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# THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL

## Contents

THEIR STATE OF EMERGENCY . . . . .	1
SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE LITERATURE AND MEANINGFUL EDUCATION (IV) . . . . .	4
TO ALL "LEGAL DEPOSIT" LIBRARIES	5
EDUCATION IN AMERICA EDUCATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES (VI)	7
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: BOOK REVIEW . . . . .	9
NOTES IN SCHOOL . . . . .	14

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# THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL

Vol VII, No 2

Official Organ of the Teachers' League of South Africa

September 1985

## *Their State of Emergency*

The declaration of a State of Emergency in 36 magisterial districts of South Africa by State President Botha on 20 July 1985 was a formal announcement to the World that a state of war existed between the South African Government and a section of the population over whom it claimed to exercise hegemony. This formal announcement was merely confirmation of a fact of life which has been a grim reality for the millions of people condemned to a struggle for existence in the ghettos created to satisfy the greed and racism of the surrogates here of international capital. For the beleaguered victims this assault upon their humanity has been waged for very many years and with many varieties of deadly weapons. Not least of these has been the systematic smashing of the people's organisations that have been committed to the struggle for liberation, and the banning, jailing and liquidation of a leadership dedicated to the liberatory cause.

The unleashing of police and military forces now in a renewed attempt to crush resistance and to wipe out the sources of inspiration and leadership is in itself an admission of the success with which the oppressed have waged the ongoing struggle, albeit with limited means and against tremendous odds. It is an affirmation that the struggle for justice and freedom from oppression has survived and revived. To the embattled people, the police spies and agents (in and out of uniform), the influx-control officials, the quisling Community Councillors and Administration Board hirelings have been the direct and most visible of the hostile forces that have plagued their daily lives. Upon these agents of the oppressive system and upon the symbols of the debasement and inferiority that Bantu Education would impose upon them, the people have vented their angry rejection. The murderous reprisals, the arrests and detentions, the mysterious disappearances, the curfew, the dragooning of pupils to attend school have been the Emergency measures to impose the rule of the gun and the Casspir

over the communities of the Vaal Triangle and the Eastern Cape in an effort to enforce respect for Tyranny.

No section of the oppressed in Southern Africa is unacquainted with the "mechanics" of the routine practices of Emergency — from the drone of helicopters and spy-aircraft flying over besieged townships to reconnoitre "trouble spots"; to heavily-armed foot-patrols kicking their brutal way through flimsy doors or protective shelters; or the bureaucratic bullying and dehumanising run-around for permits to work, to look for work, to find a house, to put up a shelter, to have their children in school. These routine techniques of ghetto-control have now been inflicted with a degree of ferocity and desperation, as if the very existence of the system of rule is at stake. And the defenders of the *status quo* enjoy indemnity — total legal exemption from any penalty — against any contravention of conventional law. What has all along been "normal" has now been legitimised with the loin-cloth of Emergency powers which authorise the Head of State to exercise extraordinary measures



when the safety of the State is threatened. In our editorials of the past three or four issues, in particular, we have spelt out the social, political, economic and educational plight of the oppressed and the devastation that has been wrought in the lives of 27 million people in South Africa. We would ask now: Is the safety of the State being threatened — as the Emergency Measures would suggest?

The Governments of the Western "democracies" reacted with varying degrees of urgency to the signals of alarm set off by the proclamation of the State of Emergency. Ambassadors were recalled for "consultation", and guarded messages were conveyed to the South African rulers that there seemed indeed to be something rotten in the South African state. The French hastily took their "outrage" to the UN Security Council, to take the moral high ground before they were attacked for their suppression of Nationalist advances in French-controlled Guadeloupe and New Caledonia. After the wheeling and dealing which is standard practice in the corridors of UN, a toothless motion for voluntary sanctions against South Africa and restraints on new investments was passed, with South Africa's major trading partners and bankers registering their expected shameless abstention. The Reagan Administration, after recalling their Ambassador for "consultation", reaffirmed their policy of "constructive engagement". Thus, despite initial and ostentatious demonstrations of shock and horror, basic diplomatic and trade relations have been maintained, albeit at a less openly 'friendly' level. True to form, the Western "democracies" have 'sent signals' to the oppressed of this country in order to maintain the illusion of their support for the struggle against "Apartheid", and have made face-saving gestures of rapping Botha's administration over the knuckles. For these Western Governments a longer term of safety for their financial and political interests demands a revamp-

ing of the most obvious and most obnoxious instruments of Apartheid oppression. To them the threat that active resistance to the Botha regime might become an enduring way of life presents the danger that the situation might pass beyond the control of "emergency" measures in both military and political terms.

There can be no doubt that Botha Foreign Minister was required to give assurances to the Ministers of Britain, America and Germany at Vienna that political nostrums would be applied to the most virulent social sores as soon as the groundwork had been laid at the Nationalist Party provincial congresses. The British, American and German representatives would have understood that Botha President was a captive of the racist ideological and social structures created in the past by the Nationalist Party, with their connivance, to preserve the green pastures of citizenship for the White minority alone. These arch-manipulators would have understood that it would require fancy footwork and superlative conjuring skill for him to appear to advance towards Reform while retreating into the laager, to make certificates of citizenship appear and disappear at will, to make talks with unrepresentative individuals appear as "consultation and negotiation", to turn quislings into "elected representatives of the people". Such wonders to perform he would need time, and thus the continued patience and indulgence of South African Herrenvolkism's Capitalist friends and protectors. The guns of the police and army would meanwhile hold the people at bay.

Botha President has performed in Natal and will, in due course, repeat his act before his other Party congresses. Adroit stage-management and titillating leaks to the media set the scene for him to appear as the indomitable Volksleier, independent and incorruptible, committed to defending the interests of the White minority, his Party principles and Christian values, but prepared to "negotiate" issues of citizen-

ship, "own affairs" and participation in the administration of "general" affairs, with the other "minorities" in the country. A world-wide audience heard the hoary stories of South Africa's being a country of minorities, of outworn measures of influx-control, of citizens of a common fatherland exercising their citizenship and political rights in different ways, and of a mysterious crossing of the Rubicon — the usual recantation of Nationalist Party dogma presented with the revivalist fervour of the far North mixed with paternalistic patronage — and delivered in English. Since then his loyal henchmen Botha Foreign Minister and Heunis Constitution Cobbler Extraordinary have attempted to breathe some life into the "concepts" with the aid of the ever-compliant SABC. Have the oppressed heard answers and solutions to their problems of non-franchisement, poverty, landlessness, unemployment, lack of education?

The patronage brokers and collaborators who were hoping for a package of promises they could use as barter to buy off the militancy and determination of the besieged people have been left with nothing to sell. The Nationalist faithful, English- and Afrikaans-speaking, have been reassured that their "Leader" was not going soft and their luxurious suburbs and schools would not go mixed in their lifetimes. They could continue to put their trust in a Party and a Leader whose first tenet was the preservation of white privilege, whatever the Conservatives and Herstigtes might allege. After all, the Leader's invitation to black 'leaders' to talk with him was in the tradition of Kruger-statesmanship. The liberal punters who had blown up expectations for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners as a prelude to a National Convention were answered with the characteristic arrogance of the "Shah-of-the-Afrikaners" — come before me as suppliants with your hands tied, and talk only within the parameters of Apartheid politics as regulated by me.

For the unfranchised and dispossessed of this land there was nothing, as they had expected, for they have learnt the basic lesson that the ruling class has no solutions for the problems it has created. The Bothas know only violence, repression and subjugation. The people have learnt and are learning through the State of Emergency that there *are* ways out of the slough of despond onto the high road that would lead to the real democracy for them and their children.

The ideas and ideals of liberation have a long history. They have inspired the struggle for freedom from oppression through periods of Emergency, both proclaimed and unproclaimed, and the sacrifices that have been made have not been made in vain. The inspiration derived from a leadership and the strength derived from organisation will feed the hearts and minds of young and old involved in the struggle. Even now the embattled people in the Emergency areas know that throughout the land their allies are at work building the future for the 31 million people who have the right to an equal, unqualified citizenship as members of the nation of an undivided democratic South Africa. The pupils and students in the Schools, Colleges and Universities and those on the streets; the workers organised in their trade unions and those still unorganised; the fathers, the mothers, the sons and daughters, employed and unemployed, along their several ways are growing together into that ONE NATION whose Parliament will provide for the work opportunities, the homes, the schools, the recreational and cultural facilities, the land and sources of food, the medical schemes and protection for the young and old — for all, equally. Until that Parliament assembles, the Emergency will remain, but all around there is evidence of the people's determination and faith that the means to end the Emergency will grow ever more certain.

## South African Literature

### Literature and Meaningful Education (IV)

L REED

The rigidity of social fragmentation in South Africa, the salience of "race" divisions in the class struggle, the perception of most writers in terms of these salient divisions, obliges an analysis in terms of a prior distinction between literature by white writers and literature by black writers. But the subjective logic of "race" perspectives will not be treated at face value and will be related to the dominant class forces of South African society. Also, this article will be highly selective and will merely attempt to plot some outstanding trends within that broad body of writing which makes explicit its criticism of the South African status quo.

#### "White" literature: changing themes

From the early fifties and after the rise to power of the Nationalist Party, many of the themes of white South African writers began to bear clearcut testimony to the viciousness of the colour-based system of segregation and political domination in South Africa. Novels and poems focussed increasingly on the immensity of socio-political pressures, the inexorable determination of individual experience by a surrounding context. These stresses tended to proliferate at the same time as self-confident satire, romanticism and a faith in liberal humanism began to wane. After the introduction of apartheid, and particularly after Sharpeville and the banning of the ANC, many writers began to treat institutionalized racism and oppression in South Africa not as "distinctly political" issues, to be circumvented or easily resolved in literature, but as deeply problematic dilemmas which profoundly permeated all facets of life, dilemmas which ruled out the easy confidence of satire or straightforward liberal humanism.

Nadine Gordimer's novels, written between the 1950s and 1980s, provide a useful basis around which to chart the progression in themes. In all her novels Gordimer concentrates on detailed documentation of social life, her "data" being selected in such a way as to highlight a world in which her white characters, while living affluent, materially secure lives, are plagued by guilt, anxieties and social taboos. Her black characters are shown to be victims of the stark socio-economic oppression endemic in South African society. In early novels Gordimer allows her characters a significant measure of "freedom" from political pressures, this signalling an adherence to liberal humanism: the protagonist of *The Lying Days* is raised in a narrow mining town but ultimately transcends the limitations of her origins; *A World of Strangers* focusses on a black man and a white man who, despite the strictures of apartheid, meet in friendship, their common anti-ideological beliefs alienating each of them from the caste with which — according to apartheid laws — he should identify; *Occasion for Loving*

also deals with socialization "across the colour line", with a black man and a white woman in love striving to find freedom from political harassment. These novels record the onerous political pressures confronting black and enlightened white characters yet also assert the possibility of freedom, freedom which derives from the integrity and clear-sightedness of individual belief and action.

A writer who may be seen in distinct relation to Gordimer is Doris Lessing in *The Grass is Singing*. The protagonist is imprisoned by the socio-political and sexual taboos of northern Rhodesian society. She attempts to adapt to the roles available to her but succumbs to madness, eventually allowing herself to be dominated entirely by her black servant and losing her hold on "normality", the social orthodoxy of settler-racist life. The mentally unstable, repressed and sexually exploited protagonist is the medium through which Lessing exposes the depravity and inhumanity of her society.

This perceived moral sickness is an insistent feature of mid- and late-20th century writing and is shown — implicitly or explicitly — to flow from the oppressive political order, driving the individual to madness, despair, death or a state of passive impotence. These emphases emerge — at the expense of an earlier liberal humanist faith in the individual — in Gordimer's later works, and in *The Late Bourgeois World*, *Burgher's Daughter*, *Guest of Honour*, *The Conservationist* and *July's People* there are constant allusions to the erosion of a "white" world, the inadequacy of individual acts of commitment on the part of enlightened white characters, the supplanting of a "white" world by a "black" one.

The defining features of liberal ideology and the fiction that embodies it are an exaltation of individual endeavour and an idealistic optimism, features which constitute a type of bourgeois apologetics for capitalism: the suggestion is that the individual can and should "succeed" in the given world as long as he/she strives hard enough. The literary themes surveyed in the two preceding paragraphs indicate a post-liberal humanist denial of

the efficacy of traditional solutions and prefigure writing by authors like J M Coetzee and Sheila Fugard (*The Castaways* and *A Revolutionary Woman*), who invert traditional norms to the extent of breaking away from conventional narrative technique, linear conceptions of time, standard conceptions of consciousness. The fissuring of theme and form is prevalent also in much poetry, with metaphysical probing, a preoccupation with form and a kind of titled conception of reality, constituting modernist responses to particular political crises.

#### Essentially liberal outlook

What, then, can be said of the relationship between these literary responses and world outlook? In a context in which class categories largely mirror "racial" ones, in which "racial" membership largely determines the individual's privileges or deprivations, in which being classified "white" means — irrespective of individual convictions — automatic exemption from the day-to-day injustices suffered by the majority of the population, many white writers have been "manoeuvred" into dramatizing the perceived marginality of their position, a perceived emptiness in their gestures of rebellion, the immensity of a world which is seen to bear down mercilessly on the individual. The long-established interaction of "race" and class, the more recent popularization of the "race"-class correlation by black consciousness philosophies have led to the identification of a "white ethos" as the focus of liberatory revolt; in consequence, many writers reflect in their work what basically seems to be the paradox of revolt-impotence, protest-imprisonment. Although the literary themes surveyed do, therefore, signal a break from liberal humanist optimism, they do not diametrically depart from an essentially liberal conception of South African social reality: the preoccupation with psychological anxiety and petty bourgeois alienation, the absence of any attempt to unravel the socio-economic roots of "racial" conflict, lodges them firmly within a bourgeois conception of reality; the shift away from the liberalism of Guy Butler, Alan Paton and the early Gordimer to the "post-liberalism" of the poetry of David Livingstone, the writing of J M Coetzee and Sheila Fugard and the later work of Nadine Gordimer is thus not as all-pervasively radical a shift as it may appear to be.

#### More militant themes

Let us now consider two writers, Athol Fugard and Harry Bloom (*Transvaal Episode*), who incorporate more popular and politically militant themes: Fugard's plays are populist rather than radical and, adhering to the techniques of so-called alternative theatre, concentrate on social

issues in a sweeping generally critical way. Set in black locations and slum areas, many focus on issues such as the pass system (*Sizwe Bansi is Dead*), the imprisonment of political detainees (*The Island*), the diverse human tragedies rooted in apartheid (*Boesman and Lena*, *Statements after an Arrest under the Immorality Act* and *The Blood Knot*). Fugard uses innovative dramatic techniques to heighten audience sensitivity to the relationship between dramatic representation and real life, so that formalistic innovation in his case is emphatically connected to a political thrust. The plays do not, however, include any dialectical working out of social dilemmas, and in Fugard's work we thus find the adherence to critical realism described in a previous article: a loose identification with the plight of the masses which stops short of a pursuance of a revolutionary social dialectic.

It is this dialectic which Bloom in *Transvaal Episode* attempts to pursue. Set in a location, the novel pivots on the arrest of a washerwoman, and strives to debunk the conventional wisdom about race riots. Bloom tries to move beyond the liberal and bourgeois framework by focussing on the main agents of social transformation rather than on a petty bourgeoisie, by insisting on the potential of the oppressed to reorganize the *status quo* and by attempting to demystify race myths. First published in 1956, the novel has been resuscitated by David Philip (Africasouth Paperbacks; 1982) and in the present-day context would still seem to offer an insightful alternative to prevailing literary perspectives in South Africa.

(To be continued)

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The Editor

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## Education in America

### Education in other Countries (VI)

A JAMESON

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



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## Book Review

Education in Multicultural Societies edited by Trevor Cohen. Published on behalf of the British Comparative and International Education Society by Croom Helm Ltd, Provident House, G-20 Burrell Row, Beckenham, Kent BR3 1AT (Price £16.95).

*This is the concluding section of our review on the above publication, the first having appeared in the June 1985 issue.*

In his essay on Multiethnic Education in the USA: Practices and Promises, James Banks says: "Multiethnic education assumes that ethnicity is a salient part of American life and culture". He concedes, however, that assimilationist policies had succeeded in establishing an American "identity" for the millions of European immigrants who had flocked into the USA up to about 1924 and that these assimilationist forces and policies dominated American life from about the turn of the century to the beginning of the 1960s.

He quotes Cubberley, an educational leader, as stating the school's goal near the turn of the century as "Everywhere these people (immigrants) tend to settle in groups or settlements and to set up their own national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up their groups and settlements, to assimilate or amalgamate these people as part of the American race, and to implant in their children, as far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law, order and popular government, and to awaken in them reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth."

However, he notes: "The assimilationist idea has not worked nearly as well for ethnic peoples of

colour." By the late 1950s and early 1960s, he says, the combined forces of discrimination in such areas as employment, housing and education, and rising expectations, caused "Afro-Americans" to lead an unprecedented fight for their rights which became known as the Black Revolt. He does not examine the social and political factors that diverted this revolt into a Black demand for more control over their institutions, including the schools, and that these should more accurately reflect their "ethnic" cultures. They demanded more Black teachers and administrators for their youths, textbooks which reflected Black culture, and "cafeteria foods more like those which their children ate at home." As educational institutions

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 group-

ings".

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

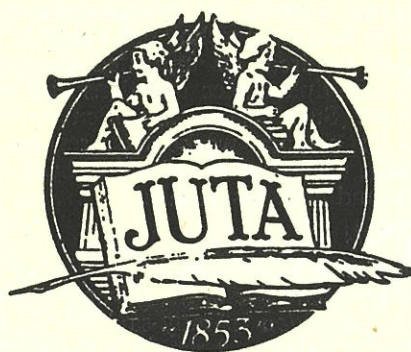
Robert L Carter (new Federal Court Judge) who was a legal representative of the litigants in *Brown vs Board of Education* recently said, "If I had to prepare *Brown* today... I would seek to recruit educators to formulate a concrete definition of the meaning of equality in education and I would base 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."



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responded to the Black Revolt other alienated groups of colour, such as Mexican and Asian Americans and Puerto Ricans, made similar demands for recognition of their "ethnicity". They led "white ethnic groups that had denied their ethnic cultures in the past to proclaim ethnic pride and to push for the inclusion of more information about white ethnic groups in the curriculum." Banks concludes: "In a sense, the Black civil rights movement legitimized ethnicity and other alienated ethnic groups began to search for their ethnic roots and to demand more group and human rights."

He examines various practices and problems arising from the Multiethnic concept and asserts: "It is concerned with modifying the total educational environment so that it is more reflective of the ethnic diversity within American society." He advances a Philosophy of Ethnic Pluralism, lays down certain guidelines for a Multiethnic School Staff and has constructed various models to illustrate how curriculum modification can allow a school to develop from the Anglo-American Centric Model to an Ethnic Additive Model and eventually reach the Multinational Model. He would also have intelligence-testing and other testing procedures adapted to "assess the abilities of minority youths, and tests which will reflect the cultures in which they are socialized." It is clear that the "Multiethnic" philosophy in the USA has its origin in the racism that had survived the abolition of slavery and had allowed Black ghettos to proliferate throughout the USA. Despite its defence of "democracy" in two World Wars, the USA government allowed racial discrimination to befoul the social, political and economic institutions; but by giving token recognition to some Blacks it presented an image of non-racialism. The positive discrimination programmes and the propagation of ethnicity has provided convenient camouflages for the racism that still pervades American society. Multiethnic education seems to be a self-conscious apologia for that racism. While a system of school segregation persists in most parts of America any pandering to "racial" superiority and discrimination will only extend the life of such a system.

### THE ASEAN COUNTRIES

In his report on Cultural Pluralism in South-East Asia, Keith Watson has chosen to place his emphasis on the countries in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) — Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand — since there is relative political stability amongst them, there has been considerable progress in socio-economic development; and because all the countries have committed themselves to educational expansion, to developing a national identity and to regional co-operation through the South East Asian Ministers of Education Organisation. Also, information and statistics relating to educational expansion and development are most readily available from them.

In an examination of Culturalism and Educational Policies, Watson concludes that the educational policies pursued depend on a whole range of inter-related factors — economic, administrative, cultural, social and religious. He then devotes several pages to sketching in and illustrating statistically the complexities of the region. He uses tables showing World Bank Rating, Population, GNP, Population Growth, Distribution of the Labour Force between Industry and Agriculture, Racial Composition, and Major Languages spoken. A separate table summarises the Ethnic, Cultural and Linguistic Composition of the ASEAN countries and shows, inter alia, Language Policy in Education and Education Policy towards different racial groups. He describes these as Assimilation for Indonesia and Thailand, Integration for Malaysia and the Philippines, and Cultural Pluralism for Singapore.

In his section on Education and Nation Building, the author examines the broad outline of policies followed by various governments "to foster a sense of national unity from their diverse populations." Language policies have been used most positively to promote a national identity and he follows the progress and effects of these in the various states. In Malaysia, for example, he notes how British Colonial Policy, ostensibly to preserve the Malays from European "contamination", had allowed the seeds of separation to be sown through four separate school systems. Since the War, however, policies have been concerned with the reconciliation of cultural, social and economic differences among the indigenous urban and rural Malay, immigrant Chinese and Indian sections of the population. Among the first steps after Independence in 1957 were the creation of a common syllabus to be adopted in all schools, regardless of their language media, and the passing of the National Language Act (1957) which allowed a period of ten years during which Malay was to replace English as the national language.

Despite reverses and antagonisms generated by conflicting economic and class interests, discrimination in favour of Malays in education and employment continues to redress the balance, according to the author. The question remains whether or not harmonious relations become the norm, but this will depend on whether the gulf between the publicly-educated Chinese and the publicly-educated Malays grows, whether the socio-economic gap between rural and urban Malays can be bridged, and how far Malays will be prepared to recognise Malay-educated, Malay-speaking non-Malays as partners in citizenship. To an otherwise



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optimistic conclusion, the author adds a question of some significance: "Will the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism in this Islamic country, where almost half the population are not Muslims, exacerbate religious differences?"

#### **THE BRITISH ISLES**

Trevor Corner writes in his section on Developing Perceptions of Multiculturalism in the British Isles: "The frequent interchange of the terms (Great) Britain, the British Isles, United Kingdom, indicates a certain degree of uncertainty of identity, and the fact that the constituent parts—Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, England, Republic of Ireland, Isle of Man, Channel Islands—have different educational systems makes the point of established social and political diversity." He traces the migration of Celtic peoples, their dispersion throughout the British Isles and the decline of their languages despite "an 'ethnic' revival of interest in music and festival traditions expanded to become a broader movement to revive the language." He notes the total overseas born population, according to 1981 Census figures, as 3 359 825 or 6.27% of the total resident population. He lists the 20 countries of origin representing more than 1% of the immigrant population and 14 others with 0.5 to 1%. He quotes too statistics showing the characteristics of households with "Heads born in the Non-European Commonwealth" and gives lists of the languages other than English, where spoken by one or more pupils, used in London in 1980. He notes that in the urban areas where certain of the West Indian communities have become established since the early 1960s "developing unemployment, serious poverty and inner-city tensions have exacerbated the racial undertones in British society. Many of the 'anti-racist' statements now being issued by certain education authorities, ... evidence this." The racial and religious prejudices experienced by foreigners as a general European phenomenon led to the application of the European Social Fund to "operations which facilitate the basic and advanced training of welfare workers and teachers responsible for integration courses for migrant workers or their children." Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights referred specifically to language rights in education while sections of the UNESCO Convention of 1960 specifically referred to rights against discrimination in education, and the rights of minorities in the organisation of schools and 'general educational matters.' This was later reinforced to include the right to education through the mother tongue. While this legislation in itself could not be of direct assistance to many migrant and regional minorities because of their economic and social dependence on the host countries, and much of the EEC legislation was mostly ineffective and inapplicable in Britain, pressure groups—

either associations of parents or religious groups—were more prepared to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights, according to the author. He notes that, over the last two or three years, local authorities aware that ethnic minority associations are actively reviewing their educational rights have sought to issue statements to provide guide-lines for schools and colleges.

The author concedes that the extent of racism in British schools is still only half-realised and that inherited attitudes are hard to change, but the fragmentary progress in bilingualism, curriculum change, attitude-change, anti-racist teaching, bias in text-books, local, regional and national legislation gives some cause for optimism. However, it should be noted that Britain is experiencing worsening economic conditions and increasing youth unemployment, exacerbated in the case of many 'minorities' by apparent discrimination. There is too a pandering to the racism and class divisions in British society by the preservation of 'ethnic' enclaves and sectional interests. These two factors seem to suggest that there is little hope for an effective challenge to and defeat of traditional educational practices through 'Multicultural' education, however well-intentioned.

#### **CONCLUSION**

There is no doubt that the compiler, Trevor Corner, has succeeded in gathering together in one volume a mass of information on education and (incidentally) social policies in the countries reported upon by the contributors. While material has been assembled from differing methodologies of Comparative Education, discussed by Charles Hoy in the final chapter, this should present no serious difficulties to the serious student of Educational policies and practices in both advanced and developing countries. The extensive list for further reading which is appended offers generous scope to the reader who wishes to explore any particular region or country in greater depth, as each chapter has its own list of titles. The brief curriculum vitae of each author reveals his impressive academic qualifications and extensive research interests so that his findings and reports on educational developments can be regarded as beyond question. On the evidence of this volume alone, however, one gets the feeling that in refraining from any judgements on the social and political policies of Governments the authors show a concern more with what 'is' than with what 'could be' and what 'should be' given different political structures and objectives in the States studied. It would seem that Multicultural education is a growth industry precisely in those countries striving to obviate the social changes which would make the emphasis on 'majorities' and 'minorities' superfluous in a climate of non-racial equal citizenship. KLS



## Notes in School

### I

A NOTE IN THESE COLUMNS in the July-August issue of the Journal, on the present State of Emergency in the country, drew attention to the view now firmly held in the ranks of the oppressed: that liberatory ideas, once rooted in the minds of the oppressed, can never be eradicated, never be killed. In the early 1940s the Liberation struggle was given a new direction, a new emphasis. The oppressed took the first steps along the road away from the politics of collaboration with the oppressor to perpetuate their own enslavement; away from the endless diputationing to plead for concessions from their masters; away from the conditioned acceptance of the "racial" divisions imposed by the rulers, and from the sectarian emphasis on each "racial" group's separate solution of its own problems. The new road would lead to the attainment of basic democratic rights, which the oppressed increasingly learnt to accept would be achieved only by the unified struggle of all of them, on the basis of a programme of clearly formulated demands.

### II

A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO PLOTTING and sign-posting the new course and keeping the destination firmly before the eyes of the oppressed was made by the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM). But, as with other liberatory organisations, the NEUM did not escape constant onslaughts from the rulers and eventually fell victim to the 1960 Langa-Sharpeville emergency crackdown. It did not require the exciting event of Tuesday 20 August to prove to anyone that the NEUM's liberatory ideas, philosophy, demands and methods of struggle had more than survived that crackdown, as all of these are today common currency in our battle for freedom. But the Mass Protest Rally of the New Unity Movement (NUM) against the State of Emergency, under the auspices of the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, in the Athlone Civic Centre on that night gave ample evidence of the force for liberation the Unity Movement once was and is again becoming. What struck one particularly and engendered tremendous hope was the age composition of the audience — ranging from pupils and students in their thousands (the almost 5 000-strong gathering filled the main hall, both minor halls, the stage, all the aisles, the foyer) through all ages to many old stalwarts who had participated in the birth of the NEUM. A LUTA CONTINUA! With the guarantee that the ideas of continuing generations will ensure the victory!

## INVIGILATOR

### III

IN THE SECOND WEEK OF AUGUST, Pik Botha was summoned to Vienna, Austria by the USA, Britain and West Germany. The security situation in South Africa had frightened its Western allies. The declaration of the State of Emergency had triggered off alarm bells. The ability of their local managers to guarantee the safety of those countries' billions in investment capital was in grave doubt. The Reagan policy of constructive engagement was taking a battering and Reagan was to be faced with the embarrassing possibility of having to end that engagement. The disinvestment campaign in the USA had reached the stage where concrete sanctions proposals had been approved in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, hence Reagan's dilemma. If he signed the sanctions proposals, constructive engagement was ended; if he vetoed the sanctions proposals he would have to justify his action by producing concrete evidence of socio-political change in South Africa. And although the disinvestment campaign had not reached the stage in England and Germany that it had in America Thatcher and Kohl wished at all costs to prevent the development for them of their friend's problems.

So SA's three Western allies in particular and other European economic community governments wanted to hear at first hand the extent of the threat to their investments and what reforms were in the pipeline to head off the rising forces for the type of change in South Africa that would result in the loss of their billions. For being the defenders and protectors of capitalism-imperialism, these Western governments are concerned only about the safety of the investments of their own multi-national companies in South Africa, as elsewhere.

Pik Botha, then, was summoned to Austria. Barely a year after the triumphant visits of Pik and PW Botha to the capitals of Europe, PW was no longer welcome and Pik like a minion had to run to answer questions and to take instructions. And, like the ambassador who lies abroad for the good of his country, Pik with his inimitable closed-teeth smile let the representatives of the major Western governments into the secret of the major reforms that his president was going to announce at the Natal Conference of the National Party.

What Pik promised them and what he did not, only he and they will know. But he seems to have sent them away so satisfied that they worked themselves up to a frenzy of expectation.

The disappointment in Washington, London,

Bonn and elsewhere was so immense after P W Botha, in typical blustering form, had delivered himself of his empty rhetoric that one wonders whether these representatives will ever believe Pik in future. But they deserved what they got. Piet Promises handed down his mantle to Pik Promises, on whom it seems to fit very comfortably. Or has the man been wronged? He protests that he told the Western diplomats nothing that did not appear in PW's manifesto. A suggestion that PW in the face of Cabinet opposition had to limit even such empty concessions as he had originally been prepared to make.

### IV

ONCE AGAIN THE LABOUR PARTY — the local House of Representatives species — has been taught the bitter lesson that quislings and sell-outs are treated with contempt — not only by those whom they sell-out but also by those whom on their knees they wish to serve. These slaves probably imagined that they would get a warm reception when they applied for the use of the Goodwood Town Hall for the opening night of their conference. They imagined that they would be able to show those who had boycotted the tri-cameral elections that they, the Labour Party, were indeed responsible for removing apartheid barriers. But they got a kick in the pants that brought them up with a jolt. The Goodwood Town Council turned down their application. To the racist members of the Goodwood Town Council 'Coloureds' are 'Coloureds' even if they are faithful servants.

It is difficult to accept that the members of the Labour Party are now embarrassed. Only men and women with strong feelings of human dignity and a pride in their own worth are capable of feeling embarrassment when treated like slaves. And members of the Labour Party have no human dignity. They are so thick-skinned that they would be prepared to make another application!

The treatment meted out to the Labour Party is similar to the treatment experienced by the rugby players of the Federation. These imagined that playing rugby would mean handling a ball in the 'normal' way against their 'white' opponents. But they have been abused, called the most insulting names on and off the field of play, and generally roughed up on the field just because they are classified 'Coloured'. But, then, both the members of the Labour Party and the officials and players of the Federation are in the game for the financial rewards. Money is worth more than human dignity to these creatures. The money is good. So the insults, the contempt, the foul language and curses levelled at them can be endured.

### V

AS A RESULT OF A COURT ACTION M D ARENDSE, one-time leader of the Labour Party and well-known collaborator in a succession of government institutions, was stripped of his seat as Labour Party MP for Tafelberg in the tri-cameral thing. This crook, who admitted that he had had no intention of keeping his promises, had induced pensioners to vote for him with the bribe of R10 per month for the duration of his sitting on the chamber and a R20 christmas gift parcel. He subsequently sent an agent to get these pensioners to sign a statement that they had voted for him voluntarily, notwithstanding any promises he had made. So who was most surprised when M D Arendse declared: 'All my life — fifty years of public life — I was trying to help the poor and underprivileged. As a member of the Coloured Representative Council I used my salary to assist them. I'm a humanitarian.'!!! In the very next breath he admitted to his gross dishonesty: 'I never intended to overstep the law. My actions were misinterpreted. I never gave anybody a cent.' We believe you, Mr Arendse. You had no intention of honouring those promises.

### VI

SO HERE IS SOHEIR. Soheir who? Soheir Hoosen, M D Arendse's replacement as MP for Tafelberg in the House of Representatives. Only 5½ thousand of those 'eligible to vote' in the vast Tafelberg constituency bothered to register as voters. Of the 5½ thousand, 115 voted for Soheir (118 for Arendse) in a 4.14 percentage poll. So Soheir will be representing hardly anyone. Mainly herself and her husband, who manoeuvred her into standing for 'election'. Not to be outdone by Arendse, Soheir and her husband also had confessions to make: She knows nothing about politics and, according to her businessman husband, 'she finds it a bit difficult to express her views.' No great disability, of course, since she has no views to express. Nor, says her husband, is she stupid. Well, we don't know. But what does one say of the intelligence of a wife whose husband is able to convince her that he will be able to 'teach her everything about politics' from 'a pile of Hansards'. That's what the man said. (*Argus* 10.8.85). So who do you think is the stupider of the two? (We're excluding the kind of cleverness that saw the easiest way ever to obtain — certainly not earn — R43 000 a year.)

In her 'Election Manifesto' Mrs Hoosen said it was her ambition to get into the Guinness Book of Records as an ordinary housewife who won rights for her people. We think she qualifies for such inclusion on many grounds — even before saying her first word in that chamber.



## VII

MR BOTHA, PW, HAS CROSSED THE RUBICON. Well, that's what he said. The Rubicon was a piddling stream, to cross which required no major physical effort. But Julius Caesar's crossing it in 49BC, to give rise to the now proverbial phrase, was an action with major consequences for Rome. Every Roman general returning from a military campaign was obliged to disband his army before reaching — or crossing — the Rubicon. When therefore Julius Caesar, returning from his Province, Cisalpine Gaul, in 49BC, decided to cross the Rubicon at the head of his army, it was a deliberate declaration of war against the Roman Senate and Pompey — the other great general of the day — who in his absence had made their own plans for Caesar. So who is the Pompey in Botha's Cabinet? Not that we're suggesting that Botha's 'crossing of the Rubicon' was a declaration of war against his Pompeys and his Senate. In that regard his 'Manifesto' represented indeed a retreat from the Rubicon and a hoisting of the white flag. Against whom, then, is PW intending to wage civil war?

## VIII

RAYMOND ACKERMAN (MR BIG BUSINESS HIMSELF) is to take the lead in a 'New Bid to solve SA crisis' (front-page headlines in the *Cape Times*, 21.8.85). Ackerman, the man with the goldfinger in oh so many pies, is all suffering and bleeding heart over the state of things in his country: 'We need to show the young people especially, as well as the leaders on both sides of the fence that we are an important force for change and that we are prepared to act' — we being the leaders of big business. Protesting that his plan to get together a group of top men in the business world to do something constructive had nothing to do with trying to forestall any possible effects of the consumer boycott, Ackerman warned that big business was seriously going to try to take up the burden which P W Botha's eagerly awaited 15 August speech had done nothing to come to grips with.

And how would he 'fill the void' left by PW's address? He and his 'action committee' would draw up a 'four or five-point policy statement dealing with citizenship rights for the blacks, the abolition of the Group Areas Act, the abolition of all other organs of apartheid.' The abolition of his business empire, in fact? One would have to be very ingenious not to see the connection between ASSOCOM's reaction to the effects of the emergency situation in SA, as pinpointed in the consumer and workers' stayaways (also *Cape Times* 21.8.85), and Captain Ackerman Vincible's intended salvage operation. Ackerman claimed that

he was going to do all this only because 'I am a concerned citizen' and because 'we in the big business community want it known that someone . . . is seriously going to take up the burden and deal with it.'

A concerned citizen? Indeed, Mr Ackerman. Very concerned about the security of the phenomenal profits you (and big business in general) can continue to reap only in a 'settled' South Africa.

## IX

IT IS CLEAR THAT THE "white" minority can no longer govern South Africa. All that remains is ever harsher oppression and ever more desperate resistance. What was once too ghastly to contemplate is now becoming reality. Closely linked with the ruling group's political failure is economic failure. In fact, the economic disaster that it has inflicted upon so many millions of South Africans for so long is a major reason why it can no longer rule. The hell of houseless, rag-clothed, starving misery (an unrelenting and extreme form of violence and murder) has been the bitter lot of oppressed man, woman and child — even in so-called boom years, when only the well-to-do have been able to do better. The minority regime cannot change this: it manages and is tied to a system in which the privilege and wealth of the few come at the cost of the privation and poverty of the many.

This system is by its very nature cold-blooded and merciless. It has no concern for human beings. It knows only low wages and high profits. It has not been, and never will be, moved by the human suffering it brings about. The majority of its representatives are British and American, the very ones who at present threaten sanctions and disinvestment. Their motivation is self-interest, the safety of their investments in South Africa. Never, but never, would they feel any sincere concern for those whom they have caused to be poor and downtrodden; those who now are violently repressed in *their* name, to safeguard *their* possessions and ensure *their* profits. Far away, model citizens, they slowly and gently turn the little wheel that ultimately, with bone-wrenching savageness, turns the rack on which the South African masses are tortured.

When they talk disinvestment or sanctions, the idea is to bring their South African managers into line; to make them see that their form of management is doomed to upset and destroy the entire system so profitable to them. So the South African Government feel they need not worry, that their main investors are bluffing, because they realise that any disinvestment on their part would increase



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the hardships of the masses and thus aggravate the inflammability of the South African situation.

X

NEVERTHELESS, THE OVERSEAS OWNERS OF businesses or shares in or loans to South Africa cannot but feel jittery about the security of their properties. And self-interest can erode the unity with which they must act to keep South Africa going as is. For in their minds there is a nagging uncertainty: If South Africa goes anyway, who wants to be the loser? Better withdraw the investment and put it in another, safer, starvation-wage country.

The withdrawal of funds has thus already begun, even while the disinvestment debate proceeds. "Political worries have led to capital outflows and weakened the rand," said the *Sunday Times* of 4.8.85. The article also spelled out the consequences: "Because a lower rand increases the cost of imports, it is inflationary and could necessitate brakes on the economy for longer. The implication could be . . . more bankruptcies, unemployment and general hardship."

Another effect of the low rand is that it makes loan repayments expensive and damaging. "The *Standard Bank Review* says SA owed 18.9 billion dollars to foreign banks at the end of last December and about 12.3 billion was due to mature within a year or less. If a significant number of lending banks were to demand on due date repayment of all the loans extended to it, South Africa would be placed in an awkward situation." (*Sunday Times* 11.8.85)

The situation worsened after the State President's speech of Thursday 15 August. "The rand plunged to new depths on Friday because of disappointment at the State President's speech — spelling further delay in economic recovery." (*Sunday Times* 18.8.85) "To repay our remaining R35-billion of foreign debt . . . would mean remaining at present recessionary levels for at least six years. This would be untenable because we cannot sustain the current rate of . . . bankruptcies without ruining the economy." (*Sunday Times* 18.8.85) But there was a benefit in the low rand to the minority regime as well: "But the low rand has prevented foreign disinvestment. Any recovery would exacerbate capital outflows." (*Sunday Times* 18.8.85) The SA regime seems to be in a no-win situation: a low rand means continued recession and a ruined economy; a higher rand means more disinvestment and a ruined economy. An additional difficulty for the ruling section is that it cannot get new investment: "Some (local banks) are . . . having trouble in arranging new

loans even for as short as a week. Financial sources say that in spite of Chase Manhattan's claims (to the contrary), it is reducing its exposure to SA and refusing to roll over maturing credit lines. Several other (American) banks have followed Chase's lead." (*Sunday Times* 11.8.85)

Against this background we see the supreme hypocrisy of the ruling class pleading on humanitarian grounds that the "blacks" would suffer more from disinvestment. They send their stooges overseas to plead their case. The cold-eyed imperialists weigh and consider; uneasily they watch events; their confidence in their managers wanes. Do they stay or cut their losses and run now? Before it is too late for them and their financial interests!

### Education in America

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