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EDUCATION POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1948

APPENDIX A

Submitted by

Leon Paul Tikly

in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
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Faculty of Social Sciences,
University of Glasgow.

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CONTENTS

	[Page]
Notes on Interviewees	3
Interview with Mr P. Buckland and Dr J. Hofmeyr	4
Interview with Prof. J.P. de Lange	32
Interview with Mr K. Hartshorne	48
Interview with Dr B. Louw	67
Interview with Ms L. Smith	87
Interview with Dr R. Stumpf	103

NOTES ON INTERVIEWEES

The interviewees were each asked to provide some biographical information which is included in most cases in the interview itself. What follows is only that information that is relevant for the study as a whole

Mr P. Buckland is currently a researcher with the Education Policy and Systems Change Unit (EDUPOL) of the Urban Foundation. He was also employed for a number of years as an administrator with the Kangwane Department of Education.

Dr J. Hofmeyr is also a researcher with EDUPOL. She has also lectured in the education department of the University of the Witwatersrad and at the Johannesburg College of Education.

Professor J.P. de Lange chaired the influential HSRC commission of enquiry into education in the RSA in 1981. He is also a past chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and is currently rector of the Rand Afrikaans University.

Mr K. Hartshorne was also a prominent member of the HSRC ('de Lange') commission, as well as having worked for many years as an administrator in the old Department of Bantu Education. He also participated in the National Education Policy investigation.

Dr B. Louw is currently a senior administrator with the Department of National education. At the time of the interview he was Director General of the Department of Education and Training. Dr Louw participated in the production of the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS).

Ms L. Smith is a member of the policy making directorate of the Department of National Education. She helped to compile the ERS.

Dr R. Stumpf is currently the head of the HSRC. At the time of the interview he was Deputy Director General of the Department of National Education, and played a leading role in the development of the ERS.

**INTERVIEW WITH MR P. BUCKLAND AND DR J. HOFMEYR,
JOHANNESBURG, 18/9/91, 2.30 pm.**

- LT [Addressing JH] First of all I'd be pleased if you could outline your own history, and your involvement in education to begin with.
- JH Well, I started off as a teacher, Jeppe Boy's High School, then I was seconded to the college of education where I lectured trainee teachers. Then I had a lot of back trouble and stopped work for a while. I came in the eighties, to work part-time for the Urban Foundation. I was really a policy researcher at that stage, and worked for the person who became the Managing Director of the Urban Foundation eventually, Dr Robin Lee. Because of his membership of various committees, I looked at all the reports and data that came his way, and briefed him, and read through them. So that was the kind of work that I did. Because of where the Urban Foundation works, as an agency, I have worked a great deal at the interface between education and educationalists, the NGO world (or the projects as we call them in South Africa), and business who the donors nine times out of ten for the projects. So I have worked in a fairly unusual place. Most educationalists in South Africa have not worked at that interface. Just through circumstance I began to work at that interface, and then really continued as a consultant to the Mobil Foundation in the mid-eighties, and Wit's centre for continuing education, and various other private sector organisations or projects for most of the eighties. Then I had a brief time back at Wits as a lecturer in the education department, then left to complete my PhD because I knew I never would unless I could do it full time. Then I accepted the job here at EDUPOL, the Education Policy and Systems Change Unit, from the beginning of May of this year. So that's a potted history.
- LT OK, fine. Would you mind telling me what EDUPOL is doing, and, what it's aims are.
- JH Its an Education Policy and Systems Change Unit. The name is quite important. Many actors are going to take policy positions in South Africa. Some will research the positions, but not all. Even fewer will consider how you implement policy so that it works. That's why the 'and systems change' has been added to our name, because we are interested in the whole process, from researching policy positions, maybe putting up policy proposals, and then testing and refining them, and considering how to implement them. So it is implementation strategies which influence us as well. [PB enters the room] I was saying that the 'and systems change' part of what we do is very important, because we want to consider implementation strategies. We have a mission statement which, as you can see, wants to bring national policy more in line with development needs of individuals that are transforming South Africa, and the Urban Foundation's values. We don't for a moment pretend that we operate in a value free kind of a situation. I have spoken about the niche, and what makes us different is the 'and systems change'. The four areas that we have decided to focus on, because you can't do anything in

national policy, are teacher development; education work - the interface between those two; the governance of education; and the resources for education (by which we mean the financial, the human, and the physical resources for education). So those are the areas that we are going to put most of our attention into. We work as a team of three people, Peter Buckland, Sybil Ngilolele, and myself, and we are three co-equals - we share out the teams tasks. There is no hierarchy, we operate completely as a team.

- LT If I could ask you both please, to outline for me what you consider to have been the major points of importance in recent educational history, involving the private sector influencing government policy. Put more simply, what are the major events that have marked private sector influence in educational policy since the seventies, lets say.
- JH Well you'd have to begin in 1976 with the Soweto riots etc. The very establishment of the Urban Foundation in a sense, signalled businesses concern about the disintegrating social fabric, and particularly about the quality of life in black communities. The Urban Foundation was a visible symbol of that concern, set up to bridge communities and business, and, somehow, keep lines of communication open with government. That is one of the things that we did. But at the general level of making some kind of statement in society, I think the Urban Foundation is one signal. I think the next important event, which both Peter and I have written about, and participated in, was the de Lange commission. Business made quite a concerted input into the de Lange commission. Quite a lot of that coordinated by the Urban Foundation, interestingly enough, at that time, although it was only one of the constituencies that the Urban Foundation consulted. So they did make an input. Some of the employer organisations in their own right, nothing to do with the Urban Foundation, made their own inputs into the de Lange commission.
- LT Well I know that SYNCOM wrote a paper for the de Lange commission. What is the relationship between SYNCOM and the Urban Foundation?
- JH No relationship whatsoever, there never has been. SYNCOM was some sort of brain child of IBM at that stage as far as I know, and was funded by them. SYNCOM tells you more about the person involved in SYNCOM, who is Andre Spier, rather than about anything else, or anybody else. It is highly idiosyncratic.
- PB It was styled a think tank for capital - that's what it wasn't at the time.
- JH Wasn't at all. Nobody else participated except a small group at IBM and Andre Spier.
- PB It was Spier, spearheading the future.
- LT It was a one-man show?
- JH Yes, very much so. There were some people at IBM who were funding him. It was a very fringe group, and certainly did not represent the views of capital. By the way, there is no such thing as 'the view of capital'. It is the most competitive,

heterogeneous, impossible to organise sector. After years of working there, I can assure you that I know that personally, and any notion of a monolith, is just a complete mistake. People say to us, can the Urban Foundation bring business along. We look at them in disbelief. They happen to fund us, but more than that, we are not a direct channel for their views, and it is exceptionally difficult to get a coherent view out of them anyway. The next step that I'd make, and then I must keep quiet and let Peter talk, is that I really think that after eighty one and the failure of the reformist movement, that I think business thought could work - pragmatic liberalism thought that you know, you should capture the minds and souls of the governing party, the hearts and minds, and try to influence them towards reform. In education, the issuing of the White Paper in 1983 showed that those hopes were really pretty unrealistic. The system had hardly changed at all, and, life went on as usual. I think that business retreated from the policy arena in education. It went into development work. It sponsored increasing numbers of projects, and those have grown. Evidence shows us that's become an increasingly important sector in South Africa. But it didn't get into policy until November 1989 with the establishment of PRISEC, the Private Sector Education Council. By this time business had got so alarmed by the rot in the system, and the steadily disintegrating system, that it felt something drastic must be done. The five big employer associations got together and said we need a channel to voice our concerns about education policy to government, and that was the founding of PRISEC, as a channel for them to express their views. So that is a s Much as I think that they have done.

LT Could you tell me a little bit about PRISEC?

JH It represents the Afrikaanse Handels Instituut, SACOB - the South African Chamber of Business. It represents SIFSA, BIFSA, and the Chamber of mines. Those are the five biggest employer organisations. They each send one or two members to the committee that makes up PRISEC, and then, because non of them really have educational expertise, they decided to appoint a committee of specialists, education specialists. It consists of James Moulder, Alan Pittendrich, Jack Van der Linde and myself. It has hardly been convened since it was instituted which was last year some time, so for all intents and purposes it is not a very well functioning specialist committee. PRISEC meets from time to time. I think most of the work has been done by Alan Pittendrich, and PRISEC tends to represent the views of small business more than big business. The very big conglomerates in South Africa, like Anglo, Barlow Rand, do not believe that PRISEC adequately represents their views. So as you can see, you set up a coordinating body in the private sector, and not every body in the private sector accepts that coordinating body. That's how difficult it is to coordinate the private sector. So there are a lot of attacks on PRISEC and its legitimacy - who does it speak for etc, etc. So that's about as much as I can tell you, because there isn't much more to say about PRISEC. It hasn't been terribly active. The head of it is Theo van den Berg, the current chairman. He has got a terribly demanding job in Toyota, he is the Human Resources Director, and Theo van den Berg spends all his time doing Toyota work naturally, and has almost got no time to devote to PRISEC. So it is a committee of people who are extremely busy, who have limited time to meet, and who have hardly ever, except for one meeting I went to, convened their specialist committee. So its problematic.

- LT Is there any literature about PRISEC?
- JH If you were to get hold of Theo van den Berg, or Alan Pittendrich, I can give you some contact numbers there, and you can see what they are prepared to give you. I am quite sure they would be prepared to give you whatever they have got. They are preparing a submission on the government's Education Renewal Strategy, and the one other thing that I should have said is that one member of PRISEC sat on the integrating committee of the Education Renewal Strategy, and that was Brian Phillips of GENCOR. He is the only non-governmental person to sit on that. They then had quite an 'in' into the Education Renewal Strategy, through one person if you can call that a real 'in', but one person did sit there. They are the only external interest group to be so represented on the integrating committee. That is interesting.
- LT And the Urban Foundation, you weren't.....
- PB No, the Urban Foundation explicitly refused to participate on the grounds that it didn't have sufficient legitimacy. I was going to make the observation that there is a certain tension between saying that the private sector is many voices, and to then talk about business doing this and business doing that. I think the private sector is about as coordinated as the Left. The Left does things, and the Left does things, but to say that this is the position of the Left is about as meaningful. But there was definitely a trend of most of the interests in the business sector to withdraw from policy involvement after the de Lange debacle. Their role in development work had been limited, before de Lange, and since 1976 to the non-formal sector where they have become increasingly engaged because the state simply wasn't able to meet the needs. That continues in the period after de Lange until the new phase in eighty nine when it became quite clear that the crisis was getting so bad that everyone was going to have to speak up. Its probably better to use the word 'they' as a whole conglomerate of different interests. Certainly you can define certain interests in common, but to talk about 'the private sector' is about as meaningful as to talk about 'the left'.
- LT I notice actually Peter, that in that article in 'Transformation', one of the papers that you analyst was SYNCOM's paper. Is that correct?
- PB Yes.
- LT Would you mind just recapping briefly your arguments about....
- PB Not a hope [laughter]. I don't know if I agree with them still. I can't remember. I was trying to make the point that the policy discourse was being restructured. I think that was the language that I used, and that a new discourse was being injected into the policy debate. That's right. SYNCOM was cited as an example of that process. But as to the details of the SYNCOM.....
- LT OK, fair enough, but in terms of being consistent with your present position on SYNCOM, you wouldn't say that they were that important.

- PB I don't think so, no.
- LT And this isn't just kind of Urban Foundation, SYNCOM rivalry going on here.
- PB Not at all.
- JH Not at all. They are a very, very small group of people, I would say in the business sector.....
- PB Are they still going?
- JH No, Andre Spier has retired to a farm somewhere, down in the Cape which he did about two years ago. He married a much younger woman, and moved to the Cape. Divorced his wife, married a much younger woman, and moved to the Cape. So SYNCOM doesn't have any real life.
- PB Perhaps this is his idea of applied futurism![laughter]
- JH Something like that. But, you know, the notion that that represented capital was false at that time, and would be utterly tenuous, because it has just been a dying animal. I know that lots of people would dismiss it as wild flights of fancy - its the typical reaction in the business sector.
- LT Really?
- JH Oh yes. You get some people who are technocratically inclined, and who are technologically inclined, who are captivated by the notion of a satellite orbiting around South Africa that could beam lessons into every class. But those are the people who are gullible about technology anyhow. The vast majority of people dismiss it as slightly off-beam.
- LT Well then why were SYNCOM chosen. why were they included in de Lange?
- PB I think they made quite an impact on the public sector, on the officials engaged in the de Lange investigation, because this was a totally new approach. It was a totally different language, and really my arguments about the discourse were that the bureaucrats did not have access to a way of talking about the problem. Their old way of talking about educational problems would have been in terms of the old ideological rhetoric of CNE and of Bantu Education. The problems they were confronting were just not solvable with that rhetoric. It had been discredited. If anyone encapsulates the technocratic rhetoric, SYNCOM does. So it was seductive. Quite a few people involved in de Lange were attracted by it. Its even quoted. Its quoted in the de Lange report, the SYNCOM report, and some sections were just lifted straight out. That is the main significance. Andre Spier went to a big conference that was organised in February eighty two in Grahamstown. He is quite a dynamic speaker, and so he wowed some people there, but I don't think that amongst serious policy actors that that line has made anything like the kind of impact that de Lange has for example.

JH I would even go so far as to say that Spier has had closer allies in government than he has ever had in business as a whole. He's had many good friends, and close allies, and he has beaten a track regularly to ministers doors over the last couple of years. You must understand that about his position in society. That is why he has had access. They are people within his own social circle. He knows some of them extremely well. He had a track to ministers *sanctum sanctorum* that other people don't have. This is one of the great arguments that's often made in South Africa. whereas in America you have enormous movement between business and government, in the sense that business people take posts in government and out. There is this kind of movement of ideas between the two sectors. It doesn't happen in South Africa. Most people high up in government have never come from business. They have come from teaching, or from religion, or they have been doctors, interestingly enough. So that kind of easy passage between business and government simply does not happen in South Africa to the extent that it happens in other democracies like America for instance. So it is quite interesting if you look at networks of influence and how they work in South Africa. They don't work in many of the typical ways that they work in other countries.

LT Would you claim to be party to any such networks yourself?

JH Yes we are all in networks [laughter]. Yes, you see, I have operated for a long time at the interface between things. I know the project network, the NGO network. I know a lot of the people in corporate social responsibility in the big companies, because they are the people whose money goes to fund projects, and I have met them at corporate social responsibility functions or whatever. I have often given talks which they have attended, so I tend to know who the key people are in corporate social responsibility in South Africa. I know that network. I know them well enough over many years that I can phone someone up and say what do you think about this or something like that. I can ask them for an opinion, or ask them if they know something that is happening. If that's what you mean by a network, that's what I mean by a network, and I do have that kind of access. Of course I also stayed at a university for a while, and so I have an academic network as well. The thing about South Africa is that it is such a small incestuous society that we all operate in many different networks. Those are probably some of the main ones that I have had.

LT How about with government?

JH Government people I have had less to do with. Garbers, I think, knows me now. I have never met Viljoen. Peter I think, having been Secretary of Education in Kanguane, he knows a lot of the government people. I have met very few of them. In the course of my work I have met far more people from the project world, community base organisations, universities, or teacher training colleges, and donors. Those are my strongest networks, and an international donor network that is interesting. The foundation network, because I worked for a while in the States, so I know the foundation network there. Not government, that is not a strong suit, but I have some friends in places, in government now. Someone like John Lewen in the Department of National Education, but not an extensive network.

- LT OK, I'm in the picture. So between you then, you do have limited contact with government officials.
- PB No, I think quite reasonable. I know all the Directors General and Secretaries for all the departments (the education departments), except those in the homelands which have quite recently changed. I know them and can phone them. I was only in[unclear].... for two years, so I don't have a deeply established network. I think we have pretty good access for information from people in government if we need to.
- JH Between us, I would say with all our different networks, we see them as vital to maintain and keep up, because we want to be able to talk to everybody. We want to pursue, as you can see on the second page, an interactive style. We believe that is absolutely crucial to doing policy work. If we can't tap into all kinds of networks, we are limited in our ability to be effective.
- LT So are you included in PRISEC?
- JH Not at all. I just happened to have been there because I was asked to serve on that specialist committee, and I think there may be an opportunity to inject some sense into the private sector's debate about education, which is often based on the fact that they all went to school, and the fact that they always believe that the education system is responsible for all the ills with their employees, and that is not so. They can do with a great deal of help in education.
- LT How do you intend to influence policy then?
- JH We want to do it by this interactive style. We would want to do it either by developing policies and injecting them into the debate, into the open debate about what people are thinking. we have got some ideas about policy....
- LT Through your committee on PRISEC?
- JH No,no,no. Through our networks. through the people that we know, and through opportunities to talk, to engage with them. By holding seminars, discussions, this kind of thing. We would also see ourselves playing a brokerage role sometimes as well. When there are other groups that wish to talk to each other, sometimes we can facilitate that kind of interaction. So sometimes we see ourselves playing a kind of mediating, facilitative role. Very often an advocacy role, about positions that we thought were important, that have come out as a result of our research, and our value stance etc. Then it would really depend on the issue at the time as to what strategy one would adopt for promoting that idea. We would do it mainly by interacting with other groups. Let me give you the example of the Education Renewal Strategy. It came out, we analysed it, we prepared a critical analysis of it, and we have given that to probably about 250 people by now, all over the country. What we said was that these are our thoughts on the ERS, this is the kind of meaning we have managed to extract from it. The interpretation, we believe, is a useful one, how do you react. That is the kind of thing we've done. So we, in a

sense have tried to increase policy understanding about a key document that has been put on the table, and we have done it by interacting with other groups, so by doing an amount of research work, and then making it available to other groups for discussion, debate and feedback. From the feedback that we got, we actually prepared our submission to government which incorporated all the views, or at least, some of the views that we heard during our presentation. That submission went to government finally. So that is the kind of way we would see ourselves ideally as working.

- LT I'd like to go back to an earlier issue, and perhaps Peter you would like to chip in on this one. I wonder if you would like to define, as historically as possible, perhaps from seventy three or the early seventies, what have been the main fears and concerns of the private sector in relation to education.
- JH The one that has been a constant theme, not without justification, is that education system neither educates nor trains people. The main thing is that once they get them, they are not educated, nor are they trainable. That is their major complaint about the education system. If educationalists could only educate the people adequately, then at least they could train. Some of them believe that the education system should also have trained them, that's another whole story. The basic gripe, if you read through everything they have said, is that. The other thing that they feel is that they need skilled person power, and unless they have an education system that delivers quality people, they won't get the skilled person power they want, and so the whole manpower shortage debate is part of the common sense understanding of business about its problems with education. That's put the whole issue into sharp relief and focus. You have got to add to that, coming nearer to the late eighties, the whole issue of the global economy, and how we are going to be competitive in a global economy, which doesn't favour minerals and raw materials, and favours services and technology etc. Again the premium is put on skills and that kind of thing. Then there is a theme that you pick up as well, that business feels that education is an area of such social salience, that unless aspirations are met in that area, it is an area where the fabric of society begins to rend asunder. They are anxious about what disturbances in education can do to the whole fabric of South African society, as witnessed by seventy six. Seventy six beginning as education as an issue in Soweto, plunged the country into social turmoil. And so they are aware of the disrupting effects of demands and unmet aspirations, and expectations, and frustrations, and anger in education. So they are scared about what can happen in education.
- PB Its a fear, and the consequences of educated unemployment. That sort of anxiety is reflected in the de Lange report, it comes through all the time. If you have so many people that are educated but unemployed, this will create problems, social stability problems.
- JH Its a powder keg issue. So business is now absolutely absorbed with the problem of the marginalised youth. It is a problem that business has taken to its heart.
- PB Certain elements of business again, Probably there are sectors with a stronger sense of social concern that are looking, perhaps, at a longer term view. The majority of

business interests probably have their heads down closer to the ground. Its those broader, more established, larger business interests that are perhaps looking with a longer term view, and seeing that investment in addressing the problems of the marginalised youth is going to work for them, to the broader advantage of everyone.

- JH There is another one I didn't mention - the enormous concern that business has got about the academic bias in our schools, and the irrelevance of the curriculum to the world of work.. This expresses itself in the fact that so few people come out with science and maths from our schooling system, and particularly the black schooling system. This alarms business enormously. Consequently they have invested hundreds of thousands in academic support programmes, because they have done their planning, and, they know that down the track, they will need more engineers, and more technologists of every sort, and they simply aren't going to get them from the supply of whites, and the pathetic trickle of black South Africans that come out with maths and science so that they can do those kinds of courses at technikons and universities. So this is now an added anxiety. They have begun to question what are the schools turning out, not just in general, but what specific skills do the pupils have when they come out of schools.
- LT You are saying 'now', but this is quite an old argument isn't it.
- JH It became much more urgent when they began to see the figures that showed the decline in quality of education. The kind of work that I did that showed that only about 800 black matriculants coming out in 1976 had maths and science at a level good enough to get into any university in this country, was absolutely alarming, and it galvanised the business world. They didn't know before that, they hadn't been able to quantify quite how bad it was. Then they realised how much it had deteriorated in the eighties.
- PB Also, in the 1980's there was a particular concern about high level manpower. I think there is a growing concern now about skilled operatives, people with technical skills, throughout the organisation. There is very little use for untrained labour, so that the focus has shifted more down the employment hierarchy - the concern about skills. The other thing that really concerns important sectors of the business community is the issue of the absorption of state resources by the education system. It is becoming monstrously expensive. It is getting bigger, and bigger, and bigger, and they are fearing that it is becoming a real burden on the state, so that there is concern there for the need for cost effectiveness, and, an education system that is more affordable and appropriate.
- LT Who is expressing these fears?
- PB That is coming through particularly from Brian Phillips and the PRISEC thing. It is one of his fears that he articulated. That's where I picked it up.
- JH You can pick it up. The van der Berg will tell you that he has spoken to government people, and he said to them, I can tell you that I can run the schools

in white education with 30% less money than you have now. There is 30% fat in the white system, and it is not necessary. So there is this perception, but I don't think it is as widespread as the other perceptions which are what is the matter with the quality of the system, it doesn't deliver anybody that we can do anything with.. That is the bottom line for business.

- PB There is a lot of talk about the 20%, that the government is reaching the limit of what it can reasonably spend from the national budget. So it is unlikely that there will be a significant increase in the resources for education. Business is more and more becoming aware of that. The message of the ERS is that the private sector, which includes the business sector, is going to be involved in adding resources, in improving the quality of education.
- LT Who commissioned the Harvard RTI. was that PRISEC?
- JH No, not at all. That is the IDT.
- PB The IDT and the Education Foundation.
- JH It is really Education Foundation money, and they asked the IDT here to move with the RTI there. So it is the IDT, the Independent Development trust.
- LT Do you think that the model presented there goes any way to addressing those fears? I don't actually know much about it. I am talking from the top of my head because it is a very new thing.
- PB It may reassure some people. At the moment what they are doing is demonstrating their computer modelling technique. They are saying it is possible to look at education systems in this way. I doubt if the business sector is particularly concerned about that.
- JH It hasn't been presented to business yet. It has been presented to the development agencies, to NEPI, but business has not been targeted as an audience for the RTI model.
- PB There are two things in the RTI model. They have even begun talking about different names. There is the software programme, the computer model, which is simply a sophisticated calculator, to make calculations about the education system. And then there is what they call the 'Education Reconstruction Model One' (ERM 1), which was generated as an attempt to demonstrate the power of the software. A basic assumption of that was that the resources available will be fixed at about 20% of state expenditure, so that current levels of expenditure will continue. Is it possible to have an affordable education system. They built on assumptions which came to the conclusion that it was. The discussion amongst educationalists is whether those assumptions were valid, or politically viable, and so on. I don't think that at this stage that that innovation is going to make a profound impact on the field. It is very new. I think it is quite important that people are using computer modelling techniques, they have been using them in other fields for quite a long

time. Its been kind of over-rated by a lot of people.

LT Well we got off the topic a little bit which was my fault. I was wondering when business first began to take an interest in educational reform.

JH It depends what you mean by reform. You have got to define for us your meaning of reform because in this context reform can have many positive or negative connotations.

LT OK. When did the private sector begin to take an interest in the education system full stop?

JH Goodness, that is a tremendous question. You really have to go right back, to the extent that business people participated on education commissions any time from 1910 onwards, which some of them did. They were asked to be an odd member. Someone whose life I studied was an odd member on a government commission on economic reform of the Transkei, or on education or something. The Witwatersrand council of education was set up to promote the education of English-speaking South Africans, at the time of Kruger's government in the Transvaal, and those were largely concerned business leaders which sat on the Witwatersrand Council for Education. You then go to the education panels that were set up in 1961 and 1966, on which people who are still around participated, Michael O'Dowd and people participated. that was business specifically looking down the track and saying we are getting very worried. The skilled manpower issue began to rear its head in the sixties, but before that even in the fifties. Michael O'Dowd would point to some social responsibility programmes that predated even the National Party government.

LT Have you got any good references for what you have told me up until now?

JH Yes, if you look at Ken Hartshorne's work on the history of business sectors involvement in education. He documents all of that. Look at Nicola Swainson's work She derived most of hers from Ken Hartshorne's.

LT Where is Ken's work? Is it a book?

JH It is part of a conference series that we hold. It was at the Centre for Continuing Education. Quite a lot of people at Wits have a copy of it.

LT Actually I've seen it. I saw it today.

JH Well Ken's paper in that. It is probably the best thing written on the private sector's involvement in education. Then there are a few others. Robin Lee has written an article. Usually it is talks here and there. There are no published books on this kind of topic. There are odd things here and there about businesses involvement in education. Davies article in Peter Kallaway's book. He takes a particularly Marxist interpretation of what he thinks businesses involvement in education has been. Not much has been written in South Africa, but you can trace it if you go through and ask the question, what have they been doing over time.

- LT So we are up to the education panel. You say O'Dowd and others were involved in the education panel, and the issues there were skills training and manpower.
- JH And they wanted a non-racial education system.
- LT Even then?
- JH Oh yes. It goes quite far back. That voice was articulated well back.
- PB There was resistance to Bantu Education.
- JH Yes right back to 1954, there was resistance to that. In fact if you look at the South African Institute of Race Relations, where you will probably get the best records of all of this. The meetings they organised around, to protest about Bantu Education. Prominent business people were involved in those committees.
- PB The Extension of Universities Act. There was mobilisation around that.
- JH Its often at key points. Again in 1967. If you look at Rose and Turner's book on documents in South African history, they have an editorial commentary that runs that at the time the minister wanted to propose the new National Education Policy Act, there was again some kind of reaction from business on the National Education Policy Act. So there is a kind of history which you can chart of periods of inactivity, periods of activity, and periods of reaction, usually sparked off by legislation being introduced, that business saw as being inimical to its interests or its value system.
- PB Or, more lately, to crises - 1976, the 1980 school boycotts and so on.
- JH Every time those matric results come out, business gets extremely, inordinately worried about what this means for their ability to recruit. In the sixties, it was still the danger to come. There was still a large enough reservoir of white South Africans that they could draw from. But now they simply can't find people. That is the bottom line. If you go and talk to the recruiting officers in the big companies, and they tell you how they desperately go out and find matriculants with maths and science, white and black at the end of the year, who will come and work for Anglo American in the mines etc, or join JCI, Barlow Rand, then they have problems. There aren't people there.
- LT People have dated that issue, i.e. the shortage of white skilled labour back to the early seventies. I don't know if you can throw some light on that.
- JH An issue in the abstract. Not a real issue yet. It was an issue that if you were foresighted, and, you looked down the road, you knew you would hit, but now companies are hitting that issue.
- PB It was probably becoming something officials were talking about, particularly in the DET, because they could see that they had a future in all that. But the legislation

- didn't provide for it, I mean the Technikons Act was only passed in eighty one, the Black Technikons Act. Vista University, a whole lot of that stuff didn't happen until 1981, so if it was of concern to officialdom, it wasn't reaching legislative policy until 1980.
- LT What kind of hearing do you think business had in de Lange? We've discussed SYNCOM's contribution.....
- JH Well SYNCOM as we say was this aberrant think tank [laughter]. Its true! absolutely true!
- PB You'll have to go back to Linda Chisholm's think tank for capital phrase, and add the word 'aberrant'. [laughter]
- JH Please do, because there is nobody I know who took that terribly seriously. You would have to look at the original documents to see how many business organisations made inputs. I know that SIFSA did. I suspect that all of the major employer organisations made their own inputs. At that time the South African Chamber of Business did not exist. It was two separate things. It was the FCI, the Federated Chamber of Industries, and I forget the other half. Sacob is an amalgamation of two others. In their own names, SIFSA, BIFSA, all the building industries, the steel industry, they would have all made submissions I suspect. definitely the Afrikaner Handels Institute did, and there is some talk, I've never researched this, that the Afrikaner Handels Institute had rather more influence than any other employer organisation.
- PB Not on de Lange.
- JH Not on de Lange necessarily, but generally on cabinet policy.
- LT Why?
- JH Its just the Afrikaner sector of business. It is equivalent to the Chamber of Industries. It is the Afrikaans version of that. Although now, in South Africa, there are probably as many Afrikaners sitting on SACOB as there.....you know they have far more interpenetration. At that stage the language groups were quite rigidly separated still in business. I don't know. I really don't know what overall impact they had amongst the thousands of submissions that came in. I don't suspect any particular one. The Urban Foundation arranged a series of consultations on de Lange. My job that day was to act as secretary to all those meetings, so I sat, and I saw who was invited. The heaviest preponderance of people always came from the communities, from the teaching organisations. It was Franklin Sonn, it was Taunyane, it was people like that. They were more interested in tapping community opinion and academics. Occasionally O'Dowd was there, but not many more people than that from business. I do know that at one stage the Urban Foundation asked Professor Bezole from Wits to go around and to talk to business leaders about de Lange. To help them understand the importance of the de Lange issue, and the kind of submission that the Urban Foundation made. I do remember that process. But

that was more to educate them about de Lange. Your question is the other question, what ultimate impact did they have, and I am not convinced they did. I think people like Rotenbach, who had looked at technical and career education, the experts who worked in a technocratic paradigm, had a far greater impact. It was the HSRC people, the new rising group of technocrats in government, I suspect who had the strongest influence.

- PB The level of insight into things educational in most parts of the business sector, is pretty low, and they would readily admit it. They understand training, but matters educational, very many of them will readily admit that they don't know much about it, and we'll leave it to you guys, we presume you're the experts. They know where their interests are, but to articulate those into educational policy, I don't think many of them are capable of doing so.
- JH Put it this way. If you were to count up the number of business people on de Lange, who sat on work committees, I imagine they would be in a minority. Their submissions would be among the hundreds of submissions that came in at the de Lange commission. To prove any particular influence or otherwise would be extremely difficult in that situation.
- PB Their approach would be to commission an expert, like Willie Rotenbach, or somebody like that.
- LT Who is Rotenbach again?
- PB He is professor at Stellenbosch University, and he reinvented the phrase 'career education', which was the vocationalisation of the curriculum, which created quite a splash. I mean they were talking about vocationalising after the sixth year, standard four, into career education, canalisation mechanisms and all that stuff. That was Willie Rotenbach.
- JH Yes, and his influence is profound, but he came straight from the Afrikaner establishment, from Stellenbosch. He is an academic.
- LT So is he part of the same group of intellectuals that de Lange himself might be said to belong to?
- PB Yes, I think so, the new Afrikaner technocrats.
- LT Would you like to expand on that. Would you like to say what you mean by 'new Afrikaner technocrats'.
- PB There was that generation that came out in the era of Peter de Lange, particularly from RAU. Many of them studied at RAU. But also at Stellenbosch. There was quite a lot going on there, where they were becoming involved with quite a lot of the literature, particularly from Europe. Habermas, Weber.....
- LT Habermas?

- PB** Yes. Habermas has its own impact, not only as a critique of the technocratic mind set. They are using it, using the literature, but I'm getting confused here. That literature was part of the European literature which significantly influenced the university there, OK, which produced a breed of technocrats. I would say that they were not sophisticated in the critique that Habermas produced of the technocratic rationality, but it was that intellectual tradition, or the intellectual mind set, the technocratic mind set that Habermas was critiquing, that was imported. It was emerging into the administration, into government. It wasn't only the academics, but increasingly with the size of the departments, particularly in education, there was a need to import new management strategy. They imported stuff about technocratic management styles, the literature, particularly from America and from Europe, which reflected the same intellectual tradition. So that was the change that I was talking about. That's why my reference to Habermas was misleading.
- LT** OK, because obviously there is a contradiction between your own characterisation of de Lange as being technicist, and what you are saying there about this new type of mind set.
- PB** I know. I should say that it wasn't Habermas, it was the pre- Habermas literature of which Habermas was a critique. It was influenced by Weberian ideas, but it was a pretty crude Weberianism.
- JH** There was a notion that rationality was important, objectivity, and scientific enquiry. There was this notion that we could manage this incredibly difficult society by scientific enquiry, typified by the HSRC. The HSRC was the vanguard of that kind of movement in South Africa, and probably still is. It was people like Viljoen, and de Lange. Garbers, and Schalp Pienaar.
- PB** There are two Garbers. One Garbers was in the CSIR, and one was in the HSRC.
- LT** The CSIR?
- JH** The Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research. So it is a whole new breed, who believed that we should try to get away from constraining ideologies, and we must become rational man.
- PB** The HSRC was restructured substantially, and they produced a new strategy, of which the de Lange investigation was the first real implementation of the new approach, with the main committee, all the sub-committees and the whole thing, all rationally planned out in organograms.
- LT** Have you got any good references for this?
- PB** Of the restructuring of the HSRC?
- LT** The restructuring of the HSRC, but also the formation of this new mind set, its fascinating.

- JH The people who would write on this would be people like Andre du Toit, it would be people like Robert Schriever who has done work on the bureaucracy.
- PB There is a good one by du Toit....I can't remember right now.
- LT Joe Muller has done something on the HSRC.
- JH But that doesn't go back, or does it go right back?
- LT In haven't actually read it yet. It talks about three phases.....
- JH Yes, he's probably tracked that quite well. There was also the notion that perhaps, through science, you could get consensus, that in this conflict-ridden society you could find a consensus in this society by injecting science. You could find a rational consensus.
- LT But isn't fundamental pedagogics the same kind of thing?
- JH No.
- LT It claims to be scientific.
- PB It has got some of that tradition. It is part of the European positivist tradition.
- JH Grafted onto phenomenology.
- PB Its grafted onto phenomenology and injected with good old fashioned racism, and theological overtones. You could hardly describe that as dominated by technocratic rationality.
- LT OK, I can see the differentiation there. So you would describe the new mind set as being technocratic rational.
- PB Yes. The word in the de Lange committee was management. That was a new word, and it was a word setting in amongst an officialdom that was new. One never talked about educational managers. One talked about administrators and officials, but one didn't talk about managers. It was part of that whole tradition. I think officials looked to the private sector for inspiration, and I think the management rhetoric percolated through, but I don't think there was any direct injection by the private sector into de Lange.
- LT Dr Louw is a member of this new mind set. I interviewed him the other day. This is why I am so interested. He was talking about the same kinds of thing. He was talking about Englebrecht and so on.
- JH Absolutely. All still from the de Lange days. You can pick them out from the main committee. They are still around, and they are very influential today.

- PB** Louw was one of the architects of the SANEP formula, which was a funding formula for education, which was part of the ten year plan. He was in the Department of National Education and it was his baby. It was a classic example of an attempt to manage a society into equality.
- JH** Don't lets be oversceptical of this and try to dismiss it. Don't lets underestimate it, because from people who worked very closely on the main committee on de Lange, they have told me, people like Ken Hartshorne and Franklin Sonn, that they saw de Lange converted before their eyes by the volume of evidence and facts. De Lange, in fact, didn't start off as a somebody, because he was actually chosen to head that thing, and I don't think the government at that stage realised where Peter de Lange would come out. They talk about a conversion process. He was converted by rationality, and this is the interesting thing. As the facts were put before him, he began to realise that the past couldn't continue into the future, it was untenable. He began to be converted, so don't lets underestimate that. For a group of people who had not had that exposure before, it was probably a powerful experience. No wonder they held onto rationality and scientific enquiry.
- PB** It is very powerful. It underlies an awful lot of the modern mind set. I am not suggesting that it was the failure of de Lange, but its dominance was one of its limitations. I would put it that way, but it had a powerful impact, much more so than the rhetoric of racism or the old apartheid rhetoric would have had under those circumstances.
- LT** It had potentially more progressive overtones than the old rhetoric.
- JH** Oh yes, much more.
- PB** You know, Louw sees himself as a nice guy, and he is. He is a very intelligent , dedicated man.
- JH** Almost all of them are. We have met most of them. They are pleasant people. You would sit down and have supper with them.
- PB** I have got great respect for Louw. He is really dedicated to what he is doing. But he really does believe that problems could be solved if only we could sit down and be rational. That's where it comes from.
- LT** He was also saying that part of this new generation, this up and coming generation were influenced by free market ideas as well.
- JH** That's interesting.
- LT** The economics department at Stellenbosch and elsewhere. I wonder if you agree with that.
- JH** I wouldn't know enough. I couldn't reach an opinion on that Leon, I really couldn't. It is very interesting because you would have to look at the difference

between Verwoerd and his group, who were probably influenced by social anthropologies where they came from, and the idealistic strain of social anthropology, Rousseau and the kind you know, going back to that, and also religion. Most of them studied religion at some stage, so it would be interesting to see what the formative subjects or influences were on each separate breed of leaders, or generation of leaders. It would be quite fascinating. Did more of them study economics later on you know, that is the question I would want to know.

LT Anyway, I came to interview you both specifically about the role of the private sector, and we got onto discussing technocrats in government. [Laughter]. Who have been the main players from capital, from the private sector during the eighties. I know that Gavin Relly has been very vocal on educational issues, who else has been important from this sector.

JH Well the person who has sat on all the government commissions, and who still is the one person that represents the private sector on UTAC (the Universities and Technikons Advisory Council), is Michael O'Dowd. Michael O'Dowd probably more than any other one person in business can claim to wear the hat of Mr spokesman on education.

LT So anything that he says would have a certain legitimacy amongst the private sector?

JH No. You cannot draw the next conclusion that you just have. Michael O'Dowd is what they call the highest paid academic in South Africa, because what he is is an academic employed by Anglo American. Michael O'Dowd has his very own idiosyncratic views, and Michael O'Dowd represents none so much as Michael O'Dowd. That is well-known in the business sector. So, it is a great problem seeing him as a spokesperson for capital. For everything he says, I will show you ten people in the business sector who do not agree with Michael O'Dowd, and never will. But he is the most obvious high profile figure, who is consistently put on government commissions and statutory official committees. Then Roscholt is probably the next most important. He is Chancellor of Wits University, and he sits on another one of the governments official statutory committees. Then the other people who are vocal, they don't have Michael O'Dowd's.....Michael O'Dowd researches education. He does research of his own sort, and he practices education in the sense that he is the funder of the chairman's fund, and deploys that money in things educational, and they take a very strong influence in whatever they fund. You've got to understand that the figureheads that speak out, they have their speeches written by somebody else for them, and that information is not in their own heads, all that understanding, very often. For what the exercise is worth, I will tell you the people that speak out most. It is Mike Saunder from AECI - African Explosives and Chemicals Industries, he is the CEO of that. It is Roscholt at Barlows, now replaced by Warren Clewno. Clewno doesn't tend to speak that much on education. Roscholt still tends to do the speaking on education. Marie Hofmeyer of JCI, no longer at JCI, now at Argus. Very dominant. There aren't that many....Robbie Godsell. When we held a conference about six years ago we tried to bring in the key people from business on education. You didn't come up with

more than about five or six names.

PB What about that man at SACOB?

JH Alan Tomkin? No, he has just come into that position in the last two years, not before ninety. In the eighties, you are talking about five people who might have, fairly regularly, said something about education in their speeches. Not much more than that. Anton Rupert didn't especially address educational issues. Who is the guy that used to head up SANLAM and had that very bad.... Fred Du Plessis. Most of them are in the English speaking business sector. The Afrikaans speaking business sector has been very quiet. Even today, although they have now become very active in corporate social responsibility, they tend not to speak out about education, unless in so far as they are office holders within employer associations. But SANLAM doesn't particularly go out and shout the odds about the education crisis.

PB It is quite problematic for them.

JH Probably, but I am just telling you what you observe if you look at the field. The voices who speak tend to be from English speaking business, in the tradition of big giants typically. Not much speaking from Afrikaner business.

LT But a lot of influence going on there.

JH I don't know. It is not the sector of business that I know well. I know the English speaking sector better. I know some people in Afrikaner business. I don't know how close the links are between them and government, I don't know. One can assume there would be social links. They go to the same churches, social network influences, they go to the same churches, dinner parties, that kind of thing. More than that I don't know.

PB We came across that reference to the AHI's influence. Well, that would be one route which is Afrikaans business influencing through that network.

JH I think it is through the social networks. They have overlapping social networks.

PB Am I right, am I imagining it? It was probably more influential than the Broederbond.

JH Something like that. It was interesting.

PB Something like that.

LT What are you talking about?

JH The Afrikaanse Handels Instituut may have been more influential than the Broederbond. Weren't they both seen as the most influential.

PB It was something that struck us as we were reading, and we said, ah that's

interesting.

- JH That's a book that has come out of the Centre for Policy Studies, a recent book that has come out.
- LT What's it called?
- JH Something like South Africa in the Nineties. They actually look at the patterns of influence on government policy. The other place where you might get it, but I suspect, not on education, is at the business school themselves, because MBA students writing up their reports, sometimes pick up issues like this. But it is generally an unresearched field. The influence of business on education is an under-researched field.
- LT Would you like to make any generalisations about business views concerning educational policy. I know this flies in the face of everything you said before about business not being a heterogeneous group etc. Let me give some examples, be more specific. Could you characterise business views on privatisation in education?
- PB Confused and anxious.
- JH There is a vocal small group in the Free Market Foundation that believes in the voucher system, and maximum privatisation. That view is simply, I believe, a fringe view. There are a few diehards who are quite vocal and articulate, but in business as a whole, I don't believe that that view has much credence at all. I think that what they are most worried about is to get some quality coming out of the system. And then they are probably most worried about what they are going to have to pay in order to do this. The debate that will rage, that I don't think there is any unanimity on, is at what stage in the curriculum do you begin to vocationalise education. You will get the more enlightened group, who do believe now that it is the schools job to educate, and business' job is to train. But you will also get a group, probably as big, that still believes that schools should become vocationally orientated very early on *a la* the de Lange report. You won't get unanimity. You can get a group of business people and ask them that question, and you won't get agreement.
- PB There will be quite a large group of people who would say, well we really don't know.
- JH Absolutely. All they want is better people delivered that we can find more useful in work. It is a very uninformed critique on the whole.
- LT Right. So they want more skills at the least possible disadvantage to themselves.
- JH I suppose so. That would be the natural self interest of any group. Although, in South Africa, I think business has increasingly accepted that it will have to play a role in education. It is interesting what role it already does play. There is almost no country in the world, for instance, where the private sector sponsors in-service

teacher education. There is no doubt. It is always the states responsibility. If you tell people who often come out here from Paris or Germany, that the business sector is sponsoring INSET projects, they look at you as if you are mad. I have had this debate with Paris businessmen, and they have said, well what on earth are they doing that for. That's not business' job, and we say, well in a situation of complete crisis, the business sector had to step in. I suspect that is a strong realistic perception in business that they will not be let off the hook. The question is where do they spend their money, and where is it of most benefit for them to spend their money. They know they are going to have to pay. The question is where and how. I suspect they are going to demand a say on policy for two reasons. One, the present curriculum isn't delivering, and two, they know they are going to have to pay, and, because they are going to have to pay, they want a voice. Their interest is not going to wane on education policy, it is going to grow from now onwards.

- PB They will have more muscle because they will be putting more money directly in.
- JH They have always done it indirectly through tax, but now they are making direct contributions to hundreds of projects: academic support programmes; training bursaries. I mean if you look at what any company in this country is spending on bursaries, it is incredible, the bursary budgets.
- LT You were mentioning before that there is a certain fear about the percentage of GNP that is spent on education, and also about the role of the state in education and in other spheres. Now the ERS is underpinned by the philosophy of deregulation and decentralisation. That's the philosophy that supposedly underpins the ERS.....
- JH I would take issue with that. I would agree with the decentralisation part, but you show me the deregulation part. There is absolutely no evidence of deregulation.
- PB It was drawn up by officials, and officials don't want to deregulate anything. We are not talking about privatisation at all as far as I understand it.
- JH You show me one area in the ERS where they are deregulating.
- PB Officials are concerned about rules and regulations to govern decentralisation. That is what they are concerned about.
- JH They are just saying in certain areas, like preschool, we want the private sector. But that is an area they have never been in. They have no funds to do it, so they are saying lets pass the buck to NGO's and the private sector.
- PB And distance education as well.
- JH They know that they have this expertise that they haven't got. So they want the SABC to get heavily involved. But that is not deregulation. These are areas the state has never really been in. It is not as if it is in areas which it is now renouncing its control over, and handing it to other areas. It is merely recognising the *status quo*.

- LT OK, and the business sector, could you characterise their views on decentralisation and deregulation?
- JH I think that is one thing that you could probably say, on the whole, is supported by business, the notion that we have got to get away from the multiplicity of departments - its superstructural chaos. It represents a trend in business. Many businesses are decentralising their organisations at the moment. They are moving to smaller decentralised units. Its the trend in the business world. They would, I suspect, see a similar thing being a good thing to happen in education. I imagine that is something business generally would support, except that, on the other hand, they also realise, unless they are stupid, and very few of them are that stupid, that there is symbolic significance in a unitary system of education. That is the bottom line in South Africa. So they know there has got to be one unitary system, but then they would probably like considerable decentralisation down to the local level. They are not saying they are against one unitary system, they are just saying that they would like it to be decentralised. I would say that that is probably a fairly generally held view, but even there I hesitate.
- PB If you look closely at the ERS, and what they are actually proposing - the decisions they are actually proposing to devolve to schools, the most potent thing is admissions, within a certain, yet-to-be-defined framework. After that it is who is in charge of extra-curricula activities, raising money to pay teachers to coach rugby, buying the text books with the state distributed resources, paying the electricity bill if it exceeds what the state provides for electricity, making recommendations on the appointment of teachers. This is not massive decentralisation, but it is not deregulation. In fact it is going to result in a plethora of regulations to control the process. I think that is a misinterpretation. It would be most unlikely if officials operating in that world were to advocate deregulation.
- LT What is interesting, and I would agree with you, there is a massive contradiction there, but what is interesting is that Dr Stumpf of the DNE, he actually used that, that is where I got the term from.
- JH Stumpf used it?
- LT Yes, and it is also in the curriculum guidelines that have just come out now.
- JH They are not out yet.
- PB Did you get an indication about when they are going to come out?
- LT Linda Chisholm was telling me today that there is going to be a meeting about these curriculum guidelines, specifically the multicultural aspect, in the near future. But I was wondering if it was his attempt to take business with him, because he kind of hedges his bets in the ERS between a strong state hand in terms of reallocating resources, and in creating a more equitable dispensation, and at the same time, he does come out with this rhetoric about.....

- PB** Stumpf and Garbers were most anxious to market the ERS in the most enlightened mode possible, and I think they would have used that rhetoric as part of what they understood to be attractive rhetoric. But it is stretching the imagination to call what they are suggesting deregulation.
- JH** If anybody could find for me a clear example of deregulation which means that the state gets out of an area, it is made open and free for private sector initiative and entrepreneurship, then I would eat my hat.
- PB** Even in the preschool area they are saying that a general policy must be written. It is an area they haven't been in before, but they are saying that they must write a policy. Then the private sector must operate.
- JH** Deregulation means that the state withdraws from an area that it has been active in.
- PB** Even in an area where they haven't worked, they are saying we will create regulations, we will create a regulation framework, a policy framework.
- LT** Yes, the so-called 'opening' of white schools is a good example there, isn't it.
- JH** I am sure that in general government thinking, I mean we know that, there is a notion of deregulation. But, you see, education is different, and education has always been treated as being not as amenable to these things, because you get into the ideological mine field of certain supporters of government. That is why it is the last bastion of apartheid, and will continue to be. There is a real battle over education.
- LT** So you would see within the bureaucracy, a conservative force opposing reform.
- JH** No doubt about it. Have you read some of the latest Financial Mail articles where they are actually talking about it. The CP are saying they will actively use their supporters in the bureaucracy to block reform.
- LT** No, I will have to get those references from you.
- JH** A couple of weeks ago in the Financial Mail. The lead story, it was something like 'Torpedoing the Ox Wagon'. The CP have threatened to use their cadre of supporters in the bureaucracy to block reform. There is no doubt that there is tremendous infighting in the bureaucracy.
- LT** Through your networks, where do you pick up the most resistance to reform. Which departments in particular? The DNE are the authors of the ERS.....
- JH** They are the most enlightened. I think you would hit it in white education. Traditionally the Transvaal Department of Education is the most conservative, strongly influenced by the T.O., the Afrikaner teachers. There was some research done some years back which showed that most of the key policy decisions in white education were influenced by the T.O.

- PB They used to have half the white teachers in their membership.
- JH Their membership was gigantic. All of them in the Broederbond as well. You couldn't hold office in the T.O. unless you were in the Broederbond, so you had overlapping circles of influence. The influence of the Broederbond is a very important thing to look at. The new thinking of the Broederbond, I think, is a most fascinating topic.
- LT I went to Giliomee, I went to de Lange himself - that was like getting blood out of a stone, asking about the Broederbond. Have you got any good references for me? Where can I find out about these changes in the Broederbond?
- JH Its only what I've picked up. Doing my PhD I've had to track that a bit, and I have only picked up a few newspaper articles written where certain people would show, because of certain documents leaked, the line up between Broederbond documents and the next government document. These are newspaper articles that I have gleaned from eighteen months worth of looking at articles, and only about four at that. There were a couple of Weekly Mail articles that sort of thing. Joe Muller is someone who is very interested in the Broederbond.
- LT Yes, I talked to him as well.
- JH But it is difficult to get concrete evidence. The Broederbond operates very secretly.
- PB I imagine talking to de Lange would be a bit difficult.
- JH You would need a turn coat. The person who did the research years ago was Ernie Safrontein. He left the Broederbond and he published a book, and then Malherbe brought out his academic volume, the second volume of 'Education in South Africa', and the whole appendix in that is on the Broederbond, and the influence in his time that he could chart through documents.
- PB 'Education in South Africa, Volume 2'.
- JH The appendix in that was on the Broederbond.
- LT That goes up to....
- JH Seventy seven. Seventy six had just happened, and then it went to the publishers.
- LT Well that is just when my period of study is beginning. [Laughter].
- JH You might get more by going to talk to people at the HSRC. Somebody like Schalc Norbrecht, did you interview him? You should interview Schalc and ask him. You would probably get some inside view, he might be prepared to talk, but it would be difficult for a high office bearer to talk. I am going to have to say that we are going to have to end this soon. I have a speech at five, and one hour left to write it properly.

- LT I've got two more questions. The first one is what can you tell me about the Free Market Foundation, and their influence on the Presidents Council?
- JH I have no conception at all. I only know that it is Leon Louw and it is his wife. I hear them speak often at conferences etc. and most of the audiences that I am part of treat their comments with a kind of amused tolerance, definitely if they are a progressive audience. I suspect that they have got their followers in business, those that believe in free market principles, but I think, increasingly, that is a fringe activity. The effect on the Presidents Council I haven't a clue, I've never tracked that.
- LT They seem to be strong exponents of Thatcherite, New Right thinking aren't they.
- JH I wouldn't know enough. I just know that they believe in the principles of *laissez faire* capitalism.
- LT So you would write them off really, as not being of that much significance.
- JH There would be some people in business who believe in those views. I do not believe that the majority of business people believe that we can have a situation in the future without interventionist policies from the state.
- PB Leon Louw has been twirping away for ten years now, and he hasn't made significant progress.
- JH It is not as if he doesn't have any supporters, but you are asking me where I think the balance falls, and I suspect the balance falls on people knowing that we are going to have a mixed economy in this country. They would like some deregulation, but they know they can't wish away the state. It is going to have to be quite a strong state.
- LT What do you know about the PSI, the Private Sector Initiative?
- JH Very little. We hear by report. We have never been to any of the meetings. We only know what we hear from Brian Whittaker, who is our boss, and who is the person at the Urban Foundation who has acted as go-between, trying to get all the groups together, to form the trust. Half his life is spent trying to organise meetings, to try to get people whose diaries are impossible to come together to talk about things. So we know only as much as that, about the fact that they are getting somewhere, that they are probably going to focus on an area like education and work, although there are some others. It is an extremely difficult experiment to perform. To get all these groups to come together and sign a charter is taking enormous patience tolerance, ingenuity, creativity and staying power. Not an easy exercise. It could be valuable if it is done, but it is an extremely difficult thing to do in South Africa.
- PB Up to this date it hasn't resulted in the signing of a trust deed, or even a founding agreement.

- JH There is no money. There is no money in a bank account.
- LT When was it set up?
- JH It wasn't you see. It was promised. It first hit the press in February of this year. The business people had been talking secretly in months before that, about how this might be a good thing to do.
- PB It took them, if I understand correctly, about six months before they had their acts sufficiently together, and this was only twelve of the leading business organisations, to announce that. It has now been over six months in brokerage. Brian Whittaker has been playing a brokerage role to try and get the sides to sit around a table, and to agree on principles to try to get the thing off the ground.
- JH You see, the Urban Foundation was asked by business, who did not want to set up another bureaucracy - business' hatred of bureaucracies - to act as a facilitator, and until such time as this new organisation was established. So, that is what the role of the Urban Foundation has been. The job was given to Brian Whittaker, so that's how.
- PB It is not an Urban Foundation project.
- LT OK, its only until there is something put there.
- JH Only in the sense that Brian is the broker, trying to get the groups together.
- PB He has been accepted by people of all sides to try and convene meetings.
- JH So it is a sort of administrative role, that he as secretary endlessly plays.
- LT Who are, very briefly, the important think tanks for the private sector that I should look at for my research? You have dismissed SYNCOM, you've dismissed PRISEC, you've dismissed this PSI.
- JH PSI, you see, is not a business think tank. There are more community members on it now than there are business members, so it will never be a business think tank.
- PB And it is not a think tank in any way. It is concerned with projects. They have got to find ways of spending 500 million Rand.
- LT Who are the think tanks, who has been doing the thinking?
- JH I think, some of the most innovative thinking has been happening in Anglo American strategic planning department, and it has come out in things like Klem Sunter's work on South Africa and the world in the 1990's, scenario planning, that that group at Anglo American have done, Michael Spicer, Klem Sunter, what that group has done. If you are talking about think tanking, they are the only group that I know of that consistently does that. Then, the NEDCOR scenario, which was the

Nedbank and building societies sponsored, another scenario building exercise, to which the key scenario-builders internationally, came to assist. That involved the unions and all other groups, and they came up with the NEDCOR scenario.

- PB It is not specifically educational.
- JH And it is not specifically business either, because business originally commissioned it, but it involved groups much wider than business. You could probably say that it has a strong business stamp, I mean that is business' thinking influenced by other groups.
- PB I don't know whether it would possibly be legitimate to call it a think tank for business.
- JH It is not on-going any more you see. A think tank has got a sense of an on-going thing. It was a think tank exercise which has now ended.
- PB It is a 'thunk' tank, past tense.
- JH You know, you have got me stumped. I don't know of the on-going existence of any such group.
- LT What about your EDUPOL. Would you say this was a think tank for business?
- JH Not for business. No, crikey, how? Look at the board members here [referring to EDUPOL document], find me a business person on that board.
- LT But you are funded by business aren't you.
- JH The fact that you are funded does not mean that you represent their interests. You go and ask the average NGO if they represent the interests of business.
- PB Ask the NECC if they represent the interests of the European Economic Community.
- LT So you would describe yourselves as an NGO.
- PB An Independent development agency is the way the U.F. describes itself.
- JH In fact, at our last board meeting, we remarked that there was not a single person from business, and we remarked that we had better get someone from business on our board. There is nobody from business on the education board at the moment. The community representation is very much stronger in education, and so, we couldn't in any way claim to be a think tank for business. We wouldn't agree to it anyway.
- LT The Mobil Foundation? Was there any think tanking going on there?

- JH They tried to do something called 'Education Scenarios', but again, they don't represent business, they represent their Independent board of trustees, and when I was involved as a consultant to them, the battles that were fought for the independence of trustees from the Mobil Foundation, were the most incredible battles, and they won it. They have complete independence, such that if Mobil Oil say would you please fund this project which we have been funding for years, the Mobil Foundation will say, we will decide. If you look at who their education board is composed of, there is one Mobil representative, and all the rest are community people.
- LT So in conclusion, one might suggest, at least as far as you two are concerned, the influence of business has been negligible in terms of educational policy. There is no coherent body, or systematic view.
- JH I don't agree with that. I don't think the influence has been small, but it has not been direct. It might be part of the ground swell of public opinion, which throughout the world is becoming the most important influence on policy than almost anything else. It is the climate of political and public opinion which is one of the most important influences on educational policy, and that has changed from say, two decades ago. This is an international trend. So, to the extent that business is part of that important body of public opinion out there, and its views about the shocking education crisis, those views will definitely be part of the public opinion that informs changes in policy. So, it will have had an influence. It has not been a direct influence, and, it most definitely has not been a coherent influence.[Interview ends].

**INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR J.P. DE LANGE,
JOHANNESBURG, 6/8/91, 3.00 pm**

- LT To what extent do you think that the ERS provides a continuation on De Lange?
- DL To a very large extent. They accepted the eleven principles which we held up as principles of education. Not education principles but principles of education starting off at equal opportunities etc. irrespective of race, colour, creed etc right down to the last one which is that policy in education must be research-based. They accepted those and on the financial side they couldn't do much because South Africa is more or less at the limit of what any society can devote to education from its budget.
- LT You cited 20%.
- DL Yes its something like 19,8% plus another 3% which is channelled through the department of foreign affairs to the so-called independent states - the Transkei, Ciskei, Boputhatswana, Venda. In fact the budget for education is 22,5%, give or take, of our national budget, and that's one of the very highest in the world.
- LT It is extremely high.
- DL We cannot really go further than that without cutting back on health services, infrastructure and welfare services generally so you have to restructure the spending on education. We have a few very fundamental problems in that regard. I'll give them to you now. The Education Renewal Strategy addresses some of these basic problems. It bases it to some extent on the education report of 81. The two areas where we have major problems is the unequal spending per learner in terms of race. A black child 900. A coloured child 2200 per annum per head, per capita. An Asian child 2750 and a white child 3600. Now this expenditure is the result of the number of children per teacher which is the basis for the provision of teachers. In the white education system it is 19 children per teacher as a basis for provision. In the case of the Asian population it is 20 - just one more children per teacher. In the case of coloured population it is 23 and in the case of black children it is 41. The explanation for that difference is two-fold really. The one is discriminatory practice of apartheid as such and the other is that the number of black children is growing at a very fast rate but our economy isn't growing. It hasn't been growing for a decade or more and aligned to that, and that is why I put it together, is the low level or relatively low level of qualifications of many black teachers thus drawing smaller salaries.
- LT That seems to be a big problem.
- DL That is being overcome at a fairly fast rate though. I'll give you an example. Vista University which is an urban university open from its beginning, but situated near to black learners, it is in fact predominantly black although it has white and

coloured and Asian students at the graduate level but not at the under-graduate level.

LT Is that in Soweto?

DL In Soweto there is one branch - there are eight branches. As you enter Soweto it is just past the hospital, the Baragwanath hospital on the left-hand side.

LT Yes I've seen it.

DL Its opposite the power station. It is actually a very beautiful campus. Now when Vista took over from the Department of Education and Training the further education of teachers, there were enrolled at that time - that was 1982 - only 391 black teachers. It is now on average 1,500 per year. One must realise what that means. It means that that student would probably be a black married woman who is teaching full-time and is studying through correspondence to improve their qualifications. To be able to do so she would first have to matriculate. Many of them only have 10 years of schooling. They have to complete twelve years of schooling before they can enter into one of these courses. So they've already done that. they are thus already fairly experienced distance students. I think it is a heroic effort personally for that number - 1,500 - to be studying on a part-time basis improving their qualifications, on that scale - 1,500 per year for the past seven years. It is a big problem, but the individual teacher is doing a lot about it. That is the reason for the disparity, and that is one huge problem area. We recommended then and the ERS is recommending now that the ratio of pupils per teacher be changed to thirty per children per teacher across the board which would mean that the 19 of the whites, the 20 of the Asians and the 23 of the coloureds go up to thirty and the 41 per teacher of black children go down to thirty. That would mean a complete redistribution of the monies in education. From the luxury systems - that is of Asian, white and coloured - to the poor system being equalised, it would mean an equalisation on a level of about 1500 Rand per child. We recommended at that time, and this is being recommended again now...[are you taking tea orders my dear wife?]...... it would mean you would have to rethink the introduction of compulsory and free education. The sums made by the ERS indicate six perhaps seven years of compulsory education, and I believe the ANC, John Samuel and others, have made their sums, Ken Hartshorne actually made their sums for them - do you know Ken Hartshorne?

LT Yes, I know of him, I hope to interview him actually.

DL They have come to more or less the same figure, and it is more or less the same figure that we obtained. I had a whole team of accountants working on this in 1981, on the assumption that we have 30 children per teacher and that we have a growth in the educational budget. It has happened in the mean time. But that money has been distributed in terms of the 19, 20, 23 and 41 children per teacher, so it continued the inequalities. That is one area of difficulties to overcome, and, you realise you can't do that by a turn of your hand. Even after you've done this there will be vast shortages of black teachers, good black..trained black teachers in

English, in maths and in science. And without having good teachers in English, maths and science there is no way the quality and the relevance of education can really be improved. I'll give you an example which will just illustrate this. I evaluated the situation in black schools in Umlazi, in Umgumugulu and Umgumugutu areas of Natal last year where the violence was so rife last year, and, in the case of one school which had an 8% pass rate in matric last year, the lowest in that area, quite apart from the fact that the children took over the management of that school, of the 36 teachers, 23 had qualifications in biblical studies and one or another language. They were teaching maths and science and biology and whatever. So the relevance of their qualifications, quite apart from the level of their qualifications, the relevance of their qualifications was inadequate. And the second very large problem, we're talking technical things now, is the way in which the monies available are distributed between the various levels of education. Last year in South Africa, 290 million was devoted to pre-primary education. Pre-primary education in South Africa, especially for children from disadvantaged homes, or traditional homes where the parents are illiterate, is a huge problem in terms of school readiness. 290 million is completely inadequate given the numbers.

LT I'm still converting everything into pounds - you divide by five - so that's 50 million...

DL Say 60 million pounds. The state has never really accepted a full responsibility for pre-primary education in this country. Much of this money comes from the private sector. Then, in rounded off figures, 8 billion rands is devoted to primary education. Its 60 million this side of 8 billion, but in fact the figure is 8 billion.

LT That's another enormous sum.

DL Yes. Then in secondary education the figure is 5,5 billion and it should be, to my mind, in the vicinity of 7 - 8 billion.....

LT In order to meet needs...

DL Yes. And then to make the figure more skewed, 100 million more is spent on tertiary education. So instead of having a pyramid, you have a funnel at the top with tertiary education taking up as much money as secondary education and this is wrong. To redistribute the money - that's not going to be so easy. One has to accept that no new monies of any significance will be devoted to education. There is a lot of talk of money to redress the situation coming from Britain, the United States, Europe, wherever - we're talking billions, and they're talking millions. That is the difference. A lot of rationalisation will have to take place, and one of the major rationalisations[do you take milk?etc]..... the only way you can with good conscience devote more money to secondary education, is not by increasing the secondary education taking place at present, which is largely academically-orientated to the extent that it is also 8 billion. Rather, by redirecting secondary education more or less, not exactly, but in line with the chairman of the Swiss model where young people by the age of 18 having completed a secondary education, are 70% capable of entering an occupation. By the time they do enter

an occupation, they are fairly well-trained secretaries or whatever.

LT It seems to be quite an efficient system.

DL It's remarkable. Now that does presuppose a fairly large formal economy because the learning is closely work-related. In Switzerland for instance they take up one day a week when you are a fourteen year-old, you go to a work situation and so it continues so that by the time you are 18 years old in the work situation you spend four days a week, and in the school, one day a week. Now we haven't got a formal economy large enough to cope with numbers....unclear.

LT Out of interest, which countries did you look at...

DL When we did that report? In principle all countries. In certain areas we tried to look at those countries which were more or less in the same developmental position as South Africa. There is not much use looking at a very high-level first world country only, and say that is what we should be doing if we are a mix of predominantly third world and some first world. We have this huge dichotomy. Now, we illustrated our first-world abilities with this boat sinking and rescuing everybody - now that's a first world ability - it was electronically controlled from an office in Pretoria.

LT It was a fantastic rescue operation.

DL You can go into rural areas and have people using subsistence levels of farming. We have this huge disparity - it's not always right to just call it a disparity, it is..we are in fact a society in transition. The transition that has been delayed through apartheid, but it is still a transition that has to be made. It would not have been completed now, even if apartheid had never been on the table.

LT So how do you personally feel about this transition?

DL To a new society? I think it is necessary - we tried to anticipate it in the '81 report.

LT It seemed to be very practically grounded in that respect what with 'equal quality'.....

DL Well at that time it was rather revolutionary. Today one would be able to go much further. It was the first research project where the main committee began to look something like South Africa. I've a picture somewhere of it.

LT You read so much about people, but when you put faces to names, its better.

DL You see its still predominantly white (referring to photo of De Lange main committee). Its better if you stand in the light. Now from the political spectrum, we have from the left to the right. All the population groups were here, but the far-left and the far-right were not here. This is Professor Nkabinde the Principal of the

University of Zululand. That's Ken Hartshorne.

LT Oh that's him! Right, I see.

DL This is Michael O'Dowd from Anglo American - representing the private sector which has never been done before.

LT So these represented the left did they, these two (pointing at Ken Hartshorne and the Principal of the University of Zululand).

DL Certainly Ken Hartshorne. Nkabinde is less of a political person, and more of an educationist as such. Although if you had to put him into a group in the spectrum, he's in the group to the left.

LT But it didn't line up purposefully left and right....

DL As they stand here? No, not at all [laughter]. That is Professor Maharaj. He is from the university of Durban-Westville and that is Franklin Sonn who was then a sympathiser, and is now a member of the ANC. This Mr Taunyane, president of the African Teachers Association of South Africa. This is Mr Nobin an Indian from Natal he was, then a chief planner of education. This is Professor van der Ross, a coloured university principle at the time. That is[unclear].... a remarkable man.....[unclear]....he is a Sotho from the Eastern...[unclear]...so you have English and Afrikaans speakers. That is Professor Niven from Natal University, Ken Hartshorne, O'Dowd, whatever, you know - they were all there.

LT So who represented the right?

DL Well the furthest right we have is this bloke from the University of the Orange Free State...[unclear].

LT How do you pronounce it?

DL van Loggerenberg. And his contribution was unhelpful.

LT Oh right I see.

DL We had one or two bureaucrats. He was at the Department of National Education at the time [pointing to Venter]...[unclear]. And this chap, the secretary for manpower, also a bureaucrat. He was just about as far left as some of these other chaps but from the Government.

LT And he's still there at Manpower?

DL No, he has now been promoted. He is now the Director-General for the Commission for Administration which is the highest post in the civil service.

LT So it was a good career move for him presumably! So did you have a job reaching

consensus?

DL Well, I can describe the process to you.

LT Yes, that would be interesting.

DL I'll do it from a certain perspective. Achieving consensus depended on two factors and I realised this from early on fortunately. One was that in our research work we were led by the facts, cold, scientific and objective as we could be; otherwise we would never have reached consensus, unless we respected the facts.

LT And there was broad agreement.....

DL On that principle there was broad agreement. Obviously there were instances when people would play politics instead of doing science [chuckle]. The second was that a sufficient level of trust had to be developed and that was a many-faceted thing. First of all every one of those people had to experience and come to believe that there was no restriction on him to put his views in the main committee. And this led to endless talking - the first three nights we talked. Some of the more management types - one of the blokes there is Simon Brand, a very enlightened leftist type of bloke who is president of the Development bank of Southern Africa. He and another bloke came to me - also management type - he said we're developing ulcers because we're getting nothing but talk. I said "you be patient, we'll get absolutely nothing done if we are not patient now". Secondly, a sufficient level of trust had to be developed between each person there and the constituency which he represented, whether it be teachers, whether it be the business world, whether it be political groupings, whether it be whatever.

LT I notice, and sorry to interrupt at this point, that you had one or two problems with the teachers organisations in terms of their views of the commission as a whole.

DL Yes, some of them developed those views largely because they were not represented. Obviously we couldn't have every single teachers association represented. Same thing happened with certain academics - they felt they were of sufficient stature to be included and they were not included so they were against the report in principle, because they were not co-fathering the report, but this always happens. One must distinguish between this type of thing and fundamental rejection in principle or on a scientific basis or whatever. That one is separate. But I would say that 90% of the negative attitudes developed from this type of problem. We had to constitute the main committee in the following manner just to turn to that point.

LT Yes, sure.

DL To be as broadly representative of views on education in South Africa from left to right but excluding the far-left and excluding the far-right.

LT Sorry, just for the sake of clarity, who do you refer to as the far-left and the far-right?

- DL That would be the AWB at that time, and it would be some of the banned organisations at that time because the ANC and some of the others were banned. Certainly we would regard the SACP as being a far-left organisation.
- LT OK that's clear.
- DL Secondly, it had to be representative of the racial spectrum in South Africa, the full racial spectrum. And so you would have a middle-of-the-road Indian and a leftish white for instance. But you couldn't have an Indian on the Left, in the middle and on the Right. for arguments sake, and the same with the whites and the same with the coloureds and the same with the Indians and then also have all the racial groups there and then also have all the necessary disciplines. We had to have educationalists of every kind there whether they be historical educationalists, comparative, whether they be didactics, what would you call it - empirical - whatever. And we had to have economists there, and we had to have accountants there because we had to relate to the realities of financing, and educationalists do not do that well on their own - we had to have hard-headed accountants there. And we had to have a spectrum representing bureaucrats because they would be the eventual implementers. We have to take them along. You cannot research by surprise and then expect implementation.
- LT You don't seem personally too enamoured with the bureaucrats.
- DL No. There are some damn good bureaucrats believe me, but there is an inertia built into the bureaucratic ethos which I'm rather impatient with. So I'm not against a bureaucrat as a person, but against the bureaucratic mode. We had to have bureaucrats there, we had to have professional educators there, we had to have the private sector there, we had to have the public sector there, we had to have the equivalent of labour unions - teachers organisations thus - we had to have them there, and we had to spread them over all four population groups. So we could take one Indian Teachers Association, one Coloured Teachers Association, one White Teachers Association, and one Black teachers Association, but we couldn't take all the teachers associations from black or Indian or coloured or white. There are just dozens. We had to be selective, as representative as possible of all these different elements I've mentioned. And then the second area of trust that had to be developed was between each individual person and his constituency whether it be business or a teachers organisation or a black community as opposed to a white community or whatever. This meant in effect that we would discuss a thing in depth, a particular issue, based on the research reports and then not come to a decision because people had not had time to consult with their constituencies. I allowed this, and of course it slowed things down initially. But I had hoped, and I had never had experience, and I don't think anyone else had ever had here in South Africa however that this openness within meetings and this openness in terms of consulting with constituencies would develop into a situation were the constituencies would come to trust their representative sufficiently and also come to trust the commission sufficiently, so that this back and forth consultation was no longer necessary. That came to be the case in the last few months. The same people who were initially developing ulcers because we were going too slow came to me at the end and said

we are going so fast we are developing ulcers! [laughter]. This is true! Trust was the basis. It is remarkable what extent of brotherly trust developed between people who had been sitting together for a year dealing with every contentious issue in an open manner - speaking his mind. They had come to trust and to accept each others points of views.

LT It seems to have been very intense actually, the whole thing.

DL It was a pyramid really. We had 800 researchers, and they were grouped into basically 14 areas, but some areas were so large we sub-divided them so it became 18 areas. Each of those areas had a working committee to oversee the research in that area and to collate the research materials. The 800 researchers produced 40,000 pages of research which was reduced - you will see it behind you there - to 18 reports.

LT Yes, I've had a look at those.

DL 18 reports on average about 200 pages, some less, some more. From that, I prepared the final report.

LT Personally?

DL Yes, and of course in interaction with the main committee - writing it at my desk through the night, having it typed the next day. My work pattern was the following at that time and I was young enough to do it. I would work from nine o'clock in the morning/ half-past nine in the morning until five o'clock the next morning. Relax for half an hour, and then go to bed. From nine o'clock I would be working again with one break somewhere in the late afternoon/early evening I would go to my workshop and do some woodwork.

LT Right, just to take your mind off it! So you had half an hours sleep every night.

DL Well two and a half hours with also let me add perhaps ten minutes in the middle morning and ten minutes in the middle afternoon. I could drop off to sleep for ten minutes very easily and then wake up.

LT You deserve the Nobel prize for that![laughter].

DL So the report was structured as a pyramid, but weaving through all this was the consultation back with your constituency and also the trust developing within the group. In the end we achieved a consensus fairly easily with one exception. It was the last day of the last meeting and it was four o'clock in the afternoon. These blokes had plane reservations from six o'clock onwards back to their various - Durban Cape Town etc. We hadn't reached consensus about management of education at the second level of government. I sent out of the room Franklin Sonn; NobinFranklin Sonn is a coloured and Nobin an Indian; Taunyane who is a black man; Steyn, who is a white Afrikaner and who represents the largest white teachers association in the same way that Taunyane represents the largest black

teachers association; and who was the English bloke? Oh yes, Michael O'Dowd. Plus I said to him that he should be chairman; and then Vosloo who is a political scientist. I told them to come back with an answer which everybody accepted. So we had a full consensus across the board. No minority opinion.

LT I expect you had to be quite strict perhaps?

DL I was strict only in some matters. First of all, I was not prepared to jeopardise the factual basis and I was not prepared to restrict anybody from speaking his mind whether others objected to that or not. They had to accept that everybody had that right.

LT May I ask, Professor, how you came to be appointed, how you came to head the commission?

DL I got a telephone call one evening from the president of the Human Sciences Research Council telling me that the cabinet had instructed the council to research education in terms of that brief that you see in the main report, and they wanted me to lead it. I said "why me?". He said, well, research capabilities are important in this regard, but also human relationships are also equally important. That's how it happened.

LT And everybody else?

DL They were largely identified in discussions between myself and the president of the Human Sciences Research Council with consultation with various constituencies as it were. In the case of the bureaucrats, we had to naturally consult with the various departments involved because it meant that these people would be away from their departments for a prolonged time - two or three days at a time, once or twice a month, and quite besides from that, having to read masses of research reports. In the case of the teachers associations, we consulted with the teachers associations and then we decided which teachers associations. We usually opted for the largest one. Across the colour barriers, representative of all political convictions except of course as I have said the far-left and the far-right. The far-left and the far-right are usually so ideologically straight-jacketed, that they do not contribute to this type of exercise so well. I'll just try those phone-calls again.....[pause]. You can phone Dr....I'll have to give you the name or you will never be able to spell it...

LT You'll have to excuse my ignorance on that score.

DL It's a Dutch name. Dr F.J. Nievenhouse. His telephone number is 012-202-2584. He will be able to tell you what the status of this document is now and whether you could have insight into it and also speak to Mrs van Zyl.

LT I'd better just take down the name of the document actually.

DL Let me give it to you, I don't think it is actually written here. It's name is given here in Afrikaans, let me translate it for you. "The Implementation...in fact "The

Extent of the Implementation of the Recommendations of the 1981 Education Research”.

LT I notice she is using internal memorandum as a source there.

DL Yes well she is very fortunate in that she can do that.

LT You don't think I would have the same luck if I went there?

DL Well apart from the report itself, all the material is available for researchers. The 40,000 pages of research material, all the memoranda etc - it's all available.

LT Well I must go there actually.[Pause for more tea].

DL I think it's really worth your while going there. I have all the material in a cellar down there but its not as it is there. They have a remarkable woman who filed all the stuff. Quite apart from the ability to remember where each document was, she also developed a very good filing system.

LT Would you mind describing in your own terms what you perceived to be not only the educational context, but the broader political context at the time of the report.

DL I think whether this is necessary in political terms, I suppose one could couch it in political jargon...I think what the report had tried to achieve, and I think in fact for its time it achieved to a remarkable extent, was the following. First of all it looked very objectively at the provision of education as such, as a phenomenon, but also in the context of the learning needs of this society. It looked at it without any hidden racial agendas or whatever. I'll give you an example to illustrate that. When we looked at management in education the popular cry, the political cry in South Africa was one single department of education. All the management analyses which we did, and Ken Hartshorne was the chairman of this particular work committee, indicated that one single department of education would be one monolithic bureaucratic monster if it had to employ all the teachers and own all the schools. Education in its very essence is an inter-personal thing and its management at the school level is inter-personal and it must be as personal as possible from higher levels also. Therefore you have to break the management units in the provision of education down to a size where the most personal relationships do not become completely engulfed through bureaucratic and impersonal overlays as it were. Teachers do not like being numbers, because what they do is to try to help a person become a person in his own right. They want to be treated as persons also. Much of educations problems in many societies is due to very large management structures, therefore, we said yes, one department of education, one single department of education, but restricted to policy matters and not to the actual provision of education.

LT So the DNE would meet that general requirement.

DL In general terms, yes, but....[pause for serving tea]. Before we come to the

question as to whether the DNE fulfils that role - what we asked for was that to obtain equal opportunities in education, one department should budget for education and one department should expend that money in terms of a formula which is not aligned to race or sex or creed or whatever. Secondly that department would be responsible for standards in education so that a certificate at an exit-point in education meant the same thing for all. Thirdly it had to deal with the standards of teacher training. Fourthly it had to deal with inter-national relationships in education - these were the four main matters. The DNE which had previously been partly a policy department, and partly an executive department in that it had technical education for its responsibility and its own technical schools and colleges and employed teachers was the...[unclear]... of that was taken away, and it was restricted to policy matters only. Then, just after the report came out, the tri-cameral system of government came into being. The concept of general and own affairs, and, at the central government level own affairs departments of education were created. We wanted at the central government level only one department and that was the policy department dealing with finance and standards etc. and then at the regional level, geographically based, and, demographically based - in other words, how many people in each area - should constitute a department of education in each area and would be non-racial.

LT So it was similar to the ERS proposals.

DL Yes. That is the answer that those chaps I sent out of the room came back with when I said you don't return unless you have an answer. That was accepted. Then at the local level there would be a large measure of local option in terms of not colour, but in terms of language, the medium of instruction and the religious base of education. Of course that would be geographically based at school. We were not very impressed with bussing as a solution to racial problems in education.

LT America and Britain have both had their problems with it.

DL Bussing has done a lot of harm - I've looked at it very closely in the United States and nobody does bussing any more. It was a political experiment in education which caused a lot of learning problems. It satisfied a lot of political consciousnesses but did not help learners. If you look at what I have just painted from another perspective I think we succeeded in dealing with two realities which cannot be wished away in South Africa. One, and this comes first, is that there is a large measure of common ground between all South Africans - they have a common destiny. They cannot live in fairness unless they are treated equally, have the same rights. We have need for a growth in the common ground. Secondly it would be extremely foolish to ignore for short-term political gain the diversities in South Africa. They are here, they are real and they tend to explode in your face the tensions which they generate if they are simply ignored, or, even worse, if they are repressed. Therefore we thought that as far as education is concerned two sets of diversities had to be recognised. One was the medium of instruction and the other was the religious base.

LT So to what extent does that reflect verligte thinking?

- DL If one were to use....I would call it realistic thinking, certainly it would be characterised in political terms on the verligte side, yes.
- LT So would you say that the initiative was sparked by verligte section of the National Party - the reform initiative in education.
- DL That's a difficult one. The situation in education was by 1980 of crisis proportions. There was a lot of teacher dissatisfaction with salary positions. One thing that I very strongly opposed in this investigation that we look at conditions of service. As to whether it was realistic in terms of the competitive rates of pay in South Africa - that was somebody else's work, not ours. We did look at was that conditions of service had to be equal for all teachers. There are no first and second class teachers. There are teachers which have better or higher qualifications than some but colour and sex should be no criterion for deciding a persons salary. Only to that extent did we look at that area of dissatisfaction. The unequal opportunities in education was morally no longer - and hadn't been for some time - acceptable. That also put pressure on having something done about the situation.
- LT So you are saying that the pressure came from the disparity between teachers pay and conditions of service.
- DL That was part of it. The other part was the unequal opportunity in education and this ran much along racial grounds. The whites and the Asians were almost on a par and the rest was very far behind.
- LT In terms of that kind of thinking, I notice that you yourself, correct me if I am wrong, thought of bringing SYNCOM into the investigation - they seemed to be exponents of this kind of thought at the time.
- DL I thought it necessary that we should have quite apart from....no once you have entered into huge research as we have done here - I am quite sure that this was the largest single research undertaking of its kind going on anywhere in education in the world at that time. 800 researchers bringing out their reports according to guidelines within 6 - 9 months so that the final report could be completed within a year (we did take exactly a year). Once you are in that, you become blind to what is happening outside. I wanted an additional view, and when SYNCOM offered to do this I supported them, we came to agree with their recommendations.
- LT That's interesting. So was there quite a lot of pressure at the time from the private sector for fundamental change in education?
- DL Oh yes. There was a lot of things going on. I had a private sector group coming and saying that they couldn't accept this investigation because it was prejudiced by the fact that the state had asked for it and the fact that the HSRC was facilitating it. The HSRC was not conducting the research, the main committee was conducting the research, the people in the picture - they had the first and the final say in the research, not the HSRC. The HSRC was an agent for the funds provided by cabinet, and once cabinet provided the funds, the main committee had drawn up the

criteria, for instance for the payment of research time spent. We had to take rather unusual decisions in this regard. We contracted researchers who wanted to go on Christmas holidays, and they weren't finished with their research, and so we asked them to cancel their holidays so that we paid deposits, so that they could repay their deposits just to get them to keep to their deadlines because it was all dove-tailed as it were. Some research had to be completed before other research could start.

LT And within the National Party, was there much support for.....

DL No there was.....[chuckle]....you know I had a deaf ear for all this as far as was possible - I was just too bloody busy, I was working 18 hour days. For much of it 20 hours - for a long time, and more. There was a lot of suspicion within government circles. The bureaucrats who weren't involved were very suspicious. Teachers associations who were not involved were extremely suspicious; the academics out there who were not involved were extremely suspicious. At Wits for instance we had four or five, I don't know how many, probably more, some were outside the education department...[unclear]...I'd say about six from Wits were involved but many of the other people from Wits were really suspicious. And nobody from the University of Port Elizabeth, and the University of Port Elizabeth rejected the report before it came out because they were not involved.

LT So you really tried to turn a deaf ear, if that is the expression.

DL Yes, I had a year to do this in. I couldn't listen to the whole country. I had satisfied my own conscience that this thing had been set up as a true research undertaking. I was satisfied that the main committee was representative enough of South African society to judge the research materials in terms of realities and all the tensions in our society. I think I succeeded to a remarkable degree in doing this. Obviously it is a report that wasn't perfect, not by a long shot. We couldn't research everything that we wanted to, there are just not enough researchers in South Africa to do that work. We also had limitations of money. Then in a country like South Africa, you take up 800 researchers many of whom were contracted full-time and had to get leave of absence from their ordinary lecturing research jobs, there's just about nobody else who's left.

LT How about organisations such as the Broederbond, how did they feel about the report?

DL About the research and the eventual report?

LT Yes, because you hear a lot about the other side, about the other arguments, but how about organisations like that.

DL At that time there were a lot of tensions within the Broederbond developing between two lines of thinking. There are many ways to distinguish these two lines of thinking, but let me do it in the following manner. One group said that the Broederbond which is an organisation to promote Afrikaner interests - it started in 1918 when the Afrikaner became urbanised very quickly and was unprepared for

the new situation, and there was a lot of discrimination against him in the work place. Because most of the employers at that time - the people with capital - were English speakers. It came into being as an organisation promoting Afrikaner interests. One line of thinking is that you have to do this regardless, and I call that the isolationist view. The other one, and I became the leader of that, was convinced that the Afrikaner interest - all interests were so intertwined, all interests are so interdependent in South Africa, you cannot promote one groups interests in isolation, you had to promote....well lets take an example - economic welfare. Generally, if you wanted any group to fare well economically, or if you wanted to promote a language, you have to promote all languages and not just your own language. There should be enough space for all languages. And so on.

LT So that is more along separate but equal lines?

DL Not necessarily separate but equal, because it includes the other reality which quite apart from the diversities which are real - the equal reality, or the dominant reality, and that is the common ground, the common destiny where the commonality of South Africa is to the fore. If I have to put it into a single sentence - common ground must not destroy the real diversities. Diversities must not agitate against the realities of the common ground. We have to find in time a common balance between these and this balance will change over time. Hopefully it will change in favour of the common ground. But to wish away diversity as if it will evaporate if you wish it away is simply to create a set of tensions which blows up societies. It's doing so now in Yugoslavia, it's done it in India, its done it in just every where in the world. Its foolish not to acknowledge real things and lessen the tensions, the potential of which is there, as much as possible.

LT So is this the kind of thinking that is coming to the fore in the Broederbond?

DL Yes. And it was at a time when, because of this rift developing in thinking in the Broederbond, a large number broke away under the previous leader of the Broederbond, Carl Boshof. Eventually about 4,000 left the organisation on the basis of this difference of opinion, of this point of departure as it were.

LT And this conflict started to commence just prior to your.....

DL Oh this really started in the early seventies. The signs where there in the middle sixties. By the early seventies it was becoming fairly evident. The convention that we used to hold things together, in which we used to belong together, kept these two groups together until they became completely ineffectual. We had to break through that ineffectuality as it where, by making a choice. It was a bitter choice for the organisation. Some decided against it, some for. Fortunately my side won the day. We could have lost it.

LT I understand that you are quite prominent in the Broederbond.

DL Yes, I am the present chairman. I have been for about nine years.

- LT Yes, its very interesting, it is a time of tremendous changes.
- DL This time offers more promise than we have ever had before, but also more risks than we have ever had before. We are at a point where we are bottoming out, hopefully, in economic, political and social terms. Hopefully we will go up from here onwards within say the next eighteen months to two years. It is not impossible that South Africa is sliding to a slump of poverty and coercion which is so very very much around - it is a risk we take.
- LT One thing that struck me when I spoke to Dr Stumpf is the level of commitment amongst elements of the current establishment in terms of wanting to transform things for the better.
- DL I think many people have missed out on possibly the most important element in this Education Renewal Strategy. There you have the bureaucrats who are the managers of education, each with their little empire, whether it is the Transvaal Education Department that he runs, or whether it is a self-governing states department that he's running, or whether he's running the national department of education. They sit there and they define themselves out of their jobs. They say in future their will be one department and regional departments which doesn't mean that the chaps who hold the present positions say in the Transvaal or Cape Province or Kwazulu or wherever, will hold these positions in these regional departments. It is one of the few, if not the only instance I know of where bureaucrats have defined them....and agreed almost unanimously that the jobs they are doing now should be replaced by other structures.
- LT So there isn't much resistance then within the bureaucracy towards these changes?
- DL I would guess at other levels there is.
- LT Yes, but at what kind of levels?
- DL Say planners and administrative levels.
- LT So if I wanted for the sake of my research to go out and find a staunch conservative who is opposed to change, who thought that the ERS and perhaps even their own commission was going too far, would I have much trouble in finding such a person?
- DL [laughter] Now that is an interesting question - I am not sure that he will receive you.
- LT Even if I said that I wanted to present a balanced picture?
- DL You would probably have to go outside of the bureaucracy to find people who would do this. I'm trying to give you a name. At the University of South Africa there is a chap by the name of Boyson in the Law Faculty. He would possibly receive you. I'm not sure if he is still there - a chap called Professor Swart. He might receive you.

- LT How would you - you've discouraged me from using the term verligte, and I don't know what to use really - reform minded? Generally, are people reform-minded in educational structures?
- DL Well, almost against their wishes sometimes, yes. Realities of education are such that they realise that they have come to an impasse. Something has to be done. There are two options open to such people. The one is to move into a separate state such as Carl Boshof and some of them might, which I think is the more honest approach. It may be impractical, but it is honest. They do not want the whole country, but a portion, and that is possibly negotiable. And then there is the other view which says that the whole country is white, and reserved for the whites, and therefore everybody has to do their own thing somewhere else, and have no real rights here. Perhaps, I'm not sure who. I do not know the bureaucrats at lower levels, so well I must give you.....I'm getting old you know and its a new generation that's moved in. My generation, or those I know will now be in top management posts and they by in large have come to accept the need for change. One sees this fear about losing a job amongst bureaucrats in just about any society in the world. It is not a unique situation. One sometimes wonders whether it is anti reform or the threat to job security which motivates these people. Some of them are more often motivated by this fear of losing a job more than by being not reform-minded.
- LT Well Professor, I am conscious that my allotted time is up.
- DL Well it's been my pleasure meeting you, and I hope you have a successful doctorate....[general chat about PhDs and Glasgow where DL had been recently].

**INTERVIEW WITH MR K. HARTSHORNE,
PRETORIA, 10/9/91, 10.30 am**

- KH** [KH has been asked about some of his current activities]. I act as what they call the 'country consultant'. They keep these characters from outside on the right lines. You know as a sort of sounding board, that kind of thing, and so on and so forth....[pause for telephone]....Since eighty one there has been a small continuing research committee within the HSRC, and one of the jobs that we got the HSRC to do recently was to do a document on what government has done in the last ten years arising from the....in other words what parts of the de Lange report have been ignored, have been touched on partially, and which parts were taken up.
- LT** It was done by Mrs van Zyl.
- KH** That's right, it's this document here.
- LT** Is it ready for distribution?
- KH** Not yet, no. This is still the draft which I am reading through actually. And in October there is a meeting of the small research committee, and Pete de Lange thought that it would be a good idea if all the old members of the de Lange committee were invited along to this - the whole 25 of them to listen to what people have to say about this report, to have it presented, and to have a discussion on what future research priorities might be. It is quite interesting. Unfortunately I've got a clash, and that is what she was ringing me up about. I'd like to be at that if I could. It would be quite an interesting reunion after all these years.
- LT** I wonder where and when I would be able to get hold of that document?
- KH** I think it will probably be released after this meeting on the 15th of October. The final comments from various members of the committee will be in by then. They will be considered at the meeting so I expect it will be tidied up by Mrs van Zyl after that and it will probably come out before the end of the year.
- LT** So if I got in touch with the HSRC....
- KH** Yes, you should be able to get it there.
- LT** Good, it is a very important document for my research.
- KH** Anyway, you were asking what I am busy with actually at the moment. I'm doing a job for the NEPI - you know the NEPI?
- LT** Yes, right, I see.
- KH** I'm on the committee that is looking at systems and structures, control,

administration policy - I'm on that committee. What they have asked me to do is a kind of state of Denmark paper you know - where things are at the moment. Its a kind of assessment of the present system.

LT Why Denmark?

KH [embarrassed pause]. I'm using the Shakespearean term.

LT Oh sorry! [embarrassed laughter].

KH You know, the state of the art - what's happening in South Africa, not Denmark in that sense [more laughter].

LT It is actually used as a model by some!

KH Yes I know. It is a background paper which in a sense a lot of the other committees would need. I mean when you get into the game of change, you are working with an existing system, and what that system is, what it looks like and what drives it are very important factors. You cannot just wipe the slate clean. You have to work with what you have got, and you have to get from A to B. The whole trick is how you do that and what you use in the old system, and what you throw out, and what you live with for a while and you know, all these sorts of practical issues. That's where we are now - the days of the rhetoric have gone or should have gone. They haven't gone, but they need to go if we are going to get anywhere because now we have to get down to this hard nitty-gritty stuff. How do you bring about systems change? Systems have a way of hanging in there. Especially education because there is a sort of built-in conservatism, almost in education and it is a long culture that has existed in education everywhere. An education system is not an easy thing to move, and you have got to know first of all, what it is that you have got, what the entity is, what you are working with, so that is what I am trying to do - sum up without making it a long story. I mean obviously you could write a book about it. Our job is just to pick up some of the major things - very interesting actually.

LT Not one of the easier systems to summarise I'm sure.

KH No, very difficult. I'm doing a section at the moment on trying to provide a category - a characterisation - a typology of all the actors and interests involved, because you have got to have a picture of that too. You know you can't deal with this with the rhetoric of the state versus the people. I mean the interests are far more diverse.

LT So who are they? Who are the interests at work here?

KH Its the government first of all. Then you have the bureaucrats who are different to the government, who are reactive to it. You've got the oppositional forces, so you've got a whole set of political actors. You've got a whole set of educational actors out there. Educational organisations, teachers organisations, non-governmental agencies involved in education, and so on and so forth. You've got

student and youth organisations, trade unions and churches - all of whom have interests in education, and, all of whom, interestingly enough if you watch what is going on, are beginning to push their own particular interests.

LT Who are the prime movers?

KH Well, obviously the prime movers at the moment if you are thinking about decision-making, policy, at political levels, the prime movers obviously have to be on the one hand the whole government/ establishment area in its various facets. Then you've got the major extra-parliamentary groups led at the moment by the ANC, and linked to them, things like the ANC education desk, the NECC, the NEPI investigation - all those kinds of interests. Then I think you've got very strong business/ economic interests involved who sometimes are...I think their power and influence are often underestimated in this.

LT How do they exert that influence?

KH Various ways, sometimes from within so to speak, almost as insiders. By a lot of pressure, a lot of pressure exerted on government by the private sector since probably the early seventies which has been increasing.

LT Would you mind, it's a little bit laborious, but if you wouldn't mind pinpointing what were for you the major instances of that pressure.

KH OK. I think you have got to put this into context of the economy which in the sixties was doing very well. They did so well in a sense that by the time you had got to the early seventies, the white sector of South Africa just wasn't capable of producing all the necessary skills to keep the economy going. So you had a new relationship, in a sense, between lets call it big business and the state/ the government. There had been previously almost, let us say, an easy acceptance of the apartheid order because there were ways in which it in fact supported the economy. You come to a point in the early seventies when it was quite clear that as I said the white sector of South Africa just wasn't going to be able to produce sufficient of the skills. People in the private sector then began to look around at what they had got, and for the first time they began to realise they had got a pretty poor education system that from their point of view - they look at it of course in a specific way - what an education system produces - you don't have to agree with that, but you try to analyze what they were looking at. They are looking at the things that make people trainable if you like which they can build on - they can provide the skills and so on. They didn't find that. So they immediately...the first thing that happens around seventy three/ seventy four is that there is a big drive for training. There was actually an inter-departmental committee set up which recommended tax concessions should be paid to the private sector for the training of blacks. This is a whole new ball game in a sense where the private sector is now taking a very specific interest on a broad front in what was going on in black education and saying that it isn't producing the goods.

LT Did this have any relationship to the education panels in the sixties?

KH Well yes in a sense, but the education panel while interesting was before its time. The two education panel documents are interesting documents. They were a sign of things to come but in terms of their influence on the private sector, they had very little. It was just some of the leaders, the top runners, the Anglo-Americans of this world you see who were in that really when you look at it. It didn't have any major influence even within the private sector itself. As I say they are interesting documents for research, but it was only in the seventies that the broader private sector in general began to understand what they had been saying in 1961 in the education panels.

LT And you locate the spark for that in the economy itself. Was it the oil price rises of seventy three?

KH Well yes. It was certainly seventy three with this big training drive. There were a lot of other things happening then you see. If you go back, you had this big training drive, you had these tax concessions for training. You had the beginnings of the new attitude to trade unions - which worked out through the next five years, through the late seventies. In a sense industrial relations were way ahead of any other part of our development. So they are all part of the same thing. Then of course you see, what you got next was 1976, and certainly for those companies, the major corporations, the ones who had any sense of social/corporate responsibility to use the in term - that was of course a fundamental landmark leading up all the other aspects of 1976. That was the date, that was the stage where the private sector, on a major scale, began to put money into programmes/projects outside the system. That moved them away from their old method - and they still used it in the early days after 1976 - of trying to bolster up the system. They basically discovered that money just went down the drain. So you got this huge growth in South Africa - its probably fairly unique in the world - this growth of a whole alternative set of projects, programmes, non-governmental agencies. There are hundreds of them outside the system, to try and cope with things. It really is a major phenomena and the private sector got really into that. It was the time of the Sullivan principles and the Canadian principles and the EEC principles. Any company that wanted to work here, you know, they had to follow these rules and these principles. So you know, it was quite an interesting way in which that was developed. For example, linked to that, if you look at why the de Lange committee came into being, there is no question that there was a very strong influence of economic interests in that. Pressures from the economic world of the Afrikaners and the English - the Ruperts as well as the Oppenheimers saying to government look you've got to do something about this. If you look at the terms of reference that were given to the de Lange committee, what's it about? Its about manpower. A lot of it is about this whole issue you see, about education and the economy - lack of skills, manpower, all that kind of thing isn't it. It isn't entirely that, but it is a very strong thread if you look at the references. [Introduction to KH's wife, and orders for tea. Discussion about gardening]. Anyway, we sort of wandered around a bit - its best if we go back to your questions.

LT OK. We where basically up to de Lange, but there seem to have been a couple of landmarks before then which I have come across in the press clippings which seem

to be the Carlton and Good Hope conferences. To what extent do you think they were calls for pressure on the part of business for educational reform?

KH They worked more the other way. That was more of an attempt by the government to coopt the private sector rather than the private sector putting pressure on the government. But, one should get into that dynamic, of course *quid pro quos*, coming into the situation. One does not know what was going on behind the scene, but the actual conferences as such where an attempt by the government to coopt the business sector onto its side, that's what they were really about.

LT So at that stage, you might have begun to see the beginnings of various networkings and things like that.

KH Yes. I think there was a lot that went on that we don't know anything about. I think it would be difficult to find out. I think a lot of bargaining, if you like, went on behind the scenes.

LT Who might be in the know?

KH Very difficult. I tried at one stage, some years ago to follow that through, but I didn't get very far.

LT I see. To what extent do you think the agenda for de Lange was set before the commission actually sat?

KH I think it actually in the end, happened pretty quickly. I think, I mean obviously, those sorts of terms of reference which you have there, must have been hanging in the air. In the end it was some bureaucrat/ civil servant who wrote them down. Obviously they were approved by the prime minister and sent to the HSRC. But in the end the thing actually worked very quickly because you have to remember that apart from the pressures from the economic sector, there were various other major pressures. There was a tremendous lot of parental dissatisfaction in the late seventies and early eighties throughout the education system, and I'm not just talking about black parents. You pick it up in the press very much. Next, there was tremendous fight going on within the teaching profession at this stage. Lastly, the thing that really brought it to a head was the whole 1976/ 80 disintegration of black education - the boycotts the protests, the closing of schools, the violence which just was rolling on between seventy six and eighty. It was one of the major protest/ resistance periods and it had moved from the North, Soweto - African schools - into the Western Cape, into coloured education. The nationalist politician is much more vulnerable, sensitive to what goes on in the coloured community than he is about what goes on in the African community. Difficult to tell. Why had there been the Wiehan commission in the whole coloured social area, and nothing in the African area? Its another system of a sort of priority - there's a sort of hierarchy in South Africa of what is felt to be important you know. Africans at the bottom, whites at the top, Indians next and coloureds next. It seems to reflect itself in all kinds of things. Anyway, it had rolled through the whole country down into the Cape. The story behind what happened was that so many pressures had been put on the

principals of schools and educational institutions in Cape Town and the departments were threatening all sorts of actions against them until, finally, some of the major actors like Franklin Sonn and other major coloured educational leaders went straight to the Prime Minister - they bypassed every other...they went straight to the Prime Minister, and they said if you go on with this, we are going to resign. You are not going to push us any further.

LT What position did Franklin Sonn have at that time?

KH Franklin you've got to remember wasn't only...he was at the Peninsula Technikon but more importantly he was the president of the Coloured Teachers Union - that was his power base. Two days later the Prime Minister announced in the House of Assembly that he was going to appoint a....well not to appoint a commission of enquiry - people get confused about this. He was going to ask the HSRC to investigate education. That was the final thing that pushed. All those other things that I have mentioned were there and it would have come - it had to come. We hadn't had a good look at what was going on in education, at least as far as African education was concerned since the Eislen Report in fifty three. So there was a sense in which it was inevitable, but the actual timing had a lot to do with the whole seventy six/eighty thing, it coming in a decade which was reaching an actual point where it was going to explode and this meeting with the Prime Minister, and as I say, two days later the whole thing you know from that statement in parliament the details were worked out and within...that was June...the beginning of August the committee started work, so it moved quickly after that.

LT What was happening in Afrikanerdom at the time? Let me be a bit more specific - within the Broederbond.

KH Well, I would think that the Broederbond were one of the pressure groups that said to government that you have to do something about this. You can't let this run for too long, you can't have this seventy six/eighty thing that's going on, you've got to do something which shows that the government is prepared to at least have a proper look at the situation and what has to be done. And of course in practice it did have that effect, for between the beginning of de Lange in August 1980 up until the 1983 white paper, there was a comparative period of lower protests, resistance and boycotts and so on. There was a sort of waiting feeling. And, in fact, in the de Lange, we worked..... you see although a lot of the parent groups, teacher groups, protest groups wouldn't take part in the de Lange - they were actually asked, various people were actually asked, but they said no, they would stay out, but we talked to them and it was not recorded. It had to be done off the record, quietly, without anything coming into the press about it otherwise, of course, it wouldn't have been accepted. We were told more or less - OK brothers we are going to give you a chance to see what you can do. The various...the Committee of Ten in Soweto, the Committee of Eighty One, the Port Elizabeth Parent Teacher groups, all these, they really did pull back. A small group of us from the de Lange went around the country quietly, and had some quite exciting times, meeting off the record, quietly, no fuss, no records, no publicity various of the groups, and this is basically what they were saying. They were saying to us, we don't think you are

going to get anywhere. We don't think the government.....we are not interested in what you are going to say. We are interested in what the government is going to do once they get your report, which is what proved to be of course, how it worked out. That is what they were saying, but they gave us a chance. It's very interesting.

LT You mentioned the Committee of Ten. Which other groups did you talk to?

KH Well there was the Committee of Eighty One, there was the Port Elizabeth Parents Committee, or something like that, there was a similar group in Bloemfontein. I think we talked to groups up here, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and then, apart from that, some of us like Franklin Sonn and myself - we actually went into de Lange with a lot of reservations, but we felt in the end that we should do it. We only went in when we got certain agreements like: for example, that it would be published - whatever happened it would be published - it wasn't a secret or private document of the cabinet, it was a document of the HSRC; that we would be open about our procedures. It wouldn't be a group of people sitting around a table and doing the report. We were going to go out, to talk to people, and we were going to try out from time to time where we were with groups of people to see what they felt. To try and open up the whole thing - that was the second thing we insisted on. There were certain conditions that we laid down with Dr Garbers who was president of the HSRC at that stage. He is now the man who is Director General of national education. Before we participated, there were times when we nearly walked out.

LT Now by that stage you had already resigned, you had already moved on from the DET.

KH Oh yes, I left the DET after the Soweto business. That's another story on its own.

LT I'd like to hear that story at some point.

KH Yes, but lets pour some tea first [pause for tea]. What a lot of South Africans, a lot of people in the education field, in the universities, still don't understand is that they criticise it because it wasn't a scientific investigation which it set out to be. I keep on telling them, brothers, it was a political negotiation. Never mind all the research papers that were done behind it, in the end for those twenty five people around the table it was a typical negotiation system. How far could we go with that sort of group in 1980, with thirteen of them being Afrikaners of various persuasions. How far could we get? It was a political negotiation of our education of the kind that is now going to happen. It will have to be done again.

LT I'd like to pursue it along those lines.

KH If you try to interpret it in any other way....people used to say to Franklin Sonn and myself, why didn't you issue minority reports? We said it wasn't that sort of business. Nobody won, but nobody lost everything in that, and that is what negotiations are about. You have got to realise that. You don't get what you want.

The de Lange report doesn't express my ideas about education by any means. People get very mixed up about this you see. I said that what you have got to realise was happening was in fact a political negotiation. That was the outcome. That's as far as that kind of group, which wasn't truly representative, because it had limitations in terms of the kind of people who were on it, and lack of strong African representation because they wouldn't take part in it because of the political situation, all those things.

LT How were people picked?

KH Well, obviously what the HSRC was trying to do - and I think it tried to do it honestly, was to get a fairly broad representation, however, with the Afrikaners still being in a majority. That's how it worked out - twenty five people and thirteen Afrikaners. That doesn't represent the demography of the country. So you start with those sorts of limitations. But after that....Garbers is quite a sincere sort of chap, and over the years he has developed quite a lot....I think he was trying to make an effort to make it as representative as he could under the circumstances of the time. So it was by invitation through the president who he was consulting. One will never really find out I don't think.

LT Oh, I see!

KH It wasn't the government you know.

LT No, the HSRC, but there was some consultation there.

KH Well, consultation....in what way do you mean Leon?

LT Well you said that Garbers went to....

KH Well he must have talked to people about who should be on this. I mean before that time I didn't know him. The first time I ever met him was when I said I've got to come to see you because I can't accept this until I've got something straight you see. That is when we negotiated certain things about how it was going to operate. I know Franklin Sonn did the same, and Franklin and I caucused a little bit before hand so that we had the same sort of basis. But who he was talking to in order to get that particular group together is very difficult to.....I don't think one would ever establish that.

LT Why Professor de Lange as chair?

KH He was chairman of the Broederbond.

LT Oh, as simple as that.

KH And principal of RAU [Rand Afrikaans University] which in Afrikaner circles at that stage certainly was seen as the more verligte, city, urban, Afrikaner influence, which is where the reform influences in a sense were started. I think that is what

it was about.

LT So you would locate within RAU the intellectual impulse for changes of heart?

KH Well not only RAU, but certainly within RAU yes. You see the Afrikaner academic I think began to be in an uncomfortable situation, almost from the seventies on. When they were faced with this major 1976/80 thing, and, when you remember that the issue which sparked it off in the schools in Soweto was Afrikaans, if you read the Afrikaans press just after that, they were holding up their hands in horror and saying what have we done that our language can be under this kind of attack? So there was a whole introspection and looking back, and looking properly at what was going on, I mean looking at black education. You got very little in the Afrikaans press about black education. If you wanted to read about black education you went to the Daily Mail. That was the major source for public information. It was just a neglected area, people didn't worry about it, nobody. In a sense until you got this whole eruption, there wasn't any major interest at all, anywhere. You were talking into a void.

LT And of course there were changes within the Broederbond at that time weren't there taking place.

KH I think what was happening is you had a very strong academic influence first of all in the Broederbond. I think what you were getting was a whole thing going on within the Broederbond of a kind of academic think-tank which began to look at constitutional issues. They saw the writing on the wall in a sense. How can we cope with this. What are the things that have got to be done? That was all going on. Those later constitutional proposals that were coming out in the late seventies from government and right through - the source of those is undoubtedly the Broederbond academic.

LT You picked this up from the Afrikaner press?

KH Oh yes. I'm just wondering if apart from the press there is anything you could read about that.

LT Unfortunately I don't have Afrikaans.

KH No, that is what I was just thinking, I was wondering if there was anything in English, whether somebody like Esterhause or Giliomee who write in English who are Afrikaans political scientists.

LT Well Giliomee, I spoke to him at UCT and there is nothing about what was happening in the Broederbond in the last ten years or so.

KH Obviously the things that one picks up....so much of what one picks up is from talking to people who are involved in these things, who know what is going on.....

- LT And you've been closer than most.....
- KH ...its difficult to pin down a lot of the stuff, its just background for ones thinking. Anyway, where were we?
- LT Do you think you could provide a typology of the balance of forces at play during the debate on the eleven principles and in general?
- KH They where probably typified in de Lange in that twenty five. Lets start with,lets call him the conservative Afrikaner.
- LT You're talking about people actually on the commission.
- KH Yes but they also represent wider actors out in the political field too at the same time. You had conservative Afrikaners there. Interestingly enough, and this has continued to run through the process since then, they were firstly education academics, not other academics. Other academics tended to be more verligte. They where professors of education and the Afrikaans teachers organisations. They in a sense represented the conservative Afrikaner actors if you like.
- LT Would you be prepared to name names?
- KH Yes, if you look at the list [pause]. Professor Jooste, Director of the Transvaal education department.
- LT That's traditionally quite a conservative department.
- KH Yes. Mr J.F. Steyn, Secretary of the T.O. [Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging]. Professor van Loggerenberg, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Free State. That's one kind of group. Then you had what you might call a mixture of the more verligte Afrikaans academics and the new technocrats that were coming into the civil service, who where a different style, different from the old civil servants. There was Simon Brand who is now head of the Development Bank for example, who was then in the Department of Finance. There was Dr Nell who was a former Director of Education at Natal with a different kind of approach.
- LT What is the origin of this approach, where does it come from?
- KH Well I think you see it now in a later stage of development, crystallising around the new National Party/ Conservative party kind of divide. These conservatives would have now moved over to the CP. These more verligte, more progressive Afrikaners have moved the National Party beyond where it was at that stage. Its part of a long political process. There was Piet Smit who was at that stage Vice-President of the HSRC who is the Rector Designate of Pretoria University now. There was Nick Swart who was Vice-Rector of Potchefstroom University. There was van der Merwe who was at that stage Deputy Director-General at the Department of Manpower and in the middle of this whole new industrial relations thing that was going on you see. There was Ben Vosloo, political science Stellenbosch, who later

became Director of the Small Business...what's it called...the thing that was set up to develop small entrepreneurs and so on. So you have another quite different breed almost. A different kind of level, and you notice that very few of them were educationalists. The most conservative Afrikaners in the de Lange group were the educationalists. The others were further ahead with the exception of Piet de Lange himself who I would put amongst the group we have just been talking about.

LT And you would define this group, if pushed, as being verligte?

KH Yes, I would use the Afrikaans term, because in our political history it has a very specific meaning. The term was coined by Willem de Clerk, who you must have heard of, who was involved in the whole negotiations over the Democratic Party for example, who is the brother of the state president. So, you know, this has got a long history in Afrikaner circles. It was the beginnings of the move towards reform and saying that we can't go on like this.

LT And a good source might be his biography of his brother.

KH Yes well, you might pick some of it up in there yes. He was the man who coined the actual term 'verligte'. Its difficult to use any other term, because it isn't 'liberal'. It isn't conservative, it is somewhere moving in between along the continuum if you know what I mean.

LT Within the grain of traditional Afrikanerdom to an extent.

KH Yes. Right we were going through the...lets look at some of the other. As I said there was a very serious weakness in the first place, African representation, because you had no representation there of what you might call the extra-parliamentary oppositional forces at all. You had an inspector of schools who was very conservative. The names probably won't mean much. There was the Principal of the University of Zululand, and there was the President of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association - Taunyane - who is now one of the driving forces behind....there are two sets of teacher unity movements going on - the one which is going for the union idea, and the other which is going for the professional association, and Taunyane is the leader of this. Taunyane was the most useful on the actual committee of those three - had made the biggest contribution, had the most to say. The others were very quiet, they really didn't represent a strong African kind of position. Taunyane did from time to time. As far as the so-called 'coloured' people were concerned, you had Franklin Sonn, Richard van der Ross, who was Principal of the University of the Western Cape at that stage. Again, at different places on the continuum. Richard van der Ross more conservative than Franklin Sonn. But Franklin Sonn still not representing what you might call the out and out resistance group, say, for example in the Western Cape. Then the Indian representatives - they were a disaster. The representative on the main committee was the Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Durban Westville. He was probably one of the weakest members of the whole committee. Then you are left with the English-speaking white. There was Professor Boyce who was Rector of the Johannesburg College of Education. I would describe him as

classically liberal to use short hand. There was Michael O'Dowd, Anglo-American Corporation who, if you want to place him is one of the great exponents now of the Free Enterprise Foundation. The only real teacher on the committee, who was there as a result of my intervention - I said to Garbers when I went to see him, you know there is no woman on this, and there is no teacher on this, so he had one place left, so he combined them - Claudia Regnart. Claudia I would describe as a progressive. She was very good value and she made a very good contribution. It was very good having her there actually. And that's it apart from myself.

LT And where were you based at the time?

KH I was at Wits. Shortly after I got out of the Department, Wits offered me a job as a consultant and to begin with I was a senior research fellow at the Centre for Continuing Education, at the time getting set up as a proper kind of organisation. So I was with them from the beginning of seventy eight. That was my base.

LT Would you say that the outcome of the commission.....

KH The committee. You see it was not a commission, and this gave us certain strengths. Its important to say, I think, that if it had been a government commission, it wouldn't have been as representative as this. I wouldn't have been on it, you can be quite sure because I was *persona non grata* with the government at that stage. I had been threatened in parliament and all sorts of things. Franklin Sonn certainly wasn't *persona grata*, so if it had been a commission you would have had an entirely Afrikaner-dominated kind of thing. At least here there were other influences that could poke and argue and so on which hadn't happened before. There was some movement. That was the strength of it being an HSRC set-up - it gave us more room for manoeuvre.

LT Would you describe the outcome of the committee as being a consensus?

KH No, again you see, when you have a political negotiation, its not really consensus. Deep down you are not agreeing with everything. You are going to go on fighting for this or that or the other you see. That's what I mean. It is important to see this as a political negotiation. That's as far as we could go in reaching any sort of workable agreement. So there were some things that we couldn't talk about otherwise it would have split the thing down the middle. There was very little in de Lange about the real questions of the philosophy of education, about ideology. Its about provision. We do have a chapter on equality which is a highly controversial one given the kind of group we were working in. It was over those kinds of issues that Franklin and I...we actually walked out of a meeting one day, but went back after certain things happened.

LT 'Equality in the light of justice' and so on....

KH Yes, you see most people haven't read the chapter that deals with equality that very pragmatically, and I think correctly at that stage, takes up the point by saying that the way to get at this is to get rid of inequality. There is a starting point, and it was

a starting point in 1981. If we had started to get rid of inequality then, the discussion on equality could have been much further along the road now. You can only understand this if you see it as a political negotiation. It wasn't consensus in the sense that we were all happy with the outcome. Nobody was at that stage.

LT So who did the best out of it?

KH Yes, that's the question. In other words looking at it from a particular point of view, what were the gains and what were the losses. I think the first thing to say about it is that in spite of in a sense, government's rejection of it in the 1983 White Paper, in spite of the fact that government actually altered those eleven principles....a lot of people think that the eleven principles they see accepted by government in the eighty three White Paper and in the 1984 Act, are the same as de Lange. They are not, they must do their homework. They must read them carefully. They must compare the original de Lange principles with what is actually in the legislation, and they are different. There were some very important conditions put in by government about separate schooling, about separate departments etc. etc. A lot of people who should know better, in the academic education field in South Africa haven't looked at that carefully. There are a lot of people who have read a lot about de Lange. There are very few people who have read the actual document. A hell of a lot of loose stuff floats around here. De Lange gets the blame often for what government is saying, and government is saying something completely different. Nevertheless, although this happened, although the White Paper rejected some of the major things in de Lange, it has had a powerful influence on government thinking which is only beginning to show now, it has taken a long time. It is beginning to show now. Secondly, one of the most fascinating things that I have found out, is that even the oppositional groups, NECC, the ANC desk - John Samuels and people like that, are now going back to de Lange. From the point of view of what were the practical things that it said. What were the actual suggestions that were made about how to change the system as to what should be done, and what could be done and so on and so forth. So it has taken a long time, but now I think its beginning to...its real importance as a landmark along the road is beginning to be seen. Of course it was imperfect, full of weaknesses. So is going to be the outcome of negotiations that take place between the ANC and all the other actors now about education. We are not going to get the education system that everybody thinks is right. It is going to be negotiated. But we are now thirteen, fourteen, fifteen years along the line from de Lange before we need to do that. But if the de Lange had been implemented in the middle eighties, we would be dealing with a very different situation now. That's what we have got to think about - it was something along the way.

LT There was a lot said in the press at the time. There were several interviews with yourself and with Franklin Sonn and with various other people at the time of the government White Paper.

KH More, especially even when the first interim memorandum came out in October eighty one, three months after nine of us took very strong exception to the way the whole thing had been handled. And there was reaction of course again in eighty

three. Out of that you see you got the development of the 'separate but equal' slogan - that was part of what came out of all that.

LT And you didn't go along with that at all.

KH No, I don't think it is possible. I mean on purely pragmatic grounds you can't. If you are going to go for separation then it is not going to be equal, and if you are going to go for equality then it can't be separate. This is a fundamental contradiction built into the whole concept.

LT But you don't actually trace that slogan 'separate but equal' to de Lange.

KH No. You won't find it in de Lange. I am saying that because of the emphasis on equal treatment, equal opportunities, all the things that are in de Lange, government was faced with trying to at least pick up on some of that, and yet maintain the status quo as far as separation was concerned. So it went into this, which other countries have also done in the past, for example the United States did, and through the same kind of thing. I don't want to push the parallels too close, but nevertheless, it was the same kind of thing.

LT So which divergencies between the White Paper, the following legislation and de Lange were you most concerned about?

KH If you go back and look at the original de Lange, let me give you just a few indicators out of many. When we were talking about regionalisation, we weren't talking ethnically. That is a basic thing. Secondly, when we talked about the setting up of a single education department, we certainly weren't talking about the kind of department of national education that was set up by government with very limited authority, and so on and so forth, with the maintenance of general affairs - all this. Those are probably the two major policy areas.

LT So the Department of National Education, you wouldn't....

KH The government always claims that that is what de Lange wanted, which is not so. If you look at the de Lange recommendations, then you are looking at a very different kind of situation. You are dealing with a central education authority, regionally operating, by geographical region. More or less the kind of thing which is now being put forward by government. Certainly not...there is plea in de Lange which calls for the continuation of the ethnic departments. The whole plea is for a change in the whole structure, from ethnic structure to a regional structure. We didn't want a huge, monolithic, central education department. That would have given us a bureaucracy even worse than we had in the past, and that would be saying something. You have to break it down for every day operation, so you have to have certain forms of regional...we proposed certain forms of regional authority, and we went right down to the local districts and schools and so on. There was nothing about ethnic divisions. So those are the major issues of course. And yet the claim was made you see, continued by government, that setting up the Department of National Education was a response to the de Lange report, which is

interesting. They felt they had to show that they were responding to it. They were sensitive about it.

LT Because of the same kinds of political issues, or thought of the opposition forces.

KH That's right.

LT So why then Ken did they not take up many of the main recommendations?

KH Because in their own words at that stage, separate schools, separate education departments were a fundamental pillar of policy, and were non-negotiable. They are still very near to that. Under all the verbiage, we are not all that further from that. If you are looking at policy, the fundamental policy statement is the 1984 Education Act, in the context of the tri-cameral parliamentary system which in fact reinforced segregation rather than anything else. If you want to look for the seeds of the eighty four policy, it is the eighty two/ eighty four period. For NEPI you see, when they asked me to do the state of Denmark, where we are, the base that I am using is eighty four to the present. You can't get involved in all the historical reasons you know, why we are, where we are, so you have got to use a base. I am using that as the base with, added to it, the fact that to explain the eighty four legislation, the White Paper and the legislation, you have that very important policy period which stretches from eighty to eighty four.

LT Would you include educational reform?

KH Well, of course, I am talking about education, but, broadly, you have got the National Parties attempts to introduce some form of constitutional changes that would cope with these things that they were faced with. And so they go for the idea of the tri-cameral parliament with limited powers for the Indians and coloureds. They just shoved Africans aside almost like second class citizens. That was a fatal mistake. Obviously what is happening in education is reflecting the broad political ideas. They want to do better - they begin to spend more money on African education, but they won't give up on separation. So they get into this awful bind, this fundamental contradiction which they are trying to live with now, which is causing paralysis in their policy making, in their actions, in their decisions, in the efficiency of the system in all sorts of ways. That basic contradiction is showing itself. You've only got to listen to them on TV. You've only got to look at what happened in one week not so long ago. In one and the same week first of all, they issued this new ERS document which you must know about which said..... I want to take a particular area of teacher training, just to illustrate the whole mess they are in. The ERS said that if we use all the facilities which are available in the country, all the vacant colleges, the ones that have been closed and so on and so forth, then we would be able to produce enough primary school teachers till the end of the century. OK, that's the state of the ERS. The next day, the government through as different minister says that they are going to give autonomy to all colleges of education, so that they can make their own decisions about admissions. In the same voice, they said, however, that because these colleges are run by white departments, they won't be able to give subsidy to black students who come to

them. The next day they close down four white colleges at the end of this year - the Pretoria college and so on and so forth. That is all coming from the same government. It is coming from different departments, some from the white House of Assembly, some from National Education. They just don't know where they are. You see they are playing, they are juggling, and all these concessions and compromises and so on, are a result of them trying to cope with an essential contradiction.

LT Which for you is?

KH The equal/ separate thing to use short hand. They want to meet the needs and demands of Africans and others, but at the same time they are not prepared to give up this idea of separate. They are juggling politically with left wing/ right wing within the National Party, with elements within their own party. Then of course they have got the Conservative Party out on the side. On the other side they have got to deal with all the extra-parliamentary opposition. This is the classical Gramscian interim - the old authorities dying, but the new is still awaiting to be born, and we are in the stalemate, almost in between. Government will hang on as long as it is in power, and is not likely to change its fundamental education policy. That can only come when you have got a new government in its place. In the mean time they will have to go on making concessions, doing this, doing that in order to try and keep the core safe.

LT To what extent do you consider the ERS to be a continuation on de Lange?

KH I think it goes further back than de Lange. In many ways I don't think it got as far as de Lange got in 1980. Its interesting, but that is certainly my summing up of it. Its a bad document. It is poorly done, poorly presented. It has the disadvantage that it is entirely the work of bureaucrats. At least de Lange had some other inputs, and you can see those inputs in the way de Lange is written, the way it is presented, the way its thinking goes, the language that it uses. With all its weaknesses, with all its limitations which existed in 1980, as far as I,m concerned it is a much better job than the ERS, even for now. The ERS doesn't really take us very much further.

LT But in some of its propositions wouldn't you consider it to be a continuation on de Lange?

KH Oh yes. It has used....I wouldn't use the word continuation. I don't think they saw it as a continuation, I don't see it as a continuation....but they have used concepts, ideas coming out from de Lange, and you find them coming out again in the ERS. I don't see that as a continuation on de Lange - that would be a different kind of exercise. In fact there is sense that if you are going to look at the real landmarks of educational development, it is the ultimate political negotiation that is going to be the continuation of de Lange.

LT Would you like to expand on that.

KH Well you are going to have the same kind of political negotiation about education,

but you are now going to have it with a much broader range of actors. It is, hopefully, going to be properly representative in a way that de Lange never was, but it is in essence going to be struggling with exactly the same issues. There are a lot of things that it is going to be able to learn from de Lange, but its big advantage is that it is going to be a much broader set of interests. That of course means that it is going to have to negotiate an educational system. So like de Lange it is not going to satisfy everybody. Everybody is going to win something and everybody is going to lose something if we are going to get anywhere. So in that sense it really is the next major landmark. I think the ERS is just a partial government input into that process.

LT What is its point, preserving hegemony?

KH I think the ERS.....you know it seems to me, my analysis is that they seem to think that they can always preempt something else happening. There is a strange myth, a strange hope that if they can get something like this in place, the ERS, then other things that they don't want to happen won't happen. If it had been put forward purely as one input into the wider negotiation, then it could of been of value. But it is not presented in the right way for that. The whole thing is very technocratic, and just sheerly badly arranged. If you want to look up one particular area of education, you have to look here, look there, look there you know. Most people who had to work with this like myself, and like Peter Buckland in the Urban Foundation, you almost had to rewrite it to make sense of it for our own comments and criticisms of it because it just is a bad piece of work.

LT In fact de Lange itself....in fact Peter Buckland criticised de Lange itself for being technicist.

KH Ah yes, but you talk to Peter Buckland now about what he thought then and what he thinks now since he was secretary education in that actual department for three or four years. I know Peter very well, we went through this thing together. Ah there you are Peter, OK it was nice you sitting in academia when you wrote that thing on de Lange, and I kept on telling you that that was a political negotiation. It is only now that he is beginning to realise that. And also realising that, whether you like it or not, you have got to go beyond philosophy, and objectives and purposes. You have got to run an education system. So you have got to get down to things like how it is going to be managed. If you want to call that technicist, well OK.

LT You would see de Lange as being more than just technicist.

KH Yes. Look I would agree with Peter that it certainly had some very strong technicist areas in it, and there were certainly people on it who were technocrats who were trying to push that - that whole idea of career education was a thing that I was very unhappy about. But, you know the whole thing was give and take - we won this and lost that.

LT How about Kallaway's view of de Lange that basically it was a group of people

who came together who buried their political differences in order to solve a contemporary problem.

KH Well in a sense that is what you have to do. You can't sink your differences. Nobody is neutral, there is no such thing and especially in the field of education probably. It is not so much that you bury them, but you have to be prepared to fight for as much as you can get, and that is what every interest is going to do in the new negotiation. You have to surrender some things in order to gain others. You have to decide what are the things where it is really worth making a stand, and which are the less important ones which you can let slide for the present because it is not a final thing. As soon as a particular set of interests have agreed upon negotiation, they are immediately going to start fighting for their own point of view for changes. People have a strange view of the future, that it is a ready-made thing that is suddenly going to be there, and that everything will be as you wanted because that is what you want. But you have got to work for it. It is where we started our discussion. You've got a system, and what have you got to do with it. You have got to take it from here to there. How are you going to do that, what do you change and what do you use. What are the resources, and how far can you go. What will the economy allow you to do. So there is a sense in which Peter Kallaway is very right about that. In many ways it was a very sincere attempt which was bound to be limited because of the nature of the time and the nature of its composition - the political context in which it was having to operate.

LT Do you believe in 'total strategy'?

KH What do you mean by 'total strategy'?

LT Well that was the general context in which Peter made his analysis.

KH I think a lot of analysts put too much stress on broad structural issues, broad social contexts etc, and don't pay enough attention to the people that were involved in the process. I think that you have to get a balance. I myself can't look at education unless in the whole environment, context, ecology in which it exists. At the same time you are not a determinist. You can't just say that that's going to decide what is going to happen. That is why the actors are so important. You have got to find the forces at work, the interest groups and so on.

LT Yes, that is what I want to try to do. OK, one last question about de Lange. Did you look elsewhere to other education systems, and if so, which ones.

KH Well, I was actually the chairman of the working group that did the section on educational management, government, control, administration, the broad structural thing. We had three commissioned researchers who looked at specific issues for us like centralisation, decentralisation, issues of regionalisation, issues of parental control at the lower levels. All these things. In those background research documents there is stuff on the United States, there is stuff on Britain, Israel, Germany. One particular paper picked up on the African experience, on the African continent. Things like how do you get teachers and parents represented in the

process of education. How do you deal with the political/ civil service relationships. Of course Africa's had particular problems about that because politicians tend to want to run departments instead of being the policy makers, and things like that. So we had someone picking up as much as they could. There are about 400 pieces of research behind the de Lange, apart from the separate reports. You've got 18 separate reports, and behind the reports are about 400/500 pieces of research.

- LT If I wanted to go to the HSRC just now to try to pick up some of these documents, do you think it would be possible?
- KH What sort of thing would it be that you would be wanting to get hold of?
- LT Well I've got quite a specific list of documents relating to manpower training which they published.
- KH Well then the best place to go would be their publishing section.
- LT Where is that?
- KH In their main building, do you know where the main building is? [KH then proceeds to give directions and formal interview is over].

INTERVIEW WITH DR B. LOUW, PRETORIA, 10/9/91, 3.30 pm

- LT First of all it would be very interesting to hear about your own history and about your involvement in the DET.
- DL I think I should give you my curriculum vitae which will indicate that I was teacher for three years, and then I started working in university administration for eight years, and I ended up as a deputy registrar at the Rand Afrikaans University. From there I moved to the Committee of University Principals which is something akin to your CVCP in London. That was for about seven years which led up to being secretary, and then I changed to the Department of National Education with the specific task of looking at universities at the time. But then it gradually expanded from the universities and we did a lot of development work into technikons and then into the whole of education. Since 1989, I've been here, so I spent eight very fruitful years at the Department of National Education doing a lot of research and study and policy work. So this is where I am today.
- LT Dr Chisholm told me that your PhD was on higher education.
- DL Yes, on universities particularly. I tried to find out for myself what university autonomy, what academic freedom really meant in practical circumstances. I did a study on the relationships between universities and the state since 1918 when the first universities in actual fact started. I tried to cover the establishment of universities, the policy, how it evolved, who did the decision-making about what faculties, what studies are taken or are given/ allocated to various universities. The whole question of the financing of universities was quite an interesting over-view. The question of staffing of universities - how the policy evolved over time. I also looked at the fixed assets and the policies enabling universities to acquire buildings. Then at control of universities and what methods of control existed. Then I made some conclusions which I felt were quite fruitful about university autonomy and how it developed.
- LT I was wondering if you would like to outline what for you were the major events in the history of reform of bantu education. It is a very big question!
- DL It is, yes. Do you know Mr Hartshorne? I've met him a few times, and he has spent his whole life in black education.
- LT Yes, but I'm interested in your views really on what you consider to have been the 'crunch' events if you like.
- DL Well I'll start with bantu education because that's how I see it. People interpret it as *a priori*, they accept that it was a discriminatory and an ugly system. That is the common knowledge. I think one must also get some perspective, and that is that bantu education was actually an effort to extend education from a privileged elite to the masses. It was a first effort I think, in a world context to provide mass and

then eventually, universal education.

LT You mean the 1953 Act.

DL Yes the 1953 Act. That, I think was the real intention. That's one point I wish to make - one must recognise that it was the first effort at massifying or even universalising education for black people. You may know the history up until that time, it was a missionary endeavour, and to a smaller extent eventually educationalists looked at the education of blacks via units specifically targeted to black education in the various provinces. So, I think that is the first point that I want to make. The second point I want to make is that Dr Verwoerd has been much maligned for statements he made at the time, as if this education was designed to finally, permanently push the blacks towards serfdom. That they are only good to be the hewers of wood and the carriers of water, and that they should not hope to ever arrive in the white society. I think one should, when he said that, also consider two facts. The first is for you as a leader of the National Party, and to be a Minister of a National Party government which had apartheid as its policy - and one would today with hindsight say had strong racial prejudices which, just as a side comment, wasn't that uncommon in the world of 1953 when you find the same type of utterances in the United States and the United Kingdom and other places maybe its much more constant and severe here - but for you to propagate the mass education of blacks was, politically, quite a formidable venture, quite a formidable statement to make because he had to convince the predominantly white tax payer base to spend lots of money on the education of blacks. And for you to persuade the electorate that there was nothing harmful to them, nothing to fear for them in allowing a government to invest a lot of money in the education of blacks, was quite a formidable political step - quite courageous. So, I think one should just take that into account, that to persuade a white electorate that at that stage constituted the majority of tax-payers in the country, to make an investment into the education of blacks, he had to also tell them, ok we are going to do this but there is no threat for you in this. The blacks will be educated, but educated for their own separate communities. I don't know whether you have come across this argument, but I looked at it quite deeply, and I think there is some validity in this argument of mine. The third point I think one should make is that....I think I should interrupt myself. There is a long history to the financing of black education. If one goes back into the first half of the century, you find various measures, and the bantu education fund was the reimplementation of that. A certain percentage, in fact a large part of bantu education was to be funded from the bantu taxes, which in a certain sense contradicts what I said before. I think my argument still holds. I think that was a backward step, that wasn't a fruitful one, because in the beginning years, this whole effort of massifying education was severely hampered by too small an investment in the education of blacks. Now, as I have it, and I haven't looked at it empirically, as I have it it started with education up until the standard of, say, standard two because you had to start at the grass roots. I should again interrupt myself and make a third point. That what was a real mistake in bantu education was the fact that the large number of privately run church schools were all taken over by the state. I think that was, with hindsight, a huge mistake. That was maybe part of the

philosophy of the government at the time to sort of impress their educational philosophies, their value system on the total community. That was a huge mistake because one took a lot of energy out of black education which I would have liked to have had today. One would still have had that energy to invest in education. That weakened the system considerably at the beginning. So until about sixty two, I was given to believe the main thrust was on primary education up till standard two level. Then there was another stage when it began to go higher, to standard eight I think at that time was the cut-off point. The secondary education, standards nine and ten, the final years, that was left to the homelands. So secondary weren't built in the urban areas/ the white areas. I think one of the changes after seventy six was that secondary schools were also built in the urban areas and another result was that better types of school, better quality schools were built in urban areas.

LT Was that the result of the Wiehan and.....

DL At that stage I don't know, I think it was simply a realisation of the fact that the old apartheid dream, or apartheid policy would not work. According to that policy, by 1978, blacks would start moving back to their homeland, would be drawn back to their homelands. Now that didn't happen. I think slowly the realisation dawned that you can't try to work according to a policy that apparently isn't going to work. The quality of the schools built in the urban locations, the urban townships weren't of a high quality, and today we have problems with those schools. We have to refurbish them sometimes completely. They are not of a high quality. They were built with cement blocks and were rather uncomfortable. So, round about the middle seventies, whether it was sparked by the Soweto riots or whether it was sparked by a realisation that the policy will have to be changed inevitably, the secondary schools were built in the urban townships, and the schools that were being built were of a better quality. That is a major policy change.

LT Who within government circles was pushing for this change?

DL I wouldn't be able to reply to that. I think I would be construing, constructing feelings which may not be correct. At the time there is Mr Joubert Rousseau who was then the secretary. As I understand now he was quite a dynamic man, quite a reasonable and good manager, but whether it was him or a minister, I wonder who to say.

LT Rousseau - to use common parlance, wasn't he 'verkrampte'?

DL I wouldn't know. I think it is very dangerous to label people because we know they were working in a certain system at the time. If one looks at the political standing of people today, some of those people who are in verligte circles would have been verkrampte at that time. People have changed their stands quite dramatically. I don't know him personally so I really can't say. It would be an injustice if I tried to say anything.

LT OK, that's fair enough.

DL The other change came when the de Lange report, I think a better name is the HSRC report, de Lange just happened to be the chairman, made a huge impression because it was quite a legitimate group that did the investigation. I don't think the report was that good. It is hailed today as a very good report. I don't think from an academic point of view, from a research point of view it was that good. But it did succeed in drawing in people from various walks of life.

LT May I interrupt at this point? Why do you think that it wasn't very good?

DL Well I tried to work with some parts of that report, and, for quite a few purposes you had to redo their things. I wouldn't like to blame them. I think it was done in a hurry, in a years time. If they had more time they would have thought much more deeply about what they wrote down. It would have been much more clearly formulated. I think one must give credit that it was a very good result for a years work, fifteen months work. From that point of view it was very good. But if you want to look at it in a scientific way, especially the part about the system, it wasn't very clear. It was somewhat confused and you had to read it from a few chapters to get a grip on what they were saying. The part on educational programmes, they popularised career education, but if you look deeper, then you don't find any evidence that really leads you towards what exactly is meant by career education or career-directed education, or technical education. They mixed up their phrases and their definitions weren't very clear. That's from a clinical academic point of view. As a political document I think it was quite effective because it brought a message across which was well taken. So the de Lange report, with hindsight, is a report which one can say had quite a dramatic influence, even if it was to bring to the electorate, mainly the white people, the dimensions of the crisis that was at that time already there, that was imminent, and with which we are sitting today. I can't really say how this department reacted to that report and to the White Paper , except to say that one thing that was grasped by this department was the idea of career-directed education. I don't know whether you've come across that.

LT Please explain.

DL I'm in a difficult position. I don't really believe the department did a good job with that. I think that what really happened was that the department saw that the curriculum it was offering was the typical British classical curriculum with too many learning experiences and languages, insufficient emphasis on mathematics and science and the technical subjects - subjects with a career slant. There was insufficient emphasis on book-keeping and on career-directed subjects. So the department started what they called the career education programme, which is at present still being worked out but is already in place in many schools. It introduced, and I think that I have the documents somewhere, handwork, that is, it was associated with tools at the first level already. So, in that sense the department quite strongly reacted to the de Lange report and to the White Paper especially, and, made a huge investment. Still today we are doing a lot of work on that. I would have tackled it differently had I been here, but I wasn't here at the time. I am still helping to get this off the ground, and, I think with the new developments at the

Department of National Education in the whole curriculum building exercise, the work that we have been doing over the last decade will be extremely helpful, and, will render a service in the developing of curricula. So it is not wasted. I think it was a strong development thrust that came from this department. It has not already been introduced, it is still at the development stage, and, I think it will have quite a beneficial effect on the whole.

LT You don't feel that the initial effort was handled as effectively as it might have been?

DL Well conceptually I would have tackled it differently. I think in all these new things you make errors of judgment in the beginning. No, I think it was handled quite well, although I would have changed it here and there. I think it is handled quite well. It is well received. Some parts of it will be changed. Inevitably they will adapt as time goes by. I think it was handled quite well. It was sold well to the community, it was accepted quite well in schools, and there is a lot of enthusiasm around for this whole thrust.

LT Well, any documentation you have got on the topic will be most gratefully received.

DL I would rather send you this, because there is an HSRC report. The department immediately asked the HSRC to evaluate the programme as it is available. There is a report available which came out last month I think which is from, you know, a much more independent body.

LT Is that Mrs van Zyl's report?

DL I think its Dr van der Merwe, I'm not sure. I think van der Merwe and Nievenhause were the main actors. She may have been a contributor. I'll see what I can send to you. That was a major change, and then I think...you asked me about major policy changes.....as far as I can look back in history over the past few years, I think the departments activities were dominated by building or establishing new teacher training colleges, also in white areas, not in the homelands only. A major change also, was a decision taken in 1979, and you will find that also in the White Paper, was that all teachers should be trained for at least three years after standard ten. That was quite an important one. It is quoted in the White Paper. Until that time, as you may know, students went after standard six or standard eight to a teacher training school and they were trained there for two or three years, then they started teaching. Since 1979/80/81/82, I think the first batch of students with three years training after standard ten came out of the teacher training colleges. So there was a very determined effort to upgrade the quality of the teachers that you deliver. That is also a considerable change. During these past number of years, we have also invested quite heavily in new technical colleges. That was also a major new area that was moved into during the eighties. At this stage I am not satisfied that the technical colleges are used optimally. There is still a very strong resistance in the black community towards the word 'technical'. We also introduced during the last decade the notion of a comprehensive high school which are very big high

schools. there are thirty six of them across the country offering not only the accepted general natural sciences and languages direction of study, but also the commercial, technical and home economics field of study. I don't know whether you are acquainted with that, but we have in the secondary curricula for standards eight, nine and ten, eight directions of study, which all give entrance to university, but in each of those eight you focus on general formative education with a preference for home economics, agriculture, natural sciences, the technical subjects, motor mechanics, electricity, woodwork, metalwork. We introduced these comprehensive high schools which offered all those, or at least five of those directions, so as to give students a bigger range of choice. We also established technical high schools which specialise in mathematics, natural science and the technical subjects. These are innovations. We moved away from the classic straight six type of curriculum to a much more diversified type of curriculum during the last ten years.

LT Was that result of de Lange?

DL You know, the numbers of students that announced themselves for secondary education increased tremendously, and I think it was a natural evolutionary process of modernisation. The department was much more in the public eye, it wasn't working in the back waters of some places, and the people in the department, they are also professionals, they are educationalists, and they felt that they would also like to offer children a solid education. So, it was a natural, humane sort of thing to do, a professional sort of thing to do. I think that's about it. The department had a stigma attached to it, and these people working in this wanted to prove to the outside world that we aren't a backward looking department, we are working for a modern department that can also contribute to education the same as anywhere else. I think that is a very strong feeling on the part of these people. They are proud people, there are people here with a dedication towards black education, who really want to further the careers of young people, and they wanted to contribute, to make a professional contribution to the education of black people. The majority of them would be white people but they are really attached and dedicated to the education of blacks. There have been people here with almost a missionary zeal for education, sincere people who wanted the schools to be geared to the education of people. I've picked this up many a time as if there was an unspoken contract between the people here that we must be able to say we are on a par, that what we do is on a par with what the Transvaal education department does, or what any other education department does. A sort of feeling that we will show them. We are not going to lie down and be the underdogs. We'll show them. There is this sort of metal I've found in the department. I think also over the past decade, the department moved quite strongly into the education of the handicapped. There is a very dedicated section here. It moved also into the upgrading of teachers, especially the upgrading of managerial skills. That is a problem. We find that schools managed - and I hope I don't sound as if I am a racist - but schools managed by many black principals - the physical assets aren't cared for enough. Maybe they haven't got the resources to go to somebody and ask him to please pull up wire, or this fence, or help me mend this door, or doing this or that. We find

that the schools sometimes start not just disintegrating, but apart from being vandalised, that their physical appearance goes backward. So the department invested since 1984 quite heavily in managerial training for these teachers, and established a culture, or a vocabulary at least of managerial terms, such as we have got to have aims, and to work towards certain goals. You have to manage your environment, you have to manage your funds, you have to manage the ...[unclear].... and those are phrases that you will still find around here. I think we have made a substantial contribution towards strengthening the spirit, and to modernise also our black colleagues. There are many of them, strong people outside who work according to well-defined schedules, who function quite effectively, and that is partly the result of a continued managerial training programme, which they were responsible for. They didn't go to lectures and sat there, they were trained in small sessions, and then went out to train again their people working under them - like a cascade. One other thing also of the eighties. A lot of effort went into trying to contain the revolution, and the revolutionary climate. You heard about the van den Heever reports and the corruption in the department, and there was corruption. No use trying to evade it, there was corruption. All of it happened within the context of a state of emergency, you have to take the gang leaders out, you have to silence them, you have to restore order, you have to normalise the educational process. A lot of energy went into that. Now today we still have the same problems but we deal with them differently. You negotiate, you speak. You sit around a table and you speak and you try again. You try to convince people. You try to point out that they are doing a foolish thing. It is not in your interests to go this way. So we still sit with the problem, but we deal with it in a different way. You are not dealing with it as securocrats - I don't like to use that word - you don't deal with it from a security point of view, you try to deal with it as a social problem, which you have to manage.

LT Do you mind telling me a little bit about the corruption in the department.

DL Well there were three van den Heever reports. I think I should give you the press statements that were released. You can take it from me that those statements are pretty accurate, and it wasn't written to ...[unclear]... anybody. It was written, I hope, to reveal the truth. There were three van den Heever reports. Now the first one was about a so-called Ivis interactive media system, which the department bought and still uses in a college in Pretoria. Its still actively used for the in-service training of teachers, and was part of a project called project alpha, to upgrade the quality of teachers, especially their subject skills, not didactic, but their knowledge of mathematics, of science etc. In the end it transpired that my predecessor, his son, was part of the company that sold this to the department. That was irregular. The judge found that although he denied it, he should have known of his sons involvement in the company and his business with the department. He said it was impossible that he would not have known, but he said he didn't know. Anyway, he was on the point of going on pension. He left a month early, and he went on pension, this report was referred to the people who institute legal proceedings against any charge being laid, and they are still investigating whether they should follow this up - bring a case against him. I don't think there is much chance of

succeeding. It is extremely difficult to prove. That was the first report. But the department got the value for its money. There was corruption in the sense that he might have known, its possible. The second and the third reports dealt with two things. The first is the accusation of all sorts of print material, placards, booklets about various things, educationally not unsound, and then it was found that.....

LT Sorry, what kind of things?

DL Well placards, billboards, educational material that you would put up in classes, we have those things in our schools. Books about.....the one I remember is a book for young people about sex, sexual practices, about Christianity, about certain religious views, material that will have an educative effect. Now these things were bought in large quantities and it eventually transpired that they were all bought from one person who was again the son of a very senior official in the department. Apparently, the judge found that there was something wrong here. Many officials who signed the forms to buy the stuff didn't follow the correct procedures, they didn't use the correct forms, tenders weren't called for, quotations weren't asked. They were simply ordered, so there was a grossly irregular handling of how the state acquires assets. The second thing is that it was done by one person who appeared to be about everywhere, and appeared to have inside knowledge. This thing was referred to the Attorney General and three people have already been called to court. That was on charges of bribery. One was found guilty, the other two cases are still pending, and the investigation is still continuing. So, again there apparently was corruption in the sense that people got benefits or had inside knowledge. The total amount involved in the acquisition of these things doesn't exceed more than five million Rand, so it was a relatively small amount judged against a budget of four billion Rand. Its not that much, but it was a very unsavoury incident and can't be excused.

LT It was just out of interest actually, it is not really central to my research.

DL And then there is another one about the hiring of camp sites, or something similar, but that's been cleared up I can assure you.

LT OK. I was wondering about the ERS. What do you think were the major factors involved in the setting up of the ERS, its instigation. I know it was a different department.

DL Well I was in at the start. I actually was involved in the first documents. Well it started at the end of eighty nine, I mean eighty eight. We had this ten year plan - you may have heard about it. It was chucked out in eighty six again. that ten year plan worked on the assumption that there could be a real increase of 4,1% in the money allocated by the government to education. Now, in the first year there was a real increase of 2,3%, and the next year there was a minus contribution in real terms, of 1,2%. So, we saw immediately that the country, with sanctions on, economic growth slowing down, the economy was slowing down, that it was impossible to keep up that huge growth rate in real terms. You knew that you had

to do something, because the demand is growing, and you have to have an overall sort of plan. You have to revise existing practices, existing beliefs about education, and you have to get away from the notion that this is a developed country that can afford a developed system for all its inhabitants. You have to rethink all the premises on which you think about education.

LT Were you prompted at all by your colleagues in the treasury?

DL We were prompted by the then Minister, who is now the state President.

LT Mr de Klerk.

DL Yes. He was a responsible minister, he knew how things went and so he stuck to this. That was in 1988, and it was actually revamped again by the end of eighty nine, a year later. It was Garbers who went to National Education, he is Director General there.

LT So what happened in the interim, was it put on ice for a while?

DL Its all to do with internal politics, not that there were any different points of view.

LT If you don't mind telling the story I'd like to hear it.

DL There is a right man for a time, and we were busy in National Education when I was there, doing a lot of basic research on many aspects of education. My colleague there...[unclear]... and myself, we have a certain background and a certain pitch to education. We came from universities, he was a physicist, I was a public administrator. We weren't really equipped for a major overhaul of the executive part of education. When Dr Garbers arrived, he had this experience of the de Lange report, where he was a member of the committee and was President of the HSRC, and he is a very fine academic, and a very fine administrator. He tackles this thing afresh. The Foundations were laid, the systems were there, and they are still there, soundly made in the Department of National Education, and he started from there. He took this on very strongly and energetically. At the time personalities change as heads of departments change. The Committee of Heads of Education Departments who was steering this, running this, was constituted so it was possible to move ahead. It includes myself, and it includes Mr Terreblanche from white education. So, I think the people who can do this got together. There was the necessary energy and dedication. Also the political environment changed. Mr de Klerk's....[end of side of tape]....a year later. So also the political leadership and the tone they set, the cues they gave, allowed officials, who for years had been thinking along certain lines, the opportunity to do what they had always thought was necessary. Many of us knew that many of these things had to change, but you have to work within a certain political framework. This thing is very much driven by officials, by professionals. It is a report of the Committee of Heads of Education departments, and we are not appointed politically as officials, so permanent officials. So the doors were opened for officials for them to do what was

necessary, and to come forward to government and make suggestions which were in line with the thinking of government.

LT So there was already quite a lot of consensus before the ERS about principles, at least amongst the....

DL At least amongst officials.

LT Amongst heads of department and others.

DL Yes, I mean why does Mr de Klerk succeed in taking a large part of his party along with him? I spoke to a farmer in the Free State on Saturday night, and the sort of verligte things he said, you wouldn't have got from him ten years earlier, even five years earlier. These people are wide awake, and they know what's.....intelligent ones, they travel the world, they come into contact with many people, they have a wide frame of reference, and Mr de Klerk is only doing what many of these fellows....he is only formulating, I think, what many of these fellows have been thinking for years.

LT What kinds of shifts within Afrikaner politics itself do you think laid the basis for Mr de Klerk's endeavours?

DL I think the major thing is that the realisation came....I can think back to 1975, when leaders in Afrikaner politics said we can't go on along Verwoerdian lines. Its not going to work. As far back as 1975, I remember.

LT Who was saying that?

DL Well, I think that would be a breach of confidentiality, and I wouldn't like to expose these people, but people in cabinet circles like Gerrit Viljoen. You can read his books if you start reading Afrikaans. You will find quite interesting matter written by him.

LT So we are talking about people in government circles.

DL In government circles, but at that time he was still in academia. He was still Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University. So he was doing that as an academic and as a cultural leader.

LT So we are talking about leaders of the Broederbond perhaps as well.

DL Well at the time he was reputed to have been the leader, yes. I am not sure exactly how these things went, but he published two booklets, which will make very good reading if you can read Afrikaans. I think you should learn Afrikaans. The problem is with you people coming from outside, you get only the one part of the story.

LT Well this is why I am determined to.....

DL English people have always had a very particular way, and they have not always been very friendly towards Afrikaner views on these matters. So Dr Viljoen I think was one. I think Mr Rolph Meyer, now Minister of Defence, he was then a young leader of student politics. I think a man like Leon Wessels who is now there. Three men I can think of who expressed, I remember in newspaper reports, that we are going to have to rethink where we are going. This isn't going to work. We haven't reached the end yet, there are a lot of other factors that are involved. So they sort of paved the way for a new line of thinking. We knew that this new constitution that was introduced in 1973, I think people had been thinking of models since the late seventies, early eighties. So, there were many Afrikaner leaders, church leaders, cultural leaders, academics, politicians even, who stuck out their necks and said well we will have to change this. With the coloureds there was no possibility that apartheid was going to work. There was no possibility of giving the coloureds and the Indians a homeland, and say that that is where you belong, and that is where you vote, have a separate state, it was just not possible. I've been living with those people since I was small, we spoke the same language, we went to the same church, we belonged to the same church. Living next to each other for decades, it's impossible to exclude them and then make a separate state for them. Nobody thought that would ever work. I don't think even Dr Verwoerd thought that would work with the coloureds. The present constitution was specifically devised to accommodate the coloureds and the Indians which it did, maybe not completely successfully, but in a way they were accommodated. I think there is always a strong thinking element in Afrikaner cultural life, in Afrikaner church life, and in Afrikaner politics, and there are many platforms like the South African Academy for Art and Science. That's one. They have an annual conference which is quite important. That's where *verkrampste* and *verligte* comes from. Mr de Klerk's brother said that at a SABRA thing. There are a number of organisations like the FAK, that's the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations. Then there's the SABRA. Now they became very conservative in the end - the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs. Something akin to the Institute for Race Relations, just an Afrikaans version of that. The South African Academy for Arts and Science, and don't forget the role that Afrikaans universities played, that Afrikaans academics played. So there were many platforms where people were always speaking about the future and the problems of this country which are quite formidable. There aren't many countries with this mix of peoples that have to be accommodated. So there has always been a fermentation of ideas in Afrikaner society, and, slowly but surely things started to crystallise. I don't know whether that answers your question.

LT Well it goes a long way to....

DL There are also Afrikaans newspapers. I can mention two names. One is Schalp Pienaar. He was editor of 'Rapport'. That is the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, and Piet Cillie, he was editor of Die Burger, a Cape Town newspaper. Those two people, Pienaar has died already, but Cillie is still alive - they made a tremendous contribution via their newspapers, and their editorials, and their columns to sensitise their readerships for the realities of politics. The newspapers one should never forget, made a huge contribution, especially those two Southern newspapers.

- LT And you would include educational issues in terms of those contributions, for example getting people used to the separate but equal idea after de Lange.
- DL Yes, I think they made their contribution, newspapers are never really expert on educational issues. They try to shrug off the more.....I haven't found educational reporters to be very good in this country, very informed. But I am sure they made their contribution, but this is part of a whole social development. I don't think the Afrikaner was ever against the idea that you should.....justice is a very strong principle in Afrikaner life. Although there is corruption and all sorts of things, that happens all over the place. But I think justice is a very strong principle for Afrikaners. The apartheid policy was thought to be a just one. People thought that it would be just, but the result wasn't just. So Verwoerd's homeland policy was thought, maybe hoped against hope, to have a just result. It didn't have a just result.
- LT I can believe what you are saying just from my small knowledge of Afrikaner history. Some of the things that Afrikaners have been through as a people.
- DL So, I think that the realisation , also on the educational front, that things weren't right, things weren't just, has crystallised over time. Today the English-speaking community has always been much more involved in social work, and, especially today in black education, many English-speaking people are in there for the love and the cause. Not for the money. Many people are in it for the money. They want to sell books and things, gadgets to schools and departments. The Afrikaner is not that much involved, but the Afrikaner has always been very much involved in missionary work through his church. When I move today, you find many people who tell you, how can we get these things right, what can we do, where can we assist, what is the problem. My people are really troubled by the fact that the schools don't perform well, that pupils fail. This unrest is a very troubling thing to people in the circles where I move. They perceive it to be a huge injustice, and there is a lot of anger against the people who stimulate this mess occurring in many schools. I don't know whether I've replied to your question.
- LT Yes you have. You've given me a very, very interesting answer. It was reported in one of the Sunday newspapers about two weeks ago - the thought just came to my mind as you were speaking actually - that the DET admitted it was in a mess. Would you like to comment on that?
- DL Yes. That is a construction of the caption writer, we didn't say that.
- LT Oh, that's the press up to their tricks again is it?
- DL Yes, the press did that. What actually happened was that we, and maybe we were being too frank, and this is a quality I can ascribe to myself. I am very open. I have got no secrets, and if a thing is bad I will say it is bad. I hope I am not being over-dramatic sometimes. There is no use trying to keep up a facade that everything is hunky dory, that there are no problems, that everything is good when it isn't.

And things are not well in black education. It is damn bad in many respects. We had this management development programme running in schools, but then the contract stopped, and we had to go out to tender again. So we wrote a document in which we indicated what really is the situation on the ground. We quite openly said that many of our schools aren't functioning well. We've got problems with the management of school books, of resources, of desks, of caring for physical resources. Our pupils aren't working hard, they aren't studying hard. So we listed a number of problems that we do have in real fact in black education. That was then given out to various firms who were invited to make proposals for a programme to counter these actions, or this behaviour. To try to address some of these problems by way of a staff development programme. To enable people, to empower our teachers.

LT So you see it largely as a management issue.

DL It is part of it. It is not all of it. There are many aspects which we have to attend to. But as far as young teachers are concerned, we get in young teachers from the colleges all the time. they are a highly politicised group as you can imagine. We just thought it is necessary to empower them, to give them the tools, to make them aware of caring for themselves, their personal finances, managing pupils learning in the classroom, of managing the physical resources of the school, of caring for books. We have got teachers in farm schools, people who are very isolated sometimes. Just to get them together. To assist them with how to plan their lesson, how to prepare yourself, how to assist pupils with certain learning problems. Then we gave it to these tenderers, and it got into the press, and then they made extracts, and then they say the DET is in a mess. We never admitted we were in a mess, but we admitted there are severe problems.

LT Well, I've learnt to take what they say with at least a pinch of salt.

DL Yes well its very flashy, its very catchy, it certainly caught peoples eye.

LT Yes. Has the DET pushed quite a lot for reform in its history compared to other departments. The reason I ask that is because it is seen that the DET has the worst of it in some respects, in terms of resources and the kinds of problems that you do face on a day to day basis. I wonder if that has been a motivation for you to push for reform.

DL As a department I don't think that we have pushed for political reform. There are many individuals in these passages who for years have not been comfortable with the outside politics. Some of them have left the department. I think Dr Hartshorne is one who, after he left, started coming out very strongly against the system, but whilst he was here he was cooperating. The public servant is in a very difficult position. Once you start confronting your political heads about their policies, you have to make a decision - either you go or you keep quiet. So as a department, I never came across political statements, but surely, when I or my colleagues at a senior level, speak to politicians and ministers we are quite frank. They know what

we feel. We would spell out to them, look be wide awake for that, this isn't right, and we have been pushing for funds very hard all the time.

LT So funding would be one.....

DL Funding is a major thing where you can rightfully ask, assist us, help us, we need more money. That we do very strongly. We produce the arguments, but in the end a political decision is taken. Parliament finally endorses the decision, or takes the formal decision, and then you have to work within the guidelines.

LT What about the issue of one education department. Would you like to summarise the views of the DET?

DL Well I Don't think the DET would have a collective view on one education department. There have been individuals that I have come across who would say that that is the reply. There are many officials, especially our black officials who would say, well that is the answer, make one education department. I think the biggest motivation for one education department is that then there has to be an equal distribution of resources. That would be the main reason for people advocating one education department. That is how I see it.

LT Now, given that, would it be fair to say that the DET is more likely to think along those lines than other departments.

DL Again, I don't think there is a departmental view on that. My point of view is that we should work towards one system which I define distinctively differently from a department. One education department, working for one political head, with one accounting officer is to my mind an unpractical, unworkable thing.

LT And your colleagues in the other departments, would they hold that view as strongly as yourself?

DL I think so, yes. That is part of the ERS to which we all subscribe. I would rather go towards one system of education.

LT And you are happy with the ERS proposals.

DL Well I'm part of that so I have to be. I'm sure one would have to think it out. I have made quite a study of the education system in the United Kingdom, in Germany. I have been to the United States a few times, and I have been to Japan now with Linda Chisholm. So it is clear to me that a system can work, but to have one political head, and one person in my position being accountable for the spending of money from the East coast to the West coast, I think it is virtually impossible. There are so many regional differences, there are so many local differences that have to be solved in different ways, that you will have to decentralise. Education, I think is by definition I think a decentralised affair, with some sort of central mechanism.

- LT So which countries were particularly influential do you think in terms of developing the ERS?
- DL Well I think the German model had a strong influence. It is a decentralised system without a centralised coordinating or policy-making mechanism. They have this one which runs on a voluntary basis. The British system with its 420, I think, school districts making up the English and the Welsh system.
- LT My colleagues in Scotland would be very pleased to hear you make a distinction!
- DL [laughter]. Well they have got the LEA's, which has got a strongly decentralised thrust, and then the DES as a central authority, and then Her Majesty's Inspectors inspecting. It made a very strong impression on me. It is not a very clearly defined system, but it works, and there are strong elements within it that one can pick up on. Then the American system with the 2000-odd school districts and a highly decentralised system, and a federal department trying to make something out of this mess. Trying to remedy the major problems, the major areas where there are still gaps. Then, of late, the Japanese system confirmed my views with their 47 prefectures(?), the schools being quite autonomous, and then the central policy-making and, to some extent financing department. This view of one political head, not responsible for each and every school in the country, but accountable for, broadly, the broad education scene. Then local people who are really involved, who have a stake in education, they will be responsible to answer to the public what's going on in my school. I think those systems have influenced me quite drastically. Also, I must say, the Dutch system with their system...especially that part of it where they have schools with a very particular cultural or religious thrust, but still being financed fully by the state. That part is a strong part of the thing. Then some people who contributed also worked in Eastern Europe. We had quite a good knowledge of Eastern Europe.
- LT So, generally speaking, those systems were the main ones looked at by the team as a whole.
- DL Yes. We never went there as a team. We have simply had different encounters with different systems at different times. In the end it crystallised. It has to be a decentralised system, which is a notion from the de Lange report. It has to be strongly decentralised. The de Lange report also talked about one department, and in the mean time we also got our thinking clear about what is a department, and what is a system. We opted for the system.
- LT The government response to de Lange was to transform the DNE, but in your view that is not sufficient.
- DL The flaw with the 1983 constitution was that the education departments were structured according to racial lines. That can't work, not in this day and age. The de Lange report already at the time advocated regional, or geographical delimitations of departments, of regions. That I think will feature in the National

Party's constitutional proposals. That you will have nine regions with elected politicians covering that region, and that the regions will be responsible for education.

LT So you were bearing the constitutional proposals in mind when you....

DL Well not exactly, but there is a look, I think I would like to have the politicians listen to us. We come from a Union with four provinces, and, strongly decentralised powers, as far as roads, hospitals, local affairs are concerned. I think we are going back to that, but not with four provinces - with nine. It is part of the history of South Africa I think.

LT So would you see the ERS then to be a continuity on de Lange, generally speaking?

DL Now that's an interesting question. Yes, in certain respects it is a continuity on de Lange, in certain respects. The de Lange report in the main was accepted by the government. If you made a list of the main proposals and the things accepted, you will find that in the main a lot of it was accepted. What we have been trying to do is to continue the whole development thrust, which was stalled a bit in the mid-eighties by the lack of political development. I think your statement broadly speaking is correct.

LT Well I've got two more questions if you've got time.

DL No, no you're OK.

LT What do you understand to be the role of the private sector in relation to reform, going back again to the Carlton and Good Hope conferences and all that.

DL Would you like me to comment on what was their contribution to the fact that reform occurred?

LT What has been their attitude to educational reform?

DL I see people in industry and commerce, the businessmen, they are interested in making money, and if they see that a certain policy is putting constraints on their ability to make money, they haven't got many scruples. They will advocate the changing of the policy. I think they are much more influenced by functional issues such as the quality of the labour force that knocked on their doors. The question of markets, both overseas and internally. I think they are very much influenced by their own interests, and, in as much as their own interests have been at stake, they have made quite a valuable contribution by lobbying the government for certain changes.

LT What have been the forums for that lobbying.

DL Well, I think there is a lot of informal contact between politicians and businessmen,

that's one form.

LT Right, networking.

DL Yes, that's correct. The second forum would be the South African business chamber, SABEC, and the Afrikaans counter-part the Afrikaans Handels Instituut. I think the labour unions and their contact with businessmen and companies, and then the contact of companies with the government, with politicians - there has been quite a strong network, or interaction there, expressed also on the Prime Ministers, or now the State Presidents Economic Advisory Council, which has been quite a strong body over the last two years with Mr...[unclear]...as the chairman there. They report quite regularly. Then there have been various investigations, various commissions of investigation, which I think brought forward ideas held by the business sector. Its a whole network. I don't think I can really isolate one or two of them. I am sure it is quite a wide network of influences.

LT Would you say the philosophy of deregulation and privatisation that underlies the ERS...to what extent has that been influenced by free market thinkers, the private sector and the like?

DL I think as much as there is a deregulation thrust within the ERS, it is aligned with an international...Margaret Thatcher I think started, or had quite a huge influence. I think people came to realise, without necessarily following one author, or speaker, or politician, that there are limitations on the ability of the state to be everything to everybody. Especially the Afrikaners came to realise that.

LT When?

DL Well i think that during the eighties this slowly but surely dawned on people, that the state can't look after you. Maybe even from the seventies. I was studying at Stellenbosch. I got the first ideas there. The seeds were planted in me that the state can't look after you, look after your values, look after your safety, and your health, and everything. The Afrikaners were quite strongly socialist-inclined, and I think slowly but surely the realisation dawned that you have to be quite self-sufficient, that you have to look after yourself, that you have to take responsibility for your own well-being.

LT And where were these ideas coming from? You've mentioned Mrs Thatcher. Presumably you would include Reagan as well.

DL Yes, Reagan as well.

LT Where else? They were just kind of floating around were they?

DL Well they came from a number of economists of the free market. Leon Louw, my namesake. He has been quite a strong influence for a number of years now. Jan Lombard, that's a very good.... Professor Jan Lombard of the University of

Pretoria, he's now at the Reserve Bank. He wrote a book I can give you, if you can't read it in English. I think you should read that one. He had quite a distinguished intellectual....

LT What's it called, the book?

DL I've got it at home. A small booklet, but a very fine document, in which he, and that was way back in seventy nine, and he put forward his philosophies. If you are interested in this, he is a key thinker in Afrikaans academic.....he was Professor of economics at the University of Pretoria. He worked with quite a number of students of his. I can give you some of their names....[unclear]....what's that guys name, Piet... but he had a number of students and he's now at the Reserve Bank.....[unclear]....he was also the previous President of the Reserve Bank. They were very solid economic thinkers, economic, social, sociology and economics. Those people had quite a strong influence, and you should not discount Dr Anthony Rupert of the Rembrandt Organisation. He was advocating free market ideas in the early sixties. He was the man who propagated small business, the value of small entrepreneurs; self-sufficiency, that the small entrepreneur was actually the creator of a lot of wealth, and employ a lot of people. So, these people have always been in the Afrikaans communities, but in the eighties I think they came forward. I mean John Vorster wasn't a.....he was a politician, purely and simply. Mr Botha was a very strong military man, and, a politician. Again a man like Dr Gerrit Viljoen who was very much involved in political circles, and a leader, a thinker. I think they were influenced as time went on by all these ideas floating around, and it sort of honed their thinking, shaped their thinking.

LT So the younger generation such as yourself would have grown up with that kind of ethos in the universities, that kind of thinking going on.

DL Well I was still very much trained in the apartheid dogma at the time, but you move out, and I did this MBA, that was in the late sixties. I came across a man like Jan Sabi, also very important. He was Professor of economics at Stellenbosch University. He has been a very influential individual. For a long time he wasn't in good standing in many establishment circles.

LT Why was that, because he....

DL Well, he was ahead of his times. He advocated policies of today in an MBA class which I attended in 1966/67. I thought this man is mad, and I didn't understand in hell what he was saying. But he addressed my intellect. I couldn't find any difference with his argument. He was doing that right over the sixties, seventies, eighties as Professor at Stellenbosch. He spoke to so many B.Com students, students of economics. So there were these thinkers always there, and they were in contact with the outside world. I think the influence they had on people like myself, and, the younger generation is immense, its tremendous. These people weren't dogmatic. They were very realistic, they are not liberals or Marxists. They are middle of the road, solid, down to earth and sensible.

LT Pragmatists.

DL Pragmatists yes, but also people loyal to the Afrikaans community. It was very difficult in the fifties, sixties and seventies to move outside the fold. Then you became a Breyten Breytenbach or an Andre Brink, and these other *avant garde* authors. they completely broke with Afrikaans traditions. It was very difficult to make that step outside the lager or fold as it were. But these people, like Dr von Renberg who is one of the most successful businessmen in the world. He had these ideas, and he advocated them, but he never put distance between himself and his people. He was always accepted as an honourable man.

LT Have you heard the term 'organic intellectual'?

DL No, I haven't.

LT It was a term used by Gramsci to describe intellectuals who are produced by a group and remain very close to that group. They never become separated from that group.

DL I think that's a very apt description of a man like Sabi, like Lombard. A man that moved a little bit close to being ostracised was this Willem de Klerk, the State Presidents brother. I think his style is offensive at times, although he is still an organic intellectual, though difficult to live with sometimes for some people. People who do that do a trapeze act, walking a tight-rope, some more successfully than others.

LT Could you recommend any good literature on Afrikaner politics over the last twenty years or so that might touch on some of these issues that we have been discussing - the influence of free market ideas etc?

DL You'll have to give me time to think about this. I can't think of an English author. I have a few ideas in mind. I have a few books at home. Davenport....I would have to have a look at that, and see whether I can recommend it to you. What you are interested in, I think, is how ideas were fed into the system, and started to ferment.

LT Yes, that's right.

DL Well, I wish there had been a good book on this. There is one on F.W. de Klerk.

LT Oh, by his brother.

DL By his brother, yes. Its more about the brother than the brother! Its a little too much about the author than the President.

LT Yes, I bet that caused a few fights around the dinner table.

DL The President is a very civilised man. He would choose his fights. There are a few

other books at home. I owe you at least the one by Jan Lombard.

LT Well, I have taken up a lot of your time. Thank you very much.

DL Its a pleasure, I've been through what you are doing now so....[tape ends]

INTERVIEW WITH MS L. SMITH, PRETORIA, 6/5/93, 2.30pm.

LT Basically Mrs Smith, I would like to ask you three brief histories. The first history is of your own involvement in the Education Renewal Strategy. So if you wouldn't mind just giving a very brief resume of your career to date with particular reference to your involvement in the ERS please.

LS In education I have a masters degree - the academic background. I have taught at school for a few years, and I was a lecturer at a teachers college for a few years then I taught at the University of Pretoria for twenty years. Then I started, I was a registrar of a semi-academic institution, a business school, then I changed from that to the Department of National education. This is the policy-making directorate of the Department of National Education. I became part of that little more than a year ago, a year to two years ago, almost two years. I arrived here when they were through the research part of the Education Renewal Strategy. They were compiling the discussion document at the time. Then, as you must have read, we received comments on that, and so I really took part in the compiling of it. You must have read about ICOM, it was a committee that was appointed to do the job, and then we did the administrative part of that as well - myself as well as Dr Ben Els of the directorate. So actually I came in on the Education Renewal Strategy being half finished, and then I helped to finish it at the end. It was released as you must have read on the 26th of January this year by the Minister of National Education, Mr P.G. Marais.

LT So you were responsible for drafting the ERS, would that be correct?

LS No, that won't actually be quite correct. I would rather say compiling.

LT Compiling...

LS Yes, because it was drafted by different working groups and we had to do the compilation and do the final decision-making and compile the stand-points that came out of that. So we were quite involved with it.

LT OK, thanks. Now the next area is... I wonder if you could tell me what you know about the history of the ERS - where the idea came from, who got the thing off the ground, what kinds of political pressures were involved in beginning the ERS, and I'll ask you a few more questions as we go along.

LS Yes well I think if you read the forward of the ERS you will get the same thing. I can tell you exactly the same thing, but it would be more advisable if you go through the forward, and you will see that it is a short compilation of the history of the ERS basically. So instead of repeating it, I think you should work through, it will give you the exact facts, I think that will be better.

LT I have read it. What I am looking for is a little bit more detail. Now I

understand.... I spoke to Dr Louw, and he told me that the ERS was partly due to the failure of the ten year plan introduced by F.W. de Klerk himself in 1986.

LS Yes that is part of it. I think together with the failure of the ten year plan would also be included the political pressure that became quite hard on us for equal opportunities for all. So I think you couldn't see it separate you know, you shouldn't separate the failure of the ten year plan. In some instances I would say it was positive, and in other instances negative. But you should see it together as a politicising of education. Education is very nearly always politicised, and the political pressure that was put on, especially equal opportunities - no racial discrimination, the political side of it was actually I think the last thrust that had to pull this through, that gave Minister de Klerk the opportunity, which actually pressurised the government to make some changes and to give us the go-ahead for the Education Renewal Strategy.

LT Where was this political pressure coming from exactly?

LS I think especially from the side of the black people, of black South Africans especially, and then you would also get some political pressure from the Democratic Party.

LT And who were the movers and shakers in the Nationalist Party? Who was really pushing the idea of the ERS and the idea of a non-racial education system?

LS I don't think you could attach it to one person only. They would never do that. That is not how the system works. They would discuss it in the caucus and I wouldn't attach any single name to that.

LT Would the idea have originated under de Klerk's administration, when he was in charge of education?

LS Yes for sure. The previous Prime Minister was PW Botha as you know, and already I think there were quite a few voices although I would not name them, who put pressure on PW Botha, but he was not lending his ears to them. Pressure becoming worse...

LT Was that pressure within his own party?

LS I think that was for sure pressure within his own party.

LT From verligtes within his own party?

LS Yes. That is my personal opinion.

LT Well that is what I want to hear.

LS For the good, and I would have been one of them if I had been there, for sure. I think really a large number of South Africans were thinking that for quite a long

time.

- LT What was the mood at the time. What period are we talking about for a start?
- LS I think the period just before de Klerk took over starting in the beginning of the eighties.
- LT The late eighties?
- LS Yes I would say '85, '86, '87, that time. I think that the people....you could see in the students movement.....the policy of the National Party of the time was that they wouldn't talk to the ANC for instance, and then the ANC and a few liberals took the initiative and went to Dakar.... I don't know whether you heard of the Dakar meeting. Actually they were really categorised and they were scolded for that. They were thinking of expelling the students from the university because they attended the meeting at Dakar, but after de Klerk took over of course there was nothing left of that. So the pressure really started building up at the end of the term of PW Botha, and individuals started moving out because the government wouldn't do that. There wasn't consensus, and it is my belief that PW Botha actually just kept them there. He actually ruled it.
- LT I see. So when you say individuals started moving out, you mean they actually started breaking rank...
- LS Yes, with the policy. With standing policy.
- LT I am actually fascinated by what you are saying about developments within the National Party. Now were these developments.....
- LS I am a little liberal....
- LT Well that's OK, that's fine by my book. Where these developments paralleled in the education departments? Was the move towards a more liberal position paralleled by thinking within the DNE at the time?
- LS I would say in a number of individuals, yes, because a bureaucracy of being a state department, you can't make a decision on your own. Even now, you will have individuals in this department, functioning in this department, for whom the move is too slow.
- LT Would you say that that is reflected at all levels of the educational bureaucracy?
- LS Individuals at all levels. It is not a common thing, because you would get some of the people included in the Department of National Education who are more right wing, and it differs from individual to individual. In this directorate we are very positive, and we feel that they do move too slowly and they have moved far too slowly, and they have the opportunity to reach out and sometimes they are just passing the buck, but that is my personal view.

- LT Now I've heard from Dr Louw that it was Dr Garbers move to the DNE that facilitated the ERS.
- LS Perhaps what he meant was that he was President of the Human Sciences Research...before he came here he was President of the Human Sciences Research, the same position that Dr Rolph Stumpf is at the moment, and being a researcher actually in the human sciences, I think everybody realised that there should be renewal, and renewal under his flag was really pushed, especially the research on that - and he is really an expert on research in human science. It did give it an extra push.
- LT But it would have gone on regardless of whether Dr Garbers was there?
- LS Yes I think so because it came from the political party. But I think it was because he was so well equipped, and it was also his personal view that it should happen.
- LT And his predecessor? Would he also have had such an enlightened attitude?
- LS I can't talk for him. I wouldn't do that because I didn't really personally know him.
- LT Who was the predecessor?
- LS I must tell you that I don't know the person. I was here just a year and a half....but being in the political situation of PW Botha, it would have been somebody that fitted in with the bureaucracy at the time. I won't go any further, I have no knowledge about that.
- LT Now as we know, the ERS was researched and authored under the supervision of CHED. Would you mind discussing as far as you can the dynamics within CHED. It would seem unlikely that the ERS was just accepted by all. I am sure there was discussion and even heated discussion around certain issues.
- LS Myself I was never included in a discussion with CHED, but it is so. CHED compiles the heads of the different education departments, and you know that we have had quite a large number - about 18/19 departments. The only thing we would get would be the minutes which were the final decisions, so about the in-fights I couldn't tell you anything. But of course, with the presence of the heads of different departments - black departments, self-governing states, things like that, of course there would have been hot discussions about it, and from the left hand side I would say they just urged them to continue, to set the pace. On the other hand doing the thing head over heels of course would also collapse. Actually I think it was a good combination. The renewal was announced on the political stage as well. Education had to follow that, and everybody took part in it in a positive way, some in an aggressive way. You can notice in the papers and things it was exactly the same. But I think in the end everybody worked together. Of course we invited all parties to take part in the ERS - you will read about that in this too. But the left hand side of the political scene, especially the ANC wouldn't take part in it otherwise they would have given their consent for this thing and it would have been legitimate.

They didn't want that. They wanted their own. You must have heard about their own documents....

LT Yes, NEPI....

LS That is right. NEPI has released.

LT Its not the ANC but NEPI.....

LS Yes but its ANC.....

LT aligned.....

LS Yes for sure. So of course they did not take part in this. We do have documentation. We invited them and they just denied the invitation and of course we couldn't stop the research at that time. It had to go on.

LT When did the whole process start. Did it start before the ANC was unbanned?

LS Yes, I think so. I'm not sure about the date. You should check about the date, but I think it was before the ANC was unbanned. But please check on that. I don't want to give you a final answer on that. But now I must tell you that the pressure was put onto the government of course by the ANC and different organisations, and that helped the decision of the government in a positive way.

LT Could you identify any departments or levels of the bureaucracy where you perceive there to be resistance to the ideas within the ERS.

LS (laughter) I can name individuals perhaps, but I wouldn't do that.

LT Without naming individuals could you give an indication.....I mean there must be certain education departments that have been more intransigent than others in agreeing with the ERS as a document.

LS Yes, I think that seeing the overall view of it, I think that most of the departments do agree with it. I think that the Department of National Education is actually the department that wants to enforce....no, I mustn't say enforce because that would see it put to the actual practical work being done on it [sic]. There might be, especially the Department of Education and Culture perhaps, if you would want...[laughter]...you force me to mention something.....would perhaps be a little hesitant perhaps you know, different people within the department, but I don't think as a whole.

LT Would the same apply to the House of Delegates and House of Representatives branches?

LS I think they are very pleased about this. That is my personal view. I think they are very pleased about it., Education and Training perhaps wants more, and not as a

Department as such but because the representatives of the different black groups would like more.

- LT And would the DEC have been of a piece, or would you have found certain provinces, provincial administrations being more conservative than others?
- LS [laughter]...Yes, perhaps the Orange Free State, sort of, because there are quite a large number of rightists there. Perhaps in their own way part of the Department of Education and Culture in the northern part, in the northern regions of the Transvaal would also be sort of hesitant, actually to the level of the teachers and the parents rather than the department itself. That would be my personal view of it, the feeling I have.
- LT That also opens up a very interesting question in that the ERS was very top heavy in its authorship. It involved people at the very top of the educational bureaucracy. Would you say there is a difference in the extent to which it was accepted at different levels of the bureaucracy? Would you say, for example that there was intransigence towards the ideas, or a more negative attitude towards the ideas in the ERS at the lower levels?
- LS Yes, I think so, because of a lack of knowledge perhaps, and a lack of security you know. The people who decided on the ERS, and the different views mentioned in here - they are not as insecure as people at the grass roots level. And of course the different associations, the parents associations were included in the comment, they could do their comment and it was included in here. The different associations of the teachers and things were also included in here. So at that level perhaps, but I don't know if they were really satisfied with the level at which they could have an input. They were invited through the associations, but actually you would also get the top structure of the association being presented then. At grass roots level I think there is quite a lot of insecurity there.
- LT Did you manage to bring the top levels of the various associations with you - I'm thinking of teachers associations and....
- LS Yes I think so, in a rather positive way. Of course they would differ here and there, and some of the associations would be more of a right hand view and others a left hand view, and it is the same thing. You get different representatives of different political backgrounds and things. You could feel that too. But I think mostly, yes. It was actually an all rounder and it was very positively accepted by all but for this or that or that section of it.
- LT Very briefly, on a slight diversion, what is the feeling within the educational bureaucracy just now with a view to change - are people feeling very insecure?
- LS Yes. I would say quite a large number of people do feel very insecure, especially people that have permanent jobs here in the education departments. They are not sure what is going to happen. They are not sure of the position. On the lighter side I always say - it is also my personal view - the hands that are going to do the

signatures will turn black, as well as the hands that will do the junior jobs. But the in betweens will stay white. That is my personal view.

LT And would you count yourself in that group?

LS No, for sure not. But that is also for a very very specific personal reason. I am a reborn christian and that makes the difference. My future is in the hands of the Lord, and whatever happens will be good for me, so I don't feel insecure at all.

LT I see. How about other people at senior levels of the bureaucracy?

LS I think some of them do have a feeling of insecurity. That is my personal feeling too because we have to include the black people, and they will have....if the government is ANC for sure - the top positions will be filled by ANC and I think they feel insecure because of that. Although I think the knowledge would be, and the experience would be much within their feelings towards the new government would be positive [sic]. My feeling is it would be positive - also part of my life's philosophy.

LT That's very interesting - I'd like to talk to you about that another time

LS Yes, you are most welcome, I've got... and that's why I don't send my kids to Pretoria University but to Wits. Radical.

LT Would you see any relationship between the thrust of the ERS and those feelings of insecurity? On speaking to Professor de Lange, he said that the authors of the ERS had effectively written themselves out of a job. How would you interpret it?

LS Well its actually...the same thing...because it is the top structure that has finally written the ERS and it is the top structure that feels insecure about it. But at least they have reached a point of honesty. I am pleased for that.

LT So what motivates them to write a document like the ERS then?

LS I think because they do see that they have to give a genuine and an honest solution to what's happening at the moment. I think for the first time some of them started looking at that and looking at their own thing, and then putting the pressure on them from all sides and comparing with the education systems in other countries, and seeing what goes for what really brought themselves to think - because the white people where really in a very safe position in this country, they made themselves, but it wasn't honest. They weren't honest at all, that is my feeling, even in the churches they weren't honest.

LT So you would say that almost part of the process of the ERS was an opening up, a liberalism.....

LS For sure a liberalism, and for the first time looking at the facts, viewing the facts with what really truly was a position that white education has been in through the

- centuries, for years, and realising that it wasn't fair. That is what I personally...and I'm so glad about that, and especially I would say I am an Afrikaans-speaking person myself. I was born and bred Afrikaner and I am proud of it. But I can't be proud of the view that the majority of Afrikaans-speaking people held through the years of apartheid. It's not in line with my beliefs.
- LT The charge has been levelled against the ERS that it is a policy agenda for the National Party. Would you agree with that?
- LS I've got to be very careful about what I say now. I would put it this way. The stand-points put out in the ERS would be the stand-points that the National Party - the present government would defend at an education forum.
- LT Right OK, I think that is about as explicit as you could get! Now lets move on because I would like to ask you a few questions concerning the content of the document. [Brief conversation ensues about how much time is left].
- LS Before you proceed I must say that I am not a specialist on the different subjects here, so pleas don't expect a specialist's answer on them.
- LT No, we are going to talk about general themes in the document. So far I have asked you for two histories. I have asked you for a history of your own involvement in the ERS, and I have asked you for a political history of the ERS. Now I am going to ask you for a third history which is really a history of ideas, of the main themes within the ERS. I want to start off by asking you how you see the ERS in relation to CNE principles as espoused say by the Institute for Christian National Education in the late thirties, and contained within Dr Vewoerd's speech to parliament introducing the Bantu Education Act, and also as the principles underlying the Eislen committee. Now, if one can say that Bantu Education was informed by Christian National principles, how would you see the ERS in relation to those principles?
- LS I think in broad terms the wheel of education has been found out. Everyone, even the NECC have really touched, have touched what is in this [pointing to the ERS]. I think it differs, the view....the stage in history influences the view....out of which you look at the different principles, and in the stage that Verwoerd inaugurated Bantu Education, there was a specific political view and it was enforced I would say artificially through the Christian view, through the Christian philosophy, and there were a few people who were honest about this thing, even in the churches, who stood up and said we can't do this - it is not in line with Christian principles.
- LT You mean within one of the three Dutch Reformed Churches.
- LS Yes, I could give you the name of Dr Ben Marais that stood up all by himself, several times. He was a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, and he was actually a Professor of Theology at the University of Pretoria. He said apartheid, you can't bring it in line with scripture. But I think it suited the people. Therefore they did not see the way open for equal education and for equal sharing and they

had to do something. They knew they had to educate the black people. they knew they couldn't leave them behind. But they didn't really want to integrate at that time.

LT How did they know they had to educate them?

LS I think they sort of realised through their beliefs that they have a responsibility towards those people. But though personal views and selfish views they did not want to integrate with them. I think it was a selfish position that they took. They said "alright, according to our Christian beliefs we have got to bring them up, we do have a responsibility. We can't only make use of them and not educate them, but please don't bring them to me and to us".

LT What happened between then and now to the thinking?

LS Well you mentioned it yourself. I think the awakening within the black man, the realising, and I think what also made it easier for the black man to realise that there was some big difference and they could sort of share in the wealth of South Africa was the materialistic thing. Actually I don't think that the position from which they really moved was education to sort of develop as a person, but education for materialistic things - not being poor. And through that you would get even - if you look at Mandela and those people, they received education, and it went further than only the materialistic, although I think the materialistic thing - if you look at around the world to the self-governing states of blacks, I think they really do like the materialistic part of it very much. I think it started there - comparing the type of life that the white person lived and the type of life that the black person lived. They started comparing and yearning after the materialistic things more in the beginning.

LT What time period are you talking about?

LS I would say it must have started here in the late 1920s, '30s and '40s it started. The movement started there, although there may have been individuals even before the 1920s, slowly awakening, and then of course they started learning about power, about being in power, and to have power you have got to have money, and to have money you have got to have education and things like that.

LT What I am really in is Afrikaner nationalist thought. I could interview a host of people about developments in African nationalism, but I am interested in your views on Afrikaner nationalism. What happened in the mind sets of people? When did the change occur? When did CNE come to be seen as perhaps a bit anachronistic? When did the turning point occur?

LS I think the turning point occurred - and it is only my personal opinion - in the late 1970s, early 1980s. Perhaps because at that time I myself was much younger and more liberal. Amongst the Afrikaner people children were seen and not heard. It is not the same in the English community. Therefore we were not allowed to speak what we felt. We are breaking through that now. I was one of the younger people that was really more liberal in my ways of thinking, and enforced my sort of views,

and I would say in my thinking it started in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

LT Was it related to the unrest at the time?

LS It really was related because the people started thinking for themselves - why the unrest? They were starting, you know, they wanted to know why. Why aren't they satisfied, the black people, and some of them started to think there must be a reason for that.

LT Did you study education Mrs Smith?

LS Yes I did.

LT What was happening at the universities at the time?

LS The University where I studied was the University of Pretoria - actually quite a conservative university. I must tell you it wasn't politicised at all.

LT And other universities?

LS Well I think Wits University and UCT would have been far ahead of us at that time.

LT How about Afrikaner universities.

LS Afrikaner universities I would say not - perhaps the University of Stellenbosch a little.

LT The University of Stellenbosch?

LS Yes the University of Stellenbosch. That is my personal view also. But the Afrikaner universities were never politicised because everybody thought they were Christians, everybody thought they were nationalists, everybody was thinking the same. It really was not an issue. And coming out of a background where you really weren't allowed, and especially you won't believe it but women, not allowed to think, you know. I feel in my Afrikaner background we really weren't allowed to express what we thought and we were really sort of helped...forced in line....being sent to universities and to places where thought was similar to home.

LT I would love to ask you a whole host of questions relating to what you have just said, concerning gender issues and the changing role of the Afrikaner family etc. but unfortunately I must press on. So you are saying that a rupture occurred in Afrikaner thought in the late 70s, early 80s....

LS Yes, that is my feeling....

LT And you are relating it to specific events....

- LS Yes, unrest for sure, I think if unrest had not occurred they would never have reached that point
- LT Would you relate it to any other events?
- LS Yes, I think the media....
- LT Do you mean the Afrikaans media?
- LS Not as much as the English media. The world becomes smaller because of the media and you start to latch up with education - because of the unrest you start latching up in your own little ground, what is happening in other countries and you start comparing through study, through the media, and especially the liberation of....not South Africa....of Africa, and what is happening in other countries, and you start thinking for yourself, well goodness gracious, something has got to happen here too. And then you start thinking that perhaps my parents weren't quite a correct as we thought and started thinking for yourself. So I think the unrest and reports from other parts of the world gets your mind going, and making your own choice instead of going with the groups that your parents would have preferred you to go with.
- LT And economic circumstance?
- LS Economic circumstance of course put on the pressure too. I think the violence accelerated because of that. The black people moving into the economy too played a large part of it, and violence and boycotts facing the whites in the economic world also made them think about it. So I would say it was quite a number of things. Unrest in the economy, unrest in education, unrest actually on all levels of life.
- LT OK, you have very nicely summarised the ways in which a critique began to develop. It is one thing to realise that the old order is wrong, and quite a different thing to begin to formulate a way forward - a way out of the morass. Who were the leaders? Let me be specific from now on and ask you about ideas that I particularly associate with being a verligte and more specifically within the field of education. Now under CNE the role of the state was almost sacrosanct. The Afrikaners have had one of the best welfare states in the world, arguably. When did the idea contained within the ERS, of rolling back the state, of semi-privatisation in certain areas, of decentralisation in education - by decentralisation I don't just mean in organisational terms, I mean in financial terms - where would that idea have come from. Its so different from CNE isn't it? What are the origins of that idea?
- LS I think - that is my personal view too. I think the thought of regionalism also brought in the thought of privatisation. I would say there is a connection between the two. The economy forced it too. If you privatise then you can't keep your own view. You have to take the view of the person who is really handling that thing. For the Afrikaner people....let me put it in a wider sense - the majority of white

people, safety for them for the future is one of the most important things they are busy with. I think they sort of started making a summary of different governmental systems in the world in which you could find safety for minority groups - it boils down to that. And regionalism is of course something. It is not empowered in one man in one position too. And also the fact that we are quite a variety of populations in South Africa, and started being honest with ourselves and realised that there are different needs within different regions, also forces this thing. So if you have different regions you could at least get to grass roots levels and have the people take part in education specifically....in other areas of life too, but also in education. So, therefore, regionalism would not only mean sharing the financial part of it, but also giving people at grass roots levels an input up to the parents. Even in the curriculum of a certain school, giving them the framework that they should have for geography or history or whatever, but the content of that decided by themselves. So actually it is a very safe policy. It is safe for minority groupings. I don't know if you follow what I am trying to say.

LT Well, could you spell it out a little bit more perhaps?

LS It is safe for the future of a minority group. If privatisation and regionalism is included in the set-up of our country, because being part of a region means that you can have your input at grass roots level and you can sort of say, well, I want this and this and this in my education system, and also if you do want more you do have to add to the basic sponsorship of the government. You can add, but you can decide what happens there to yourself as well as to the future of the child, you have a greater input in that, and for minority groupings it is very important.

LT Specifically financial responsibility.....devolving financial responsibility onto parents.

LS Well I think it is because of the costs. The state couldn't bear the cost of it.

LT Now the ERS is framed in a certain style of writing, of thought, that calls itself managerialism. It is a managerialist solution to educational problems as Dr Garbers puts it. Where did that come from? CNE wasn't a management solution. CNE was overtly ideological, and I don't mean that in a purgerative sense necessarily, but it was clearly influenced by a particular doctrine. When did this rupture begin.....

LS I think when we really start to move away from apartheid being a philosophy behind it....that has a philosophy behind it....and moving away from apartheid to a more democratic system. You get the principles of management, and the principles of management are generally accepted all over. The philosophy or principles that were previously used in the education system were not generally accepted. Management principles are acceptable to everybody.

LT And when did that start?

LS I think that basically started with the ERS. Before that of course the people thought about it because the ten year plan not working out, and every business has to have

a management. It was more styled on a business than before.

LT But Afrikaner nationalists in the '40s would have turned in their graves to hear something like that. I mean they even used to disclaim that they were capitalists some of them.

LS Yes that's right. It sort of started in a similar way as political unrest. Because people started realising there were other views and that they weren't democratic.

LT Can you link managerialism to any of the ideas about a new democratic dispensation?

LS Yes for sure. Any ideology could fit in a basic sort of managerial concept.

LT Did Garbers bring the idea from the HSRC?

LS No I don't think it was a personal thing really. I think it just sort of boiled out from discussions. I wouldn't attach it to one person only. I think it was really the feeling that started coming from different parts of the system itself as well as from, I think, governmental sides.

LT When did it become dominant?

LS In the 80s I think the idea already started. But being practically put on paper, well I think the last three, four years perhaps. That's also my personal view.

LT Would you see de Lange as a descendant of the ERS in the sense that it claimed to be scientific?

LS Yes, de Lange was very scientific, and I think his share you can't underestimate in that.

LT How would you define the term 'scientific'. How would you differentiate between a scientific and a non-scientific study?

LS Well scientific would be generally accepted principles all over. Non-scientific would be ideology based in the broadest sense of the word - subjective.

LT I see, and would you kindly do the same for 'managerialism'.

LS [Laughter]..... Well what do you want to know about managerialism?

LT Well how would you define it?

LS I would define managerialism also as scientific. But the actual putting into practice of it - that would be in the different regions subjective.

LT Another theme that I would like to explore with you briefly is the relationship

between education and the world of work contained in the ERS. Now under CNE it could be argued that there is a relationship between different sections of the population and different sectors of the labour market. With de Lange there was a shift towards career-oriented education. But what happened to that? It just seemed to vanish during the '80s. When we get to the curriculum model in 1991 we find that people are talking once again about a broad curriculum for all, not about a narrow vocationalism. What happened?

- LS Perhaps you've read the curriculum model. As far as my knowledge about that.....they do have a broad education up to about the seventh year, even up to the eighth or ninth year perhaps. I don't think, and this is my personal view too, that nothing is being attached to the world of work outside. My feeling is that they want to give a broad education to everybody that is really sort of latched to the working world outside, but not enforcing them in a specific direction before they are old enough, and they have had opportunity enough to decide which way they would like to go. There will be opportunities for them to continue on an academic course at a later stage going up to the final year of schooling, but some of them are given the opportunity of going in a more vocational way of completing their studies in different sections of education and training lives in South Africa. My personal view is really that if it boils down to the practical side of it, it will help them more with a vocation than it has up until now.
- LT I would just like to ask you one more question. It concerns issues of gender in the Education Renewal Strategy - well there aren't any. Gender doesn't appear as an issue from what I can gather.
- LS I think it is mentioned somewhere.....
- LT Well it says 'personpower' and it says everybody should have equal opportunities.....
- LS Yes that's about how it goes.
- LT What are your views about that?
- LS I think being an Afrikaner my personal view is that....I would say that I was lucky that my parents sort of enforced us, or helped us to study. But that is not the general view of the Afrikaner people. The liberation of women slowly started to be an issue....
- LT When?....
- LS I would say...you would always get the womens libbers standing out everywhere, but experiencing it for myself would be the late '60s. Then from there it got stronger and stronger. Then in the charter for human rights it specifically touched equal rights and things for women. There is an act going through now, and the women have an opportunity to have an input on that for the first time in the history of South Africa really. I don't know whether we will ever have it again I must say

[laughter]. But it was fun. But a woman has to work twice as hard as a male to be in the same position, also because she has not a wife to support her. For the Afrikaner people your family is a very important thing. I had to make a choice. During the time when I lectured at the University of Pretoria I had my children. I've got four children and they are all out of school now. I had to give evening classes as well as afternoon and morning classes, but it was programmed in such a way that I could bring up my children and attend to them. If I had to make a choice, being so busy from eight to five, I wouldn't have done that. Of course that also influences the position of women.

LT Would you have liked to see the ERS go further in terms of trying to give a fairer deal to women and girls?

LS Yes well I would say that they could have mentioned something of the sort although officially there is at this time no difference on the books. Its rather a sort of perception or a feeling that you have rather than it being written down in ordinances. No difference is made in the book at the moment. It will take a generation or two for it really to reach that point, where there really is no difference practically.

LT Do you think anything could be done about that, to speed it up?

LS Yes, I think the perception could be changed. I think the media could play a role in that as well as the actual participation of women. Women too meekly accept what is done to them, so actually most of the women are part of the problem.

LT You don't seem like the kind of woman who would meekly accept anything Mrs Smith! What was your experience in the ERS?

LS At least....I must tell you that I am part of a directorate that really does not try to discriminate against women. So it makes me feel very safe and sound here that I am acknowledged for who I am and what I am here. So I don't experience it in this department as such. In the ERS it could have been more explicit to my mind, although everybody will come back to you and say they have put it in here, it is explicit, and I must say that to the letter of the word it is explicit. It is not in the letter of the word that it lies, it is in the perception of the people. To change perception takes a long time. It is not facts that you really live by, you live by perception largely.

LT How many women were involved in the ERS?

LS On the administrative side, quite a few women I would say. In the top structure I wouldn't say.... I can't remember. There might have been two, three, four of them.

LT Did you ever get the feeling that you were a token woman involved in the ERS? I am not discounting the fact that no doubt you were picked on merit. But given that, do you think there was anything conscious about having a handful of women on the ERS?

LS I don't know whether I really thought about it. I suppose that if there were women who really could have been picked on merit in the different subjects I suppose they would have chosen them. Perhaps it was because there weren't really enough strong women they could choose. They tried to incorporate them wherever they could. But women should not only be on the academic....like the men here they should also have knowledge about management and how this thing should be put to practice through management. I think it is actually a combination of that. In South Africa I can't say..... the majority for sure aren't women on that side.

LT closes interview after thanking LS.

INTERVIEW WITH DR R. STUMPF, PRETORIA, 31/7/91, 2.00 pm.

- LT** There are three broad areas that I would like to discuss with you. The first area is really your own involvement in the DNE and the educational renewal strategy. The second broad area concerns the ERS in particular, and, also reference will be made to the guidelines concerning curriculum reform from the seminar of the 25th and 26th February in which the aim of the seminar was to draw up frameworks and syllabi for the curriculum - to rationalise the curriculum. The third broad area concerns the education reform process in general. So if I could start please with an outline of your own role, firstly in the Department of National Education, and, secondly in the education renewal strategy.
- DS** My own role in the department is one of Deputy Director-General. I am involved and am responsible for all aspects of education policy and science policy - those are my two fields. I serve as executive officer on a number of advisory bodies to government, the University and Technikons Advisory Council, the South African Council on Education. Then the Science Advisory Council and then numerous smaller advisory bodies. I have under me a number of staff members who do the actual development work on education, that is, on the financing of education, conditions of service, which includes everything from leave right through to remuneration. Also on the registration of educators and then finally on the curriculum. When I speak of education, I mean right through from the first levels of education right through to the university tertiary sectors. So we deal with a whole broad sector and we also deal with aspects of what we broadly call non-formal education. It includes all the legislation on these matters which we have to develop here and present to government. My involvement in the ERS was that I was too heavily involved. I somehow got landed with a whole lot of the working groups and found myself involved in issues as varied as conditions of service, educational programmes for universities, the subsidy formula for universities, the school curriculum, standards at our educational institutions, especially our universities and technikons. Also what was a very challenging one but a very difficult one was the working group which looked at a new educational model. So that is my whole involvement in the department and in the ERS. I've been here in the department for seven years.
- LT** The next set of questions deal with the ERS in particular. I wish I could dwell for longer on your own involvement but time is quite tight. I am very interested in what you personally understand by the philosophy of deregulation and devolution that is said to lie behind the ERS.
- DS** Let me say immediately that I have picked this up in preliminary comments that we have gathered. As you know we asked for comments on a broad spectrum - this is a discussion document. We are going to extend the date for comments to 6th September, it was the 15th August. But I have picked up the vibes that some people feel that here is a deliberate effort to counter the move towards one education

department by a massive emphasis on deregulation and devolution to the lowest level in the community. This is a tension which, if you understand South African society you find not only in education but in many different spheres of life. Certain groups in our country feel that the only way to save them from any further deprivation or unfair disadvantages or deliberate discrimination is to make sure that everything gets centralised to the maximum degree. So from their point of view they would like a massive educational bureaucracy which centres in one single education department with tentacles going far and wide throughout the country.

- LT To be a little bit more specific, who do you mean when you say "they"?
- DS At the moment I haven't got any comments in writing so all that I have picked up is what I would call the non-establishment groupings, not all of them - and that's all that I've heard. I have no proof and so I am not in a good position - I have nothing in writing. Its rumours, its deductions that one makes from comments and from private conversations that one has. On the other hand of the coin, I mean on the other side of the coin, you've got those who feel that South Africa is a very very diverse country. Its got a tremendous amount of different societies, different communities - the only way to accommodate this in a harmonious way is to allow for diversity to express itself naturally and in the past, of course, this is where we went wrong. We used race as a factor to try to accommodate diversity and from an educational point of view we arrived at the conclusion that it is not a valid factor, so, from that the recommendation that it should not feature any longer in the provision of education because it is not a valid factor with which to accommodate diversity. But, you have to agree that language, certain cultural expressions etc. constitute valid forms of diversity - you can cite many different examples in many different countries. So on the other hand there are those who feel that you need maximum involvement of the community and who have perhaps suffered under long decision-making lines, a bloated bureaucracy the stifling autocracy which comes with bureaucrats and technocrats and they feel that you should allow the communities maximum amount of freedom and responsibility within guidelines of course to run their own affairs and this is what is behind some of the proposals in the Education Renewal Strategy. My feeling is that what we have to achieve in this country, and what comes out here is that you'll have to provide for both these emphases. You'll have to provide for a very strong decentralising emphasis/ devolution emphasis, as well as provide for the cohesion in the system to be maintained by an emphasis on centralisation.
- LT So, broadly speaking it could be summarised as a new framework, or the philosophy underlying a new framework aimed at meeting the needs of uniformity and diversity....
- DS Yes. I would say so, yes...
- LT Whilst also challenging bureaucracy.
- DS I would say that's a good summary. I think in South Africa we are moving into a time frame where we really need to reach consensus on a vast number of issues.

The two poles are total privatisation of education and, let me say, total socialisation of education where the state is responsible for everything, from A to Z. We need to achieve some consensus on a position in between. Private education exists - it plays a fundamental role. It is indispensable in our educational provision. It plays a fundamental role especially in some of our disadvantaged communities so we foresee a possible extension of the role of private education which is much freer to move, to innovate, to adapt than your typical state education is, and that's true in virtually all countries. Some people, and again I have nothing on paper, feel a little uncomfortable with this because they feel the state wants to absolve itself from its education responsibilities. that's not so - its a question of what would be most effective. that's on that one.

LT Right. Thank you. The next question concerns the ERS in relation to world trends and I would like you please to describe how you understand the following aspects of the ERS in relation to world trends. The first aspect is the apparent introduction of free market principles such as 'more choice' and gearing the system more towards supply and demand - a comment that I picked up from the section on teacher training colleges.

DS I would say that's a fair comment. I would say that the ERS certainly proposes that education should move much more closely in conjunction with supply and demand issues both as far as the supply of manpower resources are concerned as well as in its actual educational programmes that it is offering. We are under constant accusation from the private sector in this country that we are turning out people that are of no value in a developing country to contribute meaningfully to the GNP. They don't mean by that that the education system should turn out somebody who can move into a job and start producing straight away, no, not at all. They mean that education should produce a person that is trainable and that they don't have to invest any time or money to teaching in the three R's to put it at its simplest level. So yes, you are right. We need to take much more account of supply and demand also the curriculum for schools which I'll come to just now. Teacher training has been a very difficult one in South Africa because we have operated a largely fragmented education system although national education has provided the cohesion. Teacher training has been one of the fields that has been very difficult. In the past there was no real problem because, mainly, white teachers taught in white schools, black teachers taught in black schools and so on. But as the barriers are breaking down we are finding that true as it should be of any profession that you have much more mobility between the members of the profession and we foresee a much freer flow of teachers, irrespective of what type of school in terms of racial composition that they are teaching at. This has made planning for teaching manpower very difficult.

LT So how would you perceive the introduction of free market principles in relation to world trends?

DS Well, I would say that Britain would perhaps be an example to us to a certain degree of introducing some form of choice as far as the curriculum, the national reform, the Education Reform Act was concerned and all the fighting that has gone

on out there with the ability of schools to opt out. If you really cut that one to the bone then it can be seen as the introduction of a measure of free market principles - the ability that a school can now go and engage the guy who runs a glass repair shop down the corner and who can replace the window instead of having to go to the works department of the local education authority - that sort of thing. Yes we foresee that too....for those who want it. But for those who want it we will still have very tried and tested and time-consuming processes that we have at the moment. We foresee that there are a large number of communities in which a large level of sophistication and the will exists to adopt more responsibility in terms of managing facilities etc for the school children. I am not too *au fait* on countries like Australia and New Zealand which we usually take as our examples - Britain, Australia, New Zealand. We have started leaning more and more towards looking at countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia. I have on my table there a teacher training report that the South African Council of Education has just completed which looked intensively at Zimbabwe's system. We feel more and more that we have to move away from aligning ourselves so closely with a Western European system or a Europe centred system and we need to see how Africa is doing - how they are tackling the problems. I suspect that in the remainder of Africa you would not find too much of a "free market" if I can use those words in inverted commas approach in education. So as far as world trends are concerned, I suspect that we are probably not in line with most other countries in Africa but then one has to remember that a large number of other countries in Africa are under military dictatorships which may affect this issue.

LT So how about the situation with regards to the obvious emphasis within the ERS on making school more relevant to the world of work? How do you see that?

DS As I have said, the private sector has really hammered us - they feel that our curriculum is not relevant. Now of course a relevant curriculum doesn't mean that the curriculum has to be vocationally oriented. It may mean that, but a relevant curriculum is one that relates to the life world of the learner, and, when we analyzed this very carefully, we discovered that there was a lot of merit in what they were saying except they were using a one-sided argument- they were saying that the curriculum was not relevant because the guy, the learner, when he gets to his job situation - he is not able to function properly in the job situation. Whilst we take that point, when we carefully analyzed all the curricula, we found that we really need to keep up, to keep pace with the changing life situation scientifically, technologically and, in South Africa, especially socially because we are going through tremendous social changes in a very short period. We need to have learners who can cope with sociological changes on the scale that we are going through - who can adapt to change.

LT And once again - how would you see this in relation to world trends?

DS I would say, I suspect, as far as I could understand the whole exercise in Britain again with the national curriculum although that is sometimes difficult for us to make out exactly because in the debates you hear accusations that the national curriculum is another form of socialism. Others would again argue that no its not,

its allowing for freedom of choice while preserving standards so all that debates still going on. I would say that while certainly we don't have any intention of moving towards a system like they have in Korea or Taiwan where the world of work seemingly- I haven't visited those countries so all I'm saying is from reading - seemingly seems to dominate your education system and the whole education system seems to be subservient to the world of work. We argue that the world of work is one facet of adult life for which the learner has to be equipped. Adult life usually comprises the family, the ability to function in a society, in the larger society - in the country. I would say that by in large we would be in line with world trends taking into account the world of work more strongly than we used to.

LT Would you say the same for the deregulation and decentralisation of educational control and financing?

DS I think so, I would say the same, if we look at the models like I said before that we usually compare ourselves with like also the USA in cases, Germany and so on, then I would say broadly so.

LT And the moves - again you have touched on this already - the moves for rationalising curriculum frameworks and syllabi?

DS There I think we haven't picked up on any other country what we are trying to do here.

LT It does seem very original.

DS Yes, what we are trying to do is again to try to accommodate provision for uniformity as well as accommodate diversity, and in the past certification in South Africa at all levels in the schools was the responsibility of the particular education department or its minister. We are now moving to a situation where there will be a non-governmental agency called the South African Certification Council which will issue certificates to school leavers and further down as well at the final points and they need to certify in terms of common standards. We asked ourselves the question what do they actually need to certify, the syllabi? and we came up with what we call frameworks. Frameworks are a step or two away from a syllabus - a syllabus is a bit more detailed, and so what we have proposed to do is to develop frameworks on a national level which will apply to all pupils, so that every person in South Africa will receive education in terms of the same frameworks but the syllabi which will be developed from those frameworks may differ from case to case. You may find, for example, that the syllabus of somebody who teaches at the coast who is doing biology may differ somewhat from the syllabus of a teacher teaching in the Karoo which is a very arid, dry region, so we need to provide for those differences, for cultural differences etc.

LT There is one point on that actually that I would like to clear up. I think that it is possibly quite self-explanatory but in the discussion documents concerning the curriculum framework it was mooted that the frameworks would provide an adaptable source for the education departments to work with but in the ERS it talks

specifically of educational authorities - local authorities I presume.

- DS Yes, well that is because we are not sure exactly in which form our educational system will be organised so we used the rather generic term of education authorities. They could be local education authorities, they could be regional education authorities. We are not quite sure on that one but the education authorities, whether it is existing departments, whether it is LEA-type of authorities or whether it is regional authorities - they will be compelled to offer their type of education in terms of the frameworks. I must just warn you that that was a very initial document, and since then our thinking has progressed a lot more. We propose to publish a document on the curriculum, similar to the ERS in about a months, six weeks time in which this chapter here in the ERS which was a very brief chapter will be expanded considerably.
- LT Chapter eight.
- DS Yes chapter eight will be filled out to about a fifty/sixty page report in which we propose a new curriculum.
- LT Finally, how would you see the balance which the ERS seeks to achieve between cultural unity and cultural diversity in terms of world trends?
- DS Well some countries have dealt with the problem in different manners. In some they have tried to make education value-less. They have tried to just to make education a totally neutral thing from a values point of view which in my personal view is not possible. Other countries, in my view, have taken this to the extreme again which we did in the past. Some countries like Belgium and Switzerland probably fall very much on this extreme continuum that I have spoken about in the sense that in Belgium you have got your two language groups and that's it. They have got their schools and they have got their schools. They have their education authority and they have got their education authority. The two are pretty much independent and separate from each other. Our feeling is that in South Africa this is not possible. Our economy is totally integrated and we also do not have the numbers that these countries have, nor the developmental stage to move into such a strict separation in terms of diversity and no I don't mean racial diversity. I mean for example language. We will have to be more pragmatic. We are trying to find a common ground which is why we will have to provide for uniformity as well as allowing for valid expressions of diversity right throughout this document. Uniformity or conformity, uniformity is probably the better word, through very broad and well developed general policy, and general means that it is general for everybody. I don't think that in South Africa we can move to a value-less type of education - its not possible. We have very far-left communities, we have very far-right communities and we have middle-of-the-road, moderate communities and they all need to be accommodated in an education system.
- LT Thank you. The next question concerns criticisms that I have picked up about the ERS. The first one is that the NECC, the ANC and other black organisations were not included in workshops for either the ERS or for the curriculum reform programme.

- DS Yes. That is a very difficult situation in South Africa at the moment. When we conceived of the ERS we grappled with this issue of how do you obtain legitimacy, and I realise that this is probably the biggest problem of the ERS is its legitimacy. We invited all groups in South Africa, and we specifically wrote to some of the groups that you have mentioned inviting submissions on any of the aspects of the ERS in the formal memoranda etc. and we foresaw that we would have various seminars etc. Unfortunately these groups didn't favour us with a reply even to our invitation so there are two sides to the story. They might immediately counter 'yes' but that was only to make submissions, that was not to participate in working groups as such. The difficulty in South Africa at the moment is that because there is such an amount of positioning going on, political positioning, and there are so many groups outside of formal education, outside of the education establishment that it is very difficult just to pick one or two. Either you have to go the whole hog and then you would end up with working groups that are very, very large and unwieldy and I am not sure whether those organisations would have been able to participate in actual working groups which were structured under a formal education system which they reject. I for myself can't see how they would have been able to do that and maintain their own legitimacy and credibility within their own constituencies. To partake together with the establishment education and people - the very system which they reject and so that is a very difficult one. I know that is a criticism and I concede that this is probably our biggest stumbling block in the whole ERS.
- LT I also notice, and this is the other side of the coin, that you invited these groups after the workshops had been completed and the report produced.
- DS No we didn't. In actual fact not. We issued letters before the working groups had even met. We issued letters to a large number of organisations, it was announced in the press too, and we actually got two hundred and something submissions from a wide variety of bodies, organisations, individuals.
- LT No I think you misunderstood what I was pointing at. I was pointing at the attempt - the concerted effort after the report was made, to meet with these people and present the findings of the report.
- DS Oh yes, I see what you were saying.
- LT The second criticism that I picked up is that although the ERS does recognise a serious backlog in especially black education it doesn't actually respond directly to aspects of the so-called education crisis as defined by the NECC, the ANC and other organisations. In particular it doesn't appear to address aspects concerning the present quality of education - the emphasis would appear to be on quantity, especially with regards to black school buildings and the lack of resources. Also to the financial disparities between educational funding for different population groups and overcrowding in black education, empty classrooms in white education and finally educational provision for the so-called 'lost generation'. These are aspects of the education crisis as presented by the NECC which the ERS does not appear to deal with directly.

DS Some of those observations may have validity, others I question. For example the whole issue of norms for school buildings - there's a whole chapter there with proposals on it. How we can solve this issue and obviously once you have acceptance or consensus on revised norms for school buildings which will in this case still mean buildings of a very high standard but cheaper, we can move concertedly in an effort to wipe out backlogs. Backlogs have not been wiped out but are in the process of being addressed annually as the government has made available additional funds. Last year, black education received approximately R675M for new facilities. This year it has received in the region of two or three hundred million Rand and more is coming if things work out well. I concede that this may be a drop in a very very large bucket, I concede that fully. But the backlog programme is running. One of the reasons why we didn't feel that we could at this stage address the issue of backlogs is because we first need to get consensus on the proposals. The idea then is to determine the financial implications of these proposals and obviously they won't have a financial implication on the short-term - I mean on the term of months. But some of them will issue, I mean result in significant financial savings. Then the idea is that as soon as we have agreement on these proposals some will obviously not go, some may go, or will go in an adapted form, may go ahead, we will come forward with a financial plan which will address many of these issues. We just felt it was premature for us to do that, for example, the quality of education argument, we hope to address that in great detail with the curriculum. We have addressed some aspects of it here where we deal with university and technikon programmes, and then in teacher training. This is one of our big problems as you undoubtedly know is our teacher training. Many teachers are perceived, and, probably are of an inferior quality compared to others if you were to take qualifications as a yard-stick and we need to really solve the problem of good quality teachers because in a sense your whole educational system stands or falls with the quality of that person. As far as the lost generation is concerned the reason why we didn't address that in great detail here was because there is another government initiative which I can't say too much about which is addressing the whole issue of the lost generation. We did address it briefly by means of distance education. But I take that point you know that some of these issues may not have been addressed adequately or sufficiently clearly.

LT Well that's very interesting. Is the ERS then part of a wider government strategy?

DS No, no. There are a number of government strategies. You see, the lost generation is not only something which deals with education, it is also a social welfare problem. We didn't hitch it onto the education wagon. It is largely in the field of social welfare that we deal with that problem.

LT So the lost generation is being dealt with by a different department.

DS We are involved in it as well.

LT Thanks, I am sure more information concerning that will emerge in the relatively near future.

- DS Yes, and this curriculum document that will be published will deal with the curriculum and then on the lost generation issue very soon we will have some positive decisions I hope.
- LT There is also the question of opening white schools which are underutilised at present to black students. Again the ERS doesn't appear to make any....
- DS No, we did make some recommendations on facilities - we weren't very explicit on that one. Training facilities we were much more explicit on than on school facilities. One of the reasons was that we knew that there were certain initiatives that were going on as far as school facilities were concerned and these culminated in an announcement nearly a month ago in which the government announced certain measures to accommodate children of all races in underutilised or unused white schools. A press release was put out [unclear]..... It is much easier to transfer an empty white school to another department if they need it and it is possible for that school to remain within the department of education and culture or house of assembly and to receive children from other groups and for the teachers to remain etc. I think together with the ability of school management boards to choose models which allow for them to determine their own admission policy provides a significant step towards freer admission policies, and, freer movement of school pupils - students of course - universities have been open all these years. There have never been any restrictions with them. Teacher training colleges are now also open.....[unclear].
- LT Without meaning to press a point, why exactly did the ERS not face this issue head on?
- DS That's a difficult one. I'm not sure exactly why. Perhaps it's because at that stage it was still politically sensitive and because the ERS knew it was going on at another front. This whole movement towards schools being used by other communities etc.
- LT There are just one or two more criticisms to go. First of all it should be said that the introduction of free compulsory education up to standard five which is mooted in the ERS has been heralded as a great breakthrough by one and by all really, but the criticism still remains that this provision is not sufficient. In other words that free and compulsory education should go on for longer and that it is insufficient at present in terms of ERS proposals because a) it doesn't meet the aspirations of black people in South Africa, and, b) because it will not provide a sound general education necessary for today's world of work.
- DS Yes, I fully concede that any educationist would like to see free and compulsory education extend beyond the first seven years. In South Africa that is true. I would like to see it too as much as you would like to or anybody else. We have got severe financial constraints at the moment of course. No compulsory education exists across the board in South Africa and consequently our estimates or most recent estimates are for about 1,1 million black, mainly black pupils/ children of a school-going age who should be at school, who are not at school, and much of this is

limited to the rural communities but there are also some in the towns. If you add all those in you swell your education system by 1,2 million straight away and we have done some preliminary calculations. You can yourself think that if you take thirty pupils for every one teacher how many additional teachers you suddenly need. I'm afraid that we will have to, very slowly, move with compulsory education and this was the one that we thought that with savings effected through some of the proposals in the ERS you could introduce, and then you would have to see how soon you could extend to seven years then eight years and then preferably to at least nine years of compulsory education, but that would be in the long term.

LT There is a point from that that I would very much like clarified. It is what appears on the surface to be a contradiction. Perhaps you could throw some light on it. It appears that the education model presented in the ERS has not been costed yet. Is that correct?

DS That's quite correct. We have costed in a very preliminary form but we have got...like on this one with compulsory education, we know what we are letting ourselves in for. But we haven't done it in the form of a balance sheet that we've put the savings which exactly will result to the nearest Rand and cent down this column and the additional expenses down this column and see whether we come equal. That exercise we want to complete as soon as we have finality on some of the proposals but we've got very broad ideas. You're quite right, from a very sound costing point of view we haven't done that yet.

LT Given that fact, perhaps another criticism that might be levelled against the ERS is that it only presented one proposed model. If costing has not been done in detail yet, why should proposals just be limited to one model?

DS Well this is our proposal. You must understand that the ERS is an agenda for discussion. I appreciate criticism, and I know from my own personal capacity that it is much easier to criticise something than to produce it.

LT You understand I'm just doing my job.

DS In a sense educationalists said here is our agenda for discussion, if you have any other proposals put them down on the table - lets see, and, we are quite certain that many of these proposals might be changed. As I said, many of them might not even fly at all and some may fly in a totally different form. That's fine with us. But at least what we felt was that education was being politicised to such a degree, so much rhetoric was being thrown about, and nobody was coming with any concrete suggestions. Here's some concrete suggestions good or bad.

LT This is the last criticism that I've picked up of the ERS.

DS I've picked up some which you haven't even mentioned.

LT I'm sure you have. This one concerns the obvious desire within the ERS to bring

about equal educational opportunities. The concept is given a lot of discussion in the document. I personally wonder however whether the ERS will in fact serve to perpetuate inequality in the following two ways. Firstly by allowing schools to control admissions.....

DS Not on the basis of race - that's invalid.

LT Alright. OK, would you like to deal with that one first?

DS Let me say that it is clear from this document that schools will not be able to turn any pupil away because of the colour of his skin. If he doesn't meet the entry requirement that is set or for example if the entry level doesn't meet the school readiness levels then there may be a possibility for them not to accept that person.

LT I understand that admission might be granted or not granted with reference to culture of the school or the culture shared by the majority of pupils.

DS Yes. My feeling is that that will not be such a rigid matter. That if there is a school in which the cultural emphasis is a particular one. Let me take....I come from Natal which is an English-speaking place in which many people espouse typical liberal values. If you have a school of that nature and a person from a very Afrikaans background with a very conservative background, and if the parents wish to enrol that learner at that school, the management council will have to make sure that the parents know what they are letting themselves in for. I can't imagine that they will refuse to admit the learner, but as long as the parents know that this is the schools ethos, this is the schools emphasis, this is the schools cultural values which they wish to uphold. If the parent wants his child to be educated in that set of cultural values I foresee that management councils will not easily turn away such a learner. Why should they?

LT Perhaps to preserve the ethos of the school.

DS Yes well maybe, if it becomes a great number of pupils, if they are swamped suddenly. If it is a school of three hundred and they have got two hundred and ninety-nine applications from a conservative backgrounds and it is a liberal type of institution, surely then they might do that yes.

LT As up until now there are no actual concrete proposals concerning admissions procedures.

DS No.

LT Right, well presumably that is open for negotiation.

DS Yes. that's a ticklish one.

LT The other aspect for me that might serve to perpetuate inequality, thinking of it in a critical light is that through making education after standard five dependent on

ability to pay, at least to an extent, won't that tend to discriminate against the less well off?

- DS Yes that is also a very difficult one. I am really in two minds whether that one will have any chance of flying at all. I think the larger part of our society would view that as grossly unfair. Our difficulty is just how to finance this education system. What we suggested there, very carefully, was the principle of paying more the higher you go in your education. I'm not sure whether that one will fly, I must be quite honest with you. I think it is accepted that university students have to fork out quite a considerable amount out of their own expenses. In some countries like Israel, the state only assumes responsibility for the first nine years of education, then one year pre-primary. The communities take care of ten, eleven and twelve. We had something like that in mind to move, if one can, somewhat in that direction. That was to balance out the cost, the additional cost, of free and compulsory education for the first seven years. But I foresee a very gradual move as you go higher towards costs for the pupil or for the student.
- LT I wonder if that one doesn't fly what implications that might have for the rest of the model?
- DS The implications could be quite severe because there is no way....it is very easy to say that the state must assume responsibility for education from year one to year twelve. I could say that too. But there is no way that can happen unless we offer a very inferior education across the board.
- LT What other criticisms have you come up against?
- DS Rural education, a crucial aspect of education in any African country has not been attended to at all. Remedial education hasn't been attended to at all. We've been told that we are very wishy-washy and weak on pre-primary education. Those are the three major ones. Those are the only ones that you haven't mentioned.
- LT Finally we come to the last broad area which the ERS covers within the broader context of educational reform. I would like to ask you how you see the ERS in relation to broader educational reform in South Africa over the last decade or so, especially in relation to the so-called De Lange reforms.
- DS I think that many of the ERS proposals, in one form or another, can in fact be traced back to some of the De Lange proposals. We didn't use the De Lange report at all as a blueprint. I can tell you I wrote this thing myself and I didn't use the De Lange report at all. But I think it serves to show that the problems which we had in 1981 we hadn't solved by 1991 yet at least to some degree. We had to cope with the same problems and therefore we came up with broadly similar proposals or solutions. There is that link between these two documents but there is no definite link of trying to couple these two things together. They were essentially two different exercises. As far as the ERS in the broader educational reform is concerned, we are simplistically, I know, we would very much like to depoliticise education. The whole of education in South Africa is heavily politicised and I

understand why. We feel that in the end the politicisation of education can only harm the child because once you politicise a system like education, then education becomes subservient to the other system and it serves the goal then of a political system. The child will ultimately be the one who loses. You need an education system that is run on educational, technically sound principles. Having said that I know in South Africa that this is no easy task. Even in most countries where they have a very stable society, education in some way or the other a very sensitive and emotional issue and usually also a political issue. The ERS is an attempt to present a technical document on education and in that to contribute towards depoliticising education. To have a debate on education which hasn't as its starting point a political set of values. Let me say, in other words, that if somebody comes with a proposal which runs counter to one of these, I do not want to have to ask him which organisation or which grouping do you represent. I want to look at his proposal and evaluate his proposal on its own merit. And in that sense we had hoped that we could lift education outside of the political realm. I don't think, it doesn't seem to have happened, because most of the comments that I've heard that shoot down the ERS if you really trace them back to their source are probably of a political nature - you know that, especially the participation problem.

LT And would you say that this is from both left and right?

DS Quite correct. The shooting down hasn't only come from the left. The right has rejected this thing outright. They said we're selling the whites down the drain.

LT I was going to ask actually....you were talking in terms of depoliticising the education process - I wonder where that leaves Christian National Education, because that could be perceived as innately political.

DS Yes, I fully concede that. Christian National Education is something which is practised in white schools. Some schools practise it more fervently than other schools do. The government is certainly not going to take anybody to court on the basis of whether they practise Christian National Education fervently or not. My children are at an English school and we are very open-minded about this whole issue. So I concede that point that people make - that there is a definite political slant in present educational legislation and how you try to depoliticise it - well, I would say that is a valid point of view. If then this comes out in negotiations and discussions around the ERS then one would have to look at whether it is valid to have something like that still, statutorily in your books, or should you just allow communities who wish to have that emphasis just like church-related schools who have a certain emphasis - who are free to have a certain emphasis. My feeling is that we are moving more and more towards an era where these things won't be arranged in statute books as they have been in the past but communities will be able to exercise some form of choice.

LT So say for example, those aspects of CNE which for example encourage, or are perceived to encourage notions of white superiority in children - those aspects would or would not be allowed to remain?

- DS They would not feature in general policy because they are not general. General policy which would apply to anyone would not be able to accommodate quite such a kind of meaning. It would probably be possible for a particular community to emphasise aspects of CNE - I certainly hope they would not emphasise so-called white supremacy.
- LT I really want to move onto the last question which is quite important to my research. In conclusion I would like to ask you what you consider to be the chief political obstacles against reform in a) the education system, and, b) within the broader political arena. In answering I would be obliged if you could make reference once again to left and right.
- DS I think, without a shadow of doubt I would say suspicion from both left and right of the intents of present educational politics. And I can understand why from the left they say these are the people who ran an apartheid educational system for the past forty years, why should we suddenly believe that they are going to turn over a new leaf? And that is why there some criticisms are that all that this is doing is entrenching elite education which is another form of discriminatory education. From the right the suspicion is of course that we are now moving into a great process of neutralising everything - of going for the average and no longer going to maintain standards. I've picked up some of these arguments in discussions that standards are under heavy fire from the proposals in this document.
- LT Yes, I can understand that coming from the English context.
- DS Yes, that is typically something, typically that has been a stereotype. That is typical of somebody who is conservative in their outlook, that something which they have got is being endangered. So, I would say that it is suspicion from both sides. Suspicion on the one hand that we don't mean what we say, and suspicion on the other hand that we do mean what we say. And the outcome of that according to one group ie. from the right will mean a lowering of standards.
- LT I would be very grateful if you could point me towards any references at all in that regard. It would be of great interest to my research. Maybe as the thought crosses your mind.....
- DS I will, it would have helped a lot if some of these people had put some of these things in writing. All I have is personal discussions. I'm afraid I can't refer you to what somebody has told me.
- LT The nature of the educational bureaucracy in South Africa at the moment, and again this is a massive generalisation, seems to be quite heavily weighted towards Afrikanerdom?
- DS Yes, I would say that's a fair comment. You do not find too many English-speaking people in the civil service. Its changing. Certain departments such as foreign affairs have a very large number of English-speaking people. Finance would have some more. Education is an example where English-speaking people have felt very

loathed generally to move beyond the educational institution itself and move into the management hierarchy in education. I think one of the reasons may be a feeling that whilst they were at an educational institution they could at least espouse certain values freely and there is a degree of autonomy attached to educational institutions even schools in South Africa. As soon as you move through the educational hierarchy, you become somewhat more restricted through the bureaucracy that is there, through the rules and regulations and etc. I suspect that's one of the reasons. Furthermore, English-speaking people have in the past generally dominated the business sphere in South Africa and the professional sphere. Its changed the last number of years - twenty, thirty years but there was a time when your engineers were English-speaking, your medical doctors were English-speaking, your lawyers and chartered accountants were English-speaking. Its changing now. More and more Afrikaans-speaking people are moving into those professions. I think one finds that in most developing nations. As they develop, the occupations that they move into are those occupations generally associated with the human sciences. You will find them moving into teaching, into education, into the ministry - you will find many move into the ministry. They will move into social welfare type of occupations. It is the more developed ones that will move into lets say the hard occupations. I think we've had that too. Afrikaans-speaking people, they moved into the ministry, into social welfare jobs, they moved into education. The English ones provided the doctors, the engineers etc. As I say it is slowly changing.

LT How do you feel the nature of the education apparatus affects the reform process?

DS I think it all depends on whether the person involved in the reform process is willing to make mistakes, and, willing to try out new inventions. Probably this is a very broad generalisation that a scientist should never say, but probably, by in large, the Afrikaans-speaking person, in the past certainly, was more afraid to take risks or try new ventures than your English-speaking person. He was busy establishing his own identity, his own nation, his own culture, his own everything, and, he was a little bit afraid of taking too many risks because that may have led to breaking down what he had built up. Whereas your English-speaking person came from the British empire on which the sun never set. He was secure in his identity, willing to take risks. My feeling is that this is a hindrance to educational reform, the amount to which one wants to preserve the status quo because you know it works.

LT Would you find that more with some education departments more than with others?

DS That's a hard one - I don't know. I suspect that if you pressed me I would say that we here at the DNE, because we are only a policy-making department may be more venturesome because the others would say immediately you can afford to be more venturesome because you don't have to wipe up the mess of your policy - its we who have to do it. The other departments, they provide the actual education in terms of the policy that we develop, so I can understand their argument too. They'll say its easy for you guys to develop policy but its we who have to implement it, and when it fails we are the ones who have got to calm down the teachers. So I am not sure whether it is evident in some departments rather than in others.

- LT** I wonder how you perceive the education reforms in terms of the era of negotiations and the broader reforms that are going on?
- DS** Education will be one of the items to be negotiated in the fuller negotiation process. I certainly don't think that it will escape that. I think it is too simplistic to take education out of that whole process. I suspect that there will be a lot of give and take from both sides.
- LT** Well Dr Stumpf it just remains for me to thank you. I have used up my hour and your comments have been most insightful. Thank you.
- DS** Its a pleasure. Good luck.