Committee

Each school has a Political Committee, which co-ordinates its political activity and organizes the

political education.

Conclusion

The new education system in Mozambique has made students aware of their capabilities and hitherto latent potential. Both the school and the community have benefited. Students are applying their developing scientific methods in agricultural production, production in the factories and in the construction and expansion of communal villages and suburbs. There has been a tremendous output of literature — poetry, plays — and other forms of art.

Relationships built at school — non-sexist, non-racist, non-tribalist, collective attitudes — are carried into post-school social and political life. The students, teachers and workers who are transforming education in Mozambique are themselves being transformed in the process. Students serve their political and democratic apprenticeship in the schools and transfuse these ideas, attitudes and skills into the broader society. The FRELIMO government's encouragement and its political contribution to the education system has been inestimable.

Democracy and discipline in the Mozambican school is dependent on mass organisation and participation. Schools of up to 3 000 students are managed using this system. Its base, the turma, plays a vital role in this regard. It forms the pivot in the new education system, which is the complete antithesis of the old, colonial, system. However, development of the new system has been uneven. Variations from school to school reflect the different socio-economic conditions and differences in social and political consciousness and in initiative among students, teachers and workers.

The Mozambican leaders have with great zeal set about the task of creating the conditions for the healthy growth and development of the education system. They have applied a sound ideological approach to the problem. However, a total revolution requires more than just the political will to achieve it. The progress and success of the education system depend ultimately on both a sound political approach and a firm economic base. In this latter regard Mozambique is particularly unfortunate in that the resources for establishing such a base are few. Floods, droughts, the guerrilla activities of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), generally believed to be sustained by the destabilisation policy of the South African government, have made the situation immeasurably worse. If anything threatens to check the momentum of the struggle and the development of education in Mozambique, it is the lack of the material base essential for sustaining the revolution.

Algeria — Not Yet Uhuru

Education in other Countries: III

The Democratic Republic of Algeria gained its independence in 1962. It had been under the yoke of French Imperialism for more than a hundred years. The cruel and bloody wars that were waged to subdue the people of Algeria in the early 19th century and the process of land robbery which turned the fertile valleys over to French settlers remind one of the similar processes that took place in South Africa at about the same time. The French defeat in the early years of World War II and the general upsurge of anti-colonial feeling after the war shook Algeria as it did other countries on the northern shores of Africa. The French mixed savage repression of militant groups with a string of concessions to draw into its administration Algerians who were willing to collaborate. They even desegregated most of the primary schools, allowing Algerian and French children to enrol in the same schools.

That was in 1949. Anti-French religious movements, Algerian nationalist feeling and the radical political input of workers who had won in the hard way a political and class awareness went into a melting pot of resistance to French rule. Not to be ignored either were Algerians who had served in the French underground and the regular army, in Europe, and later in French Indo-China (Vietnam).

Five years after the fruitless French post-war efforts to buy off the more influential sectors of the oppressed Algerians, the Vietnamese scored their sensational, glorious victory over the French colonial forces at Dien Bien Phu. That was in 1954, on November 1. On that same day the National Liberation Front (FLN) launched its armed struggle against the French. For the next eight years there was to follow what is conceded to have been a horrifying, brutal war. The rage of an Algerian people who had been mercilessly humiliated collided with the arrogance and savagery of a settler (*colon*) population of mainly French immigrants, backed by an army that grew in eight years from 20 000 to an immense 500 000 in 1962. Ironically, the conflict was to provide more Algerians with an 'education' than had been the case in the 150 years of French misrule.

Informal Education — For Liberation

Of a population of about 12 million in 1954-62 more than 150 000 Algerians and 15 000 French, together with their variety of 'pandoere', were slaughtered; more than 2 million people were displaced from their homes. When they failed to quell the rebellion the *colons* and the army revolted in 1958; France itself was driven to turmoil. It was at that stage that de Gaulle returned to power to restore the authoritarian rule for which he became only too well known. The conflict gave rise to two unusual informal educational changes. Germaine Tellion in 'Women in the Mediterranean' describes how young women students of 'orthodox families' abandoned their veils and donned jeans to assist their countrymen in many rôles during the war of liberation. They left the harem to join the maquis (the underground) she relates. This was in direct contrast to decades of

French policy *not* to encourage girls to gain any literacy-based education — unless they were daughters of the *colons*, of course. Even if the break-through had been gained at great cost in human lives and suffering it was significant; in the next twenty years more and more women were to move through the schools and universities in an effort to wipe out the backlog of illiteracy, inequality and poverty with which the Algerians were to be saddled by the deserting French.

The second influence was of quite a different kind. Algeria suffered a 90% illiteracy rate among the oppressed. The written word was meaningless to the majority of the population. The FLN, however, had not only established governments in exile in Tunisia and in Egypt. It conducted *Voice of Algeria* broadcasts to rally the masses against their foreign masters. About this time the *transistor radio* began to make its mark. Hundreds of thousands of instruments were dumped in North African markets, but they became a vital means of communication between the *Voice of Algeria* and the often scattered groups of resisters spread across a country nearly four times the size of France itself.

Writers like Frantz Fanon, Alister Horne, Robin Hallett and others emphasise also another kind of change that came across large numbers of Algerians: they got to know of Dien Bien Phu, of the Bandung Conference of 1955, of other revolts against the colonial powers. They became aware of themselves as of a wider world in which, among other things, their French persecutors were being hammered into utter defeat. It raised their morale in the midst of the most dreadful butchery of their numbers by the French armies, in the midst of the most terrible campaign of torture conducted against urban and rural Algerians alike. *Gangrene*, banned in this country, records these tragic episodes in the Algerian war. Germaine Tellion observes that conservative fathers turned from consternation at the change that was brought about in their daughters' social rôle to patriotic pride in what, unveiled, they were doing for a free Algeria.

Before and After the Revolution

During the French conquest of Algeria virtually all agricultural production (nearly all of wheat and all of wine) was monopolised by the settler class. Iron ore and Phosphate rock were mined for export. Cheap mining and farming labour and cheap domestic and menial workers in commerce were what the *colons* required. And thus, while education was compulsory for all French, Italian, German and Jewish settlers, fewer than 1 in 12 Algerian children ever enrolled in a primary school. Up to 1952 the French government did not devote a single franc to the education of the Algerian people. Millions of Algerians led the lives of nomads or inhabited villages outside the 'frayed edges' of towns. There children attended religious schools to receive their education through the Koran. Of the social conditions pervading these towns Fanon says that they were "towns on their knees, hungry towns", for in typical colonial conquest fashion the French occupiers had destroyed the economy of the various peoples to force them to enter into the pool of cheap labour. On the other hand, the *colons* enjoyed a standard of living higher on average than their countrymen in France. From the primary school their children could go to a Lycee or High school and then to the University of Algiers or to a university in

France; or they could attend special vocational schools catering for commerce, Fine Arts, Agriculture, Hydrography, among other subjects. The only Algerians whom the French induced to pursue their education were the sons of the chiefs, so that these future co-administrators could remain 'French in language, thought and spirit'. A minority joined them only to find themselves in their search for employment trapped within the system and having to carry out French policy. They were dubbed the 'beni-oui-oui' — the 'yes-men'.

To get some picture of the way in which this system made caricatures of scholars it is worthwhile reading Fanon's *Studies in Dying Colonialism*. It was his forceful rejection of 'white masks' over 'black skins' that gave a great impetus to the cult of 'black consciousness' and the 'conscientising processes' through which the cultural domination of a foreign oppressor could be overthrown in individuals and communities.

A number of male students attended the Medresas to get a 'secondary' education, but the doctrinaire religious bias of the Medresas virtually shut the half-open door to the university of Algiers where classes in Arabic were most often empty. To speak of an educational system in Algeria before World War II is to stretch one's capacity for belief beyond reasonable limits. It is reckoned that of 2 500 000 children of school-going age only 300 000 were in school and most of them would not reach beyond the first three years. They learned the Koran, simple number and simple Arabic script in the Koranic schools. The Lycées taught the curricula adopted in high schools in metropolitan France so that, as one writer points out, an Algerian pupil fortunate enough to reach the Lycée would unfortunately get to know more about the Alps and the exploits of Napoleon than he would about the Atlas mountains and the details of his own country.

When the revolution had ended in 1962, of the million *colons* in whose hands the economy had rested only 70 000 remained. The rest had fled, helped by the banks to plunder the country before they left, taking with them their accumulated wealth and the skills which they had hogged for themselves. The agricultural system collapsed, it could not be run by the poorly trained products of the 'farm schools' — the French Kromme Rhees — in which farm labourers had been trained to carry out the orders of the farmers. The secret army organisation (OAS) conducted a scorched earth policy and a renewed campaign of terror before they were thrown out.

The French Connection

But the French government leapt in with a programme of neo-colonial assistance and reform. Under Ben Bella the Democratic Republic of Algeria had been established but the fact that the national movement for liberation had been conducted by disparate factions temporarily united in the FLN was soon to be exploited by reactionary religious factions and ambitious army officers. Within two years an army junta expelled and imprisoned Ben Bella and installed Col. Houari Boumedienne in his place. For every franc of help the Algerian radicals got from Russia and the Chinese the de Gaulle government contributed at least two, so that Algeria was soon enmeshed in the 'debt trap' that became a brake upon its development. Moreover, the wreckage of war and the lack of policy and the means to carry it out saw the government lumbering along with half-

hearted land reforms. The semi-collective farming pattern proved cumbersome so that for the first ten years agriculture suffered retrogression. It emphasised the problem with which all ex-colonial countries are faced: having to gear the economy as a *whole* — including its political and educational structures — for production, to produce the economic surplus from which further growth must be provided for. With Boumedienne and his army and priestly hangers-on around it became so much more difficult. However, the discovery of rich oil deposits and gas reserves of astronomical dimensions in the Saharan provinces in the south brought to Algeria some of the wealth she needed for development. Income per head of population trebled, but such was the state of backwardness in which the French had held Algeria that most of Algeria remains poor and underdeveloped to this day.

On the Way

Yet there has been dramatic change compared with the pre-revolution days. Where the French had spent nothing on education for the Algerians, the budget in education during the last four-year (1981-1984) plan rose to 2½ billion rand-equivalent, some 12% of the national budget. 150 million rand-equivalent is spent on training teaching, technical and administrative workers. The university of Algiers has some 60 000 students! And five other university centres have been created in such cities as Oran and Constantine. 3.6 million children are at primary schools provided for by the state. 350 000 secondary pupils were at ordinary and vocational schools where the curricula have been modernised to train Algerians to run the economy and administration. Significantly, much of the shadow of the past still hangs over the schools: only one out of every three secondary pupils is a girl — reflecting the difficulty of eradicating the social and religious bias against their further education. One of the constructive by-products has been the development of medical services and the increased supply of hospital personnel. The radio, trusted information medium during the revolution, has doubled in number to 3.5 million and the Algerians had their television services some three years before South Africans got theirs. The oil industry has not merely provided income: it has provided a base for the development of industry which Algeria did not have before 1954. On the other hand, because of its history of gross illiteracy, the country can boast only four daily newspapers with a total circulation of less than 250 000! This is a country with a population nearing 18 million, of which only some 1 million are in the remote, inhospitable southern desert regions, once the haunts of the foreign legion.

The enthusiasm for education generated during the revolutionary years is reflected in the huge university populations, the vast increase in school enrolments, which are nearing 85%, and the fact that the use of both French and Arabic as media is encouraged creates a potential that signifies that Algeria is on the way. It has not arrived yet. Its revolution was interrupted: it is incomplete. It remains in economic terms a client of imperialism. It relies on its exports of raw materials — oil, wine, wheat, iron ore, phosphates, wool — for its development. If this remains so the schools will reflect this. At this stage, however, despite the fact that Algeria's desert peoples and many nomadic groups in the older developed areas have still to be brought into the orbit of modernisation. Algeria has taken the first steps to throw off the burden of much of colonial backwardness in its school system. It has to go much further if it is not to have only 300 000 Secondary school pupils to the 3.6 million in the primary school. Those figures tell a story in themselves.

Development and Education in Tanzania

Education in other Countries (IV)

Education is never neutral: it can be used as an instrument either for liberation and development, or for enslavement and as a weapon for colonization. As Tanganyika, first a German colony and then a British mandate territory, Tanzania was under-developed and colonized, and was thus subjected to the latter kind of education. Now, as a republic, pursuing a Socialist strategy of development, Tanzania is striving to develop an education policy which both reflects the Socialism she espouses and is a progressive and dynamic force in building that Socialism.

THE COLONIAL ERA

Tanzania was colonized by Germany in 1885 — as part of German East Africa — and later, in 1920, after the Treaty of Versailles in which Germany had to renounce all her overseas territories, Britain gained control over Tanganyika Territory. Tanganyika remained under British domination until 1962 (when it became a Republic and Nyerere was elected president), despite a series of shifts in power beginning in 1953, when Nyerere returned to the country and became the president of the Tanganyika African Association, which was in effect an association of civil servants. In 1954 this association became the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), a more specifically political organisation. The shifts in power until the hand-over of complete national control to Nyerere went without much opposition from the British for two reasons: firstly, they were rather indifferent to the territory as greater profits were being reaped from the adjacent Uganda and Kenya and, secondly, Nyerere was considered by many in Whitehall as "our man in Tanganyika".

The nature of this transference of power from the colonizer to the colonized is an important feature in relation to Tanzania's subsequent development. In *Socialist Development and Public Investment in Tanzania 1964-1973* W. E. Clarke notes: "... the ease of the independence struggle (the result of British indifference to Tanganyika) meant that the party was weak and did not develop the discipline and depth of support to really organise the people for a transformation to Socialism". Indeed, it has been noted that Tanzanian Socialism was "imposed" by a benign educated élite (Nyerere and company), whose chief concerns were the re-establishment of equality within their country. Since independence did not result from a mass struggle guided by the ideology of Socialism, the practical implications of a Socialist policy were never *really* (as opposed to notionally) understood by the people. This lack of understanding and of urgent commitment to Socialism by the mass of the people presented the new Tanzanian government with very real problems when they tried to institute educational policies which were an expression of their Socialist intent and which they hoped would encourage a Socialist perspective amongst the masses.

(1) Economic Policies

Concomitant with this political domination by colonialist powers were the economic policies which they instituted: namely, the under-development of the Tanganyikan economy so that it functioned to serve not the needs of its own population, but the interests of the colonial powers. This process was started by the Germans and continued by the British. Once again, the nature of this economic under-development is important: firstly, because it imposed on the Tanganyikan economy a structure which made it externally responsive — and thus internationally vulnerable

— by the introduction of export cash crops (rubber, sisal, cotton, coffee); and, secondly, because a hierarchy of regions was formed which consisted of (a) the metropolises, which were cash crop areas and major towns; (b) the dependencies, which were the areas surrounding the metropolises, supplying them with food; (c) the peripheries, which were areas without cash crops and supplied labour to the metropolises and/or stagnated economically. And thirdly, but most important, because it laid the foundation for the class formations which subsequently developed in Tanzania.

Within the agricultural sector there were great regional disparities and differences in economic activity and consequently in "wealth", "status" and even expectation, so that even the social class "peasant" was not a homogeneous entity. Since 95% of the Tanzanian population are described as "peasant" this introduces an added consideration into Socialist development plans which seek to reconcile "growth" with "equality". What kind of rural development is best in these circumstances? What kind of educational plan? These are taxing questions when, because of past conditions, there are even within one social class different expectations. The above situation describes, in fact, the creation of a rural migrant work-force which became entrenched in certain areas. This, together with the fact that there was no real party organization or mass struggle leading to independence, helps to explain why there could be no mass commitment to Socialism, or Socialist plans, which did not tally with "traditional" expectations.

The situation is made more complex when the rôle of the Asian population is considered. They migrated to East Africa in the 1840's as merchant traders and subsequently dominated internal trade and finance. They were essentially traders of two types: (a) petty traders who were the rural middle-men traders; (b) large merchants who were centred in the towns. Their functions were diverse: they completed the link in the chain between African producers and firms of the mother-country or India; they bought from foreign firms the goods to be traded in the interior, and sold to them the primary products they obtained from the petty trader; they were a source of credit-buying to petty-trader and government alike. However, it must be said that "... while the Asian firms were vital to the retail trade, important in the wholesale trade, and significant in small-scale processing and manufacturing, foreign firms dominated the import trade and all large-scale manufacturing. The financial system was exclusively foreign". (Clarke)

The economic rôle played by the Asians is important, however, because through this activity they developed into the entrepreneurial class in Tanganyika. As Clarke notes, "... much of the class development which normally accompanies entry into international capitalism was thwarted by the arrival of the Asians, who, rather than the Africans, played the rôle of the dependent bourgeoisie."

(2) Education Policies

A knowledge of the background of and an insight into the political and economic development in Tanganyika are crucial for understanding the context within which colonial education policies were instituted. Consistent with this kind of capitalist under-development and class development was the entrenchment of social attitudes and values — or a *weltanschauung* consistent with a colonized mentality. "The cultural heritage of colonialism was ... the most difficult obstacle to overcome for ... it shaped the pattern of African demand for education and the prevailing conception of what it was to be educated." (B Williamson: *Education, Social Structure and Development*).

In 1925 a Memorandum of the Advisory Committee on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa elucidated the following: "Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting these where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution." Within this context three aims were defined: (i) "... to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life." (ii) "... to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of Native industries, the improvement of health, the training of people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service." (iii) "... the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race." These aims express the — at best — "liberal" patronage displayed by the civil servants in Whitehall towards the people of Tanganyika — and, at worst, their savage racism and arrogance. It is obviously nonsense to talk of "the improvement of agriculture, the development of Native industries" when this kind of economic development — and any kind of social development which might have flowed from this — had been distorted by the capitalism of German and British colonialism. From subsequent policy statements — all phrased in liberal rhetoric — one gets the impression that the colonial office in London was trying to articulate a policy which (a) kept the "Native" in his place in the rural shamba, but (b) would also train a corps élite who could be "trustworthily" used by the colonial administration while (c) providing education — albeit the very minimum of rural primary education — which would not be a drain on financial resources, since up to 1940 it was the economic policy of the British government that "a colony should have only those services which it can afford to maintain out of its own resources."

Consistent with this overview, the schooling that was provided in Tanganyika during the colonial period was provided by primary mission schools which taught agriculture, the 3 Rs and community studies; by central schools staffed by expatriate teachers, which provided courses leading to employment in government service, commercial concerns or to trades. There was also a special training school at Tabora for the sons of chiefs for it was

considered that "... provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility." But, as Mbilinyi notes, "... The élite of Tabora were trained to be a subordinate group of administrative officers within the colonial structure, not the ruling stratum of the dominant class. Whereas at Eton a deliberate effort was made to develop a national *esprit de corps*, at Tabora the colonialist educationalists intended their students to identify themselves according to tribal divisions ... where-

as the youth at Eton learned Classics, the Tabora students learned book-keeping, typing, and office routine in preparation for taking up jobs in government offices."

In 1950 Middle Schools were introduced, again with the emphasis on agriculture, but they were also a way of selecting pupils for the coveted, but extremely minimal, secondary education.

Three Main Functions of Colonial Education

Williamson identified 3 main functions of colonial education — which he saw as an integral and conscious part of colonial policy: (a) education for adaptation, (b) education for control and (c) the devaluation of culture. He quoted the Director of Education, Rivers Smith, who in 1925 said: "... At present we have a healthy rivalry and a growing race consciousness amongst the African and a certain feeling of resentment that the Asians get so many of the 'plums'. In my opinion co-education might conceivably weaken this healthy and natural rivalry and eventually lead to making common cause for political ends." This espousal of the ancient imperialist dogma of divide and rule was further supplemented in the "form of the school curriculum, teaching practices, punishment procedures." The evidence is that English was the dominant medium of instruction in schools: the academic syllabuses were Eurocentric in approach and, for all its pronouncements, the colonial administration failed to train sufficient Tanganyikan teachers, so that colonial education as a whole was conveyed through the medium of the colonial expatriate teacher.

In sum, therefore, Williamson maintains that: "... Colonial education was not only selective in who would be given access to available schools, it was selective in its manipulation of the ideas to which Africans would be given access, and gave Africans only limited access to their own literature and culture." At independence, therefore, Tanzania inherited an economy that had been under-developed by colonial powers, a people divided by class and race, and an education system which reflected this nexus: one "... which was racially divided, under-resourced and incapable of meeting either popular demand for education or the needs of the economy and government for high level manpower." (Williamson) Only one quarter of all children who had access to primary education could expect to reach higher grades, and of those only one-third were able to go on to secondary school. "... Those who attended primary schools comprised only 3% of the total age-group." To be continued

Development and Education in Tanzania (2)

Education in other Countries (IV)

In the first part of this article, Development and Education in Tanzania (the fourth in our series on Education in Other Countries), we outlined the legacy that 'independent' Tanzania was burdened with from her colonial past: an economy that reflected her deliberate underdevelopment by first her German and then her British colonisers; a people divided in terms of class and 'race'; and an education system that reflected these, namely, one that was 'racially' divided, suffered from a lack of resources and was incapable of meeting either the people's demand for education or the needs of the economy or the government's need of a high level manpower. This, then, was the context in which Nyerere had to frame his educational policies when he took over the reins of 'independent' Tanzania.

EDUCATIONAL PROVISION AT INDEPENDENCE

In "Tanzania: Revolution by Education" Resnick gives the following outline of educational facilities in Tanzania at independence.

Primary Education

Primary education consists of 7 standards (8 until 1966) and children enter between the ages of 6 and 8, though since Nyerere's statement calling for Education for Self-Reliance the minimum entry level has been 7 years. (The rationale for this was that students could finish primary schooling at an age when they could enter directly into productive rural labour.)

There are selection processes at 2 points: only 50% of children between the ages 6 to 8 gain entry to standard 1, and there is an examination in rural schools at the end of standard 4, which prevents 75% of children from continuing. The selectivity of the system is exacerbated by the fact that fees must be paid for primary schooling and they become progressively higher with the level of education. This, together with the standard 4 examination, contributes to the fact that only 25% of children who begin primary school (which is only $\frac{1}{2}$ the 6-8 population) complete the full 7 years of primary schooling, and that less than 14% of all the primary-school-age children are in primary attendance.

Secondary Education

The system accepts only 1 out of 8 children who complete Primary school education and these figures are controlled in accordance with the manpower needs of the country. The diagram below indicates the structure of the secondary school system:

The Secondary School System	
QUALIFYING EXAMINATION	
POST-PRIMARY	FORM 1
	2
	3
	4
QUALIFYING EXAMINATION FOR CAMBRIDGE OVERSEAS SCHOOL CERTIFICATE	
SENIOR SECONDARY	FORM 5
	6
EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE	

The Cambridge certificate is a prerequisite for Senior Secondary school and most higher-waged

employment. In 1966 there were 4 700 Form 4 graduates and 22% of these continued to Form 5. About 760 students completed the full 6-year course in 1966.

Higher Education

In 1967, 887 Tanzanians were enrolled in the University of East Africa (comprised of colleges at Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala). Selection is based on manpower requirements. A 3-year degree course is taken, with an examination at the end of the first year to determine whether students may proceed, and at the end of the third year in order to decide whether they qualify for the degree. The college was started only in 1962, with the opening of the Law Faculty. The Faculty of Arts was opened in 1964, and the Science Faculty in 1965. This then was the national situation which confronted Nyerere when he was elected president of the Republic of Tanzania in 1962. In what follows the connection between politics, economics and ideology and the practical implications of this nexus for educational policy are outlined in brief.

Tanzania and Socialism

Nyerere espoused the ideology of Socialism when he took over, but as has been shown from the colonial history of Tanganyika, and the subsequent development of classes, this Socialism was not a mass movement. Nyerere's was not so-called Scientific Socialism based on Marxism-Leninism, but rather a Socialism based on the idea of "equality". Clarke maintains that for Nyerere the basic difference between Socialism and Capitalism lay not in the method of producing wealth, but in the distribution of that wealth. Government policy therefore reflected this view of "socialism" and government development plans differed little from the development plans of other African countries not committed to Socialism. This was expressed in the economy by a commitment to obtaining high private investment in capital-intensive, technological, industrial projects. The corollary to this in the field of Education was a commitment to secondary and post-secondary education. The reasons for this choice of emphasis were two-fold: (a) it reflected the grave shortage of skilled manpower at the time of independence and (b) it reflected the model of development which Nyerere at this time envisaged for Tanzania, namely, development via industrialization. This programme was "successful" in so far as it tried to satisfy its economic demands to supply better educated manpower. In 1962 there were only 1 950 Form 4 graduates, and only 199 Form 6 graduates, and in 1963 there were only 23 Tanzanian graduates from the University of East Africa. By 1972 there were 7 300 Form 4 gra-

duates (increased $3\frac{1}{2}$ times); 1 600 Form 6 graduates (increased 8 times); 650 University of East Africa graduates. However, the cutting down of the primary intake exacerbated problems for secondary schooling.

This and other indicators were the cause of grave concern about whether the ideals of Socialism were being instituted. Nyerere became concerned that "equality" was being sacrificed for "growth". Williamson notes that a series of factors in the mid-sixties pushed the TANU leadership into a new position: (a) the Tanzanian economy had not grown as had been expected; (b) political discontent threatened TANU leadership; (c) . . . "In the field of education, parental dissatisfaction over the failure of primary school graduates to gain secondary school places resulted in demonstrations throughout the country in which many education officers were besieged by angry parents demanding school places for their children. In the field of higher education, the reluctance of students to take part in the National Service Campaign . . . led the President to dismiss some 300 students from the University and forced into the open the issue of elitist attitudes in Tanzanian education." These developments led Nyerere to reassess social developments in Tanzania and culminated in two major policy statements *The Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self-Reliance*, published in January 1967, which is an explicit statement of TANU's socialist ideology, and *Education for Self-Reliance* (March '67), in which Nyerere outlined the Educational Policy which was consistent with the declared Socialism of the Arusha Declaration.

EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

In this Nyerere gave an overview of Tanzanian society, which he acknowledged to be rural and poor, and which would remain like this for many years to come. In view of this, he maintained that the educational system should be such that it served the rural needs of the people and the economy. He outlined four main weaknesses of the colonial system: (a) that it was elitist in so far as the emphasis was placed on urban Secondary schooling which was seen as an escape out of rural poverty; (b) it divorced children from the world in which they would have to live and work — this was especially the case in Secondary schools which were mainly boarding institutions; (c) it fostered a respect for book-learning which undermined the knowledge of the people themselves; (d) it removed the youth from direct productive work.

Nyerere maintained that this state of affairs was insupportable for a poor country trying to build socialism. In view of this he made the following proposals: (a) that the need for Primary education should be complete in itself without implying the promise of Secondary school, or employment in the modern sector, or that those children who did not achieve the latter were "failures". However, in order for it to work successfully, this policy implied the need to relate education to rural life in a more specific and dynamic way. (b) that the curriculum of schools should reflect the needs of the rural community and give the students the skills they need "to acquire the values they ought to cherish to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society, and to contribute to the improvement of life there". (c) that schools should be self-supporting communities in which students learn to live co-operatively: ". . . The teachers, workers and pupils must be members of the social unit in the same way as parents, relatives and children are the family social unit . . . And the former community must realise, just as the latter do, that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth by farming or other activities. This means that all schools, but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each school should have as an integral part of it a farm or

workshop which provides the food eaten by the community and makes some contribution to the national income."

It will be noted that this was a distinct departure from the implied aims of the first Five Year Plan which emphasised secondary schooling and industrial development, but it was a response to and direct attack upon the competitiveness, selfishness and antipathy towards the elders and manual labour on the land which was being displayed by students — especially those in Secondary and post-Secondary education. It was thus a call to bring Tanzanians onto the ideological rails of Socialism, and also to re-emphasize the economic poverty of the country and the kind of policies needed for Socialist development.

The thrust of *Education for Self-Reliance* was therefore an elucidation of Socialist ideology and the kind of education system which both would be the expression of this socialism and would help to engender it. The *Education for Self-Reliance* statement has been criticised by several commentators. In "Secondary Education and Underdevelopment in Tanzania" K. F. Hirji attacked the policy for its idealism in that it sought to change attitudes to education and through that to change society. He maintained that Nyerere's emphasis on rural education was an acceptance of the colonialist education system and the *status quo* produced by that government. "Education for Self-Reliance" is caught up in the insoluble contradiction of wishing to eliminate the class structure of Tanzanian society without any prospects for eradicating the structure of under-development. It fails to perceive the fundamental relationship between these two structures."

Williamson makes the point that "education can only be a revolutionary force in a revolutionary country. Since Tanzania's not a revolutionary society, then education can only maintain the *status quo*". Von der Muhll does not preclude the possibility that schools in Tanzania could be used as an instrument for political socialization, but he is well aware of the objective conditions which prevent this: resource starvation; expatriate teachers who by and large are not committed socialists; lack of teaching materials especially those which are Tanzanian in content; and school life itself. As regards Nyerere's emphasis on rural education, Foster raises the point that the parents' expectation of their children's schooling is that it should be academic — an attitude based on years of colonialism in which 'academic' schooling was perceived to be the passport to urban waged-employment. Given this attitude, agriculture in schools would always be considered inferior and unacceptable. Mbilinyi makes the contribution that in order for rural education to be acceptable to parents and students alike, they ". . . need to experience a new kind of education which emphasises on the one hand the scientific basis for economic and technical development, and on the other reinforces co-operative forms of work, learning and living." Rural education must therefore be seen not just as manual agricultural labour done at school. In order for this to be the case, she suggested, more ideological work needed to be done so that *Education for Self-Reliance* could be implemented more effectively. All these criticisms are well-intentioned and express concern for the state of education in Tanzania, and for the contribution that education could make towards development and socialism in their country. Whether they are critical of Nyerere's policies or not, these writers recognize that education is inextricably linked with the political and economic development of the country; that education is not neutral; and that every effort should be made by all concerned in and with education to see to it that it is a progressive — and not a retrogressive — force.

Development and Education in Tanzania (3)

Education in other Countries (IV)

This is the last instalment of our article Development and Education in Tanzania, the fourth in our series on Education in Other Countries. The first part of this article, in the December 1984 issue, outlined the background to the system — political, economic and educational — that Julius Nyerere inherited from the colonialists when he became President of an 'independent' Tanzania (then Tanganyika). The second instalment, in the Jan.-Feb. 1985 issue, dealt with Nyerere's efforts to formulate and implement an education policy that would meet the country's economic needs and make possible the attainment of his socialist ideal.

Adult Education

1970 was assigned National Education Year and was introduced by Nyerere in his New Year's Eve (31.12.69) broadcast to the nation. The aims of adult education were: (a) to awaken people from resignation and fatalism and give them a vision of what was possible; (b) to train the people in diverse skills which would be useful in their daily lives; (c) "the third objective must be for everyone to understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance. And we must learn about the plans for national economic advance, so that we can ensure that we all play a part in making them a success, and that we can all benefit from them."

Part of the campaign was an adult literacy campaign based on the methods of Paulo Freire. At first six districts were selected for an intensified literacy campaign to ensure that illiteracy disappeared by December 1971, the tenth anniversary of independence. At the Biennial Party Conference in 1971 it was resolved that the entire nation had to work for total eradication of illiteracy by the end of 1975. Evaluation of progress showed that by October 1974 over three million adults had enrolled in adult literacy classes. Under a National Advisory Committee on Adult Education similar committees were formed at regional, district, division, ward and cell levels. From the grassroots level, for example, the ten-cell leader is a key person in the whole system. Under this type of leadership, it was expected that it would be possible to identify adult literacy problems at all levels up to the national level and involve all institutions.

As part of the Second Five-Year Plan (1969-1974) 62 administrative officers attended a residential training course in the history, philosophy, methodology and organization of adult education at Kivukoni. These administrators became the decision-makers in their districts and organized seminars for teachers of adult education

in their respective areas. This was followed by a national mobilization campaign to implement adult education programmes at all levels. In 1970 and 1973 the TANU President and Vice-President issued directives to the effect that the heads of all national, regional and parastatal institutions were to form councils to deal with continuous education of adults, and that one hour per day should be set aside by all public or private establishments for continuing adult education for every worker. In 1974 the National Executive Committee passed a resolution changing the regulations for University entrance. Unless otherwise stated, only adults with work experience were to be admitted and the target date for the achievement of Universal Primary Education was advanced to 1977.

With the clear objectives of ujamaa and self-reliance TANU has been able to help, direct and promote adult education through national campaigns and Tanzania's political ideology and its decision-making machinery have provided a strong driving force for the promotion of work-oriented adult education. It has thus grown from a non-development process in colonial times to a sophisticated national work-oriented programme based on a strong political foundation.

Teacher Training

With Independence it became quite clear that no revolutionary change could be carried through successfully without a committed teaching profession. At the same time, it was not possible to produce a revolutionary teaching cadre without training institutions geared to this new role. The aims of teacher education in post-independence Tanzania have been summarised thus: (i) To educate student-teachers in the true meaning of the Tanzanian concept of ujamaa; (ii) To train students to be dedicated and capable teachers with an understanding of, and care for, the children placed in their charge; (iii) To deepen the students' own general education.

It is not accidental that *content* is placed last and *ideology* first. For a people who have been exploited, humiliated and ignored for so long, education is for liberation and thus a political question. The student-teachers were to be educated to understand the Tanzanian concept of socialism in the hope that once the ideological perspective had been set right then how to teach and what to teach would follow.

The training of teachers at the university level is based on the same philosophy as that underlying the training of teachers for primary schools as undertaken by Colleges of National Education. According to the University Act establishing the University of Dar es Salaam two specific objectives are: (i) To preserve, transmit and enhance knowledge for the benefit of the people of Tanzania in accordance with the principles of socialism accepted by the people of Tanzania; (ii) To prepare students to work with the people of Tanzania for the benefit of the nation.

In the Colleges of National Education, it is accepted that the training of teachers will cover five main areas, viz. (i) National Service, which emphasizes military training and nation-building projects; (ii) Political education, which emphasizes the understanding of the political ideology of ujamaa; (iii) National education, which comprises principles of education, educational psychology, school organization, adult education, youth leadership, research projects; (iv) Academic subjects and how to teach them; (v) Nation-building projects in the community round the College.

Teachers fall into about five categories depending on their periods of academic and professional training. Certificate teachers have had the full 7-year primary school education plus teacher training or a full additional four-year secondary education plus teacher training. Diploma teachers have had one year of teacher training after six years of secondary schooling. They are trained to teach secondary school academic subjects or vocational ones like business education, agriculture, home economics, and technical subjects. University-trained teachers are expected to teach at all levels of the six-year secondary programme. Then there are teachers with specialised training overseas for the handicapped, while a corps of untrained or crash-trained teachers have been recruited for the Universal Primary Education programme (UPE).

Until the crash programme to achieve UPE by 1977, Tanzania had a reputation for having a very high percentage of trained teachers in primary schools relative to other African countries. Two further features of teacher training in Tanzania

are the combination of academic and professional training in a concurrent degree and teacher training programme of three years, and the high teacher/student ratio at the primary level.

To meet the demand for education at all levels new methods of training teachers are being planned and investigated. These include correspondence courses, in-service training, seminars, workshops and week-end professional meetings. In the Ministry of Development Planning, the Manpower Planning Unit plays an important role. "In its simplest terms Manpower planning involves . . . making the best estimates possible of the economy's present and future skill requirements, planning programme actions which will, result in those requirements being met, and seeing to it that the planned actions are taken by the institutions and individuals responsible."

This kind of estimate and planning in a country such as Tanzania is absolutely vital because she is so short of financial — and other — resources that it is imperative that a way should be found of rationalizing those resources. However, linking manpower planning and education so closely together could lead to an economic approach to Education which is in contradiction of the idealism or ideals of socialism and the creation of the "whole man". Eliufoo refers to the task of the university as being "the maintenance of our high level manpower" as though students were products which were produced by one system to be fed into another system as a "factor of production". Saul recognises this kind of attitude as inconsistent with the aims of Socialism espoused in the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance.

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Education in Germany

Education in other Countries (V)

Germany is a Federal Republic, which means that all major decisions—for example those concerning foreign policy or defence—are taken by the Bundestag or Federal Government in Bonn. Education, however, is one of the most important of the fields traditionally left to the control of the 11 Länder with their own parliaments, Ministers and Prime Ministers. There is a Standing Conference of Ministers of Education (Kultusministerkonferenz, KMK) which tries to co-ordinate educational affairs and to reach decisions that would be binding on all the 11 Länder. But in spite of the KMK the differences in matters educational are considerable, varying according to whether a Land is 'black', that is Conservative (CDU or CSU), or 'red', that is Socialist (SDP).

Differences of Principle

The most important difference is that of principles. The Socialists have always favoured the concept of Comprehensive schools modelled on the British or the American example, so as to give the largest number of children the best possible education, irrespective of their parents' social or cultural status. Conservatives, on the other hand, have always stressed the necessity for creating élites. Consequently, most Comprehensive schools are to be found in Länder which have long been governed by the Socialist Party (SPD). Hesse, for example, whereas Länder governed traditionally by Conservative parties, like Bavaria under the CDU and the CSU, have very few such schools. Bavaria has only three or four Comprehensives. Bavaria's school system has been based for more than a century on three types of Secondary school:

1. The *HUMANISTISCHE GYMNASIEN*, schools with special emphasis on the classics, offering Latin, Greek and English.
2. The *NEUSPRACHLICHE GYMNASIEN*, schools with special emphasis on modern languages, offering English, French and Latin.
3. The *NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE GYMNASIEN*, schools with special emphasis on the sciences, and offering only two foreign languages, mostly English and French.

When the child reaches the age of eleven, therefore, the parents have to decide to which of these three types of school they will send him. The introduction of the Comprehensive school system generally, then, would mean the end of these three traditional types of school.

Far-Reaching Reforms

A going-over to Comprehensive schools in any Land would entail a whole series of far-reaching reforms, such as the introduction of new school subjects (woodwork and home economics, for example); a reform in teacher-training courses (special teachers would have to be trained not for specific schools but for specific age-groups); a new salary structure for teachers; a new concept in school architecture, since schools would have to cater for up to 3 000 pupils, there would have to be several rooms for the different 'streams' or 'sets', and dining-rooms and kitchens would have to be provided because, the Comprehensives being 'day-schools' where pupils do not leave at one o'clock, meals would have to be provided; and a reform in syllabuses.

Some of these reforms have been introduced in certain Länder, especially in the area of school buildings. Some are still being tested and will most probably never become a reality, owing in part to a lack of money or to the strong 'wind of change' against progress in Germany's political climate. In some Länder, like Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, certain of these reforms have never even been discussed.

Differences Rooted in Tradition

Quite a few other differences have their roots in historical factors, because Germany has never been a country with a centralised 'culture'. Such differences are to be found, for instance, in the matriculation examination papers, which are set by central Examination Boards in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, but by the individual school in some other Länder. There is the difference in the standards of teaching which, it is claimed, is highest in Bavaria. And then there is the difference regarding the subjects that receive special emphasis, as also that of syllabuses. In addition there are differences in a thousand other small details which, when taken together, could make his schooling a real tragedy for any pupil whose family is transferred from, say, Hamburg to Munich, as such a pupil would have to adapt to an entirely new school system.

System of Schooling

Traditionally there are three types of school, designed to meet the requirements of German society: the *HAUPTSCHULE*, the *REALSCHULE*, and the *GYMNASIUM*.

All children go to the same type of *GRUNDSCHULE* (Lower Primary or Elementary school) and full-time school attendance is compulsory from 6 to 15 years of age. After four years at the Elementary school pupils could go to a *GYMNASIUM*, the three main types of which we described earlier. Those who do not wish to go to a *GYMNASIUM*—and formerly this meant the majority of school-going children—stay on at the Elementary school, which after the Lower Primary standards is called a *HAUPTSCHULE* (Higher Primary) or *VOLKSSCHULE* ('The people's school'). At the end of their second year in the *Hauptschule* pupils could choose to go to the *REALSCHULE* or *MITTELSCHULE* (Middle School) as it is also called.

Education for Social Position

So the three types of school are designed to give children their appropriate place in the social hierarchy.

(a) Those who have gone to the *HAUPTSCHULE* will normally be apprenticed in factories and become skilled workers, typists, artisans, nurses and so on. During their apprenticeship of 3 to 4 years they have to go to a special Vocational school one day a week. There is a special examination at the end of the *HAUPTSCHULE*, called *QUALIFIZIERENDER HAUPTSCHULABSCHLUSS* (Higher Primary Certificate). If pupils do well in it it gives them a better chance of gaining an apprenticeship in a well-known factory. SIEMENS, for instance, will take only the best!

(b) Those who have attended a *REALSCHULE* could also be apprenticed in a factory or go to one of the various Vocational schools (comparable perhaps to the *Technikon*), in order to qualify for better-paid and more responsible jobs. They also do an examination, at the age of 16, called *DIE MITTLERE REIFE* (comparable to the Matriculation certificate without university exemption).

Certain branches of commerce, the banks, for example, take on only apprentices who have obtained the *MITTLERE REIFE*.

(c) Those pupils who have attended a *GYMNASIUM* (High School) could go to university or a technical university and reach the top of the employment ladder. The examination that qualifies them for admission to a university is called *DAS ABITUR*, comparable to the Matriculation exemption examination. However, the examination papers are not set by the university authorities. The teachers at the individual schools or at the Department of Education set them.

Post-War Progress

One of the most significant achievements in the development of the school system since the end of the second world war is that various possibilities have been created to enable a child to change from one type of school to another so as eventually to enter a university, even if his parents did not send him to a *Gymnasium* at the age of 11. For example, a pupil who after reaching eleven years of age went to a *Realschule* could now attend a special class at a *Gymnasium* and pass the *Abitur* three years later. Or he could go to a *FACHOBERSCHULE* (Vocational High School) for two years and then enrol at a *FACHHOCHSCHULE* (Vocational University) and finally go to a university. Even those who have gone 'only' to a *Hauptschule* can now obtain a *MITTLERE REIFE* in special schools so as eventually to be able to go to university.

There are also Evening Schools that will prepare anybody, regardless of the standard of previous education, for all sorts of examinations, so that such a person too could eventually enter a university. And education at all these schools is entirely free of charge. In many cases generous allowances (up to the equivalent of R290 a month) are paid to those whose parents cannot afford to send them to school. This programme is called *BAFÜG* (short for *Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz*, a Federal law to promote higher education). However, the easiest way to a university is via the *GYMNASIUM* and the *ABITUR*.

Unfortunately, though, the unfavourable economic situation in Germany at present is casting a dark shadow over this picture. There are no positions for apprentices; even many of those with a university training, especially teachers, are not able to find suitable jobs or any jobs at all. There is a 'surplus' of experts in every field, of skilled workers, of academics, even of medical doctors.

A Comparison

By way of rounding off this article we could draw a comparison between Germany and South

Africa in a specific aspect of education, by quoting from an educationist in West Germany.

'There is one thing in the South African school system which has struck me as very strange: the "prescribed books". If, for example, a South African teacher wanted to discuss segregation in America with his class or read texts by Martin Luther King or Aldous Huxley, he would have to do so outside the syllabus and with a bad conscience, because actually he should be preparing his pupils in the upper classes for the examinations set on the "prescribed books". In Germany all schools must have an exactly-defined syllabus in subjects like biology, physics and mathematics, because all pupils must learn, for instance, integral calculus, if they are to be examined on that subject. In these subjects the syllabus must contain clear prescriptions. But in subjects like modern languages and, most important of all, the mother tongue, we have much more liberty. It is entirely up to me whether I read and discuss with my class Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Golding's *Lord of the Flies* or *The Catcher in the Rye* by Salinger. In the final examination the pupils will be given an unknown text. What the pupils are supposed to learn in the final classes is the technique of interpreting texts, and they can do that with any text. It is essential, however, that both the pupils and the teacher are really interested in what they are reading and doing.

'I suppose this is not only a question of "prescribed books"; it goes much deeper and may be explained historically. During the Nazi regime the government prescribed not only books (and burned books publicly); it also prescribed a certain ideology. Thus, after the War, the only ideology we wanted was to have no ideology. And the

only article in the German Constitution dealing with this sort of thing runs like this: "Kunst und Wissenschaft, Forschung und Lehre sind frei." ("Art and science, research and instruction are free"). This liberalism—of course on a common basis of anti-dictatorship and human rights—characterised our educational system after the war and found its expression not only in the fact that we have never had any "prescribed books" but in a great number of minor liberties, which are so essential in a schoolmaster's daily life. I think there was an atmosphere of freedom in German classrooms which was hardly to be found anywhere else. And if I were to name our biggest problem, in school and outside school, it is that little by little the government is trying to take away some of these liberties and to impose on pupils and teachers regulations which finally will result in prescribed books and prescribed ideas. This trend was quite obvious recently during the hot debate in papers, on TV and in Parliament, about the deployment of Pershings and Cruise Missiles in Germany and in Europe, when the government—unofficially, because we have our Constitution—tried to prevent any demonstration or even discussions about this controversial subject in schools. But when the pupils had a sit-in in a school hall and a great meeting in front of the town hall and some sort of awareness-programme in church in the evening, nothing happened, nobody was taken to task. They gave in. Will they give in next time? Or will they rather try to deprive us of some of our liberties by issuing an innocent-looking regulation here or refusing financial aid there? The point is that this can be done so surreptitiously that many people would not even be aware that they were going to lose their freedom.'

Education in America

Education in other Countries (VI)

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." (American Constitution.) Enshrined in the American Constitution therefore is the ideal of the equality of all men irrespective of "race", colour and creed. Consequently, American education should be aimed at the realization of this ideal democracy, especially if one considers the dictum that "democracy rests upon formal education, ignorance breeds tyranny and that without literacy, representative government will falter." An examination of the structure, control and financing of American education will reveal to what extent the educational system approximates to this ideal.

Organisation and Structure

The 3 basic levels of education in the USA are elementary, secondary and higher education. In conjunction, most states have vocational training, adult education, specialised classes or even schools for 'special' types of children, and kindergarten. School organisation follows the 6-3-3 pattern, that is grades 1 to 6 form the elementary schooling section; 7 to 9 form the Junior High and 10 to 12, the Senior High School. The latter two sections together form the secondary schooling system. The limits of compulsory education are the ages 6 to 16, that is, to the end of tenth grade. On graduation from the secondary section, the higher education level begins. This is separated into 4 stages: Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior years, after which the master's and doctorate courses can be done. Those students who attend Junior College or a technical school may go only to the sophomore stage.

A closer examination reveals the following interesting facts:

(a) **Pre-school education** is offered in most public schools where children advance from a nursery school to a kindergarten. The aim of this programme is to prepare for elementary schooling by teaching the child to become self-reliant.

(b) **Elementary school** is the level for the social and intellectual development of children aged from 6 to 12. Promotion to the next grade is based on achievement in specified subjects such as reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic.

(c) **Secondary education** can be divided into 3 programmes (streams):

(i) **Academic:** Geared to preparing students for college, this programme has Mathematics, Science and foreign languages added to the basic subjects of English, Social Studies and Physical Training.

(ii) **Vocational:** This provides training in four fields — agricultural education (farm management and operation); home economics education (home management and child care); distributive education for buying and selling jobs; and specialised trade and industrial education.

(iii) **General education** combines aspects of academic and vocational training in that students are taught to appreciate trade and industry rather than trained for employment. The benefit of this course is that the student may continue to the higher education level, whereas the vocational programme provides access only to the technical schools.

(d) **Higher Education:** Students graduate from secondary schools after satisfactory completion of a specified number of courses. Students are assessed at High School level on the basis of 'periodical' tests, assignments and involvement in class discussions and projects students are graded from A to F in each course. Most of the High School end-of-year examinations are locally constructed with only a few states having state-controlled examinations. At least twice a year the student is given a copy of the grades he has obtained while a transcript is sent to the college of his choice. In addition, most colleges insist on students' taking an additional test,

which measures "aptitude and verbal and mathematical skills", during the last 2 years of their high school careers. In most states, the recommendations of the teachers are taken into account when the college assesses a particular applicant.

There is a great deal of confusion about the differences between a college and a university since the terms are often interchanged. A college is part of a university whereas the university includes graduate schools and professional schools as well as undergraduate colleges of Arts and the Sciences. The College offers students courses which lead to technical and semi-professional employment or entrance to the four-year degree course. The Liberal Arts college may be an independent institution or form part of the university complex and offers courses such as undergraduate professional disciplines (for example, engineering or business administration); pre-professional training (plus-minus 4 years) for professions such as law and medicine; and it offers education for students who do not wish to enter professional or graduate schools. At university level most degrees are awarded on the basis of credits which, in turn, relate to the number of man-hours involved. For example, a bachelor's degree requires about 40 x 3 hour courses or 120 credits.

Control of Schooling System

The State Government: Most of the control is vested in each state's department of education via its board of education and chief school officer (superintendent). This board consists of people nominated by the state governor or elected by vote. The chief school officer is appointed by the same procedure and the term of office in both cases varies from 2 to 6 years. The superintendent has to impose the policies of the board, while the board has to implement the laws passed by the department.

The Local Community: Together with the superintendent, they impose taxes, build schools, determine instructional policies, employ school personnel, maintain buildings and provide the schools' needs, and provide transport for pupils living far from the schools. To have this type of authority, however, members of the local community have to be elected to local boards of education.

Teacher Education

In 47 states the minimum qualification for teaching the elementary and secondary grades is a Bachelor's degree. The other 4 states require a Master's degree or insist on a teacher's having five years' post-secondary school study to teach at secondary school level. Many local school boards, however, set higher entrance levels and induce teachers to earn additional academic credits by participating in in-service courses. The basic teacher-training programme consists of 4 to 5

years' study in the academic field and professional courses such as Methods of Teaching and Educational Psychology. Included is a 4 to 6 month practice-teaching session in a school or college lab. school. Graduates of the Arts colleges usually are required to do a fifth year Master's degree programme.

Finance

One of the most influential factors in education is that of finance, which is provided by local authorities, state government and federal sources through various forms of taxation. It is significant to note that, apart from defence, education is the public service with the highest expenditure. In 1979 the USA spent more than 80 billion dollars on a school-going population of 54 million between the ages of 5 and 17. A unique feature in the educational system is the degree of financing exercised by local authorities, which levy taxes on property especially in order to meet their educational needs. Of the total USA expenditure on education each year 47% comes from the State governments, 44% from Local governments, and 9% from Federal sources.

In spite of the large percentage of the funding of education by local authorities, the regional educational authorities are bound to implement educational policies as laid down by each State. In addition to the local taxes, each state also imposes a tax to fund education. In the past, Federal financial aid for education was not so readily acceptable to the local and state authorities, since they feared losing their autonomy. But since costs have soared, Federal aid has had to be accepted. There are also the private philanthropic tax-exempted Foundations which fund educational projects: such as Ford, Carnegie, Kellogg and Rockefeller. That the sources for funding education do not function independently of each other is clear from the appointment by the President in 1983 of a Panel charged with recommending ways for state and local governments to work with the private sector towards improving the quality of education.

An examination of the main tax sources might create the somewhat favourable impression that the availability of education to his children is not so dependent on the individual's private wealth, but more on the taxable wealth of the area in which he lives. Schooling may indeed be readily available to all but the quality of the education is far from equal throughout because of the discrepancy in the funds obtained through the local tax system for the various regions. Local funds accrue largely from property taxes and it is therefore quite obvious that areas with a high valuation on property would have more money available for education than areas with low-valued property. And within the very nature of the system of local funding lie the seeds of some of the major problems in American education.

Finance is not the only factor that exerts a strong influence on the quality of education. Student upheavals, the existence of pressure groups (including teacher organisations) and of various kinds of discrimination have all raised doubts as to whether the present educational system is relevant to the needs of modern American society. Also being questioned is whether the democratic principles basic to the structure of American education are being consistently applied.

Student Upheavals

In 1964 American students revolted at Berkley. The revolt was largely against mechanized, mass-produced education. Education aimed at serving the state and big business met with more and more opposition from students. They formed themselves into radical organisations and gave tangible political expression to a growing commitment among students, teachers and other professionals to change society drastically. Like the GI's who returned during the post-1945 period, they agitated for structural and curricula changes. So great was the disillusionment with the educational system that protests reached a peak in 1970 with the USA invasion of Cambodia.

Then, again, there were strikes after the Kent state killings in which troops invaded the campus and shot students. Enraged students took direct political action aimed not only against companies engaged in war-related production, but also against industries such as General Motors, General Electric and Polaroid. These companies play a significant rôle in education by propping up an educational system that serves their economic interests. They also provide handsome scholarships for foreign students, much to the resentment of the ordinary American student both White and Black.

After 1970 there was great concern about equality in education. Unfortunately, this "equality" is a facade. Schooling still distributed on racial and class lines became unacceptable to Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and American Indians. These minorities were the most militant because the definition of "equal opportunity" had left them at the bottom of the vocational ladder. They also blamed centralized control by Anglo School Boards, and in some communities a struggle began for community control or a more democratic control of educational structure.

The minority groups demand that schools should make them more employable in the present economic structure and thus enhance their economic status within the capitalist structure. Most minority groups believe that Anglo control has created schools in which their children cannot do as well as those of the controlling power. They assert that community control is essential to an equal opportunity for all children to learn in schools. 'Control' however is a many-faceted word. They may strive for and get control of the boards of ghetto schools, but would not control the state legislature which distributes finances to education and determines curricula and other requirements. But even if they had ultimate control they would not control the economy or determine the educational qualifications for jobs.

However, this striving to control ghetto school boards has an important side-effect. It leads to the building of self-identity and the use of the school to build political awareness, and bring about social change.

Furthermore, students may not be convinced that the values developed in them by the schools are consistent with their own or others' needs. Some again may not be prepared to accept their rôle in the capitalist hierarchy or capitalism itself.

Teacher Organizations

Currently there are two major teacher organizations in the USA. They are the NEA (National Education Association) and the AFT (American Federation of Teachers). Both associations are explicit in goal-statements concerning education in America. At present, these organizations follow an aggressive and militant course in the pursuance of their policies. For example, both groups have been involved in 'withholding services', a euphemism for striking. Unfortunately, these strikes were on bread-and-butter issues which did not affect the status and working conditions of teachers. Consequently, other organisations, offshoots of these two major bodies, address themselves to matters such as curricula and the teaching of specific areas, such as Mathematics, Physics and English. Organisations such as the ASS for Supervision and Curriculum Development and the American Research Association are influential in affecting curriculum development, instruction procedures and educational legislation. Although they may not have the political clout which the two major organizations have, they play a significant rôle in that their publications inform the teaching fraternity of new trends and developments. More-

over, they have established the standards for the preparation of teachers; and their conferences held on a state, regional and national level provide an important platform for disseminating ideas. During the last two decades of the 19th century, feminists and educationists have exerted pressure to obtain for women their rightful place in education and society.

Sex bias and sex-stereotypes abound in school textbooks and in readers. Interesting studies and surveys in this field have been undertaken: In a survey of 2760 stories (at Elementary School level), it was discovered that the valued traits like

Education in America

Education in other Countries (VI)

Educationists in the USA are questioning the manner in which the concept of democracy is being interpreted in some countries, including their own, and are demanding that a closer look should be taken at the kind of knowledge imparted in schools and the circumstances in which such knowledge is acquired. They point out that the schools serving the élites are geared to make their pupils feel superior and self-confident while those catering for the lower income groups make pupils feel inferior and powerless. They also maintain that the relationship of a school to democracy cannot be discussed without taking into account the school's historic function in preparing pupils for employment and its relationship with its social environment. By far the greatest problem in American education is the social inequality inherent in its provisions for minority groups. The *Brown vs Board of Education* cases (1954 and 1955) addressed themselves to this problem.

DISCRIMINATION AND DESEGREGATION

The verdicts in the *Brown vs Board of Education* cases (1954 and 1955) intending "to open up society so that the minorities could live and go anywhere they wanted," sought to guarantee equal educational opportunities for all 'races'. In the 1954 case the Supreme Court struck out the *Plessy vs Ferguson* (1896) "separate but equal" decision as unconstitutional and indicated that official actions separating the races implied black inferiority. In the 1955 case the Court ordered that desegregation should occur with "all deliberate speed" so as "to effectuate a transition to a racially non-discriminatory school system."

It was argued in the *Brown* case that in integrated communities where people were not defined

in terms of race persons would be treated differently from the way they would be in communities where they were so defined. *Brown vs Board of Education* and the many subsequent court cases in which equal education and the schools were the issues were all attempts to fight the institutionalised racism which had previously enjoyed legitimacy and social approval.

However, the myth that racial inequalities in the schools and other educational institutions of the United States would or could be eliminated by virtue of a court decision was dealt a further serious blow by the decision of the same Supreme Court in June 1978 in the case of the *Regents of the University of California vs Bakke*. The Court decided by 5 votes to 4 that, while enrolment quotas based solely on race were unlawful, race could be used as a factor in certain circumstances to decide whether a student should be enrolled at a university or not. Bakke, a white Vietnam war veteran and an aerospace engineer, applied for admission as a medical student at the Davis Medical School, University of California in 1973 and again in 1974. On both occasions he was turned down at Davis as well as at ten other medical schools; but he subsequently learned that his grades and admission test results were better than those of some applicants who had been admitted by Davis in terms of a special programme for minority, disadvantaged students. (See Educational Journal, July-August 1978.)

bravery, ingenuity, creativity and so on, are all ascribed to male characters. A similar situation exists at High School level. In history books used in the schools, there is very little information on the rôle of the pioneer women, or on the suffragette movement.

Culture, tradition, prejudice and overt discrimination still conspire to restrict educational opportunities for women. Society in general and education in particular have paid a high price for their persistence in a sexist attitude.

The *Brown* case, the civil rights movement of the fifties and early sixties, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 added to the illusions about the efficacy of the 'due process of law' in a capitalist society based upon exploitation and class-caste divisions.

EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

One of the major issues arising from the *Brown* and the many subsequent cases as well as from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the attempts to define equality in education. It can be safely said that to date no definition has been found that satisfies all parties. One that initially found much support defines equality in education as a dispensation in which:

1. all children are regarded as being of equal worth as objects of development,
2. the same rules apply to all children alike,
3. there should be equal opportunity for all children to learn,
4. any child should have the opportunity to acquire as much knowledge and skill as any other child.

This definition is based on the so-called equality of outcomes or substantive equality concept, which requires that education be made available and accessible to all in equal amounts and presupposes free education to a level constituting the principal entry point to the labour force. It further requires a common curriculum for all children regardless of background; that children from diverse backgrounds attend the same school; and that there should be equality within a given locality since taxes provide the source of funding of schools.

Another point of view argues that to treat all learners alike simply ensures educational inequality. It says that the concept of equality can also be defined as meaning "doing what is fitting and appropriate." If children are to learn effectively and efficiently, learner variables associated with environment, heredity, motivation, physical condition (nutrition and health) and psychological state have to be taken into account and "fitting and

appropriate" adjustments must be made. Thus individualisation of instruction should be the guiding principle here, this view argues.

This point of view further maintains that the equality of outcomes concept erroneously assumes that the learning environment (the school) is a major determinant of learning outcomes; that all pupils are capable of achieving at the desired level; that all pupils will be equally motivated to learn and that education can compensate for differences in socio-economic background. Such assumptions also ignore the importance of unequal financial resources available to families to supplement public expenditure on education and the fact that parents who already speak in the vocabulary of the school cannot but provide their children with a continuous edge in a system built upon rank order. This would mean that children from homes where a 'foreign' language is spoken would be at a disadvantage. Benjamin Bloom in "Human Characteristics and School Learning" sums up this point of view as "variations in student achievement are the result of each student's learning history and the quality of instruction received."

COUNTERACTING INEQUALITY PROGRAMMES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED — SOME OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S "REMEDIES"

In part response to the *Brown vs Board of Education* court decision in particular, the Federal Government (in association with the various foundations funding education) has instituted various programmes to 'remedy' the inequality in education. These programmes are interesting for two reasons:

- (a) At no stage can they claim to be redressing the underlying socio-economic problems which lead to the inequality.
- (b) Similar programmes, with the same chief flow (and therefore the same aim of 'mopping under a dripping tap'), are apparent in South Africa where the objectives of satisfying labour and capitalistic needs are also paramount.

1. **HEAD START:** This is a programme aimed at providing preschool education and training for 'disadvantaged' children. In the introduction to one of the manuals written for use in the Head Start programme the author, B. M. Caldwell, states that "...on average children from deprived backgrounds start to school behind their economically more fortunate age mates in such important skills as language, problem solving ability and apparent desire to learn." The Head Start project was designed to "decrease the visibility of the disadvantaged child — to help him acquire sufficient fundamentals of social and intellectual functioning so that he will appear less a burden than a joy to the teachers he will later encounter." The underlying purpose of the programme was that it would attempt to counteract the disadvantages with which the children from deprived circumstances came to school, causing poor learning, language disability, inadequacies in background information, social skills and confidence, resulting in slow learning, failure, frustration and virtual ineducability. Some of the goals were formulated as follows: to enrich the child's experiences and exposure so much that he would be given a head start by the time he was admitted to school, by attempting to improve and expand the child's mental processes; to enhance his ability to think, reason and speak clearly; to help the child in his social and emotional development by encouraging self-confidence, self-expression, self-discipline and curiosity; to help the child obtain wider and more varied experiences; to develop a climate of confidence in which the child can more readily learn.

Various agencies were set up, including Child Development Centres, staffed and equipped often quite elaborately, which functioned as community facilities in which family, community and professionals provided the resources to contribute to the children's total development. A centre would usually have available the services of professionals in nutrition, health, education, psychology, social work and recreation. In addition both paid and volunteer non-professionals were welcomed to contribute to the work of the centre and parents were expected to play an active role by helping to develop policies and by participating in its programmes. The wide-ranging programme under the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare required a large variety of supporting facilities, such as the Career Development Program for training programme assistants — including parents, manuals for teachers including one on "Daily Program", for parents for example, a "Food buying guide and recipes" and guidelines for administrators regarding matters such as purchasing equipment and supplies.

Other related programmes included Follow Through, designed on the same lines as Head Start but continued into the elementary school, and Right to Read which gave special attention to children with reading problems.

With such a concentration of total 'firing power', directed at compensating for and/or transforming a large part of the whole educational environment of the disadvantaged children, positive effects could be expected and were achieved. But all of this sophisticated and complex array of resources was not directed at solving the basic underlying socio-economic and political problems which continue to give rise to this phenomenon of deprivation and 'disadvantage' in the midst of plenty.

The programmes that follow have the same aims more or less as Head Start.

2. **UPWARD BOUND:** This is a programme which was started in 1966 to provide youths from low-income families with an eight-week sample of college life, where the colleges supply four hours of classes per day, books, tutorials and other supplies.

3. **THE TALENT SEARCH** programme has been instituted to encourage 'high school drop-outs' to complete their schooling.

4. In an attempt to increase the number of students from low-income families at the higher education institutions, the SPECIAL SERVICES FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS programme was introduced. It provides special summer educational programmes, counselling and tutoring.

5. Since one great difficulty has been the unwillingness of teachers to teach the 'disadvantaged young student' a special programme, the TEACHER CORPS, was introduced. Here the aim is to find 'new ways of teaching children from poverty-stricken backgrounds.'

William Taylor of the US Civil Rights Commission sees the real remedy as "Metropolitan and countryside desegregation." He maintains that stable integrated neighbourhoods are the most effective means of achieving integrated schools and better educated children in both large cities and rural areas. The main evil therefore is the segregation of residential areas along 'racial' and economic lines, with the consequent attendance by most black children at public schools that are mainly black. Judge Robert L. Carter of the Federal Court maintains that the fundamental vice is not legally enforced racial segregation itself; that is a mere by-product, a symptom, of the greater and more pernicious disease — white supremacy.

Education in America

Education in other Countries (VI)

This is the third and last section of our article on Education in America. The first section, in the June 1985 issue of this Journal, dealt with the educational structures and the funding agencies. The second section, in the July-August issue, examined the various interpretations of democracy in education and the many schemes and programmes implemented in attempts to bring about 'equality in education' for the USA's multiplicity of communities. This concluding section continues the discussion on this aspect of America's far from solved education problems.

BUSING AS A REMEDY

Just as there are opposing points of view on what constitutes equality in education, so also the effectiveness of mandatory busing (taking busloads of children to schools outside their residential area) in ensuring desegregation has been widely questioned.

In Charlotte-Mecklenberg, North Carolina, 12 000 of the 48 000 public school pupils travel daily outside the city in accordance with the 1969 Federal Court order that desegregated the public schools in this N Carolina community. Contrary to the opinion in certain quarters that 'forced busing' has failed, it seems to be working effectively here and is apparently supported by the vast majority of pupils, parents and the city leaders. A Harris poll (March 1981) found overwhelming support for busing among families whose children had actually been bused in efforts to achieve racial desegregation of schools. Of those parents polled, 54% said that the busing experience had proved very satisfactory; only 11% said it was not satisfactory. Busing generally consumes no more than 2% of a school Department's budget. Because children in many deliberately segregated school systems often were bused long distances in order to maintain segregation, the number of miles that buses travel after desegregation may actually decrease, even though more students are being bused.

Other polls show that while support for desegregated schools continues to increase, disapproval of busing as a means to accomplish this has hardened. Politicians and other opponents of this method focus on the glaring failure of busing to the exclusion of its successes. Their conclusions are, more often than not, drawn from what occurred in Los Angeles and Boston, two major cities where school authorities fiercely resisted minimal desegregation plans.

The enforcement of busing has remained controversial and was publicly condemned by Nixon and Ford who tried to countermand it through the Justice Department. Reagan and his Conservative Administration not only have denounced mandatory busing but have actually sought to curtail its enforcement. (NB. We have used the American spelling of busing (bussing) and bused (bussed).)

VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION

An educational Research Group of the National Institute of Education has come up with a "Proposal to Achieve Desegregation through Free Choice". This proposal maintains that "in the light of research revealing that forced busing does not guarantee equal educational opportunity or raise minority achievement," 'first-choice free transportation' may come closer to fulfilling the intent of the *Brown vs Board of Education* judgment.

This proposal envisages "magnet schools" with voluntary "open enrolment plans" which require increased integration and provide free transportation. Milwaukee has such an all-voluntary desegregation programme and there are now approximately 38% whites in schools in black neighbourhoods and this they maintain is close to 'racial' balance. The solution proposes that because Americans live in an open society nothing should

be done to prevent the voluntary integration of schools, that no individual of any "race" would be denied the right to attend the neighbourhood school (defined by local boundaries). But any student must have the predominant 'first choice' and 'free transportation' right to attend a school in another neighbourhood inhabited predominantly by those of another "race" when a court has determined that racial discrimination in educational opportunity has occurred.

The proposal maintains that racist school boards in their own self-interest will guarantee to the satisfaction of every black student's parents that their children receive equal school funding, teachers and facilities.

That the solution might make students decide to attend their neighbourhood schools regardless of the types of incentives offered to integrate is denied. The denial is supported by the contention that when 1955 black students in Charlotte-Mecklenberg (N Carolina) were given the choice of reassignment from a white school to a black school, only 91 chose to return to a black school.

CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION

Severe segregation now occurs in a relatively small number of states and there often in only one metropolitan area. But these states have the largest percentage of minority-group children. Of these states Illinois, New York, Michigan and New Jersey have the greatest number of black children in segregated schools; only Florida and N Carolina have achieved significant desegregation. In Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit and some other large cities outside the South, investigation has revealed that the problem facing desegregation is that the school systems are or will soon be predominantly black and Hispanic.

Gary Orfield (Prof. of Political Science, University of Chicago) points out that the pattern for Hispanic students is overwhelmingly toward greater segregation and that they are more likely to find themselves in schools with large numbers of the poor, the non-English-speaking, and other minorities.

Desegregation has resulted in the dismissal of thousands of black teachers because of the closing down of previously all-black or predominantly black schools, yet it has not solved the segregation problem. Many so-called integrated schools continue discrimination by maintaining segregated classes and assigning students by "ability groupings".

Another phenomenon that is revealing itself is the equipping of schools in the various socio-economic localities. Elementary schools that are attended mainly by children from low-income families have large supplies of programmed scripts based on behaviour-mod techniques, reading "kits" consisting of hundreds of unrelated paragraphs followed by multiple-choice questions and reams of ditto sheets. Such schools are often devoid of books (except perhaps workbooks, readers and the textbook); instead of libraries they have remedial reading and audiovisual labs.

CONCLUSION

Robert L Carter (new Federal Court Judge) who was a legal representative of the litigants in *Brown vs Board of Education* recently said, "If I had to prepare *Brown* today... I would seek to recruit educators to formulate a concrete definition of the meaning of equality in education and I would base my argument on that definition and seek to persuade the Court that equal education in its constitutional dimensions must, at the very least, conform to the contours of equal education as defined by the educators."

Education in El Salvador

Education in other Countries (VII)

El Salvador, the most densely populated country in Latin America, is ruled by the Christian Democratic Party dictator-president José Napoleón Duarte, with 'help' from the State Department of the United States of America. The main opposition to this fascist regime comes through the *Farebundo* Martí Front for National Liberation (FMLN). Formed on 10 October 1980, the FMLN represents the armed and organised wing of political opposition. Joined with the FMLN is the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), formed on 18 April 1980 and representing the unity of all El Salvadorean opposition — labour, peasant, religious, student, small business, and political organisations. The FDR carries out the diplomatic work of the revolution. The FMLN-FDR's politico-military leadership is the Unified Revolutionary Directorate, the DRU.

One facet of the fascist rule in El Salvador is the savage repression in the education sector by a government that is waging an all-out war on the population as a whole.

Primary and Secondary Education

Education has traditionally been a very low priority in government spending. Money accumulated by starving education of essential resources goes to swelling Defence Ministry funds, spent on government repression of the people. As a result, buildings and equipment are wholly inadequate and teachers receive poverty-line wages. In a country where 58 per cent of the population can count on less than about R20 per month in disposable income, many people simply cannot afford to send their children to school. They have to work to supplement the family income. Three-quarters of the children under the age of five suffer from malnutrition, resulting in a reduced capacity to cope with formal school learning — a situation we know only too well in South Africa. Over half of those aged seven years and above are illiterate. By September 1980 non-attendance at schools among children of school-going age had reached 50 per cent and 296 educational institutions had been permanently closed down.

The Universities

The National University of El Salvador has become a focus for opposition to the military regime. Many student groups sympathise with the popular organisations, the FMLN-FDR, and the University itself is a form of 'tribune of free thought', organising public meetings and lectures and publishing papers on important social issues.

The University has as a result been a consistent target of the military governments that have ruled the country. The attacks on the University are just one reflection of the government's attempts to impose on the people a particular and uniform mode of reactionary thought and behaviour — in the

same way as does Christelik-Nasionale Education (CNE) in South Africa. The attacks on the University have not been arbitrary or isolated, but part of a consistent anti-university campaign.

The private universities are capitalist companies whose principal and overriding aim is to accumulate assets. These companies trading in education are being set up by financial groups to provide courses which will meet the needs of the rigid monetarist economic model. This development, in both Chile and El Salvador, represents an attack on the Latin American tradition of 'autonomous universities'. Various government officials are among the entrepreneurs establishing these private universities, the fees of which are far too high for the majority of Salvadoreans to afford.

The Central American University (UCA) is El Salvador's other main university. It has also suffered under the onslaughts of various military regimes. There have been bomb attacks on its publishing house and on the homes of individual professors. Rector Ignacio Ellacuría said in a recent interview: 'One thing you must understand is that in El Salvador today if you're not under arrest, being tortured or directly threatened with death, then you accept everything as being "normal". Academically, UCA is still able to function. Classes, for example, are continuing, but it is now impossible for us to carry on the important academic work we used to initiate on social issues. Now neither we nor the church which is so heavily repressed is able to contribute in this way to the development of our society.'

Teachers' Organisations

The Asociación Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños '21 de Junio' — ANDES — claims to represent 20 000 of the country's 23 000 teachers (19 000 of whom work in the primary school sector, first to sixth grade). Its formal membership, however, totals only around 10 000, since

Nicaragua — Education for Reconstruction

Education in other Countries (VIII)

Nicaragua is a small Central American country, situated between Honduras and Costa Rica. It is roughly the size of England and Wales combined, and with a population of only three million is the most sparsely peopled country in Central America. Nicaragua became a focus of world attention when an insurrection on 19 July 1979, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional — FSNL), overthrew one of the oldest tyrannies in Latin America. Since then great strides have been made in rebuilding a country that suffered enormous human and material losses in the war to rid it of the tyrant-dictator Anastasio Somoza.

In this article, we highlight the enormous gains made in the field of education despite the monstrous efforts of the United States government to discredit and destabilize this tiny country, which it sees as a threat to US interests. Readers could get an overall picture of the Nicaraguan struggle by reference to the source material provided at the end of the article.

Progress in Education: The Literacy Crusade

Within two weeks of Somoza's downfall the new government set in motion a plan to teach the illiterate 50 per cent of the population to read and write. During this Literacy Crusade a team of volunteer Literacy Teachers was formed. Initially a group of 50 teachers, High School pupils and College students were trained in an intensive two-week workshop. These then trained a further 560 teachers, who in turn trained 7 000, until approximately 100 000 were ready to go into the countryside as Literacy Teachers. (Most of the literate population were urban-dwellers.) Many of the participants in this historic undertaking spent up to five months in the most remote parts of the countryside, where for the first time in their experience more than 400 000 Nicaraguans now learnt basic reading and writing skills. The illiteracy rate was eventually reduced to 12 per cent. This nationwide Literacy Crusade of 1980 won the United Nations Literacy Award for that year, and was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1981.

In 1982 alone 4 500 Primary schools were built. Between 1978 and 1982 the number of children registered at Primary schools increased by 43 per cent, the number receiving higher education, by 230 per cent. The *brigadistas*, as the Literacy Teachers were known, came from the cities, and their experiences in the countryside allowed them to see at first hand the extreme hardships faced by the rural population. They shared the peasants' lives, helping out with planting, harvesting, housework and construction — the building of schools, bridges and wells.

The peasants not only learned the alphabet, they also learned about the Revolution. The twenty-three lessons in the Literacy Text, *The Dawn of the People*, took up important political questions: Lesson 1 began with Sandino — Leader of the Revolution; Lesson 2 began with a picture of Carlos Amador, a founder of the FSNL, who died in 1976, fighting the notorious National Guard.

Adult Education Programme

Following the Literacy Crusade, Nicaragua undertook an Adult Education Programme, the Basic Popular Education for Adults Programme (BPEA). By mid-1981 one-third of the population, 843 000 people, were engaged in some kind of formal study. The Literacy Crusade emphasised that illiteracy was a national social problem, not a personal failing; and the Crusade was promoted and popularised through the media and through mass organisations. One of the dangers in any mass literacy programme is that the learners could rapidly lose their newly acquired skills through

lack of practice. To ensure that this did not happen the *brigadistas* set up Popular Education Collectives (CEPs) at the end of the Crusade. The task of the CEPs was to maintain and improve the levels of education and the skills achieved through the Crusade, and to act as the bridge between the Crusade and the BPEA, the Adult Education Programme. The fundamental aim was to prepare for a programme of technical education (started in 1983) those who had been educated through the Crusade. This two-year programme provided learners with an education the equivalent of six grades of primary schooling. In addition to teaching the usual primary education skills, the BPEA had the same aims as the Literacy Crusade: to teach basic Nicaraguan history; to provide a knowledge of the economy; to cope with the problems of reconstruction; and to provide alternative strategies for creating a just society.

This was an entirely new experience for the peasants and workers of Nicaragua, who were almost entirely without all those things regarded as the basic necessities in any civilised society. In fact, a census conducted in 1971 had shown that:

- 47 per cent of Nicaraguan homes had no sanitation;
- 80 per cent of houses in the capital, Managua, had no running water;
- 61 per cent of houses had no earth floors;
- 55 per cent of houses had no electricity.

Before the Revolution:

- 94 per cent of rural children did not finish even primary schooling;
- less than 20 per cent of children under the age of five and of pregnant women received health care;
- 90 per cent of the medical services catered for only 10 per cent of the population, with more than half the country's doctors clustered in the capital city;
- over 50 per cent of the population was illiterate.

The Atlantic Coast English Literacy Campaign

Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast — the eastern half of the country, on the Caribbean — is sparsely inhabited, has no roads or running water, and the provision of electricity is a recent development. The majority of the population here are indigenous 'Indians', and English-speaking black people who came from Jamaica and the Cayman Islands as slaves/cheap labour. The inhabitants are largely of the Protestant faith (whereas 90 per cent of the rest of Nicaraguans are Catholic) and are subsistence farmers and fishermen.

There has been some resistance in this area to the Sandinista's attempts at reconstruction, arising mainly from the manoeuvres of the British and North American colonisers. In their attempts to control Central America's eastern seaboard these have over a very long period deliberately fuelled hostilities between Nicaragua's Pacific coast population and those on the Caribbean coast.

Another factor is that poor communications between the two halves of the country meant that the Atlantic Coast population escaped the worst of the Somoza dynasty's military repression. They also took little part in the Popular Movement which overthrew the dictatorship. Then, some major projects of the new revolutionary govern-

many teachers fear the consequences of formal membership.

Before 1964, Teachers' organisations were slavishly pro-government, existing mainly to give support to whomever the Armed Forces chose as presidential candidate. In that year the government tried to introduce a Pension scheme, which would have increased by one-third the number of years the teacher would have been required to work to qualify for that pension. ANDES was born out of the campaign to oppose this measure, though its battle was not finally won till 13 years later.

The '21 de Junio' (21 June) was added to ANDES's name in 1965, when on that date 80 per cent of teachers marched through the capital to demonstrate their rejection of the Pension scheme. Two years later another mass demonstration forced the government to concede legal status to ANDES. Other ANDES demands, including improved medical care, and job security, were turned down. In September 1967 ANDES members went on strike. With almost all schools paralysed, the government decided to end the school year a month early. ANDES leaders were banished to remote towns and strikers threatened with dismissal from their jobs, measures not unfamiliar in South Africa, where teachers of progressive Teachers' organisations in the oppressed section of the population have suffered similar penalties.

In February 1968 the new school-year started with a 58-day teachers' strike, during which the Ministry of Education was occupied for 50 days and nights. Such action on the part of the teachers was possible only because of widespread popular support for their cause. Government crimes against workers in general were also criticised and denounced at teachers' meetings. The resistance to the rulers resulted in two workers' leaders and a student's being arrested and hundreds of teachers' being beaten up and imprisoned. There was another strike in 1971, lasting almost as long.

In 1975 ANDES was instrumental in forming the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR), the Popular Revolutionary Block, which incorporated student and peasant movements and the Union of Shanty-town Dwellers. Teachers have thus been involved in fighting for the social welfare of the entire population, with the BPR later becoming part of the FMLN-FDR mass organisation.

In 1979, following the establishment of the Christian Democrat Junta, the present ruling block, ANDES branched out into two forms of activity: one in the rural areas and in the liberated zones as literacy teachers, paramedicals, consciousness-raising agents; the other at 'grassroots' level, organising people in their own neighbourhoods

with the popular organisations. This work has resulted in the death or disappearance of some ANDES members.

Conclusion

This brief picture of education in El Salvador is by no means an exhaustive account of its repressive intention and consequences. It is as much an attempt to show some of the harshness of a Latin American fascist-military regime, and some of the response from the 'intelligentsia' section of the oppressed. It is hoped that readers will be stimulated into reading more about El Salvador and other Latin American regimes and, more important, that useful practical lessons might be drawn from the article.

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ment seemed to the Atlantic Coast inhabitants to have little direct relevance for them. For example, Trade Union freedoms are of little significance in a region with almost no industrial development. Also, land reforms and the formation of co-operatives by the new government were seen to conflict with the Atlantic Coast's traditional patterns of land ownership. Thus government plans for this region were often met with scepticism and suspicion by its inhabitants. In fact, a house where Cuban teachers lived was stoned and Sandinista officials were mobbed.

However, with the Literacy Crusade more than 12 000 adults here were taught to read and write in the local languages. In addition, electricity has been provided for many towns and in the sphere of health an ambitious vaccination programme has been undertaken.

These developments are extremely important, as from outside the country the FSNL's enemies continue to see Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region as fertile ground for counter-revolution — 'Indian' and 'Black' separatism being an explosive recipe for the US to enter this country through its Atlantic Coast backdoor. Indeed, in his latest State of the Union outpouring Reagan promised the Nicaraguan 'Freedom Fighters' (that is, the counter-revolutionaries) that they were not alone. Big Brother would give them assistance!

Fruits of Revolution

The Literacy Crusade undertaken by Nicaragua's new government 'took the people to school'. It is one of the most outstanding features of the revolution, and together with the gains in the health and housing sectors is signal proof of the success of this nation's freedom struggle, providing also useful lessons in how the problems of mass illiteracy can be tackled and solved.

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Grenada — After the Revolution

Education in other Countries (IX)

Grenada is a tiny island — just 30 kilometres in length and 15 kilometres wide — with a population of 120 000. It lies 135 kilometres from the coast of Venezuela in South America. The island was invaded by American 'peacekeeping troops' in October 1983. On the pretext that Grenada was a springboard for Cuban and Russian activities — which in the light of USA interests it of course had no right to be — America crushed the three-year-old socialist government of Maurice Bishop's New Jewel Movement (NJM) and recolonised this democratic country. Today the gains of the revolution lie trampled underfoot. But although the USA has rewritten the pages of the inspiring and exciting period of popular democracy, the progress made in the educational field under the NJM makes worthwhile and interesting telling.

Heritage of Colonial Education

The history of Grenada, as with the history of Latin America and all Third World countries, has been one of education for the élite: for a tiny few who obtained certificates and then used them to lord it over the others 'below' them. This was the way Grenada's history was developed quite consciously by her British colonial masters. In other words, the education was structured to keep the majority of the population illiterate, semi-literate, ignorant and subservient.

The British built only one public Secondary school during their 200 years of rule — and that was in 1885! In Trinidad there is a university that is attended by youth from a number of the English-speaking islands in the region, including Grenada. A total of three people from Grenada received college scholarships to study abroad during the last year of dictator Eric Gairy's rule. One of them was his daughter!

The corrupt Gairy built an empire around himself and his criminal supporters, and his system of rule intensified the process of colonial education. He allowed the Primary school system virtually to collapse; schools deteriorated, furniture fell apart and was not replaced; the majority of teachers were unqualified; and thousands of dollars which should have gone to the education budget were siphoned off and squandered by Gairy and his hirelings.

The New Grenada — Education a Right not a Privilege

Revolutionary Grenada (13 March 1979 to the American invasion on 19 October 1983) clearly needed a new kind of education — based on a problem-solving approach that would address the difficulties faced by the masses. The *People's Revolutionary Government* (the PRG) sought to bring about radical, progressive changes that would benefit those who had been oppressed by British imperialism and its servant Gairy: the poor, the workers, the women, the youth. The PRG wanted this new education to help change people's atti-

tudes about themselves and about their country, so that the system could be reconstructed with their active participation and enthusiasm. To this end, three major educational programmes were launched in 1980: the *Centre for Popular Education* (CPE); the *National In-Service Teacher Education Programme* (NISTEP); and the *Community School Day Programme* (CSDP).

The CPE and the Literacy Campaign

The most ambitious effort was the campaign to wipe out illiteracy. Hundreds of volunteers — mostly young people — and modestly-paid staff joined the campaign out of love and concern for their country's undereducated poor and working class. This marked the beginning of a whole new era in Grenada's history, in which the fundamental motivation was to help the poorest and virtually forgotten people on the island and to ensure that eventually everyone would become literate.

A CPE census in April 1980 found that only 7 to 10 per cent of the population was without any education at all. However, this percentage of Grenadian society consisted primarily of rural manual labourers — agricultural workers, nutmeg- and cocoa plant workers, rural women and youth. This was precisely the sector which the People's Revolutionary Government not only gave high priority to in terms of reversing past prejudices, but also considered critical to Grenada's future as an agricultural country.

On the other hand, functional illiteracy affected some 30 000 Grenadians, nearly one-third of the population. The long-term task of the CPE, therefore, was to re-educate those adults to at least a functional sixth grade level, so that they could become effective participants in a modern, progressive society.

The CPE's Literacy Campaign was divided into two phases. PHASE ONE involved basic literacy-training for those without any education, in an attempt to bring approximately one-third of the estimated 2 738 illiterates to a condition of

basic literacy in the space of six months. The key to the success of this phase was its village committees, composed of volunteer teachers, each committee headed by a village co-ordinator — normally a practising teacher — and a village technician. To assist the CPE, two consultants were brought to Grenada: Paulo Freire, head of the World Council of Churches Literacy Programme and Angel Arcechea, a literacy expert from Cuba. They made a significant contribution at both the philosophical and the practical level.

However, there were certain pedagogical problems unique to Grenada which could be solved only by West Indian technicians and teachers through trial and error. The CPE's National Technical Commission produced two basic texts for the campaign: *Forward Ever*, a teacher's manual; and *Let us Learn Together*, a 14-lesson literacy reader. They were structured to reflect the perceptions, needs and aspirations of the people — what Freire calls 'the generative themes' — as well as the goals of the revolutionary government. *One Carribean* gave the reader a sense of national identity within a regional setting. Other lessons included *The Land Must Produce More* and *Our History of Struggle*. All the lessons centred on Grenadian reality, and attempted to involve the learner in discussion of the goals and programmes of the revolution.

PHASE TWO was in essence a post-literacy programme. It included five basic courses: mathematics, English, Grenadian history, geography, and the Natural sciences. The programme was closely linked to the needs and the interests of working adults and was run at night so as not to interrupt the working day. The emphasis was on popular participation — not merely a matter of increasing people's knowledge, but of their using their new knowledge and skills to participate actively in building the society. One of the most important aspects of CPE was its cultural component, in which people were encouraged to express themselves through poetry, drama, song and dance.

Just as the Literacy Programme received valuable assistance from Brazil, Cuba and Nicaragua, so the CPE reciprocated by sending two of its young teachers to Nicaragua to assist the Sandinista government in its Atlantic Coast English Literacy Campaign.

In-Service Teacher Training

Two-thirds of the nation's Primary school teachers (600 people) were seriously undertrained — a colonial heritage. Children were taught by teachers who themselves had finished just Primary or Secondary school education. Any envisaged improvement in the educational system clearly called for a teacher-training programme that would remedy the situation as quickly as possible.

An in-service teacher-training programme was chosen as the most practical and most effective for Grenada. The PRG created the *National In-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP)*, aimed at upgrading 612 untrained teachers over a three-year period. The teachers left the schools for training one day a week, while on the other four days they put into practice what they had learnt. Thus there was a constant interplay between theory and actual classroom work, and regular consultation between the student-teachers and the training team.

Besides raising pedagogical levels, the NISTEP plan also developed a standard curriculum for schools throughout the country, and established teaching as a serious profession — erasing the widely-held notion that it was merely a stepping-stone to more prestigious and lucrative employment.

The NISTEP was considered a success and attracted attention elsewhere in the region. Less-developed Carribean countries were thus considering establishing programmes similar to

NISTEP.

The Community School Day Programme (CSDP)

The CSDP was designed originally as a practical strategy for keeping Primary school pupils occupied on the one day each week when the teachers were out of the schools for the in-service training. However, it took on a life of its own, and on 'community-school day' persons of various skills in the communities were invited to the schools to teach what they knew.

The co-ordinator of the CSDP worked closely with the local 'zonal co-ordinators' towards developing Community School Councils — a kind of parent-teacher organisation. They encouraged parental support of school programmes and provided reciprocal assistance by the students in community projects. They pointed the way towards reinforcing an 'interdependent relationship' between community and school, similar to what is envisaged with our school PTsAs.

The Right to Education

A billboard in Grenada's countryside proclaimed that in revolutionary Grenada education 'is a right not a privilege'. In terms of national policy this meant bringing education within the financial reach of the poor and the working class. An assistance programme helped the poorest families to pay for their children's schoolbooks and uniforms — in the past parents' inability to afford these had kept their children out of the Primary schools. At the High school level, tuition costs were first reduced, and then from 1981 all Secondary education was provided free. A new High school was built, only the second High school built by the State in Grenada's entire history.

At university level the number of scholarships for study abroad was increased. The massive debt owed by the Gairy regime to the University of the West Indies was paid back, so that Grenadian students could again attend the UWI. The PRG's co-operative international relations produced many offers of scholarships at foreign universities, particularly in Africa, Mexico, Cuba and Europe.

The PRG in its short term of life thus took positive steps to eradicate illiteracy; to make education free, universal and relevant to the lives of the ordinary people.

Tragically, these measures — as also the giant strides made in health care, housing and the general economic life of the masses — were halted by the USA invasion of Grenada in October 1983. We have no positive information of the extent to which the USA takeover of Grenada has undermined or reversed the gains of the progressive educational programmes of the People's Revolutionary Government. But it is certain that Grenada — and other countries under the yoke of American and British imperialism — will rise once more.

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Chile: Education and Repression

Education in other Countries (X)

It is almost thirteen years since the bloody overthrow of Chile's Marxist President Salvador Allende by Augusto Pinochet — with not a little help from his friends, the USA. General Pinochet is one of only two remaining 'old-style' rightwing military dictators in Latin America, Stroessner of Paraguay being the other, and his regime has conducted a reign of absolute terror against the impoverished Chilean population.

We shall look at Allende's Popular Unity Government's period of 'Socialist educational perspectives', at the 'educational' policy of the ruling military junta and at the attempts to provide an 'Alternative Education'. (Our material is drawn from the book *Education and Repression: Chile by the World University Service*, an 'educational charity' organisation based in the United Kingdom.)

The Popular Unity Period (1970-1973) — Socialist Education Perspectives

In 1970 Dr Salvador Allende, one of the founders of Chile's Socialist Party, was elected President, leading the coalition leftwing parties which made up the Popular Unity (Unidad Popular — UP) Government. Their political programme was the building of socialism by parliamentary means. The failure of the programme is well-documented and described in a number of books — some included in the references supplied at the end of the article.

For the Popular Unity government education was not a priority area. It was going to be one among the many elements in the struggle for socialism. They did have a position on education and a criticism of the education system they had inherited. Education in Chile was seen to be inherently elitist. Reforms (under the previous Christian Democratic government) had increased access to education and modernised the curricula, but these reforms had been implemented from the top down. The new government's criticism of education was directed against the whole structure of education under capitalism. Here schools were seen as the site for cultural preparation of labour power: arenas which duplicated the class structures; and as part of the ideological apparatus of capitalist society. This form of education — bourgeois education — prevented students from acquiring a real knowledge of the nature of the relations which structure society, or of the real basis of production in society. It instead taught the minimum necessary for the job market (as has long been the case in South Africa in the schooling of the oppressed) and for the reproduction and entrenchment of the existing society. Past educational modes were seen also as irrelevant and alienating, and over-dominated by foreign ideologies.

Educational Change

Popular Unity wanted to change and to democratise education: 'School must become an integrated element of that big school which is society . . . schools must be open to pressures important to the community' and ' . . . the transformation of the education system must not be the work only of experts.' Discussion was thus opened on the question of educational change and direction. The debate took place at all levels. The First National Congress in 1971, involving teachers, trade unions, students, universities, community organisations and parents, concentrated on the following issues: *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. This was the central theme of the Congress. This equality was dependent on the restructuring of society as a whole.

Worker Education. The idea was that of permanent, continuing, education, run by the workers themselves in the new context of production.

Reforms. This would entail the combining of study and work.

Promotion of New Values. Of importance here was the creation of human solidarity, and collective tasks of social transformation: the need to create the 'new man'.

A Unified Education System. It was essential that the divisions between different subject branches in Secondary education, and those between Secondary and Primary schools, should be abolished. A comprehensive system incorporating all levels was to be created. This new system was to be called the *Escuela Nacional Unificada* (ENU), and was intended to act as the means of breaking down divisions between school, production and society. It was, clearly, a project for the social transformation of the education system.

The Escuela Nacional Unificada (ENU) 1972-73: Social Integration

A two-tiered system was proposed for implementing ENU, which would allow for a merging of formal and extra-mural schooling. The first was pre-school education, up to six years of age, eventually including family education projects. The second tier was general and polytechnic education, taking in the ages six to eighteen years, and

divided into three stages. The first four-year stage provided a common general curriculum, the next (ages 11 to 14 years) started the specialisation process, and the final stage saw pupils following a core curriculum, with a concentration on a speciality.

The ENU programme was to eliminate the internal streaming in the school system — which was seen as reproducing the social differentiation within class society, and on the other hand to establish strong links with the community and with production work outside the school. There would be 'study-work' (by students). Specialisation would be based on 'the most important sectors of the production of goods and services'. Although teachers — 'education workers' — still had the major responsibility for education, *parents, community and popular organisations, and workers* were assigned key educational functions. The ENU plan — the key project in Popular Unity's overall educational plans — showed that the government's major educational goals were to integrate the school into society, to break down divisions between mental and manual labour, to eliminate internal differentiation and hierarchy within schools. The intention was to effect a revolutionary redefinition of education on both the formal and the informal level.

Popular Unity's plans in this regard — and in every other aspect of Chilean society — were not fully implemented or realised. By 1972 the economy was in dire straits. Opposition within Chile, from the Christian Democrats and the extreme right and US imperialism in general, soon brought the collapse of the first 'elected' socialist government, the climax being the coup of 11 September 1973, which saw the overthrow of President Allende.

The Military Junta, 1973 onwards — Education and Repression

The whole concept and system of education inherited by the military junta was geared to serving and servicing a model of society that was the antithesis of the model visualised by the new regime. Popular Unity's system was based in theory and increasingly in practice on a commitment to social participation, democratisation, critical independent thinking, and the breaking down of hierarchy and bureaucracy. The present junta is violently anti-democratic and anti-political and committed to an authoritarian, hierarchical, power structure. From the outset its main concern in education was to establish absolute and immediate control. This had been achieved and consolidated by 1978, from which time the new rulers have been implementing their own 'educational revolution'.

The same means used in all other sectors have been employed to establish control over education:

repression by force. Schools have been closed down, books seized and burnt, libraries put under military supervision. Left or 'Leftish' teachers have been purged. Written or oral 'denunciations' of 'extremists' are encouraged. All teachers have been put on temporary contracts and their independence and autonomy restricted. Ideas considered to be supportive or productive of communism have been eliminated in order to 'extirpate the cancer of Marxism from Chile'.

The junta established a dual mechanism of control: the Ministry of Education retains control over technical and administrative aspects, and the *Comando de Institutos Militares* control over ideological, disciplinary, and security matters. Military supervisors have the right to go into any school, check timetables, interrogate pupils and teachers, dismiss or suspend staff, and attend — without notice — any staff or teachers' meeting. The Comando has issued very specific and detailed instructions to 'head teachers' regarding the internal organisation of schools and their course (curriculum) content. The headmaster has to submit to the Comando:

1 'Confirmed denunciations of professors, aides, or administrative personnel under his direct command who in their classes or activities do any of the following:

comment on current politics; propagate evil-intentioned rumours concerning the activities of the government or extremist groups; propagate jokes or stories relating to the activities of the Junta or its members; distort 'patriotic' concepts or values; distort the ideas contained in study texts, giving them whimsical or partial interpretations; propose or hold meetings, within or outside the school, without the corresponding authorisation of the Military Authority; perform any other deed that indicates a clear intent to interrupt, make difficult, block, distort, dislocate, or undermine discipline, or an intent to alter the normal development of educational activity by students at any level; propose ideas pressuring directors or presidents of organisations such as Student Centres, Parents' Centres, or Teachers' Centres, or any other organisation authorised by the Ministry, to introduce a system of voting to elect its component members, according to partisan purposes now eradicated.

2. 'Confirmed denunciations of students or parents who, in their activities inside the school or in Parents' Centres, promote or carry out any of the above-mentioned activities.'

The Comando declared in addition that: 'All omissions or lack of decisiveness in relation to the activities summarised above and any delay in bringing account to the Military Authorities will be the exclusive responsibility of the headmaster.'

Most of the repression suffered by teachers comes from fellow-teachers and students. Teachers and student-parents' and pupils' committees that were particularly active in the Popular Unity period have been the most vulnerable. They have been severely restricted or banned, and have faced all kinds of provocation at school. Later the controls over teachers have shifted from outright repression to a series of institutional and economic restraints on their activities. It will be seen that under the Junta's 'monetarist policy', applied from 1979 onwards, education has been reduced to a commodity.

Monetarist Policy: Post-1979

The regime in its first years of rule repressed and controlled the education system, and purged it of the elements it considered 'dangerous' to itself. From 1979 onwards education has been restructured along monetarist lines. This system, its guru Milton Friedman, is based on the assumption that: 'only by paying for something are you able to get what you want, to value it and use it properly . . . We believe that the growing rôle that government has played in financing and administering schooling has led not only to enormous waste of taxpayers' money but also to a far poorer educational system than would have developed had voluntary co-operation (that is, private funding) continued to play a larger rôle.'

In this kind of system, according to Friedman, the consumer (parent or child) is paramount and thus able to choose the kind of education that he wants. This choice ensures that education is 'valued'. Says Friedman: 'When you see each lecture costing 35 dollars, and you think of the other things you can be doing with the 35 dollars, you're making very sure you're going to that lecture.' Consumers ensure that the service paid for is appropriate to their needs. At government institutions, where tuition fees are low because they are subsidised, students are second-class consumers, the story goes. They are objects of charity, partly supported by the taxpayer. This factor affects students, faculty and administrators. And the system is costly, inefficient and unresponsive, it is claimed. But private students are primary consumers. They are paying for what they get and they want to get their money's worth. Friedman's theory is that the State does not have to provide education. Those who are not willing to pay the costs themselves will, through their own *free consumer, choice*, remain outside the educational system. They *choose to remain poor and deprived*.

Quite logically, in this context, education does not have to be compulsory. The working class in Chile is, thus, to remain uneducated and unskilled. Education is for the élite, and municipalities that cannot or do not want to manage education have been able to divest themselves of any responsibility for it. The 'privatisation' and 'municipalisation' of education are effective 'non-repressive' controls over the impoverished masses of the country.

Alternative Education

The present regime, of Augusto Pinochet, has effectively destroyed the framework of the formal State education system. Education as a right; as necessary for the functioning of a modern, technologically sophisticated, economy; as an important political weapon; as a means towards individual fulfilment, has been abolished and replaced by a system in which it is a commodity, available to the few who can afford it. The monetarist regime is committed to the notion that the market rather than the State should regulate the provision of education and that education should be paid for. Clearly, the poorest sectors of the population forfeit all right to an education.

To compensate for this limited (in scope and in content) provision of education, attempts have been made by, mainly, political groups to find ways of providing alternative education outside of the State systems. One notes that within working-class organisations there has always been a tradition of encouraging popular culture, libraries, theatre, newspapers. This is a feature of all anti-colonial struggles.

The Church

The Church has given 'conditional legitimacy' to the Junta, but has not joined it. The Church has been actively involved in human rights and charitable community work, and has co-operated closely with some left-wing parties. Money raised by international organisations for welfare, community, health and education work has been channelled through the Church. Small-scale productive enterprises and co-operatives, clinics and other social services have been developed in slum areas. Shanty-town dwellers run projects like educational aid schemes (workshops for the unemployed, adult literacy projects). The Church offers resources and protection to those who do not support the Junta, and also promotes organisational and educational work.

Such independent projects are, obviously, hostile to the Junta, and subject to closure, repression and restriction of their activities. To remain in existence they have had to learn a new non-political language, and yet continue able to do the work they believe in. Though they keep a close watch on such agencies, the rulers are aware of the political repercussions for themselves of too much overt aggression against these agencies, especially as most of them are internationally funded.

Conclusion

Since 1973, the highly organised and politicised Chilean working class has been decimated. Education, health, welfare services have been cut and privatised. There is mass unemployment. The Junta has in its thirteen years of existence waged a consistent and relentless war on the working class and on any ideology that goes counter to its consumerism and materialism. Thus, for the suppressed working class, educational work has become a priority area for independent and democratic organisations. Only in alternative educational projects, mentioned briefly here, can critical analysis be pursued and an effective opposition to the Military Junta galvanised into action. From newspaper reports that one gets now and then there is indeed the indication that the Military Junta will be hard pressed to maintain the dubious distinction of being one of just two such fascist regimes left in this part of the world.

EDUCATION IN CHILE

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