

STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

A CURRICULUM GUIDE ON SOUTH AFRICA



WILLIAM BIGELOW

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William Bigelow



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A NOTE TO THE TEACHER

If taught in its entirety this curriculum will require about six weeks. It's a long unit and may mean skipping other important topics.

Apart from the obvious urgency of the South African situation there are solid educational reasons to devote considerable time to the lessons in the curriculum. A student who has completed the entire unit will be equipped to ask probing questions of other societies studied—our own included: How are wealth and power distributed? How did it get to be this way? Who benefits and who doesn't? What are the prospects for, and obstacles to change? Who in the society is capable of envisioning alternatives and acting to realize those possible futures?

Strangers in Their Own Country engages students in asking questions about South Africa. But the larger objective is to get them to look with greater depth at all societies. Spending time on South Africa is indirectly spending time on the whole world.

This said, for teachers there are frequently limits. Should you find yourself with less time than you would like, use the following as a guide:

ONE WEEK CURRICULUM:

Lesson # 1: **South African m and m Simulation**

Lesson # 3: **Film: *Last Grave at Dimbaza***

Lesson # 6: **The Pass Laws: *And A Threefold Cord* by Alex La Guma**

Lesson #10: **Nelson Mandela: The Rivonia Trial Speech to the Court**

TWO WEEK CURRICULUM:

Add: Lesson # 5: **Laws of South Africa**

Lesson #15: **Letters on South Africa or Lesson #7: South African Story Writing**

THREE WEEK CURRICULUM:

Add: Lesson # 8: **Film: *The Afrikaner Experience***

Lesson #11: **Black Unions Struggle for Justice**

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All high school curricula are collective efforts. We teachers are notorious beggars and borrowers. Teacher friends and Africa scholars around the country have sent me suggestions, criticisms and additions that have made this a much better, indeed a more teachable, unit.

Portland, Oregon teachers Tom McKenna and Wendy Trout worked on the Steve Biko curriculum project which preceeded the development of these lessons. Together we discovered that classroom teachers really do want to explore tough and complex issues with students and, if given the right materials, will do it with enthusiasm.

Linda Christensen, Judy Doyle, Shirley Glick and Jeanette Swenson, colleagues at Jefferson High School in Portland, read all or parts of the manuscript and gave valuable advice.

Martha Bigelow, Marylee Crofts, Norm Diamond, David Groff, Carol Halvorson, Gail Hovey, Phillis P. Jordan, Ken Luckhardt, Barbara Simons, Peter Thacker and Thom Thacker evaluated various drafts of the curriculum inside and outside of the classroom. The lessons here are much stronger for their efforts—hopefully they agree.

Elizabeth Groff at the Portland office of the American Friends Service Committee prodded until I finally undertook to put down on paper what I'd been doing in my classroom. It's doubtful whether this project would have been started without her coaxing and encouragement.

My frequent luncheon partner and critic throughout the writing and editing of the curriculum was Robert Gould, also of Portland's AFSC office. Bob's detailed criticisms along with his humor and support helped keep the project on track.

My editor, Elizabeth Robinson, was a careful and perceptive adviser. She quickly spotted gaps and inconsistencies but also knew what was good and needed to be left alone.

When other publishers looked at the curriculum and said, "Great idea. I wonder who could handle it," Kassahun Checole, director of Africa World Press, said, "Let's do it." Kassahun patiently guided this project from start to finish.

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PREFACE

For many years, it has been predicted that South Africa will become a major trouble spot in the world. As each year passes and tension grows between the white minority and the black majority who are excluded from political power, the prediction becomes more valid. And, as events in South Africa force themselves into world news, it becomes increasingly more urgent for students and the general public to have a better understanding of the nature of the apartheid society and problems generated there.

"America must look to Africa" was the title of an article by Flora Lewis in the *New York Times*. She goes on to say that people in the United States need to be aware that millions in Africa are growing angry and impatient because the United States continues to support the apartheid policy of the white minority government in South Africa.

Unfortunately, there has always been a serious lack of adequate and reliable material which can be used for teaching purposes on this important issue. Happily, Bigelow's *Strangers in Their Own Country* fulfills this purpose admirably. This curriculum is designed to help achieve a better understanding of the situation in South Africa. I hope it will make a significant contribution to a deeper understanding of one of the most explosive problems of our time.

There is, of course, much additional material which can be used to supplement the material in this book. Happily, too, much more material is currently being produced relating to South Africa and, thus, ignorance becomes inexcusable.

I found most sections of the curriculum useful but there are some to which I would particularly like to direct attention. The section on the bantustans (the "homelands") is especially useful because it focuses on what I regard as the central reality of the apartheid policy; the genocidal policy of forcible removal of millions of people to the arid wastes of the "dumping grounds" where they are left to die under a policy designed to serve that end. This is powerfully communicated through the material and through the use of a film, such as "*Last Grave at Dimbaza*"—which can be supplemented and updated by other films such as "*The Discarded People*."

Another particularly valuable section of the curriculum deals with the issue which is most relevant for people in the United States and is the most frequently and hotly debated, that of divestment. In this section, Bigelow does an excellent job in presenting factual material on the basis of which logically sound and morally just decisions can be made.

I warmly commend this work to teachers, students, and the general public. I believe it can make a major contribution to the struggle for freedom in South Africa by enabling people in the United States to have a better understanding of the issues involved and to indicate the lines of action which will help to bring Freedom and Justice to my unhappy country.

Dennis Brutus
Evanston, Illinois

PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHING SOUTH AFRICA

"I can only spend a couple of days on South Africa—if that. My high school is in central Oregon. We don't have any black students out there."

This comment greeted me at a recent workshop I gave on teaching about South Africa. It's an attitude which is not unusual: South African racism is a **black** problem. And besides, runs a companion argument, the subject is so depressing; we should focus on countries that successfully confront their problems, not those which hide from them.

I began teaching a unit on South Africa two years after the Soweto uprising. I understood little about the country, but I'd read enough to know that the situation created by the oppressive apartheid system was a civil war waiting to happen. A deepening U.S. economic involvement complicated this ominous future. Still more worrisome was evidence that South Africa had the capability to explode nuclear weapons.

Then, as now, South Africa was no more a "black problem" than Nazi Germany had been a "Jewish problem." The area's significance would not be diminished by our ignoring it.

True, the subject was depressing. I shared other teachers' fears that if we only paid attention to the **problems** of the world we ran the risk of contributing to our students' already substantial burden of cynicism. A unit on South Africa would have to be more than a few weeks of hand wringing about how downtrodden the people were. I wanted to leave my students with the sense that change was possible; perhaps the unit could even offer them an opportunity to play a small part in creating that change.

So with these general considerations, I set out to develop a unit. But where to begin? Of course: our textbook. Alas, it was not to be. The book's 640 pages of global wisdom contained exactly one paragraph on South Africa's apartheid system. I was on my own.

This was my first year as a teacher. Now, in addition to struggling with grades, responding to the redundant administrative memos, filling out cut slips, conferring with parents, and coaching baseball, I would be developing my own lesson plans—from scratch. That year's effort became the rough draft for this longer—and, I think, better—curriculum.

The summer following my first pedagogic journey into the subject of South Africa, I was invited to join a committee of teachers charged with producing a two or three week packet of lessons on South Africa. A school board member had decided to do his yearly oral history performance on the life of Steve Biko, the Black Consciousness leader who had been killed in 1977 while in police detention. The school district wanted study materials to accompany the performance.

Easy enough, our committee thought. We'll outline the major areas of study, brainstorm some lessons, divide up the work, and write. And we did just that, producing a series of lessons which received enthusiastic reviews from teachers around the city. However, while presenting our materials in a follow-up workshop, I began to sense my own lack of clarity about the nature of South African society.

As our presentation concluded, we urged teachers to discuss other approaches to teaching about South Africa—how could we help students make sense out of this macabre place?

"It's just like the way we treated the Indians," one teacher suggested. "We could point out how Indian reservations are the same as bantustans in South Africa."

"Right. It's nothing but genocide," offered another. "It's Hitler all over again."

"I think this unit would fit nicely when I'm teaching about Japanese relocation in my U.S. History class. All those people being uprooted from their homes—it's just history repeating itself."

Others viewed the unit as an occasion to reflect on the psychology of racism: that people, because of fears taught to them as children, reproduce those attitudes as adults.

One teacher expressed appreciation for the lesson on the laws of South Africa. She could show her complacent students that they certainly should be thankful to live in a free country without any restrictions based on race.

Talked out, we adjourned. It had been an exhilarating, yet troubling, experience. How wonderful: a group of teachers spending an entire day seriously discussing a curriculum which teachers themselves had developed. It was a rare event, and rarer still, the school district had paid for it!

SECOND THOUGHTS

But when the classroom doors shut, what concepts about South Africa—or as importantly, about racism, exploitation and social change—would students be acquiring from their teachers? Each of us shared the understanding that the closer the subject matter could be related to our students' own experiences or to what

they already knew, the easier it would be for them to learn. Later, reflecting on the day, it seemed to me that some teachers, myself included, had been a bit too eager to take this lesson to heart; South Africa would be taught using familiar ideas from courses in U.S. History, World Geography or Psychology. I had to wonder if, in our well-intentioned zeal to make South Africa accessible, we were actually presenting students with a distorted image.

It prompted me to think about the packet of lessons we'd produced, and our presentation. To what extent did the curriculum materials actually encourage a mis-teaching of the subject? I'd written the lesson on the laws of South Africa. As students read about the bizarre legal restrictions there they would have to come up with a list of everyday freedoms they had which were unavailable to South Africans. I thought it was an engaging way for students to work with the South African legal code.

However, underlying the lesson was a glaring self-righteousness: we're free, they're not; their laws are racist, ours color blind. It was a soothing message for those who had trouble confronting the racism of their own society. But teachers in Portland needed to look no further than their own city—their own school district—to find clear instances of racism, albeit different from those in South Africa. For years the Portland school district had built middle schools throughout the city—everywhere except the black community. So black students were scattered helter skelter to middle schools in predominantly white neighborhoods; an effective, if crudely insensitive way of resolving the urban dilemma of segregated schools. Coaching baseball, I'd heard my white players imitate the KKK in their locker room banter. As a teacher, I knew that my black students faced an unemployment rate double that of their white peers.

It was crucial that any teaching about South African racism not lull students into complacency about American racism.

Teachers in our workshop, trying to grasp the enormity of the injustice in South Africa, had drawn some interesting parallels. The bantustans, that thirteen percent of the country's land mass set aside for the over seventy percent black population, resembled our Indian reservation system. In fact, the staggering mortality figures for people living in these mostly barren patches of land seemed to indicate that these black "homelands" were just a version of the genocidal accomplishments of Manifest Destiny. Certainly I was familiar with statistics of genocidal proportions: one doctor for every 300 whites, one for every 19,000 blacks; twenty-five percent of the babies in the rural Ciskei bantustan die before the age of one; in Transkei forty percent of the children don't live to see their tenth birthday; throughout the country one black baby dies every ten minutes from diseases brought on by malnutrition.

But were the parallels too easy? Were teachers overly anxious to cut the South African social fabric to fit the patterns with which we were so familiar? The more I read about South Africa, the more certain I was that the answer to these questions was 'yes'.

The two most frequently mentioned comparisons, the destruction of Native American civilizations and the Nazi extermination of European Jewry, differ in one key respect from today's grisly reality of apartheid: the oppressors of South Africa are entirely dependent on their victims. No such link existed between white settlers and Indians or Nazis and Jews.

The white minority in South Africa has accumulated its riches through a succession of maneuvers to harness the labor of black workers. Simultaneously, the regime has denied these workers the right to share in the wealth they create. There is a pattern here. It dates to the first Dutch settlements in 1652, but can be seen most clearly beginning with the Native Land Act of 1913—dubbed the "law of dispossession" by Africans. A stroke of a pen relegated the African population to reserves—"Native Areas"—then comprising about seven percent of the country's land. The other ninety-three percent became "white" territory. The law wasn't intended to exclude all blacks from white preserves, just those who were not productive in the white economy. As a government report recommended: "The native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."

This was a blunt admission that the white man's rapidly growing capitalist economy could not minister to its own needs; whites were, and would remain, thoroughly dependent on the black population. When no longer needed, of course, those surplus black workers—once called "superfluous appendages" by a government official—would be shunted off to the human refuse dumps: the bantustans. What many teachers at our workshop saw as genocide was instead the misery imposed on those "superfluous appendages": the old, the sick, the women, the children. Then as now, the South African economy simply couldn't afford to let all blacks starve—just those for which it had no use.

Many of the teachers who spoke up at our workshop showed a fascination with the psychology of the white South Africans. Some were familiar with classroom exercises in prejudice which pitted blue eyed children against their brown eyed classmates. These lessons taught students it was easy to think in terms of superior and inferior—categories which were based on nothing real. South Africa could be viewed, these teachers felt, as a paradigm for that kind of irrationality.

I was tempted to agree. Laws like the Immorality Act—prohibiting sexual relations between whites and other races—appeared as so many relics from the nineteenth century. Surely these were moribund laws, serving no social function beyond boosting white South African egos.

But the more I learned about South Africa, the more I understood that racism there serves a vital function which goes beyond mere ego gratification. While, no doubt, centuries-old attitudes die hard, the essential reason South African racism continues to flourish is because it is immensely profitable. Each racist law in South Africa—from the pass laws to the influx control laws—is designed to guarantee South African and foreign employers a cheap and plentiful source of black workers and to inhibit any move which would threaten that status quo. South Africa has one of the highest profit rates in the world. Those who reap the profits want to keep it that way.

Thus, teachers who thought to portray South African racism as anachronistic were sadly, yet profoundly, mistaken. Racism there isn't a holdover—it is deeply embedded in the here and now structure of the South African economy. Any effort to teach students about racism would necessarily have to show how it is fused with the economic system and ask that age old question: Who stands to gain?

STUDENT RESPONSE

The first exercise in the curriculum is for most students a shocking lesson in inequality. They discover that in a real country, somewhere, over seventy percent of the population is forced to squeeze onto bits of land amounting to only thirteen percent of the total. Curiously, sixteen percent of the population gets to roam the other eighty-seven percent of the land and boss everybody else.

In a follow-up discussion, students invariably will waste no time in demanding why this stupid seventy percent doesn't get its act together and overthrow the sixteen percent. "I'd just get a gun and kill 'em," is not an uncommon refrain.

How a minority has been able to oppress a majority so transparently over such a long period of time is a question raised throughout the curriculum. The white South African is keenly aware of this dilemma. As the film *Afrikaner Experience* observes: "He has needed black muscles to work the land for him but he has always lived in fear that those same muscles would one day take the land from him."

The easy response to student queries is that whites, though outnumbered, have built a powerful military machine which from time to time is unleashed on the unarmed black majority; one side has the numbers but the other has the guns. No doubt this is part of the explanation students should develop—but only part.

The history of South African society can be telescoped into a progression of elaborate schemes by whites to divide and conquer those who are not white. It is bitterly ironic that the latest divisive maneuvers by the government—such as granting limited voting rights to Coloreds and Asians while denying the franchise to Africans—are packaged and sold to the world as sincere attempts to correct past injustices. Although the curriculum examines some of these ersatz reforms, it is more important for us as teachers to help students distinguish between genuine change and change which merely shores up white supremacy.

I recall one student who, after watching a *60 Minutes* segment on Sun City in the Bophuthatswana homeland, rushed up to me Monday morning with the good news that South Africa was granting blacks independence. He'd been understandably confused by the façade of this new "country": blacks and whites drinking together, blacks able to own land and hold political office. But the veneer presented by Sun City masks the reality of a complicated scheme to "re-tribalize" the African majority, thus preventing the unification of the country's black workers. As mentioned, thirteen percent of the land in South Africa is set aside for blacks. The South African government has chopped that thirteen percent into ten African homelands made up of over 100 scattered pieces of land. Long-range strategy—termed "Grand Apartheid"—calls for bestowing "independence" on these ten countries-to-be. Blacks would then be stripped of South African citizenship, sent off to their respective "nations", and forced to apply for temporary visas if they wished to work in white South Africa. Four homelands—Venda, Ciskei, Transkei and Bophuthatswana—have already achieved this dubious status. (See Lesson #4.)

The South African government argues that it is generously safeguarding the cultural identities of distinct ethnic groups. Besides, the Nationalist government asserts, if we didn't divide these groups, long-standing tribal hostilities would end in a regional conflagration.

The government's claim to be the guardian angel and protector of indigenous peoples is at best crassly paternal. Worse, it's simply a lie. The rulers of South Africa know quite well that the black majority hates their Grand Apartheid formula. Consequently, they've never been willing to put the plan to any popular referendum. Instead, it has become a criminal offense even to speak out against the system. (See Lesson #5.) Beyond this absence of any democratic mandate, the government's strategy flies in the face of South African social reality. The twentieth century has seen the country grow into a highly industrialized nation—unparalleled on the African continent. Coincidental with this growth has been the rise of a largely urban black working class to keep those

measures—like new promotion schemes for black workers—could actually solidify a larger evil: apartheid. Usually discourages the kind of analysis which enables students to readily understand how seemingly "good" foreign way of examining a society for them. Schooling tends to chop the world into discrete units of study and Although the curriculum engages students in analyzing apartheid as a system—a totality—this is often a apartheid or to preserve it?

Students are often perplexed by this razzle dazzle. And it likely is left to the teacher to raise the more basic question so conveniently ignored by the corporations: Will U.S. investment help to abolish the entire structure of

Africans shall overcome—under, of course, the far sighted tutelage of U.S. corporations. art, at once both eloquently righteous denunciations of apartheid and soothing assurances that black South attempts of those who would pull U.S. investments out of South Africa. The letters are, in their own way, works of allegiance to the Sullivan Principles, then concludes by expressing dismay over the well-intentioned yet naive In my experience, the corporate reply to student queries is a sophisticated one, full of denunciations of racial

disintegrate under the weight of professional public relations responses, leaving a great deal of confusion. (Lesson # 14), many students fire off probing letters to the likes of IBM and Ford. But their understandings often responses to letters written as part of Lesson # 15. Fresh from their debates about U.S. investment in South Africa that understanding is at best fragile. Invariably this has been demonstrated when the students begin to receive While the majority of students achieve a critical grasp of South African realities as the unit draws to an end,

CORPORATE RAZZLE DAZZLE

and in so doing have cracked the Afrikaner monolith. supposed reforms as the beginning of the end for white dominance. They've formed a new Conservative Party, led to the first significant split within the ruling National Party. Some on the far right of the party see these

Ironically, while the constitutional changes helped unify opposition groups within South Africa, the measures South Africa, though surely the international propaganda efforts will continue apace.

Asian communities bothered to cast ballots. This massive boycott undermines the government's strategy within In the August 1984 parliamentary election, less than 20 percent of the eligible voters in both the Colored and Despite the arrests of over 40 opposition leaders, the constitution's opponents appear to have won their point.

Achieving nothing but continued political impotence for the foes of apartheid.

out that cooperating with its provisions would significantly impede that hard-won greater sense of unity, including Asian and Colored—who did not have access to white privileges. Critics of the new constitution point The Black Consciousness movement of the 1970s accomplished a redefinition of the term "black" as all those—

which are recipes for continued conflict and violence. . . .

United Democratic Front, scorn the moves as simply more tactics to divide potential allies—"diabolical bills argue that the new constitution represents a step in the right direction—toward democratic rule. Others, like the The new constitution spawned a fierce debate within these communities. Some, such as the Labour Party, political futures.

voted their approval two to one—Asians and Coloreds weren't given a say in this scheme so crucial to their their own chambers of parliament and participate indirectly in the selection of a president. The white electorate posing the same question, proposed a new constitutional arrangement whereby Coloreds and Asians would get logic. But do Asians and Coloreds get separate homelands, they ask; what happens to them? The Botha regime, governments' designs. Though understanding the injustice of "multinational development," they can see its My students have wondered how the so-called Coloreds (people of mixed race) and Asians fit into the

CONSTITUTIONAL "REFORM"

tribalized"—black work force. This central fact indicates the futility of the Grand Apartheid master plan. necessary. The catch is that the prosperity of white South Africa depends on an urbanized—and hence "de- regime hoped to thwart unification by dividing blacks into tribal groups and pitting them against one another as birth to this counterfeited scheme of "multinational development," as the government euphemistically calls it. The

The fear that a unified black population would organize for a radical redistribution of power and wealth gave had lived in Soweto, the township outside Johannesburg, all his life. As far as he was concerned he was Sowetan. laughed and said he supposed he was Zulu because that's what the government wrote in his pass book; but he African student came to speak to my Global Studies class. Someone asked him what tribe he belonged to. He

The waning importance of tribal identification was impressed upon my students one year when a black South acquisition of class and national consciousness.

industries running. While most workers still maintain some ethnic identification, this is overshadowed by the

However, once reminded of this new analytic framework by the teacher, students often begin penetrating the corporate doublespeak: "Say, these letters don't tell how all their great changes for workers help deal with the rest of their lives. What about the pass laws? What about the families still in the bantustans?" Against the backdrop of corporations' enormously profitable South African operations, it's little wonder that the public relations departments of Ford and IBM sidestep these questions.

THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

In the spring of 1983, as my students were busy sorting through the polished discourses of American businesses, the African National Congress, the main South African liberation organization, exploded a powerful bomb outside the air force headquarters in Pretoria. The immediate response of South Africa was to send planes on strafing missions in neighboring Mozambique. Why did they do that, my students wanted to know; why attack Mozambique?

While the curriculum touches on South Africa's role in the Southern Africa region, (See Lesson #12) this situation is so complex and fluid that it is unrealistic to expect students to master the interrelationships in a few class sessions. Because it will be left to the teacher to emphasize these connections throughout the lessons, the regional situation is worth covering here in some detail.

South Africa's economic and military power, coupled with its rabid fear of change, make it a threatening presence in the area. Indeed, the regime has become the pistol-packing gendarme of Southern Africa. As with domestic policy, a single-minded quest to maintain the privilege and profit of its apartheid system determines this international stance, with threats to that system immediately branded as "terrorism" by the regime. Having made that judgement, the country's leadership has embarked on a no-holds-barred campaign to stamp out the "terrorists."

From the regime's standpoint, the most dangerous band of renegades is the African National Congress. The bombing run in Mozambique—which, according to independent press accounts, killed only Mozambican civilians—was punishment for that government's friendly relations with the ANC.

Though a particularly blatant violation of Mozambique's sovereignty, the air raid was by no means the first, or even most significant, military adventure beyond South African borders. In Namibia, for example, between sixty and ninety thousand troops are maintained in the apartheid regime's war against the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The South Africans fear SWAPO because this movement's objective of an independent Namibia would deprive them of their lucrative colonial hold on the country. More importantly, the prospect of a SWAPO victory haunts them because it would bring to power still another government with close ties to the ANC. This colonial war has led South African troops as far as 150 miles into Angolan territory in a bloody occupation of the southern part of that country.

On a trip to Southern Africa in 1981, I was constantly reminded of the smaller, but no less bloody ways South Africa takes its war on the ANC directly to its neighbors. In Zimbabwe I awoke one morning to read that the ANC representative, Joe Gqabi, had been shot and killed as he pulled out of his driveway. On tour a few weeks later in Mozambique, I was appalled by the story our guide told of the recent events in his Maputo suburb of Matola. South African commandos had raided the house of unarmed ANC members, killing and mutilating twelve people. Not long after I left Mozambique, a bomb exploded killing Ruth First, university lecturer, writer, and longtime ANC member.

But each nation's economic dependence on South Africa circumscribes any kind of retaliation these countries would be able to mount. Close to ninety percent of Zimbabwe's trade comes through South African ports. Also landlocked, Botswana relies on South Africa for eighty-five percent of its imports—especially oil. Even Mozambique reluctantly allows its citizens to contract for work in South African mines because of a desperate need for hard currency.

In an effort to throw off this crippling dependence on their hostile neighbor, nine countries—six of them landlocked—have formed the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Through SADCC, the nine have been cooperating in such projects as the rehabilitation of rail lines, roads and ports. Together they are attempting to secure international aid for these undertakings. South Africa understands this start toward economic independence in political terms: the more viable these countries become, the greater the likelihood of their cooperation with the ANC. Thus, the apartheid government's regional project has become the disruption of these embryonic moves toward self-sufficiency.

Central to SADCC's plans is the development of port facilities which would free member countries from their heavy reliance on South Africa as a pipeline for exports and imports. The port at Beira in Mozambique is of special importance in the SADCC strategy, since it is the natural outlet for goods from Zimbabwe, Malawi, and northern and central Mozambique. Under the sponsorship of South Africa, rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR)—set up by the Rhodesian Military Intelligence to punish Mozambique for its support of

Zimbabwean guerrillas—have set their sights on Beira. MNR mercenaries have blown up two key bridges over the Pungue River about thirty miles north of Beira, cutting the rail link between Mozambique and Zimbabwe. They also destroyed a large section of the vital oil pipeline between the two countries.

There was a time when the Benguela rail line through Angola carried half the export trade of Zambia and Zaire—major producers of cobalt and copper. In 1975, the line became a casualty of the Angolan civil war, forcing renewed dependence on South African railroads. UNITA guerrillas, once backed by the CIA, now financed by South Africa, have seen to it that the Benguela road remains closed, insuring that the exports of Zambia and Zaire continue to travel through South Africa.

The apartheid regime's adventurism has in some way affected every nation in the region. Whether the intervention has entailed the slaughter of civilians in Maseru, Lesotho, the attempted coup in the Seychelles Islands, or the blowing up of a significant portion of Zimbabwe's air force, each country has been touched. The spectre of South Africa's nuclear capability makes this systematic areawide destabilization more ominous.

There is abundant evidence that on the night of September 22, 1979, South Africa exploded a nuclear device off the South Atlantic coast. While the Carter Administration remained publicly silent, the Central Intelligence Agency told certain members of Congress that it suspected South Africa and Israel jointly carried out the test. (Having had a close nuclear partnership with South Africa since Eisenhower's Atoms For Peace program, the U.S. can hardly project itself as blameless.) It's obvious that the South African government intends its "Apartheid Bomb" to be felt as a threatening hammer poised over the heads of African nations who would aid the ANC, or any other national liberation movement.

STUDENT CYNICISM?

The more students learn of the political terrain of Southern Africa, the greater the chances they may despair of any potential solution. In a society such as ours, which begs for the creative involvement of young people with a vision for a better world, it would be tragic if this unit contributed to a doomsday cynicism. It's a danger I've taken seriously in designing the curriculum.

Underlying each lesson is the hope and expectation that South Africa—and people in general—can change. Thus, South African racism is not portrayed as an inherited human trait but as the product of specific social conditions. People are not **born** racist and greedy—not even Afrikaners. But neither does the curriculum adopt a Pollyanna-like stance: if people only try hard to change their attitudes they can overcome racism and exploitation. Both features are deeply embedded in the social structure of South Africa; given the continued existence of that social structure no racial reconciliation is possible.

To contribute to students' hopefulness—based on reality rather than just wishful thinking—the curriculum highlights efforts which aim at the transformation of the entire society. While not intending to be an endorsement for the strategy of the African National Congress, the lessons encourage students to take that organization's analysis and activities seriously—to evaluate the ANC's ideas against what they know of South Africa and how the world works. Unlike the ideologues who reject out of hand all guerrilla movements as nothing more than power-mad terrorists or pawns of the Soviet Union, the curriculum asks students to judge the insurgents by what they actually say and do.

Students evaluate the work of others, but they also become engaged in proposing solutions of their own. Lesson #15, **Letters on South Africa**, offers the opportunity for students to influence the real world—"You mean we get to mail them!" Whether being denied their fair share of goodies in the **m and m Simulation**, writing a story about life in the bantustans or debating the role of U.S. investment as a force for change, students are required to think and act. This interaction with ideas creates an excitement which, in my experience, contributes to the overall optimism of the curriculum.

The lessons included here are tools: add to them, subtract from them, change them to suit particular classes. I have found that the unit helps students gain a more coherent understanding of a part of the world that often seems quite incoherent. Certainly the curriculum can guide students to a picture of South Africa as it actually exists; my deeper hope is that it will provide an opportunity for them to imagine the country as it could be.

William Bigelow
November 1984

Lesson 1

SOUTH AFRICAN M AND M SIMULATION

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will gain an understanding of the unequal distribution of land and income in South Africa.
2. Students will appreciate a variety of problems arising from the structural inequality of the South African system.
3. Students will be introduced to a number of vocabulary terms:
South Africa
Apartheid
Afrikaner
Afrikaans
Homeland/Bantustan
Kaffir
Pass
Pass laws

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Masking tape
2. "m and m" candies
3. Student Handout #1: **Privileged Minority**
4. Student Handout #2: **South Africa: The Bantustans**

TIME REQUIRED:

A portion of one class period for activity—remainder of class period for discussion/homework assignment.

PROCEDURE:

1. Prior to the class, mark out a large rectangle on the floor with masking tape. Within the rectangle several small areas should be marked off with tape. Combined, these small areas should total 13% of the rectangle.
2. Explain to students that they are going to do a "simulation" about a real country in the world today.
3. Choose approximately 16% of the students, four out of a class of twenty five, who will occupy the 87% of the rectangle. Give Student Handout #1: **Privileged Minority** to these students and send them to a corner of the room to read the role sheet.
4. Arrange (squeeze) the rest of the students into the small areas comprising 13% of the rectangle. Explain to these students that under no circumstance may they go outside their designated areas unless given permission from you or one of the "privileged minority." (Later, you may want to join the privileged minority in scolding those "stupid kaffirs" who can't follow directions and step over the lines.)
5. With the majority confined to the various areas, talk briefly (and so others can't hear) with the privileged minority, making sure those students understand their role.
6. Introduce the privileged minority to the rest of the class, explaining that only these students get to wander the classroom freely. Tell students that in this simulation m and m candies will represent income. Explain further that to succeed at this exercise each student must obtain **two** m and m candies by the end of the simulation.

7. Conspicuously give two packets of m and ms to each of the privileged minority. One packet should contain 12 m and ms for **personal consumption**. The other packets to the privileged minority are for the wages for the rest of the class. The **total** number of m and m candies in these wage packets should be one and one half times the number of students in the rest of the class. (**Note:** This simulates the 8 to 1 white/African income differential in South Africa.)

Tell students that some people in this society make more than others, but if they haven't yet made enough to survive they can go to work for the privileged minority. (If need be, suggest certain jobs that the minority could employ the other students to do. Make sure that the minority demands proper respect from the others. You might even want to include yourself as one of the privileged minority.)

8. When you feel students have adequately experienced the simulation, call a halt, have them return to their seats and begin discussing. Some possible discussion questions:

How did this simulation make you feel?

Was it fair?

Who here would have liked to change the set up? Who liked it the way it was?

What might have made our simulation more fair?

To the majority: Do you think the privileged minority liked things the way they were? Why?

To the minority: If you knew that the others were dissatisfied why didn't you try to make the situation more fair?

In real life, how could a minority justify having so much more wealth and land than the majority?

To the majority: Were there any conflicts between people within your group? What causes these? (over-crowding? competition for jobs?)

9. Explain to students that the simulation dealt with the country of South Africa. Point out the country on a map of the world. With the students, continue the discussion by introducing a diagram (do this as an outline if you prefer):

Title: *South African Society*

Africans (Blacks)

Occupy 13% of land designated "Bantustans" or "Homelands"

Income less than 1/8 of Whites

Social/occupational subordinates

No vote or voice in lawmaking, but must obey laws

Must carry "pass" (identity book) at all times

A
P
A
R
T
H
E
I
D

Afrikaners and English (Whites)

Own/occupy 87% of land

Income eight times that of Blacks

Social/occupational superiors

Make laws which everyone must follow

Force Blacks to carry passes

STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

As much as possible, complete the diagram **with** the students, not as a lecture. Begin by asking students direct questions about their experiences. Second, ask them to infer how people might justify this arrangement, how it might have developed. Third, involve students in a discussion of what might be some effective strategies to change this structure as well as what methods might be employed by the white minority in South Africa to thwart those efforts.

As the diagram is being completed you should break down certain words. For example, apartheid (pronounced apart-hate): an Afrikaans word meaning apartness. Continue to draw out their feelings and include these on the board. Underline new vocabulary words.

10. Pass out the map (Student Handout #2) so students can see the actual location and size of the "homelands."
11. Homework: "Using as many of your new vocabulary words as you can, write one or two paragraphs explaining what you know about the system of apartheid in South Africa."

Lesson 2

FACTS ON SOUTH AFRICA

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will become familiar with facts which present an overview of South African reality.
2. Students will make interpretations based on these facts.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #3: **Facts on South Africa**
2. Student Handout #4: **Facts on South Africa: Worksheet**

TIME REQUIRED:

One and a half class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. Distribute Student Handout #3: **Facts on South Africa**. Go over the handout, clarifying data students might have questions about.
2. Distribute Student Handout #4: **Facts on South Africa: Worksheet**. Have students complete this worksheet individually, or as an alternative, complete it together as a class.
3. Discuss the worksheet. You might begin a discussion by encouraging students to read or paraphrase their answers to Question #7.
 - On a visit to South Africa what do you think would strike you as most different from your life in this country?
 - How do you think different racial groups in South Africa get along? White with African, African with Colored, etc.
 - Does it appear to you that there is much fairness in South Africa? (How would you define "fair"?)
 - What are some of the reasons why United States and other international companies would want to invest in South Africa?
 - Imagine that you are an executive in one of the corporations with investments in South Africa. Would it bother you that "non-whites" have such poor conditions? Is there any way in which your company might actually benefit from that fact?
 - Still imagining you are an executive, how might you react if the South African blacks began a rebellion which threatened your investments? Is there anything you could or would do?
 - If you were a Colored or Indian (Asian) South African, do you think you'd consider yourself lucky?
 - Do you think you would "identify" more with South African whites or Africans?
 - The South African government, which decides who is classified Colored, Asian, African or white, is dominated by the white minority. No Africans have an official voice in the government. Each year the government changes many people's racial classifications—from Colored to African, from Asian to Colored, etc. Sometimes even in one family people will have different racial classifications. Can you think of any reasons why the white government would want to maintain many racial categories instead of just two: white and black?
 - Why do you think the government would want to classify people at all?
 - What questions does this fact sheet still leave you with?

Sources:

1. James Cason, Gail Hovey, Richard Knight and Katherine Silberger, **South Africa Fact Sheet**, The Africa Fund, New York, 1984.
2. James Ridgeway, **Who Owns the Earth**, Collier Books, New York, 1980.
3. Michael Kidron and Ronald Segal, **The State of the World Atlas**, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1981.
4. International Defense and Aid Fund, **Apartheid: The Facts**, IDAF, London, 1983.

Lesson 3

FILM: LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will be visually introduced to important aspects of South African society.
2. Students will compare the living conditions for white and black South Africans.
3. Students will reflect on the variety of economic interests involved in South Africa.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Film: *Last Grave at Dimbaza* (58 minutes) (Note: This film is widely available. Listed below are a number of distributors in various regions of the country.)

The Southern Africa Media Center
California Newsreel
630 Natoma St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
415-621-6196

WORLDWISE
Box 41
Gays Mills, WI 54631
608-624-3466

Ecufilm
810 12th Ave. S.
Nashville, TN 37203
800-251-4091

AFSC Film Library
2161 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02140
617-497-5273

2. Student Handout #5: *Last Grave at Dimbaza: Film Quotes*
3. Student Handout #5-A: *Families and Apartheid*

TIME REQUIRED:

Two days

PROCEDURE:

1. Before viewing the film have every student take out a sheet of paper. Instruct each to draw a line down the center of the page, then to write "Blacks" at the top of one column and "Whites" on the other.
Explain to students that the film deals with the lives of both black and white South Africans. As they view the film they should take notes on the different conditions of life (schooling, medical care, working conditions, where and how people live, privileges and restrictions) for blacks and whites.
2. Show film. Because it is a long film, packed with information and images, it is probably best to show only one half at a time.
3. Distribute Student Handout #5: *Last Grave at Dimbaza: Film Quotes*.
4. Discuss the film, encouraging students to use their notes to spark ideas. **Note:** The film is a powerful one. It is best to allow students to share some of their general reactions before beginning the more structured discussion.
5. Discussion questions could include:
 - What are the effects of the apartheid system on black families in South Africa?
 - What is it like in the bantustans? What makes conditions so hard there?
 - How do whites justify these conditions for blacks? (See especially quotes #1-3 on Student Handout #5.)

Why won't the government allow black families to choose to live together?

In Quote #1, the word "superfluous" is used to describe women and children. What activities would the government consider them superfluous to?

It seems that the entire population in the bantustans is slowly being starved to death. Do you think the government is **trying** to wipe people out or are the bantustans supposed to serve a different purpose?

In Quote #4, how do you think Mr. Botha would define a "non-productive bantu"? Why is he so insistent that they be moved?

How is the South African government able to make sure that every black person outside a bantustan has permission to be there?

The townships differ from the bantustans. What is their purpose?

How does township life differ from life in the bantustans? How is it different from the white lifestyles in the cities?

How else is life different for blacks and whites in South Africa?

How is education different for whites and blacks? According to the government what is the purpose of "bantustan" education? (See Quote #7)

Why do you think the white government would be concerned—even worried—about the kind of education provided black South Africans?

The film said that white South Africans have the highest standard of living in the world. How have the whites been able to accumulate so much wealth?

What do you think would be the whites' standard of living if there were **no** blacks in South Africa?

Why was the cattle auction scene included in the film? What point did the filmmakers want to emphasize?

What American and other foreign corporations did you recognize in the film?

Why do you think so many companies decide to invest in South Africa? (Remind students of some of the statistics they read in Lesson #2, **Facts on South Africa.**)

The film closes by comparing conditions for blacks in South Africa with the profits of the gold mining companies. (See Quote #10.) The filmmakers seem to be saying that there is some connection between the high profits and terrible conditions. Do you agree? If so, what is that connection?

If you were a black in South Africa, how might you go about trying to end apartheid?

What problems might you encounter?

6. **Optional:** As a follow-up reading you may want to assign Student Handout #5-A: **Families and Apartheid.** The reading provides students with case studies illustrating some of the situations described in **Last Grave at Dimbaza.**

If you do choose to use the reading at this time in the curriculum, have students save it as it may provide additional story ideas when completing the assignment in Lesson #7: **South African Story Writing.**

Lesson 4

THE "HOMELANDS": POINT/COUNTERPOINT

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will evaluate some of the different arguments for and against South Africa's "multinational development" strategy.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #6: **The Case For Homeland Independence** (Note: Much of this is taken word for word from *Mosaic of Progress*, a film strip distributed widely by the South African government to high schools in the U.S.)
2. Student Handout #7: **Facts on the Homelands**

TIME REQUIRED:

One class period plus homework

PROCEDURE:

1. With students, read aloud Student Handout #6: **The Case For Homeland Independence**.
2. Distribute Student Handout #7: **Facts on the Homelands**.
3. Explain to students that they are editorial writers. Each of them has been assigned the task of writing the rebuttal—the "counterpoint"—to the article "Multinational Development in South Africa." Using what they know from *Last Grave at Dimbaza* and the **Facts on the Homelands**, each should construct a coherent short essay in opposition to the multinational development strategy (also called Grand Apartheid.) **Option:** This might also be an opportunity for students to do some library research on the South African system. The South African government will also send students articles and pamphlets representing its perspective. (For the address of the South African Consulate see Handout #28.)
4. After completion of the assignment, review the editorials with the students. **Note:** It's important that students understand that the idea of retribalizing African people into "independent" nations which are then reserves for cheap labor is the central feature of apartheid. 'Petty apartheid' (segregated movies, park benches, restaurants) could entirely disappear and the **fundamental** nature of the system would not be altered.

Lesson 5

LAWS OF SOUTH AFRICA

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will read about the laws in South Africa which support the goals of apartheid.
2. Students will apply those laws to hypothetical situations in South Africa.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #8: **Laws of South Africa**
2. Student Handout #9: **Laws of South Africa: Situations**
3. Student Handout #8-A: **A Lesson in the Pass Laws**

TIME REQUIRED:

One period and homework.

PROCEDURE:

1. Go over Student Handout #8: **Laws of South Africa** in class with students, drawing out the implications of the various laws. It is helpful to get students to come up with examples of how some of the laws might be used. For instance, the Internal Security Act defines "communism" as any idea aimed at changing the system in South Africa. Students might be asked to come up with a number of actions or even ideas which could land them in jail in South Africa. Ask students how many different laws the makers of the film, **Last Grave at Dimbaza**, could have been charged with breaking.
2. Homework assignment: Distribute Student Handout #9: **Laws of South Africa: Situations**. Read the assignment aloud and do the first one together.

Example: Both the black woman and the white man could be convicted of a crime under the Immorality Act.

Addition A:

To supplement students' understanding of the Pass Law system—the glue which holds the apartheid system together—you may want to read the excerpt from Alex La Guma's, **In the Fog of the Seasons' End** (Student Handout #8-A).

Addition B:

Two stories which explore the effects of the Immorality Act in South Africa are "Town and Country Lovers—One" and "Town and Country Lovers—Two" in Nadine Gordimer's book of short stories, **A Soldier's Embrace** (Viking Press, 1980; Penguin Books, 1982—pp. 73-93).

Able—and mature—students might be encouraged to read both of these stories for extra credit.

Note: Gordimer's stories might also be used in conjunction with Lesson #7: **South African Story Writing**.

Lesson 6

THE PASS LAWS: AND A THREEFOLD CORD

GOALS/OBJECTIVES

1. Students will gain an awareness of some of the effects of the pass law system on black South Africans.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #10: Excerpt from *And A Threefold Cord* (by Alex La Guma).
2. Student Handout #10-A: Excerpts from *Rumours of Rain* (by Andre Brink).
3. Student Handout #10-B: Excerpt from *Emergency* (by Richard Rive).

TIME REQUIRED:

One class period.

PROCEDURE:

1. Distribute Student Handout #10 to students.
2. Explain that the story they are going to read is actually an excerpt from Alex La Guma's novel, *And A Threefold Cord*. (La Guma is classified as "Colored" in South Africa. He was a defendant in the famous 1956 Treason Trial and was imprisoned on several other occasions. The South African government "banned" La Guma in 1962 and he went into exile in 1966. He was awarded the Afro-Asian Prize for Literature in 1969.)
Explain that the story takes place in an African township, the area set aside for Africans away from the cities—which are for whites only.
3. Read the story aloud with students.
4. The following questions could be the basis for a discussion after reading the story:
 - Did anything surprise you while reading the story?
 - What could you tell about the living conditions in the township?
 - What were the police searching for in the township?
 - What were the people being arrested for?
 - How did police treat the residents of the homes they searched?
 - Why do you think they treated people like this?
 - What effect would the frequent pass raids have on people's ability to meet in order to try to change apartheid?
 - At one point the African being arrested turns to the African policeman asking, "Why do you do this brother? Why do you do this to your own people?" If the policeman were to answer honestly, what do you think he'd say?
 - How do you think **you** would respond to the search? What would bother you the most?
 - What can you tell about Constable Van Den Woud's—and the other police officers'—attitudes towards the township residents? What are the clues that the story gives you?
 - What about the white officers' attitudes towards the African policemen?
 - How did the two couples in the story respond to the search?

- How do you think the constant searches in the township would affect the residents emotionally? How did the search affect Charlie and Freda? Do you think that the raids might have had anything to do with the fact that Charlie never married Freda?
- In general, what effects might the raids have on family life?
- Why do you think Charlie goes outside after he and Freda have talked?
- Were you surprised at Charlie's defiant attitude and actions towards the constable?
- What do you suppose made Charlie react that way? What would you have done if you were Charlie? What if you were Freda?

Note: The story contains some strong language.

ADDITION A: AN AFRIKANER VISITS A TOWNSHIP

In his provocative book, *Rumours of Rain*, Andre Brink has described township life from a wholly different perspective than Alex La Guma. Brink's narrator, Martin Mynhardt, an Afrikaner businessman, chronicles his visit to Soweto, the massive black township outside of Johannesburg. Mynhardt is writing from a hotel in London, reflecting on recent events in his life. His employee and ambiguous friend, Charlie Mofokeng—who is black—had decided to take Mynhardt out for a “fun-filled” evening in Soweto.

Handout #10-A should only be assigned to students who will put work into thinking through its implications. A follow-up assignment could be to have students write about what Mynhardt would find so upsetting about his experiences in Soweto—why this evening would be, as Mynhardt expressed it, “the only experience in my adult life which truly scared me.”

Another interesting possibility would be for artistically inclined students to draw Mynhardt's Soweto, based on his detailed descriptions in the reading.

Note: Before assigning this excerpt or offering it for extra credit, emphasize to students that the narrator is not neutral—he's an Afrikaner businessman and a supporter of apartheid. The narrator, Martin Mynhardt, is not necessarily describing what actually exists in Soweto. Rather, he is portraying things as **he sees them**. The point of the reading is less to gain insights into life in a township than to reflect on how township life might appear to a person of privilege visiting it for the first time.

Students will not have the context of the entire novel to help understand Martin Mynhardt and Charlie Mofokeng's relationship. There are, nevertheless, insights students can gain into a friendship rooted in inequality.

Further questions for discussion or writing:

- Martin Mynhardt, the narrator, probably considers Charlie Mofokeng his “friend.” Given the racial inequities in South Africa, and the class inequities between Mynhardt and his employee, Mofokeng, is it possible for the two of them to have what you would consider a genuine friendship? What kinds of similar problems might exist in our own society?
- Throughout his description of his experiences in Soweto, think about the kinds of things Mynhardt worries about. What does it tell you of the priorities of someone in his position?
- If Mofokeng was actually “thoroughly enjoying himself” as Mynhardt feels (p. 53) what about this experience might he be enjoying?
- What can you tell of Mynhardt's attitudes towards the people of Soweto from the reading? Are there particular adjectives (“a secretive smile”) which might give clues?
- From Charlie Mofokeng's point of view, describe the evening and Mynhardt's reaction to it. What do you imagine to be Mofokeng's sense of what Mynhardt was thinking and feeling?
- What frightens Mynhardt about being in Soweto? in the homes of Mofokeng's friends?
- About Mofokeng, Mynhardt says, “. . . he'd shattered the last remains of my dignity and self-respect . . .” How does Mynhardt account for his loss of self-respect? What other explanations might also be possible?

ADDITION B: LIFE IN "COLORED" SOUTH AFRICA

The readings in this optional assignment (Student Handout #10-B) are taken from Richard Rive's novel, *Emergency*. The book takes place during three days in March 1960, but cuts back to various periods in the life of Andrew Dreyer, a young man considered "Colored" by South African authorities. While the readings are situated in the late 1940s and early 1950s, they touch on themes which have maintained a tragic universality in apartheid South Africa: Should those caught in the middle—the Asians and Coloreds—ally with whites or Africans? What political stance should Coloreds take towards Asians? Is political activism worth the risks involved? What kind of activism is effective and toward what objectives?

In one incident in the reading, Andrew's brother-in-law, Kenneth, expresses great hostility towards "coolies"—Indians. Should you choose to have students read these excerpts, you should point out that these racial hostilities still play a role in South African politics. For example, in urging Indians to boycott the August 1984 parliamentary elections, Zulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi threatened a boycott of Indian businesses, concluding, "I give this final warning to my Indian brothers and sisters because I love them too much to sit with folded arms while they cut their own throats." His remark recalled the riots of 1949 in Durban in which Africans, mainly Zulus, attacked the city's Indian residents.

It should be pointed out that Chief Buthelezi's threats have little to do with the genuine unity now emerging among Coloreds, Indians and Africans, and manifest in the United Democratic Front, as they organize together to protest their continued economic subjugation and political impotence. Ela Ramgobin expressed this resolve during the 1984 elections as she invoked the memory of her grandfather, Mohandas K. Gandhi: "Gandhi spent his life fighting the caste system. How could he take part in an apartheid constitution?"

The following questions may help spark ideas for writing assignments or discussion:

- Do you think that Abe's relative wealth has anything to do with his political attitudes? Does it limit what he can understand?
- Abe takes a forgiving attitude towards Herby, the "play-white." He urges Andrew to try to understand him. Suppose you were classified Colored and unable or unwilling to pass for white. What would your attitude be towards Herby and people like him?
- In Andrew's position, would you have chosen to join the protests against the new apartheid legislation or to play it safe as he did (in the second excerpt)? What things would be going through your mind in trying to make a decision?
- Do you think Andrew should have made a clear choice: politics or education? Or is it a preferable choice to maintain academics **and** keep politically active?
- Though the novel doesn't tell us much about Kenneth, what experience might he have had throughout life to give him his attitudes about Indian South Africans?
- If you were a light-skinned Colored like Herby, Kenneth or James, do you think you would try to pass for white? What thoughts would be behind your decision?
- Abe criticizes the symbolic acts of Justin and others in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. Why does Abe believe that "we must hit them (the whites) where it hurts the most. Their pockets, not their consciences." What belief about South African whites is probably behind his attitude?
- Andrew agrees with Abe's conclusion, but it bothers him. What about Justin's and the Defiers' activities does he probably find appealing?
- Does Andrew's loss of his teaching position leave you feeling that he should have kept out of politics, or that he made the right choice?

Lesson 7

SOUTH AFRICAN STORY WRITING

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will explore the variety of ways in which the apartheid system affects the lives of South Africans.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #11: **Creating A Story**

TIME REQUIRED:

Flexible—one period minimum.

PROCEDURE:

1. Explain to students that having learned quite a bit about South Africa, they will now have the opportunity to use their imaginations in thinking of other ways that apartheid affects people.
2. Distribute Handout #11: **Creating A Story**. As you go over the suggested story possibilities, emphasize that these are merely suggestions. Students should be encouraged to invent their own topics to write about.
Note: Have especially high expectations for this lesson. Teachers giving this assignment uniformly report remarkable results from their students. In introducing the lesson, you might go over some of Alex La Guma's techniques of description in his story—his use of similes and metaphors, also his careful attention to detail.
3. When students have completed their writing, encourage them to read the stories aloud to the class.

Lesson 8

FILM: AFRIKANER EXPERIENCE (OR THE WHITE LAAGER)

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will gain an understanding of the unique historical experiences which have shaped the Afrikaner consciousness in South Africa.
2. Students will evaluate the prospects for peaceful change in South Africa in light of their understanding of the Afrikaner.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Film: **The Afrikaner Experience** (35 minutes) or **The White Laager**, a longer version of the same film. Available from:

Learning Corporation of America
1350 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10019

Florida State University
Instructional Support Center
Tallahassee, FL 32306
904-644-2820

AFSC
NY Metro Region
15 Rutherford Pl.
New York, NY 10003
212-598-0972

(**White Laager**)
WORLDWISE
P.O. Box 41
Gays Mills, WI 54631
608-624-3466

A film guide is available from the Learning Corporation of America's Customer Service Department.

2. Student Handout #12: **The Afrikaner Experience: Timeline**
3. Student Handout #13: **The Afrikaner Experience: Questions**
4. Student Handout #14: **The Afrikaner Experience: Quotes**

TIME REQUIRED:

Two class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. To prepare students for the film, first review Student Handout #12: **The Afrikaner Experience: Timeline**. Note that this timeline is not a comprehensive overview of South African history, but a more limited sketch of Afrikaner history to highlight the events discussed in the film. (Depending on the skill level of your students it may be possible to skip this step. As an alternative you may want to make the timeline available to students after the film to help them recall major events.)
2. Show film (35 minutes.)
3. Distribute and go over Student Handout #13: **Afrikaner Experience: Questions**. Students should complete this assignment for homework.
4. **Day two:** Distribute Student Handout #14: **Afrikaner Experience: Film Quotes**. Refer to these as you discuss the film. Use the homework questions as the framework for discussion. Further questions could include:
 - What are the earliest relations between Afrikaners and blacks in South Africa?
 - What does the term "laager" refer to?

- What was the first laager mentioned in the film?
- What did the British do which led the Afrikaners to begin their Great Trek?
- What experience does Quote #2 refer to?
- Can you think of other examples where Afrikaners have put this lesson into practice?
- What role did the Afrikaners' Calvinist religion play in shaping their thinking about white/black relations?
- Quote #4 suggests a Nazi influence on the Afrikaners' thinking. What historical connection did they have? From what you know about Nazi Germany, are there parallels which exist between the Nazis and Afrikaners?
- The Afrikaners say that the country will be ruined and they will be driven into the sea if majority rule were to come to South Africa. If you were a black African how would you respond to these fears of the Afrikaners? Should whites have any special rights or protections under majority rule?
- See Quote #6. How would an Afrikaner respond if he or she were accused of being a hypocrite: that if nationalism was a good idea for Afrikaners it should also be a good idea for the blacks?
- Why were Bram Fisher, Breyten Breytenbach and Dr. Beyers Naude considered especially threatening to the security of South Africa?
- Quote #9 suggests that Afrikaners' attempts to preserve the laager have backfired. Do you think that's true? Can you think of any examples?
- Quote #10 states that blacks are losing their tribal identity and gaining a national consciousness. Why has this happened?
- Afrikaners claim that they want to keep the races apart to maintain separate racial identities and cultural heritages. How would you respond to that as a black African? How would your response compare to Quote #11? to Quote #10?
- How is the historical relationship between whites and blacks similar to the historical relationship between whites and blacks in this country? How is it different? How about the historical relationship between whites and Indians in this country?
- Is there anything in the Afrikaners' history which gives you hope that they might compromise with black African nationalists? If not, what conclusions do you draw for the future of South Africa?

Lesson 9

FILM: GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will learn about the long and varied history of the struggle for black rights in South Africa.
2. Students will begin to evaluate the relative effectiveness of different strategies for change.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Film: **Generations of Resistance** (52 minutes). Produced by Peter Davis. Available from:

<p>The Southern Africa Media Center California Newsreel 630 Natoma St. San Francisco, CA 94103 415-621-6196</p> <p>AFSC Film Library 2161 Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge, MA 02140 617-497-5273</p>	<p>Florida State University Instructional Support Center Tallahassee, FL 32306 904-644-2820</p> <p>WORLDWIDE Box 41 Gays Mills, WI 54631 608-624-3466</p>
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2. Student Handout #15: **Generations of Resistance: Timeline**

TIME REQUIRED:

Two class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. Show film. (Its length will probably require a two day period for showing.)
2. Distribute Student Handout #15: **Generations of Resistance: Timeline**. Use the timeline and the quotes included in the timeline as the basis for a discussion of the film. **Note:** As with **The Afrikaner Experience**, the timeline accompanying this film is not a complete overview of South African history. Primarily, it outlines the events covered in the film.

Discussion questions for the film could include:

- What events led to the formation of the African National Congress?
- Why was tribalism seen by the ANC as something negative and to be actively resisted?
- How has the South African government used tribalism to justify the apartheid system and keep in power?
- The film calls 1913 the year of “disinheritance.” Why?
- What positive results did this disinheritance have for many white South Africans?
- In the quote, (see 1913 on the timeline), Selby Msimang says that a key goal of the ANC is to right the wrongs done by the Native Land Act of 1913. In order to right those wrongs, what changes would have to be brought about in South Africa?
- How did World War II change South Africa?
- Why did the ANC decide to support World War II? Were the hopes and predictions of the ANC borne out?

- What occurred in South Africa to give victory to the Nationalist Party in 1948? (Also think about the film, *Afrikaner Experience*.)
 - What was the black response to the Afrikaners' victory?
 - What was the Defiance Campaign and what was it intended to accomplish?
 - What might be the long-term goal of intentionally breaking laws in order to get arrested?
 - What **did** the ANC accomplish in the campaign? What did the ANC fail to accomplish? Based on what you know, was the Defiance Campaign a success?
 - (Here might be an appropriate time to introduce and analyze the **Freedom Charter**.—See Student Handout #18.)
 - What things made the revolt in Pondoland so threatening to the government? Why did it respond so viciously?
 - How did the changing conditions of women in South Africa bring them more actively into resistance?
 - What happened at Sharpeville? How can the events of Sharpeville be seen as a real turning point in South Africa's history?
 - How does the ANC respond to its banning?
 - Was the organization right, in your opinion, in its decision to turn to violence? Was it a premature decision? Was it a long overdue decision? **Note:** The issue of violent social change is dealt with in greater depth in Lesson #10. This initial discussion of violence needn't be exhaustive.
 - Look at the quote by Henry Nengwekhulu, who was active in the Black Consciousness Movement. He implies that apartheid is like slavery. What are the similarities? What are the differences?
 - Nengwekhulu speaks of the sense of inferiority blacks in South Africa need to overcome. In the daily lives of South African blacks, what discourages them from feeling equal to whites?
 - If you had been a leader in the Black Consciousness Movement, how would you have worked to build black pride and self-confidence?
 - Steve Biko felt that it was important to be conscious even of the language we use: that the term "black" connotes negative images (black market, black sheep, black magic, black mark, a black day, etc.) and "white" connotes positive images. In addition to becoming conscious of the language we use, what would it entail to develop "black consciousness?"
 - See the final quote on the timeline. The woman speaking seems to be saying that guerrilla war is a good thing in South Africa. Why do you think she sees that as a positive development?
3. Give students the writing assignment as follows: "You blacks are too impatient. Change takes time. The ANC's decision to turn to guerrilla warfare will only make it worse for blacks. You should still try to bring about change nonviolently."
- Have students imagine they are members of the ANC. Have them write a detailed response to this statement. As an alternative, you might have students write out an entire dialogue based on two people arguing the pros and cons of the assertion.

Lesson 10

NELSON MANDELA: THE RIVONIA TRIAL SPEECH TO THE COURT

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand some of the reasons many people in the South African resistance movement have chosen to use violence to end apartheid.
2. Students will reflect on the relationship between violence and social change.
3. Students will gain a better sense of the history of resistance to oppression in South Africa.
4. Students will be introduced to the thinking of Nelson Mandela, recognized as the national leader of the resistance movement in South Africa.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #16: **Nelson Mandela: Speech to the Court**
2. Student Handout #17: **Nelson Mandela: Speech to the Court: Questions**
3. For teacher background, see **Nelson Mandela: Biographical Sketch**

TIME REQUIRED:

Two periods (approximately)

PROCEDURE:

1. **Day 1:** Some high school students may find this reading difficult. It has, however, been used successfully even with eighth graders, provided it is reviewed carefully and certain terms pre-taught.

The following are a number of terms which could be pre-taught:

Transkei: A Xhosa speaking region of South Africa. It was the first bantustan to be granted "independence."

Sabotage: As Mandela explains in his speech, sabotage attempts to destroy strategic property such as electrical transformers, with the goal of pressing the government to negotiate. As visible evidence of resistance, sabotage also encourages supporters. Its aim is not to harm people.

Tyranny and Exploitation: Mandela pairs these words but means different things by them. Tyranny refers to the total lack of democracy for African people in South Africa and to the absolute power vested in the white government. Exploitation is an economic phenomenon, which refers to the continual theft of labor and wealth by white South African and multinational interests. As the **Freedom Charter** demands, "The national wealth of our country . . . shall be restored to the people."

Inevitable: With the total repression of all nonviolent means of protest, as dramatically reflected in the Sharpeville massacre and the subsequent State of Emergency which saw 18,000 activists arrested, the ANC concluded that **regardless of what they did** the African people would begin turning to some form of violence.

Terrorism: Mandela uses the term "terrorism" quite differently than it is often used in the popular press. For Mandela, "terrorism" is violence unguided by a thought-out political strategy with humane goals, such as a sniper firing randomly into a crowd. For example, he would not consider the 1983 bombing of the air force offices in Pretoria "terrorism" because it is part of the ANC strategy to attack military and police installations in an attempt to force political changes in South Africa.

White Supremacy: Mandela uses the term to refer to the totality of white privilege and domination in the country.

Underground: As mentioned above, in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre in March of 1960, a State of Emergency had been declared and the ANC banned. An attempt was made by the government to round up every person known to be a member or associate of the organization. The ANC decided that it could survive only if it became a secret or “underground” organization.

Democracy: This is a term employed somewhat differently in the South African context than is commonly used in the West. As Mandela says in his speech, democracy means “full participation.” The **Freedom Charter** defines this not only as non-racial participation in the political governance of the society, but also in the **economic** decision making process. For example, the whole people should control all mineral wealth, banking and other monopoly industries. The democracy of the **Freedom Charter** also guarantees such things as free health care—something not automatically granted in all versions of “democracy.”

Civil War: Mandela leaves the precise character of the “civil war” unstated: whether it would be strictly along racial lines, or a combination racial/class war. In either event, the ANC’s strategy has been and still is to pressure the minority government to institute meaningful changes. Mandela and the ANC have never ruled out the possibility of civil war, but see it as the last resort.

Guerrilla Warfare: Unlike sabotage, guerrilla warfare does not exclude the taking of human life. However, it differs from terrorism in that it is not a strategy of random killing. A guerrilla war would combine sabotage with attacks against military, police and other governmental institutions. Obviously lacking the sanction of the government, guerrillas would need to rely on popular support to wage that kind of war. **Note:** It’s important that students understand that guerrilla warfare is more than just “sneak attack” fighting, but involves a reliance on the people within a given area.

Open Revolution: Mandela apparently is using this term to mean a generalized insurrection in which large numbers of South African blacks would actually be contesting for state power. Especially after the devastation wrought by the State of Emergency, a policy of “open revolution” would have been nothing less than suicide. But as Mandela reminds us, he also held open hope for a less bloody conflict bringing democracy. Open revolution was seen as both impractical and too costly in terms of human life.

Foreign Investment and Trade: As is seen in a number of lessons, the involvement of foreign corporations in South Africa is significant. Investment refers to direct ownership of productive or service facilities in South Africa: refineries, factories, mines, stores, etc. As of 1985 there were about 350 U.S. corporations with large direct investments in South Africa. Trade includes investment but also any other transfers of goods or services, such as selling spare parts or buying South African gold. The ANC and other opponents of apartheid continue to emphasize what they regard as the strengthening of apartheid made possible by foreign trade and investment.

2. Distribute Student Handout #16: **Nelson Mandela: Speech to the Court.** It is probably most effective to read the speech aloud as a class. Mandela’s arguments are clear, but a teacher’s guidance is necessary for students to understand fully how they fit together.
3. Assign Student Handout #17: **Nelson Mandela: Speech to the Court: Questions** for homework.
4. **Day 2:** Begin class by having students finish this sentence in writing: “Violence is . . .”
5. Have students share their answers with each other and see if you can reach consensus as a class on a definition of “violence.” Generally, students will agree that if people are being hurt in some way, violence is occurring.
6. Ask students: Based on your definition of violence, in what ways could the whole system of apartheid be considered violent? Encourage them to use their written response to question #1 (Student Handout #17) in answering this.
7. Use questions #1-6 as the basis for a discussion on Mandela’s ideas. In reviewing students’ answers to question #6, point out that if they believe that apartheid is a violent system, and agree with Mandela that non-violence is ineffective in ending it, then the ironic conclusion is that advocating a strictly “nonviolent” solution in South Africa is actually to commit violence by allowing a violent system to continue. This should spark some interesting discussion in class.

ADDITION A: ROB BEN ISLAND

MATERIAL NEEDED:

1. Indres Naidoo, **Robben Island**, Vintage Books, New York, 1983.

The prison where Nelson Mandela was housed for almost 20 years is Robben Island (he was moved to the mainland in 1982). Robben Island—known worldwide for its brutal warders and the resistance of its political prisoners—is the subject of an autobiographical account by Indres Naidoo who spent ten years on the island for attempted sabotage.

Naidoo, of Indian ancestry and classified “Colored”, told his story to Albie Sachs, a South African lawyer and professor living in exile in Maputo, Mozambique. The book was written hurriedly and under difficult circumstances and, unfortunately, shows it. The narrative is choppy and reads too much like a collage of Naidoo’s experiences. Nonetheless, Naidoo had some remarkable experiences and his book offers a rare opportunity to peer inside this infamous prison which housed Nelson Mandela for so many years and which is still home to a large number of ANC and other political prisoners.

The following chapters could be used as supplementary readings for students:

Chapter 1 — “Trapped”, pp. 15-26—Account of Naidoo’s arrest and violent interrogation by South African police.

Chapter 8 — “Stones”, pp. 72-80—A typical day in the Island’s quarry: beatings and abusive guards.

Chapter 15 — “The Big Five”, pp. 105-108—Contrasts relationships between the “common-law” prisoners with the solidarity between ANC prisoners.

Chapter 33 — “Strike One”, pp. 164-175—An interesting account of a hunger strike waged by ANC prisoners in response to prison conditions.

Chapter 47 — “The Right to Sing”, between pp. 228-230—Offers some good insights into the divisions between African National Congress prisoners and those belonging to the Pan Africanist Congress.

Chapter 48 — “Strike Three”, pp. 234-239—This chapter gives a clear indication of the sense of power the prisoners have gained throughout various struggles with their jailers.

Chapter 49 — “We Warders”, pp. 240-244—Uneven, but we’re shown some facets of the impact the political prisoners have had on their warders.

Background Notes

NELSON MANDELA: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Nelson Mandela, perhaps the most famous black leader in South Africa, has been imprisoned since his arrest in 1963. Along with other leaders of the outlawed African National Congress, Mandela was convicted of plotting guerrilla warfare against the South African regime. He was sent to the notorious prison on Robben Island in the frigid waters about 40 miles off Cape Town. Held for almost 20 years in isolation on Robben Island, he was moved in early 1982 to the mainland. No explanation was offered by the South African government.

Mandela was born in 1918 near Umtata in the Transkei region of the country. Son of a Tembu chief, his father died when he was just twelve years old. He was educated at Fort Hare University College, and at the urging of the ANC Secretary-General, Walter Sisulu, went on to study law. He received his law degree from the University of Witwatersrand. In 1944 he helped to form the activist ANC Youth League.

Mandela was national volunteer-in-chief of the 1952 Defiance Campaign, a civil disobedience movement waged throughout South Africa to challenge the laws of white supremacy. This campaign was the largest of its kind in the history of the country, resulting, as Mandela points out in his speech, in the arrest of over 8,500 people.

In 1956, Mandela was one of 156 persons (along with Alex La Guma, whose excerpt from **And A Threefold Cord** students read earlier in the unit) accused in the Treason Trial of 1956-60. Acquitted, he was elected organizer of the three-day stay-at-home protest called in response to the whites-only inauguration of the

Republic of South Africa on May 31, 1961. Mandela went underground, and for two years avoided an intensive police manhunt.

While underground, Mandela participated in the ANC's formation of its armed branch, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Zulu for "Spear of the Nation"). In December of 1961, Umkhonto launched its campaign of sabotage by exploding homemade bombs at a number of targets in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

In 1962, Mandela secretly left South Africa, meeting with exiles and heads of state throughout the continent, also travelling to London. Returning, he was betrayed to the police by an informer, arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment for his role in the stay-at-home and for leaving the country illegally.

The leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe was captured by security police on July 11, 1963 in Rivonia, a white suburb of Johannesburg. Mandela was charged with sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government by force, and brought to join the other leaders on trial.

Student Handout #16: **Nelson Mandela: The Rivonia Trial Speech to the Court** has been somewhat abbreviated and simplified for students. The original may be found in Wilfred Cartey and Martin Kilson, **The Africa Reader: Independent Africa**, Vintage Books, New York, 1970, pp. 319-332.

Lesson 11

BLACK UNIONS STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will become familiar with the **Freedom Charter**, the most famous and influential document in the movement for equality in South Africa.
2. Students will evaluate the potential of black unions as a force for change in South Africa.
3. Students will learn that there can be a relationship between short and long range goals.
4. Students will become aware of their strengths and weaknesses in collective decision making.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #18: **The Freedom Charter**
2. Student Handout #19: **Black Union Activist**
3. Student Handout #20: **Planning The Strike: Questions**

TIME REQUIRED:

Two to three class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. Have students read Student Handout #18: **The Freedom Charter**. (Depending on your preference, this may be assigned for homework or read aloud in class. Whichever you choose, make sure students are quite familiar with the document before proceeding with the lesson.)
2. Some discussion questions for the **Freedom Charter** might include:
 - Based on what you know about the current South African government, how do you think it would respond to this document? What objections, if any, would be raised?
 - The document urges the formation of a “democratic state.” What kind of democracy do the writers seem to be talking about? How would it compare to the kind of democracies the United States, Canada or Great Britain have?
 - How does this document compare to the Declaration of Independence?
 - Are there freedoms demanded in the **Charter** which we don’t have in this society? (e.g., women’s rights, right to work, free health care, etc.)
 - If you were a black South African, which of the freedoms described in the *Charter* would you value most highly? Are there any you might be willing to risk your life trying to achieve?
 - A number of the demands emphasize the desire to travel freely. Why is that so important to many black South Africans?
 - The document calls for the mineral wealth, banks and monopoly industries to be “transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.” What groups in South Africa might object to that? What do you think would be the position of foreign corporations on that demand?
 - If you were a black worker in a large corporation in South Africa, what changes might need to occur at your workplace to realize the demand in the **Freedom Charter** that “all industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people?” Who should be allowed to determine what is in the “well-being” of the people?

3. Seat the students in a circle so they can talk to one another. Ask students to imagine themselves as black workers in South Africa who support the **Freedom Charter** and want it to become a reality. They will each be receiving a role sheet (Student Handout #19) which will describe the conditions at the factory in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, where they work. (You may wish to point out Port Elizabeth on a map and show its proximity to the Transkei and Ciskei, mentioned in their reading.)
4. Distribute a copy of Student Handout #19: **Black Union Activist** to all students. Either read the handout aloud or have them read it to themselves. "Interview" a number of students after they have read the handout to insure that the class is clear on the role everyone will be assuming. **Note:** The role play is based on a conflict at "Jamison's," a make-believe factory in Port Elizabeth. Though the situations described are fictional, the conditions faced by workers at Jamison's and in the ensuing strike are based on actual strikes in recent South African history. In this respect the Jamison's story is quite typical of problems faced by black workers in South Africa.

5. Explain to students that now that the strike is on they will be facing a number of difficult decisions. Because theirs is a democratic union and because they believe in equality, no one will be around to **tell** them what to do. If the strike is to succeed it will only be because they were able to make it succeed—**together**. Therefore, you, the teacher, will play no role in their discussions. Once their strike meeting begins you will only be an observer. It will be up to the entire class to decide **how** to make decisions and **what** decisions to make. Explain that they will be given a handout which will help them figure out the important questions to answer, but the answers will be theirs.

Once they understand that you won't assist with their deliberations, you might want to discuss some of the ways they could go about making decisions. For example, they could select a chairperson who would then call on individuals to speak, and propose when votes might be taken. Perhaps they want to avoid leaders entirely—students might raise hands with the last person to speak calling on the next speaker and so on. Or a rotating chairperson might be decided upon—one chair per question, for example.

The teacher's job is merely to help the students make their own decisions. This is an essential part of the role play.

6. When you feel they have a good understanding of their role and you've discussed some of the decision-making methods they might use, distribute Student Handout #20: **Planning The Strike: Questions**.

Emphasize one last time before they begin that their goal is twofold: 1. to win the strike and 2. to contribute toward ending apartheid and building a nonracial democracy. Also remind them that they should answer each question as fully as possible.

Tell them you will be available only if they have difficulty understanding one of the seven questions on the handout.

7. Allow them to begin their meeting. Because students are not used to organizing a discussion without the assistance of an authority figure, they may experience some rough going. That's fine. Let them discover their own problems and solutions. Intervene only if you sense that students are hopelessly frustrated, and then only to help them get a clear decision-making process set up.

As the meeting progresses, take notes on both their decision-making successes and failures as well as the different ideas and arguments that are raised in answering the questions.

8. At the conclusion of the strike meeting you might have students write an evaluation of the decisions they made and the process that brought them to those decisions. Taking this break for reflection sometimes enables students to discuss their experience a little more thoughtfully.

Any discussion of this role play will depend upon the specific decisions students reached in their talks. However, the following might be some generally relevant questions and points to raise with students. These are organized in the order that students answered them.

A. What demands would you have fought hardest for in your strike?

- How did the **Freedom Charter** help guide the demands you made in your strike?
- Some unions in South Africa believe in only demanding things that can be won immediately—others believe in "demanding the impossible" in order to keep those goals alive. Which route did you choose? Why?
- Point out to students that many employers in South Africa have fired union members or leaders in an attempt to break strikes. Workers who originally may have been striking for higher wages or union recognition have included demands for rehiring of all fired workers as an important goal.

B. Should you call your strike off for the time being in order to try to get the government to legalize the walkout?

- Did anyone hold out hope of being able to win your demands with a legal strike? Why or why not?
 - What knowledge do you have about the South African system that might make you skeptical about trying to stay legal?
 - Students may be interested to know that between 1976 and 1984 there was only **one** legal strike by black workers in South Africa. In a different situation, workers were fired as they began the paperwork which they hoped would legalize strike action.
- C. How will you respond to the company's new offer and the refusal to rehire Tembu?**
- How important was Jacob Tembu to you? Did you think that maybe he should be "sacrificed" for the good of the other four workers?
 - It's a common tactic for companies in South Africa (sometimes American) to fire workers they feel are too "political." In one of the most famous instances, Ford told a worker that if he didn't quit his job as head of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (PEBCO) he would be fired. When he resigned in protest, the entire workforce of 700 at the Ford Cortina factory walked out with him. Why do you suppose companies would want to fire workers who wanted not only higher wages and better working conditions but also basic social changes like an end to the pass laws and the entire apartheid system?
- D. What arguments will you use to convince the Colored workers that they should come out on strike with other African workers?**
- What are the common grievances that might unite African and Colored workers, not just at Jamison's but throughout South Africa?
 - Do you think the plans you developed in class would be effective in getting Colored workers to ally with African workers instead of management?
 - If you were Colored what might be some of the pros and cons in considering whether or not to support the strike?
- E. In what ways will you respond to this (government) harassment? Will you continue to picket at Jamison's?**
- Why do you think the government would so blatantly take the side of the company in the strike?
 - Did the harassment frighten you and make you want to give up?
 - When you learned of the actions of the government did you think of raising new demands in your strike?
- F. What arguments can you use in the townships to convince the community that this is their struggle too? Are there ways you can involve community members in your strike actions? Are there actions you could encourage people to take in their own interests which might also help you?**
- As you talked about the questions raised in #6, what did you decide some of the reasons were that other people around Port Elizabeth might have for supporting the strike? Might they have reasons for opposing the strike?
 - In the incident at the Ford Cortina plant mentioned above, PEBCO organized the Port Elizabeth community so well that not a single person in the African townships of New Brighton and Kwazakele was reported to have accepted work at the Cortina plant while workers were on strike. PEBCO also threatened a national boycott of Ford parts if all the workers—whom by this time Ford had fired—were not hired back. What reasons might a community have for offering such enthusiastic support to a strike? What interests might community people have in a union growing stronger?
 - In another strike involving workers in meat packing plants in the Cape Town area, workers organized a national boycott of red meat. Black longshoremen announced their support of the boycott saying: "We will not be happy to load the meat if it is sent to us by scab workers employed in place of striking (meat) workers." What reason would one group of workers have had to support a strike by another group? Suppose you, as a Jamison worker, were trying to convince the longshoremen to support **your** strike, what arguments would you use?
 - In the meat workers' strike mentioned above, Cape residents also refused to ride buses in protest of fare hikes and students boycotted classes protesting the quality of education. In what ways do you think people saw these acts as supporting each other and the meat workers' strike?
 - Again, were you a Jamison worker trying to convince a students' organization to boycott classes, what arguments would you use?

G. How will the strikers respond to these threats of "deportations"?

- In a number of strikes, workers have been rounded up and sent back to their various bantustans. For example, in 1980, when the municipal workers struck in Johannesburg, police ultimately deported 1265 workers to different homelands. The authorities also recruited strikebreakers from the Venda homeland to work in the place of the deported workers. Is this the government's "ace in the hole" or is there a way unions could effectively oppose deportation?
 - Could workers at Jamison's have made any additional demands when confronted by these threats? (You might point out to students that in one strike, at Fatti and Moni's flour products, the union addressed the deportation issue by demanding and winning the right for contract workers to have transportation home at Christmas to spend two weeks with their families—at company expense.)
9. Questions about the students' **process** of decision making could follow discussion of their actual decisions:
- Black unions like the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) place great importance on workers making decisions **themselves**—without professional union people telling them what to do. They call this "mass participation" or "workers' democracy". Based on your experiences trying to make decisions together, do you see any reasons SAAWU would think this process is so important? What difficulties did you have in making decisions as a group that a group of workers might also have? What things did you learn that a group of workers might also learn?
 - Is it a common part of your education to be taught decision making skills—how to work and think as a group without an authority figure leading you? If not, why isn't this a skill that is taught more?
 - Would any groups in our society feel threatened by high schools graduating students who were both comfortable making decisions collectively and who expected to continue to operate that way in their work lives?

Lesson 12

SOUTH AFRICA IN THE REGION

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will research the variety of ways South Africa puts pressure on its neighbors in Southern Africa.
2. Students will reflect on the causes of this hostility.
3. Students will begin to view the whole of Southern Africa as an interrelated entity with prospects for peace and justice in each country linked to all the rest, especially South Africa.
4. Students will employ and develop their research skills.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #'s: 21-A, 21-B, 21-C, and 21-D: **Zimbabwe Research Guide, Mozambique Research Guide, Namibia Research Guide and Angola Research Guide.**
2. Access to books and periodicals in a school library.

TIME REQUIRED:

Quite flexible. This project could easily require a week or more, or be limited to a couple of days. One alternative would be to have students complete their research outside of class time.

PROCEDURE:

1. Point out to students that thus far their study of South Africa has concentrated on understanding the conflicts within that society. What has not been examined in much depth has been the relationship between South Africa and the other countries in the region.
 Explain that students will be divided into four different groups. Each group will be assigned a country in Southern Africa that it will be responsible for researching. Every student in a group will receive a **Research Guide** for that group's particular country. The members of the group may decide to divide research in whatever way they choose. However, each group will be held responsible for answering thoroughly all of the questions posed in the **Research Guide**. At the completion of the research each group will make a presentation to the rest of the class.
2. Divide the class into four groups. Distribute all the **Zimbabwe Research Guides** to one group, the **Mozambique Research Guides** to another group, and so on. Circulate among the different groups to insure that all are clear on the questions needing answers and are making progress in figuring out a way to divide the labor.
3. **Library:** Assist students in locating sources, interpreting difficult articles and sorting out the relevant from the irrelevant. Often it helps if students are encouraged to develop a "working bibliography" of a number of sources before they plunge into reading articles which may or may not be especially useful.
4. **In class:** Students prepare their presentations. Make sure that students pay attention to each of the questions on their **Research Guides**. All are important in developing a full understanding of South Africa's relations with its neighbors.
 Finally, emphasize that the most important question in the **Research Guide**, and the one each group has been assigned to answer is: **What kind of social changes would have to take place in South Africa to give peace and justice a chance to develop in the rest of the region?** As you circulate to the various groups, pose questions which test their understandings.

5. The method of student presentation depends on teacher preference. You might decide to arrange a press conference, with students from the three non-presenting groups quizzing students from the other group. An even more ambitious way to approach the students' research would be to have them stage a "peace conference," with each group representing the country it studied. Stage a meeting in which the various groups plot out an economic and political strategy for the region: What demands would they make of South Africa? Would they be willing to make any temporary concessions to South Africa? What role might the United Nations play? What demands could be made of the U.S. or other Western countries?

However you choose to have students present their research, make sure that all the questions on their **Research Guides** have been raised in the follow-up discussion.

After students have had the opportunity to listen to all the presentations they may be in a better position to answer the question about the kinds of social changes needed in South Africa to open the possibility for a lasting peace in the region. You may wish to assign this question as the culminating essay for the lesson.

Lesson 13

LEARNING TO RESIST: NAMIBIA

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will gain a clearer understanding of the factors which contribute to rebellion in Southern Africa.
2. Students will learn about similarities between South Africa and Namibia.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #22: **Lessons in Black and White** (excerpted from John Ya-Otto, **Battlefront Namibia**, Lawrence Hill, Westport, Conn., 1981).
2. Student Handout #23: **Lessons in Black and White: Questions**
3. For teacher background see **Background Notes: Namibia**

TIME REQUIRED:

Two class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. **Day one:** Review with students what they learned about the situation in Namibia from their research in Lesson #12. (If your class did not do Lesson #12 briefly explain the history of South Africa/Namibia relations and what is happening there currently—see **Background Notes: Namibia**.) Make sure students understand that because Namibia has been colonized for so long by South Africa, there are many similarities between the two countries. However, it's important they realize that Namibia is a separate country trying to win independence from South Africa.
2. In class, either read aloud or have students read to themselves, Student Handout #22: **Lessons in Black and White**. This is a fascinating and engaging account of growing up in Namibia. Students who are fair to good readers should be able to manage it easily on their own.
3. For homework, have them complete Student Handout #23: **Lessons in Black and White: Questions**.
4. **Day 2:** Discuss the reading using the two homework questions as a framework for the discussion. Further questions could include:
 - What early experiences made Ya-Otto dissatisfied with his life?
 - Why doesn't Uncle Isak defend him when he is beaten unfairly by Sergeant Rautenbach, the Boer policeman?
 - How does Ya-Otto see his Uncle Isak exploited?
 - Why do you think Ya-Otto doesn't turn to religion—to Christianity—for hope, as Isak does?
 - What was the effect that Schwester Emma had on Ya-Otto and the other boys at the mission school?
 - What gave Ya-Otto the sense that he could be more than a contract worker?
 - How would you contrast Schwester Emma's teaching at the mission school with that of Mrs. Smith at Augustineum?
 - How do Ya-Otto's experiences at Augustineum affect him?
 - Mrs. Smith unwittingly taught Ya-Otto and her other students one of the most valuable lessons they were to learn. What lesson was that? Point out to students that this is a crucial transition for Ya-Otto: he

goes from feeling abused and angry, yet resigned, to the understanding that people acting together can change their conditions.

- Have **you** ever had an experience which taught this lesson? How did it change the way you felt about yourself or other people?
- Even Ya-Otto's experiences pumping gas gave him a new sense of his power. How so?
- How did Ya-Otto view his customers? What attitude did he have towards his job?
- How did events in the rest of the world affect Ya-Otto?
- Why do you think the leaflet given by his friend Efraim affected him so deeply?
- The idea that whites saw themselves as the master race stuck in his mind. What experiences did Ya-Otto have that made him positive that ideas of white supremacy were false?
- Ya-Otto's valedictorian speech could be considered another turning point in his life. What does he do for the first time?—Ya-Otto, of course, openly challenges authority, in the form of the school administration, saying that teachers have a responsibility to be involved politically and to work towards independence.
- After Ya-Otto was beaten by Sergeant Rautenbach, his Uncle Isak lectures him, saying, "You must understand, Johnny, there's nothing we can do about these Boers. Just learn to stay out of trouble, that's all." Now that Ya-Otto has graduated from school how do you think he might respond to his uncle's warning?
- Our own society has many "Uncle Isaks" who caution us that we "can't fight city hall." Have you had experiences in your life which have given you confidence that people **can** make change? If not, what kinds of experiences would you need to have to give you this sense of power?

Background Notes

NAMIBIA

While not officially a part of South Africa, Namibia has been controlled by that country since World War I. In the 1880s the land was claimed by Germany in the European scramble for colonies. By 1904, the Germans had seized the best lands for themselves, leaving Namibians 120,000 square miles of their original 318,000 square miles.

But in that year Herero and Nama tribespeople began to resist. They mounted guerrilla campaigns and attacked the Germans. An estimated 50 to 75,000 Africans were killed or driven into the desert to die. The 80,000 cattle-rich Herero were reduced to 15,000 and over one-half the entire Nama people were slaughtered. As in the "Kaffir Wars" of the Boers in South Africa, the survivors were forced into wage labor for the whites.

World War I interrupted German plans for a southern African empire. In defeat "their" lands were offered by the League of Nations to South Africa so that the country might "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory." This mandate has turned out to be a cruel joke.

South Africa refused all requests from indigenous Namibians for the return of stolen lands, instead offering incentives to white South Africans to settle there. Between 1912 and 1928 Namibia's white population doubled. African resistance was crushed.

By 1945 titular control of Namibia fell to the United Nations, though South Africa refused to enter into a trusteeship agreement. Since then a series of U.N. resolutions has condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of the country.

Ignoring calls to hold free elections, South Africa has sought to apply its apartheid principles to Namibia. Like South Africa, Namibia has been chopped up into ten "homelands," with each African group retaining nominal autonomy over its own affairs. Sixty percent of Namibia's land, and a higher percentage of fertile land, is retained by the supposed "white tribe." This divide and rule scheme, so effective in South Africa, neatly accomplishes its

economic mission. As Gail Hovey concludes in *Namibia's Stolen Wealth*: "It is a system designed to fragment the black population, and, because of the extreme poverty of the bantustans, creates a perpetual pool of labor for the white controlled economy."

The human consequences of this Namibian brand of apartheid are hinted at in statistics: white infant mortality—21.6/1000; African infant mortality—163/1000; white life expectancy—68-72; African life expectancy—42-52. In 1981, health expenditures for whites were \$270 per capita. African expenditures varied by region, ranging from \$66 in the Kavango homeland down to a miserable \$5.40 in Reheboth.

The causes of African misery are neither ecological nor biological—they are social. The roots of the staggering rates of sickness and disease among black Namibians are malnutrition, overcrowded living conditions, a lack of preventive medical services and a shortage of doctors and nurses. The bitter irony of this poverty-induced suffering is that it is bred in the midst of the wealthiest country per capita on the African continent.

According to statistics compiled in the late 1970's, Namibia is the fourth largest mineral exporter in the world, possessing huge quantities of diamonds, uranium, cadmium, lead, zinc and copper. Off the country's coasts are found some of the richest fishing grounds in the world (though over-fishing recently has severely damaged this industry). Cattle and Karakul sheep ranges are another source of export earnings for their white owners.

U.S. corporations play an active role in what some view as a golden economic opportunity and others regard as the rape of a country. Newmont Mining Corp., Amax Inc., Texaco, Bethlehem Steel, Standard Oil of California and BankAmerica are a few of the giants involved in extracting tremendous profits from Namibia. As in South Africa, rates of profit are high because workers are paid very low wages.

Also like South Africa, resistance to injustice has been an almost constant feature of the political landscape. In fact, as is seen in the reading "Lessons in Black and White," Namibian struggles have often been influenced by the movement against apartheid in South Africa itself. And the State's response has been as brutal. In December of 1959, police in Namibia's capital of Windhoek fired on demonstrators protesting forced removals. Thirteen people were killed, 54 wounded. In April of 1960, just one month after the Sharpeville massacre in neighboring South Africa, SWAPO—the Southwest African People's Organization—was founded.

In 1966, the World Court refused to rule on whether or not South Africa was illegally occupying Namibia. Many Namibians had hoped that a ruling in their favor might speed a South African withdrawal from their country. SWAPO concluded that the court's unwillingness to take a stand "would relieve Namibians once and for all from any illusions which they may have harbored about the United Nations as some kind of savior in their plight . . . We have no alternative but to rise in arms and bring about our liberation." Thus began a period of armed struggle against South African occupation which continues to this day.

Workplaces have provided another arena for resistance in Namibia. In December of 1971 a general strike began first with contract workers in Windhoek, then spread to Walvis Bay and Tsumeb. By year's end, 20,000 strikers were demanding wage increases and better conditions, but also the total abolition of the contract labor system and of all racial discrimination. Workers ended the strike without achieving their most important objectives. However, the struggle was an indication that they were eager to participate in a larger movement for social change in Namibia, not content simply with higher wages and slightly improved conditions.

In the past few years SWAPO has made the implementation of U.N. Resolution 435 its key demand. The resolution calls for U.N. supervised elections to choose a constituent assembly which would be charged with drawing up a new constitution. A U.N. armed force would be installed to assure a cease fire between South African troops and SWAPO. The South African government has issued one excuse after another for delaying enactment of 435. In 1978 it objected to the election date and monitoring by U.N. forces; in 1979 the size of the U.N. force and the location of SWAPO bases in Namibia became the obstacle; in 1980-81 the stumbling blocks were the issue of a demilitarized zone and claims of U.N. favoritism; in 1982 the famous cry of "linkage" was sounded—that no settlement could be achieved so long as Cuban troops remained in neighboring Angola. That strategy has been very successful internationally because the U.S. supported it. Meanwhile, South Africa has promoted an "internal settlement," conducting its own elections, though boycotted by all significant Colored and black political parties.

At the time of this writing, South African troops still occupy Namibia (as well as southern Angola, ostensibly to deny rear bases to SWAPO). The U.S. persists in its advocacy of linking a Namibian settlement to withdrawal of Cubans from Angola. And SWAPO fights on.

Sources:

Gail Hovey, *Namibia's Stolen Wealth—North American Investment and South African Occupation*, The Africa Fund, New York, 1982.

American Friends Service Committee, *Namibia*, Philadelphia, 1981.

Lesson 14

DEBATE: SHOULD U.S. CORPORATIONS INVEST IN SOUTH AFRICA?

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the effects of U.S. corporate investment in South Africa.
2. Students will evaluate the arguments, pro and con, regarding U.S. investment.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #24: **Facts on Investment in South Africa.**
2. Student Handout #25: **To Invest or Not to Invest . . . That is the Question.**
Note: The quotes have in some cases been simplified in this handout to make sure that students will understand them more easily.
3. Student Handout #26: **U.S. Banks and Corporations**
4. Student Handout #27: **African National Congress**

TIME REQUIRED:

Two and one half to three class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. Distribute Student Handout #24: **Facts on Investment in South Africa.** Go over the reading, establishing the extent of U.S. involvement in South Africa. If you feel that your students already have an adequate grasp of the extent of U.S. investment this step can be skipped.
2. Write on the board: **"Resolved: United States corporations and banks should stop investing and loaning money to South Africa until apartheid is ended."**
3. Explain to class members that they will be divided into two groups which will debate each other. One side will argue for the resolution on the board, the other will argue against. (It's important that students understand they needn't agree with their side, they just have to argue that position.)
4. Divide the class into two. Each side should receive Student Handout #25: **To Invest or Not to Invest . . .** and either Student Handout #26: **U.S. Banks and Corporations** or Student Handout #27: **African National Congress.** (My experience is that the more information students have the better the debate will be. You may want to consider giving **both** roles to each group.)
5. Explain that they may use any information in their roles or any of the quotes to support their side in the debate. Suggest that they may want to consider how they would argue as U.S. workers, leaders of the South African government or members of SWAPO. Also encourage students to come up with their own original points.
6. Allow students ample time to read their roles and the sheets of quotations (Student Handout #25) and to prepare their arguments. (**Option:** Here you may want to divide the teams into smaller groups of 4 or 5 to facilitate working with each other to generate arguments.)
7. Structure the debate in the manner with which you feel most comfortable. I've had best results with informal debates: two teams face each other and each team takes a turn offering a new argument or rebuttal. No one "wins" or "loses."

8. Follow the debate with this essay assignment for homework:

"A good friend of yours has just inherited some stocks in corporations which have large investments in South Africa. Both of you believe that the whole system of apartheid is wrong and should be replaced with a genuine non-racial democracy. Your friend has asked your advice about what should be done with the stocks s/he has just acquired. Write a detailed letter to your friend explaining why s/he should either keep the stocks or sell them. Your letter must give a thorough explanation of the role of U.S. corporations in South Africa and whether investments there are either positive or negative."

Based on the debate, students should be full of ideas for completing the letter. Make sure they understand that they no longer need to defend the position they took in the debate. Also remind them that both friends are in favor of **ending** apartheid, not just reforming it or softening its effects.

9. Discuss the writing assignment. Some questions you might raise include:

- In the debate, what do you feel were the strongest arguments in favor of keeping U.S. investments in South Africa?
- U.S. corporations argue that one reason they play a positive role in South Africa is because they pay somewhat higher wages than South African companies. Is this a convincing reason to you for keeping U.S. investment in South Africa?
- What, if anything, do you think the Sullivan Principles accomplish in South Africa?
- What oppressive conditions would still exist for blacks in South Africa even if the Sullivan Principles were strictly adhered to by all foreign companies?
- The African National Congress argues that U.S. companies might make things nicer for a few people in the **short** run, but in the long run they strengthen the apartheid system. What evidence did those people arguing the ANC position in the debate provide to support that conclusion? Do you agree with it?
- According to U.S. corporations, what would be the negative effects were they forced to pull out of South Africa? Do you agree?
- The ANC argues the opposite: If U.S. corporations pulled out there would be a number of positive results. What would those results be?

Lesson 15

LETTERS ON SOUTH AFRICA

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will clarify their opinions and questions about South Africa.
2. Students will express their views clearly and thoughtfully in writing.
3. Students will gain the awareness that they can take part in world events.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #28: **South Africa: Expressing Your Opinions**
(Note: You might wish to add your Congressional Representative and U.S. Senators to the list provided.)
2. Envelopes for each student in the class.

TIME REQUIRED:

Approximately three class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. Explain to students that they are going to write letters to people concerning the situation in South Africa.
2. Distribute Student Handout #28: **South Africa: Expressing Your Opinions**. As a class, go over the individuals or groups, and discuss the involvement of each with South Africa. Review what decision making power each one has, and what kind of letter would be appropriate for that individual or group. For example, you wouldn't write to your congressional representatives urging them to get their investments out of South Africa. Encourage students to think carefully before choosing a correspondent.
3. Explain that each student will choose a partner (maximum three in a group.) The partners will be responsible for reading and editing each other's drafts before turning them in to the teacher for his/her ok. Each draft should be checked for spelling, punctuation and content by another student in the group. Only after it has been read and corrected may it be brought to the teacher for additional changes. The student then takes the teacher's corrections and begins a new draft. The third draft will be the final copy of the letter. It should be written in ink or typed, then placed in an unsealed, stamped envelope. The teacher will grade the completed copy and then mail it.
4. After students understand the process, they may choose partners and begin their letters.
5. Responses should begin coming back to students in a few weeks. Encourage them to bring their letters into class to share and discuss. This is an especially valuable assignment because it keeps students thinking about South Africa long after the unit has ended.

Note: If you are pressed for time this assignment could be another Final Project option—See Lesson #16.

Lesson 16

FINAL PROJECT

GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will exercise their creativity in summarizing the understandings they've acquired throughout this unit on South Africa.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

1. Student Handout #29: **South Africa: Final Project**
2. Student Handout #30: **A Diamond** by Joel Gunz
3. Materials for completing a collage: assorted magazines, scissors, glue or rubber cement, colored paper, etc.
4. Magic markers and crayons: assorted colors.

TIME REQUIRED:

Two or three class periods.

PROCEDURE:

1. Distribute and go over Student Handout #29: **South Africa: Final Project**. Emphasize to students that you expect "big things" from them. Teachers who have given this assignment in the past have been rewarded with stunningly imaginative and thoughtful projects. (Save the best for future years to use as examples to other students.)
2. You may pass out as an example Student Handout #30: **A Diamond** by Joel Gunz. When he wrote this poem for his final project, he was a Junior at Jefferson High School in Portland, Oregon.
3. Assist the students by suggesting possibilities, giving them feedback on their ideas, and perhaps connecting students who have similar ideas.
4. When the projects are completed, ask each student to present his/hers individually. As a class, discuss (and praise!) each student's work.

SELECTED SOUTH AFRICA BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- American Friends Service Committee, **South Africa: Challenge and Hope**, AFSC, Philadelphia, 1982, 146 pp. Probably not appropriate for most high schoolers, but for teachers it is a valuable introduction to South African society.
- International Defense and Aid for Southern Africa, **Apartheid: The Facts**, IDAF, London, 1983, 112 pp. An excellent overview of South Africa's apartheid system. The book is full of charts and graphs that could be reproduced for classroom use. (IDAF also publishes **Namibia: The Facts**.)
- IDAF, **This is Apartheid, a pictorial introduction**, IDAF, London, 1978, 34 pp. This is a short but engaging pamphlet illustrated with photographs. It could be a useful supplement, or in a pinch even a substitute, for showing **Last Grave at Dimbaza**.
- Richard Leonard, **South Africa at War**, Lawrence Hill, Westport, Conn., 1983, 280 pp. This book is an important reference for teachers. It is particularly strong in its coverage of South Africa in the region. (Chapter 3 would be good background in preparing for Lessons #12 and 13 in the curriculum.)
- Peter Magubane, **Magubane's South Africa**, Knopf, New York, 1978; and Magubane, **Black Child**, Knopf, NY, 1982. Both books would be an enormous help in giving students visual images of the conflicts in South Africa.
- Beata Lipman, **We Make Freedom—Women in South Africa**, Pandora Press, London and Boston, 1984, 141 pp. Lipman has interviewed women engaged in a variety of activities in South Africa. The selections are short and could be easily used with students.

PAMPHLETS, NEWSLETTERS, PERIODICALS

- The American Committee on Africa and the Africa Fund (198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038) regularly publish short pamphlets covering different aspects of Southern African societies. These are valuable to students and teachers alike. A current list of available titles will be mailed on request. Some titles include: **African Women Under Apartheid**, **South Africa Fact Sheet**, **Black Unions in South Africa**, **Apartheid's New Clothes** (an analysis of the recent constitutional changes), **Questions and Answers on Divestment**, **Human Rights Violations in Apartheid South Africa**, and **Black Dispossession in South Africa: The Myth of Bantustan Independence**.
- International Defence and Aid for Southern Africa (P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138) publishes IDAF **Newsnotes**, a bi-monthly news update on South Africa. Numerous pamphlets and short books are also available from IDAF.
- Washington Office on Africa (110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002) publishes a quarterly newsletter focusing especially on U.S. political trends and Southern Africa. They also publish occasional pamphlets including **Stop the Apartheid Bomb!**, an account of the development of South Africa's nuclear capability.
- The Africa Network (P.O. Box 59634, Chicago, IL 60659, 312-677-7416) is designed to serve as a clearinghouse for information and activities about South Africa occurring in the U.S. They publish a quarterly journal, **Mbira Notes**.
- Africa News: a weekly digest of Africa affairs** (P.O. Box 3851, Durham, N.C., 27702) is a good source of ongoing information about Southern Africa.

FILMS

In addition to the films included in the curriculum, two others are worthy of note for high school students. New films are also being produced with greater frequency. Contact California Newsreel and WORLDWISE (See Lesson #3 for addresses) for up-to-date lists. The films below are available from California Newsreel.

You Have Struck A Rock!, produced by Deborah May, 1981, 28 minutes. This is a fine film which focuses on women's role in the South African resistance movement. It shouldn't be used as an introduction to South Africa, but could be an excellent substitute (or supplement) for **Generations of Resistance**.

South Africa Belongs To Us, produced by Gerhard Schmidt and Chris Austin, 1980, 35 minutes. The filmmakers interview women in South Africa. The collective portrait is quite moving. It could be a little slow for some high school students, but in general would not be a problem.

MUSIC

Playing South African music in class is a wonderful way to deepen students' appreciation of the events that are occurring there. Below are a number of records that I've found useful.

Liberation: South African Freedom Songs. Available from: SAFCO Records, South Africa Freedom Committee, 310 E. 44th St., Room 1703, New York, NY, 10017.

This Land Is Mine: South African Freedom Songs. Available from: Folkways/Scholastic Records, 906 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 07632.

STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

Rhythm of Resistance: Music of Black South Africa. Available from: Boot Records Ltd., 1343 Matheson Blvd. E., Mississauga, Ontario, L4W 1R1.

Any of Miriam Makeba's albums are worthwhile, especially: **Makeba!**, Reprise Records; and **An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba: Songs from Africa**, RCA.

Student Handout #1

PRIVILEGED MINORITY

You have been given a number of privileges which the other students in the class do not have:

- You will not be forced to squeeze into the small areas like the rest of the class.
- You may wander the room freely.
- You will receive two packets of m and m candies. One will be for your own enjoyment. Feel free to go ahead and eat them. The second packet of m and ms you will use to hire the unprivileged to work for you.—Obviously you will receive many more m and m candies than other students.

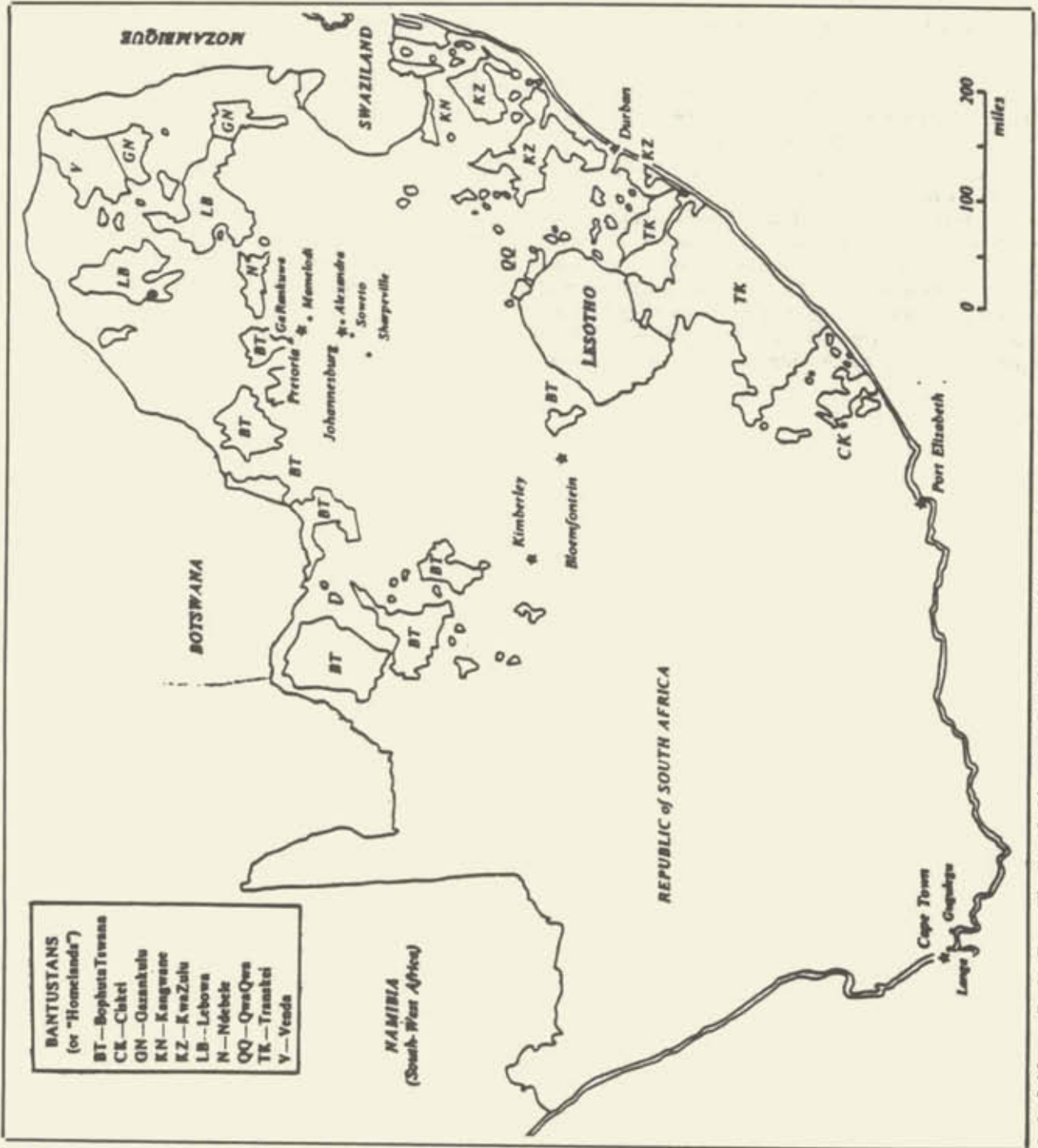
You are privileged. You look down on the unprivileged and call them kaffirs (káffers.) They must call you “boss” if they want to work for you.

As mentioned, your responsibility is to make other people (the less privileged) work for you. Use m and m candies from the second packet to pay out for wages. Think up a number of jobs which need to get done (books moved from one part of the room to another, the floor swept, desks wiped clean or moved, making sure that other “kaffirs” don’t step out of their separate areas, etc.) You may want to talk with the other privileged students before deciding on the jobs to be done and what you’ll pay. Don’t pay too much for a job. You don’t want to spoil them!

Make sure that the unprivileged students don’t step outside the areas they are confined to unless it is to work for you. When the job is over, they should return to their areas. Remember, the unprivileged must treat you with respect at all times.

Student Handout #2

SOUTH AFRICA: THE BANTUSTANS



Judy Seidman: *Ba Ye Zwa: The People Live*, South End Press, 1978, page 2.

Student Handout #3

FACTS ON SOUTH AFRICA

AREA: 472,359 square miles

(USA: 3,540,023 sq. miles; California: 158,693 sq. miles; New York: 49,576 sq. miles; Africa: 11,682,000 sq. miles.)

87% of South Africa's land is reserved for whites, 13% for Africans.

POPULATION:

Total	African	White	Colored	Indian
30,780,000	22,500,000	4,400,000	3,000,000	880,000

Note: In South Africa every person is officially classified by the government based on race. There are four basic racial categories: White, African, Colored (mixed race) and Indian.

WAGES IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES: (Average monthly in U.S. dollars)

Industry	Africans	Whites	Coloreds	Indians
Mining (1983)	\$260	\$1,395	\$430	\$690
Manufacturing (1983)	\$320	\$1,290	\$365	\$460
Agriculture (1980)	\$28-40	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

— The South African government estimated in 1981 that there were more than one million unemployed Africans; other estimates put African unemployment at 25%, or between two and three million people.

— It was recently estimated that 75% of all African families in the rural areas live below the Poverty Datum Line—the minimum income that a family can live on.

EDUCATION:**Per capita spending on education (1980-81):**

Africans	Whites	Coloreds	Indians
\$170	\$1,115	\$310	\$625

Teacher/Pupil ratios (1982):

1/48	1/18	1/27	1/24
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HEALTH:**Infant mortality rate per 1000:**

Africans	Whites	Coloreds	Indians
69 (urban)	13	62	24
282 (rural)			

Doctors available (1983):

Africans	Whites	Coloreds	Indians
1:19,000	1:330	1:12,000	1:730

U.S. INVESTMENT:

More than 350 U.S. companies have large investments in South Africa.

U.S. companies have over two and a half billion dollars invested in South Africa.

U.S. banks have over four and a half billion dollars in loans outstanding to South Africa.

Between 1979 and 1983 the average rate of profit (after taxes) for U.S. companies:

South Africa	Rest of the World
18.7%	16%

TRADE:**Imports and exports with leading trade partners (1982):**

Country	Imports from	Exports to
West Germany	\$2.5 billion	\$780 million
USA	\$2.47 billion	\$1.22 billion
Great Britain	\$2.02 billion	\$1.3 billion
Japan	\$1.71 billion	\$1.53 billion
France	\$710 million	\$414 million

VITAL NATURAL RESOURCES:**South Africa:**

- has long been the world's largest gold producer with 75% of the world's output (excluding the USSR)
- has the world's largest known deposits of uranium (used for nuclear fuel)
- is the largest producer of gem diamonds in the world
- has the world's largest reserves of chrome (essential to stainless steel) and vanadium (crucial alloy for certain kinds of steel)
- is the largest producer of manganese outside the Soviet Union. (Manganese is absolutely essential in producing any steel—no manganese, no steel.)

Student Handout #4

FACTS ON SOUTH AFRICA: WORKSHEET

1. Which is larger: South Africa or the United States? _____ By how much? _____

2. Approximately what percentage of South Africa's population is African? _____% White? _____% Colored? _____% Indian? _____%

3. Per year, what are the differences in income between Africans and whites for:
Mining: _____
Manufacturing: _____

4. United States companies invest heavily in South Africa. Based on the information in Student Handout #3: **Facts on South Africa** list as many reasons as you can why companies would want to invest there.

5. From the factsheets, tell why South Africa is an important country in the world. Think of as many examples as you can.

6. A recent survey of a number of urban areas in South Africa showed that a typical family would need \$260 simply to pay for food and housing.
 - a. Choose three of the different occupational and racial groups (African miners, for example) and tell how much money an average family in that group would have left over after food and housing were paid for.

 - b. With each group you chose tell what kinds of things you think a typical family would **not** be able to afford.

7. On a separate sheet of paper write several paragraphs on the kinds of things you would expect to see if you traveled to the country of South Africa. (For example, does it resemble our country? Poorer, richer? More or less industrialized? How do you think the different races get along there? etc.)

Student Handout #5

LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA: FILM QUOTES

1. "Black workers must not be burdened with superfluous appendages like women and children."
G.F. Froneman, Nationalist member of Parliament
2. "We need them to work for us, but the fact that they work for us can never entitle them to claim political rights—not now nor in the future, under no circumstances."
former Prime Minister Vorster
3. "The bantu people like being moved . . . the bantu people like the places where they are being resettled."
M.C. Botha, former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development
4. "No stone is to be left unturned to achieve the resettlement in the homelands of non-productive bantu."
M.C. Botha
5. "There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor."
Dr. H. Verwoerd, former Prime Minister
6. "African males from the homelands have no rights whatsoever in South Africa. They are only in South Africa to sell their labor."
Dr. P. Koornhof, Minister for Bantu Affairs
7. "The purpose of bantu education is to ensure that the natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them."
Dr. Verwoerd
8. "There are social considerations affecting the maintenance of our white identity that are far more important to us than any economic considerations."
Minister of Labor
9. "We are trying to introduce the migrant labor pattern as far as possible in every sphere. This, in fact, is the entire basis of our policy as far as the white economy is concerned."
G.F. Froneman
10. "In one hour in South Africa, six black families have been thrown out of their homes, sixty blacks have been arrested under the pass laws, sixty black children have died from the effects of malnutrition and during the same hour, the gold mining companies have made a profit of 35,000 pounds (roughly \$70,000)."
Filmmaker, *Last Grave at Dimbaza*

Student Handout #5-A

FAMILIES AND APARTHEID

Note: The following are a number of situations excerpted from South African newspapers and reports from human rights organizations.

1. Mr. and Mrs. M. and their three children are typical of families forced apart. Although they each had a permit, the husband works in the African township of Alexandra, the wife in Johannesburg. This means they can't live together in another township. As Mr. M. has not lived in Alexandra for 15 continuous years he does not qualify for a house. He is awaiting allocation of a bed in a males-only hostel. Mrs. M. has been told to go to a hostel and that the children must be sent away. But the only place they can be sent is to their assigned homeland—where they have never been and where they have no relatives.
2. Mrs. Nxumalo was born in Alexandra and has lived there all her life. So have her children, who all have certificates proving their places of birth. A few years ago, Mrs. Nxumalo divorced her husband and moved with her children to her brother's house—but she was not listed on his housing permit. With difficulty, she got a new permit to live in Alexandra. However, it only allowed her to stay as long as she was working for her current employer and it didn't list her children. She has been told to move into a hostel and to send her children to the homelands.
3. Mrs. Opsie has no husband and lives with her only son who has turned 16. She's now been told to go to a women's hostel and to put her son in a men's hostel.
4. African women who get live-in jobs as servants in towns near Johannesburg are being made to sign pledges. The pledges state that servants, for as long as they work for whites, understand that they will lose their jobs if children or husbands join them on their employers' premises. Whites are also having to sign documents promising to fire any African women who bring children or husbands onto the premises. This, of course, means that women needing jobs as servants can never live with their families.

The pledges have to be signed by all African women from homelands who are permitted to work in the Johannesburg area on a 12-month contract.

5. A crippled African factory worker in Wellington, Mr. Harlem Msini, was told that his wife and four year old child could not continue to live with him because his wife had been convicted and fined 30 rand (about \$30) for being in an area illegally. Since Mrs. Msini has left the town where she was born, Dordrecht, giving up her right to return, and because she has been ordered out of the area where her husband lives, she is not legally entitled to live anywhere! The Black Sash organization, set up to aid victims of apartheid, took her situation all the way up to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Dr. Koornhof. He rejected all appeals, saying that he couldn't make any exceptions to the law, as they would open the door to others. "If all Bantu men are freely allowed to marry women who do not qualify," Dr. Koornhof said, "and are allowed to enter the territory, the numbers of Bantu will more than double." Later, Mrs. Msini was given a temporary permit to live in Dordrecht, where she may live with her children, but not with her husband.
6. Mrs. Victoria Madi, 53, was born in the neighboring country of Swaziland, but has lived in South Africa for the last 33 years. The year after arriving in South Africa she married and now has five children— all born in South Africa. When her husband died, she was told she no longer qualified to stay in the urban area of Johannesburg and must return to the country of her origin—Swaziland. Mrs. Madi works in Johannesburg, and all her children live in Johannesburg where two are still in school. She has not been to Swaziland in 33 years and does not know anyone there.

Student Handout #6

THE CASE FOR HOMELAND INDEPENDENCE

Many people criticize the policies of apartheid in South Africa without any knowledge. They see life in terms of good and evil—black and white. But we in South Africa have a more complex understanding of the world.

Our country faces a major challenge: how to create harmony out of diversity. Within its borders, South Africa has the most varied collection of people to be found in any country in the world. Ours is a mosaic of over thirty million people speaking at least nine major languages. Our cultures range from European to Asian to black African and we have had to solve many enormous problems.

The road we've chosen to confront these problems is called multinational development, or plural democracy—known to the world as apartheid. It has been designed to create several countries within the borders of the Republic of South Africa, where people with different customs and languages can live in societies which preserve their identities; where black people can control their own destinies protected by law from the exploitation of others, including whites.

We realize there are those around the world and even in our own country who don't agree with us. But those people don't understand what makes our situation different from any other country in the world today.

Take, for example, the situation for our black South African. He is not just a black South African, he's also a Zulu, a Sotho, a Xhosa, a Tswana or a Swazi; each has deeply ingrained tribal and territorial traditions. One of the primary problems of all developing African nations has been the destructive nature of ancient tribal feuds. We've grown strong and prosperous in South Africa because of the policy of multinational development we are following.

South Africa is now in the process of granting its black African peoples independence within their own borders. Transkei became the 50th independent nation of Africa in 1976—followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979, and Ciskei in 1981. Others are soon to follow. These homelands have not been located in some remote areas, but in the very spots where our black races settled when they came to South Africa.

The South African government is generously helping to get these new nations on their feet. An industrial school costing almost \$200,000 has been built in Lebowa, a cycle factory built in Ciskei, and a black medical university constructed at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana. And the list goes on. The South African government, in cooperation with private industry, has spent literally hundreds of millions of dollars on the development of the black nations.

But still some critics complain. They say, "Look, you're only giving blacks 13 percent of the land." This is an unfair criticism for a number of reasons. First, most of these tribal groups were hunters or herdsmen roaming the land when whites first came to South Africa. It is the whites who settled the land and built a wealthy society. It is only fair that the whites own and occupy those territories they were responsible for developing. Just like the blacks, the whites are entitled to their own "homeland." Also, the whites in their "homeland", the Republic of South Africa, are willing to allow in quite a few workers from the black homelands to live for periods of time and work in factories or mines or offices. This is a mutually beneficial arrangement. And, if blacks work hard they can develop their homelands like South Africa. We have been assisting them and we will continue to assist them.

Eventually, we expect all blacks in South Africa to be citizens of independent self-governing black nations like Transkei. Each independent homeland will grow in size as the South African government commits itself to purchasing more land for them. The Republic of South Africa will continue to be governed by a parliament including white, Colored and Indian participation. In this harmonious environment, surely peace and prosperity will be secured for all the different ethnic groups!

Student Handout #7

FACTS ON THE HOMELANDS
THE HISTORY

When the Dutch arrived at the southern tip of Africa (now called the Cape of Good Hope) to establish a provisioning station in 1652, they found they weren't alone. The area was inhabited by the Khoikhoi and San peoples—dubbed Hottentots and Bushmen by the whites.

The Khoikhoi were shepherds possessing great herds of sheep and long horned cattle. They roamed vast territories from the Keiskanna River to Cape Point and north along the Atlantic coast past Oliphants River. Archeological evidence indicates that they may have been living in South Africa for 10,000 years before the arrival of the whites.

The San were skilled hunters and prolific artists. They lived in small independent bands and sought out roots, berries, honey, fish and wild game.

The Dutch viewed these native peoples as inferior, and as an easy group to take advantage of. The Governor of the Cape settlement wrote:

"Today the hottentots came with thousands of cattle and sheep close to our fort . . . If it had been indeed allowed we had opportunity today to deprive them of 10,000 herd, which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect can be done at any time, and even more conveniently, because they will have greater confidence in us. With 150 men, 10,000 or 11,000 head of black cattle might be obtained without danger of losing one man; and many savages might be taken without resistance, in order to be sent as slaves to India, as they still always come to us unarmed."

The Dutch continued to arrive in increasing numbers, now as permanent settlers rather than seamen and traders. The San and Khoikhoi occupied land these farmers wanted. The San were hunted down and killed by the Dutch. To avoid being totally wiped out they retreated to the Kalahari desert. The Khoikhoi fought white attempts to invade their land and steal their herds. But after a series of wars they were reduced to paupers, and forced into a kind of slavery.

As Dutch farmers began to move towards the eastern Cape they discovered that there were others besides the Khoikhoi and the San living in South Africa.

Nguni-speaking peoples—such as the Zulu and the Xhosa—had been living as far west as the area around what is now Port Elizabeth and as far up the coast as Mozambique. In fact, for at least one hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese in Southern Africa in 1488, Nguni-speaking peoples around the Transkei region carried on trade with Indian ocean sea-merchants who purchased ivory in exchange for cottons, beads and even Chinese porcelain.

Dutch or "Boer" farmers fought the Nguni-speaking Xhosa people as they began making contact with them. The Xhosa resisted, and a series of wars in the late 1700s and early 1800s cost many lives. However, the Boers fought not just to kill the Xhosa, but to deprive them of their livelihood so as to force the Africans to work on their farms. As one white South African historian has written: "The real warfare was directed against the cattle and food supply of the Kaffirs (Xhosas). Their fields were burned, their corn destroyed, and their cattle driven off . . . Nothing was more calculated to bring them to their senses and, when the war was over, to leave them impoverished."

During the same period that the Boers were fighting the Nguni peoples, the British were challenging the Dutch for control of that colonial territory. In 1814, Great Britain claimed ownership of and established control over the Cape Colony. The Boers, continuing to seek out new farm lands and also to avoid the control of the British, set out on what they would call the Great Trek. The Boers turned northeast, away from the Xhosa, only to run into Zulu, Ndebele and Sotho peoples.

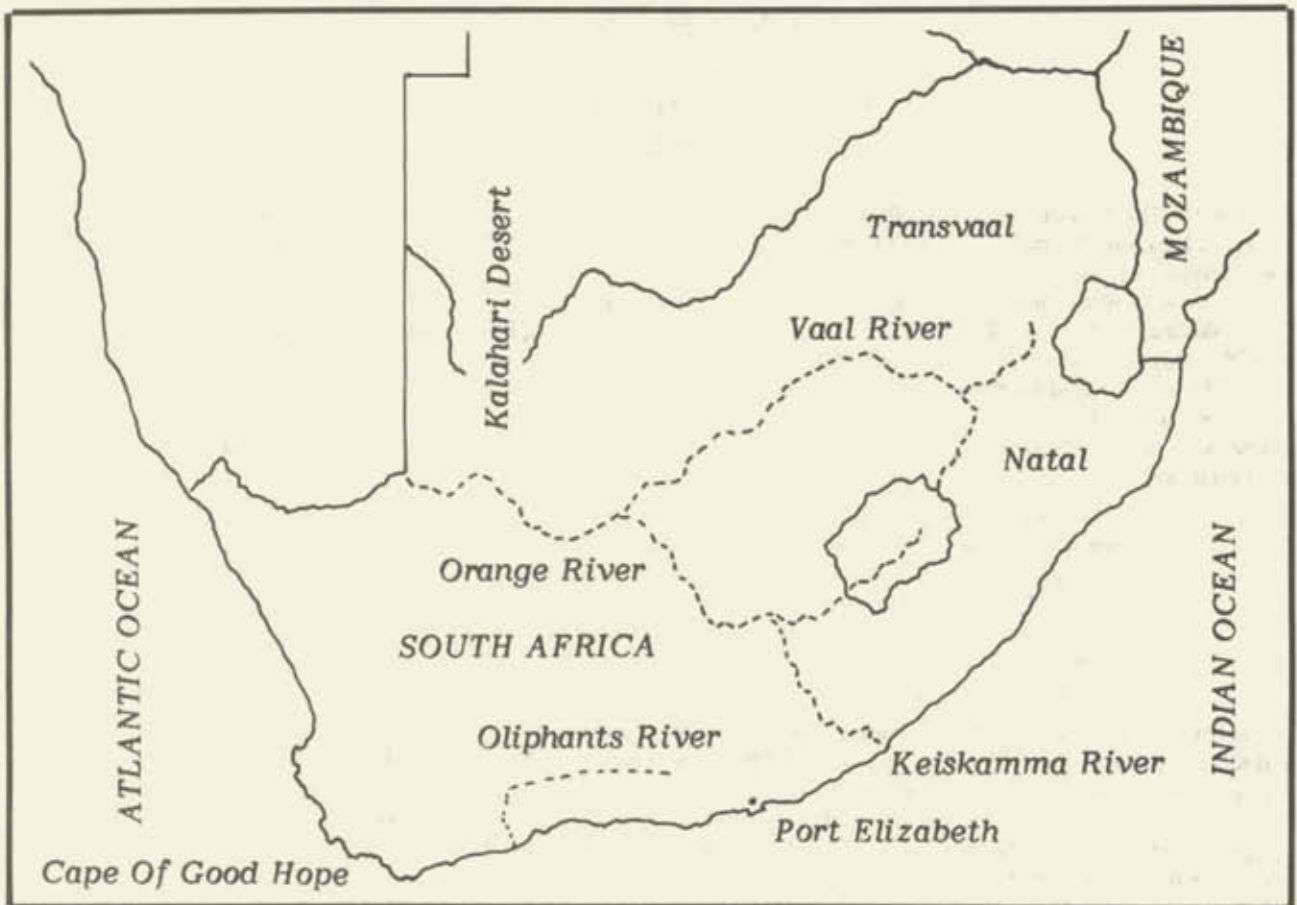
The Sotho people originally had occupied the entire territory north of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. They had a mixed economy with rich wheat fields and skilled craftsmen who made iron tools and weapons. But iron weapons were no match for European guns. As the Sotho were defeated, the Boers burned their wheat fields, again in an attempt to leave them dependent on the whites.

The Zulus, living in the area around Natal, had built a highly organized military force of as many as 50,000 soldiers—each armed with a short handled spear and full length shield. Their famous commander, Shaka, had learned from the defeats of other tribes. He knew that as the Europeans took more and more land, Africans would turn to fighting each other for survival. Ultimately, it would be necessary to face the Europeans themselves. The militarism of the Zulus grew out of this need for self-defense.

But in bloody wars the Zulu, too, would meet defeat.

After over two centuries of fighting for the Africans' land, the Europeans had won. The defeated tribes were eventually granted "reserves." But the reserves would be established not in places to benefit the Africans, but where they might benefit the whites, both Dutch and British. And the whites, of course, would decide where these reserves should be.

For example, Colonial Secretary Earl Grey urged that the reserves be scattered with quite a bit of space between them to allow for the spread of European settlements, so that "each European emigrant would thus have it in his power to draw supplies of labour from the location in his more immediate proximity (area.)" In other words, the point of the African reserves was to provide labor pools to be called upon by whites when needed. This, in large part, accounts for today's bantustans being chopped up in so many pieces.



Charlotte Lewis

THE PRESENT

The following are facts and quotes about the homeland or bantustan situation in South Africa.

- The homelands are so poor that 85% of each homeland's budget must be provided by the South African government.
- Ninety percent of those polled in Ciskei did not want "independence." Instead, they favored a united South Africa with one person, one vote.
- The South African Council of Churches estimates that since 1960 at least three and a half million people have been forcibly moved into the bantustans.
- Bophuthatswana is made up of seven unconnected parcels of land. KwaZulu is composed of over 25 separate parcels.
- All bantustans are dependent on either the government or corporations in South Africa for electrical power, transport, telecommunications, postal services and most of their water.
- Whites in South Africa are reserved 87% of the land; Africans 13% (the homelands).
- The per capita monthly income in Ciskei is less than \$10 a month.
- In 1978, while 140,090 men found jobs in Transkei, 425,230 had to migrate to white South Africa looking for work.
- A reporter for an international magazine remarked, "The Ciskei has nothing to export but its labor. Even if all the blacks shifted into that homeland don't stay alive, they still provide a huge labor pool from which the central (South African) economy can draw when it needs to."
- In KwaZulu, about 86% of the land is so eroded it cannot be cultivated.
- No black in South Africa has ever been able to vote on the government's policy of shifting blacks to bantustans and then declaring them "independent." Nor do blacks have a say in deciding what, if any, "nation" they wish to belong to.
- In Transkei, 30% of the children die before the age of two, 40% before the age of ten. In rural Ciskei 25% of babies die before the age of one.
- During pre-independence elections for Bophuthatswana, out of 170,000 eligible voters in Johannesburg, only 500 cast ballots.

Student Handout #8

LAWS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Population Registration Act: Declares that the South African population is to be classified by race. Race classification is determined by tests. These tests are designed and given by whites.

Group Areas Act: Declares that South Africa is made up of African, Colored, white and Asian areas. Each group must live only in its own area. No black may own property in a white area; no black may even live on white land without special permission.

Bantu Laws Amendment Act: Law permits labor bureau to remove or imprison "idle bantus" (unemployed Africans) from any urban area. Unless they were born in an urban area or have resided there without interruption for 15 years, or unless specifically given permission, Africans may legally live **only** in the bantustans.

Pass Laws: Every African boy or girl upon reaching 16 years of age must apply for a reference book and identity number. Book contains identity number, personal details of holder, employment status, fingerprints, etc. Person must carry the reference book at all times. Any African not having book in possession is liable for immediate arrest—even if the book was left at home. (On the average, one African is arrested every two minutes under this law.)

Influx Control Laws: No African may be permitted to remain in an urban area over 72 hours without a permit, unless he or she was born there and has been a continuous resident since birth.

Other "Bantu" Laws:

Allow the Minister of Labor to prohibit blacks from holding any job at any time for any reason.

Permit the Minister of Labor to "reserve" certain occupations or skills for whites only.

Deny any rights to unemployment benefits to blacks.

Guarantee no minimum wage for blacks.

Riotous Assemblies Act: Local magistrates (judges) may ban any or all private or public gatherings of two or more people if it is suspected that "the public peace may be endangered." (Under this act, prayer services and silent protests have been banned. It has also been used to outlaw all outdoor meetings and marches since 1976, except sports events or if a special permit is obtained.)

Unlawful Organization Act: Bans the two black resistance movements in South Africa, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. The law gives the government the right to ban any organization—no advance notice need be given nor any hearing held. Once an organization is banned all its property must be turned over to the government.

Departure from the Union Regulation Act: Minister of Interior may withdraw or refuse to issue a passport at any time for any reason.

Internal Security Act incorporating the former **Suppression of Communism Act** and **Terrorism Act:** Declares the Communist Party of South Africa illegal and allows the government to outlaw any organization found to be furthering the aims of "communism." "Communism" is defined as Marxian socialism or any other ideas which aim at changing the apartheid system in South Africa. Penalty: Ten years in prison. The Minister of Justice may "ban" any person he feels is furthering communism. No trial or hearing is necessary, nor must any reason be given. "Banning" restricts the individual to a certain area, requires regular reporting to police, prohibits person from attending any gatherings, visiting any school or factory, being quoted in publications, belonging to any political party, etc.

Internal Security Act also outlaws any act of sabotage against private property or the government as well as any act, writing or speech which "embarrasses the administration of the affairs of state" or might cause substantial financial loss to any person or to the government. (For example, it would be a crime for a South African to urge U.S. corporations not to invest in South Africa.) People charged under this law are guilty until proven innocent. Maximum penalty: death; minimum penalty: five years in prison. This act also authorizes arrest and detention without trial. It sets no time limit on detention. An individual may be "detained" for life without trial. No judge may stop anyone from being detained. The government is under no legal obligation to inform a detainee's family about the detention.

Sabotage Act: Outlaws among other things: engaging in acts promoting "disorder," "furthering racial hostilities," or embarrassing the administration of the affairs of state. People charged are guilty until proven innocent. Maximum penalty: death.

Defense Act: Makes it a crime to publish any negative statement or comment about a government official which would "embarrass the government in its foreign relations or alarm or depress members of the public."

Prisons Act: Forbids publication of any information about prisons without being able to verify information. (Because it is impossible legally to check any information about prisons, this law serves to prohibit any public discussion of prisons.)

The Immorality Act: Prohibits any sexual relations between whites and other races.

Student Handout #8-A

A LESSON IN THE PASS LAWS

When African people turn sixteen they are born again or, even worse, they are accepted into the mysteries of the Devil's mass, confirmed into the blood rites of a servitude as cruel as Caligula, as merciless as Nero. Its bonds are the entangled chains of infinite regulations, its rivets are driven in with rubber stamps, and the scratchy pens in the offices of the Native Commissioners are like branding irons which leave scars for life.

'Where is your pass, kaffir?'

'It is here.'

'Ah, I see that you are from such and such a place. Where is your permission to travel from there?'

'It is here.'

'Good. Now having permission to travel from such and such a place, where is your permission to be in *this* place?'

'It is here.'

'Ah. Now having had permission to move from such and such a place and again having permission to be in this place, where do you work?'

'I work here, for such and such a man.'

'Good. Excellent. Do you have a permit to work for such and such a man?'

'It is here.'

'Ah, yes, I see. It is all written here and stamped and this such and such a man for whom you work has signed regularly each month. Good, excellent, everything is perfect. But, tell me, where exactly do you live in this place?'

'In such and such a location, township, street, alley or hole in the ground.'

'Marvellous. Now, living in such and such a location, municipal township, street, alley, hole in the ground, do you have the necessary permission signed, sealed and stamped?'

'It is here.'

'Wonderful. You have everything: permission to exist as shown by the fact that you have registered with the authorities; permission to leave the place of your previous existence; permission to arrive in *this* place and remain here by the grace of God and the Native Commissioner; you have permission to work for such and such a man; you have permission to live at such and such a location. Tell me, are you married?'

'Yes.'

'Where is your wife, your children?'

'They are at the place where I existed previously.'

'Good. Remember, they cannot come to live with you or to visit you without first gaining permission. Not to do this would be to invoke the wrath of the Devil and all his minions.'

'I will remember.'

'Good. Naturally, while having permission to come to this place from such and such a place in order to visit you, it is necessary that your wife, your children, your uncles, aunts, grandfathers and grandmothers, all the sundry who wish to *live* with you, should have permission to do so. You understand, of course.'

'I understand.'

'By the way, you also understand that you are not allowed to leave the job with this man in order to take up another job with someone else, without permission?'

'It is so.'

'Marvellous. You are a good kaffir. You understand, of course, that you are not allowed to travel from here to take up residence in another place without first having permission to leave here and arrive there? And to remain there, take up residence, to work, to go to work and to return from work, to walk out at certain times, and so on and so forth also requires permission.'

'I understand.'

'You are a wizard if you are able to understand. But understand one thing.'

'What?'

'If these things are not followed with care, then into the prison with you or all permits cancelled so that you cease to exist. You will be nothing, nobody, in fact you will be decreed. You will not be able to go anywhere on the face of this earth, no man will be able to give you work, nowhere will you be able to be recognized; you will not eat or drink; you will be as nothing, perhaps even less than nothing.'

'I understand.'

'So be it.'

Excerpted from Alex La Guma, *In the Fog of the Seasons' End*, Heinemann, London, 1972, pp. 80-82.

Student Handout #9

LAWS OF SOUTH AFRICA: SITUATIONS

Assignment:

Listed below are a number of situations which either have taken place or could take place in South Africa. All of them could be considered illegal under South African law. For each of the nine situations listed below explain in writing which law or laws the South African government could use to try to stop the activities described. **Note:** In some cases more than one law might apply. Come up with as many as you can.

1. A black woman and a white man fall in love and persuade a black minister to marry them.
2. A U.S. corporation believes that it wants to change the system in South Africa. It announces that as a step towards ending apartheid it will build housing for black workers and their families near the factory it owns in Johannesburg.
3. A South African newspaper editor writes an editorial urging U.S. corporations not to invest in South Africa. He says that only when South Africa is pressured economically will it end its apartheid system.
4. A black woman going to work in the city of Durban has left her purse at home. It contained all her identification.
5. A white woman in Pretoria writes a pamphlet urging blacks to join the African National Congress and to fight against the apartheid system in South Africa.
6. The Minister of Justice is suspicious of several people. They haven't done or said anything publicly against the system of apartheid but he thinks they will.
7. An Indian family and an African family have become friendly and want to move next door to each other.
8. Ford Motor Company lays off 500 workers. These workers have been living in New Brighton, an African township outside of Port Elizabeth. The workers announce that they will continue to live in New Brighton.
9. A soldier returning from Namibia to South Africa gives an interview to a reporter. A story is published exposing how South African troops actually invaded Angola.

Student Handout #10

EXCERPT FROM *AND A THREEFOLD CORD* BY ALEX LA GUMA

Police Constable Van Den Woud signalled to two African policemen to follow him and the three of them went through the swamped door yard of a sagging cabin, their boots sucking and belching in the mud. The rain was icy, needling, and they were all a little angry at having been called out for this raid in such weather. The two Africans wore the usual ponchos and carried riot staves, long, slender clubs with oval heads. Van Den Woud wore his gun harness outside his raincoat, the holster buttoned to keep the water out. In any case, he did not expect trouble.

The house was in darkness, and Van Den Woud ordered one of his men to knock. The man stepped forward in the mud and banged on the door. The whole house seemed to shudder. All over, little squads were banging on doors and shouting. Lights were being lit where shanties had been in darkness, and there was a babble of voices in the rain. . . .

The man banged on the door again, and Van Den Woud shouted, "Come on, open up. Open the . . . door."

After a few moments he thrust the African policeman aside and, stepping back a pace, raised his booted foot and drove it at the lock. The shanty trembled and shook and somebody started shouting inside. A light flickered on beyond the patched window, and at the same moment the lock burst and the door flew open.

Constable Van Den Woud lurched into the tiny, stale, smoky room, carried forward by his own momentum, and came to a halt, cursing. The others crowded in behind him. A naked African stood holding a lamp in one hand, and covering his privates with the other. He stood, a dark, posed statue. Beyond him, in a rumpled bed, a woman's face stared frightenedly over the blankets drawn up to her chin.

"All right, all right," Constable Van Den Woud started shouting. "Where's the goddamn pass? Where's your pass?" He was a tall man in a wet raincoat and flat cap, and he had a heavy, pink face, the color of smoked beef. He shouted furiously, ". . . and get your pass, you bugger."

The man put the lamp down on a table and said, in vernacular, to the other two policemen, "Let me dress, friends."

"What does he say?" Van Den Woud asked them.

"He wants to put on his clothes, *baas*," one of the policemen said.

"Tell him to stop wasting my bloody time. Where's his pass?"

"Your pass, man," the policeman told the naked man. "Your permit to live in this area."

"I will get it," the man replied, sullenly. He turned towards the bed and searched for his trousers. In the bed the woman began to cry in a whimpering noise. The naked man took his time finding his trousers and when he did find them, pulled them on slowly. The woman was crying, and he said something to her, but she did not stop crying.

The man pulled on a tattered shirt and then, stuffing its tails into his trousers, he turned to the police and said, sullenly: "I have no pass."

"What does he say?" Van Den Woud asked, angrily.

"He says that he has no book," the policeman who had not said anything yet, now said.

Constable Van Den Woud looked shocked. "The blerry bastard. Letting us stand here all night, and now he says he's got no pass." He stared maliciously at the black man. "God, you'll see, you bogger. You'll see." He turned to one of his men. "Put the handcuffs on him and take him out. I want to search this room. Maybe they've got dagga¹⁰ or kaffir¹¹ beer here."

The policeman drew his manacles and ordering the man to hold out his wrists, locked them together. He thrust the man towards the door, and the man looked at him and shook his head, saying, "Why do you do this, brother? Why do you do this to your own people?"

Van Den Woud turned to the other policeman and said, "Look around, *jong*.¹² Search the place." He himself went around sweeping things from the top of a packing case used as a dresser. He came to the bed and with the unemotional movement of a carpenter wrenching a nail, jerked the blanket from the woman's naked body. She began to weep. . . .

"Charlie, Charles. People's knocking."

Charlie Pauls woke up slowly, emerging laboriously from sleep which, in spite of dreams, had been soft and soothing as syrup, and came up out into the hot tangle of legs in the bed . . . the sound of fists beating against the door. He could feel the shack vibrating under the blows, and his eyes opened slowly and with difficulty, like broken blinds.

Somebody outside was yelling, "Open up, *jong*, or we'll break the . . . door down."

And Charlie sat up, disentangling himself from the woman, and shouted, "Awright, awright. I'm coming."

Beside him, Freda was whispering frightenedly: "What is it, Charlie?"

"Law," he growled. "Got a blerry raid again." Then added, "Is awright. We haven't done nothing." The shack trembled again, under the blows, and he shouted once more: "Awright, coming, coming." In the front, outside the curtain that divided the room, the children were wailing with terror.

Charlie groped for his trousers, cursing under his breath. Freda had sat up and was scrabbling around for matches. A light flared, and he grinned at her in the dancing flame.

"Is okay. You see to the children."

He swung off the bed and stood up, pulling on his shirt and jeans. Freda scrambled off the bed, while he struck another match and went around until he found the lamp. Fists started to beat the door again, and he turned up the wick, while Freda sat down on the settee by the whimpering children, whispering to them until they were quiet.

¹⁰marijuana

¹¹derogatory term for an African

¹²term of address

Charlie went barefooted to the door and unlocked it. It was pushed open in his face and he stepped back as uniformed men crowded in. A flashlight dazzled him for a second and then was switched off.

There were four men in the party: a sergeant and three African policemen. The sergeant looked at Charlie Pauls and said: "All right, *jong, waar's die dagga?* Where's the dope?"

Charlie looked at him and said: "There is no *dagga*, here. We're respectable people."

The sergeant grinned and looked around. He was a short, heavy man with thick, whitish eyebrows that writhed and wriggled when he spoke, like fat maggots curling and uncurling above his eyes, and he had a small, thin mouth, like a bloodless stab wound. For the rest, his face was the color of red stone and as hard, dissected all over by tiny wrinkles not unlike the lines on a map, spreading over the plains of his cheeks and into the valleys around his mouth, up the hard crag of his nose. His eyes were moist and flat as grey lakes. Beyond him stood the three dark policemen, their faces dull and cow-like.

The sergeant looked around and stared at Freda and the scared faces of the children. Freda clutched the neck of her nightdress, holding it together. Then the sergeant made a sound like a grunt, and pushed past Charlie, stepping over to the curtain. He looked behind the curtain and turned back.

He said, grinning at Charlie: "Nice to be in bed now, hey? Look at me, out in the rain." He grinned at Freda, and then said to Charlie: "What's your name, *jong?*"

"Charles Pauls."

The sergeant made another grunting noise and looked at Freda again with his flat, humorless, moist eyes: "And yours?"

Freda gulped and looked anguished and told him her name. He grinned, showing the edges of his teeth, white as newly painted kerbing. He said to Charlie, "So it's like that, hey? Respectable people." His mouth opened and something clacked and sucked and rattled in the back of his twitching throat. He was laughing. Then he shut his mouth and the sound stopped as if some mechanisms had broken down suddenly. He sneered at the woman. "Blerry black whore."

He jerked his wet-capped head at the three motionless constables and headed out through the doorway, into the rainy darkness. The three men followed without a word. Charlie slammed the door after them.

"Law bastards," he snarled, angrily.

Freda was drawing the blankets over the children, her face away from him. He could see her shoulders begin to twitch under the nightdress, and he moved over to her, put a big, splayed hand on a shoulder and turned her towards him. Two tears were sliding from her sleep-puffed eyes down the rounded hillocks of her cheekbones.

He said, frowning, "Hell what you crying for? They didn't do nothing, did they?"

But she looked at him through the diamond-drops of tears, and her body shook as she said, harshly, "You heard what that one said, didn't you. He said I was a whore." Then she spun from his grasp and ran, shaking, behind the curtain. Charlie stared after her, puzzled, and heard her

small, gulping sobbing. He went behind the curtain and she was huddled on the bed, her face to the wall.

Outside the wall the rain was tapping steadily.

He sat on the edge of the sagging bed and scowled at the back quivering under the nightdress. And now love struck him like a blow, slamming into his chest and choking his throat, and he put out the rough hand again, dragging her over onto her back.

He cleared his throat and said awkwardly, "Listen to me, we going to get married. Me and you. Us two." He coughed and looked a little pained and embarrassed. "Don't cry like that now, man, *bokkie*." You'll see. We going to get married. What the hell?"

She gulped and said, "You only saying so."

"No," he said. "True as God. Jesus, we should have been married long ago awready."

Freda whispered, gulping away tears, looking at him: "You mean that, Charlie-boy?"

"Naturally. What do you think?"

"Really, Charlie?"

"Yes, man, woman."

Now, for some reason, he felt himself clear and unmarked, like the pages of a new school book and it brought him a feeling of embarrassment again. He tried to turn his mind away from it, to think that it was raining outside, and that it was warm and dry here in the little shanty with the papered walls and the lingering heat of the primus stove. The stove needed fixing properly, and he'd see to it. But his mind returned to Freda, like a lost child finding itself home again.

Up the street people were talking noisily in the rain, doors were being pounded and kicked, voices shouted, all the sounds of another world somewhere beyond them. Then he got up suddenly and reached for his old army boots and started to pull them on.

"Charlie," Freda cried. "Where are you going?"

"Going to see what goes on."

"You mustn't. There might be trouble."

He said, stamping to get the boots on, "Don't go on like that. I'm just going to see. To see what's happening to our people."

"Charlie, man."

"I won't get into trouble," he told her. "You just lie still and see the children don't cry." He wrestled into the oilskin slicker and smiled at her and winked.

"You'll see."

Outside was a glare of headlamps of several riot vans which had penetrated the settlement and had parked in the small, cramped, muddy square. Dogs were barking furiously, and there were figures moving about in the steady down-pour. The police had collected a number of prisoners, and they stood huddled together, dripping and shivering, while they were sorted out and then ordered into the backs of the trucks.

An African man came out of his cabin to the gate of his yard to see what was going on. He was wearing an old overcoat over his pajamas. Light fell on him, and he was surrounded by police.

¹¹(Afrikaans) a term of friendship (from *bok*, goat)

"Where's your reference book, kaffir?"

"It is inside, in my coat pocket."

"Where is it, man? You should have it on you."

"I will get it. It is inside."

"No pass, hey? Come, come on, come on."

"Listen, it is inside, sir."

But hands were laid on him and he was led towards where others stood waiting to be loaded into the police trucks.

There was a crowd of African and colored men and a few women, waiting in the rain to be loaded and driven away. Many had been taken for not having documents, or whose documents were not in order—the absence of a rubber stamp could change a life. Others had been found in possession of *dagga*, some had resisted the police search. There were also those who had been found to be selling liquor illicitly.

Charlie saw Aunty Mina with the group of prisoners. She was remonstrating with an officer, shouting at him and waving a dripping umbrella so that he shied away from her, laughing. Thick and dark as an oak, Aunty Mina stormed at the officer.

"Look here, captain, I'm not giving a damn what you say about it, but what for I'm standing in this rain? You tell me."

The officer laughed. He was arrogantly cheerful, and thought this fat old aunt was rather fun. He had had altercations with her before. He laughed, "All right, Mina. We'll give you a nice dry van all to yourself. Then you can have a private cell until you appear before the magistrate."

Aunt Mina poked the umbrella at him. It had broken in the wind and rain and now consisted of a handle, a flap of cloth, and several frightful spikes, dangerous as some medieval instrument of torture. The officer reared backwards, fearful of his eyes.

"I'm not frightening for your magistrate, colonel. I paid seven fines awready and I can pay seven more. There! What I'm wanting to know is, what for in this rain, hey? You tell me." She possessed the ferocity of an old African buffalo.

Some prisoners laughed, nervously. The officer shook his head, laughing, and said, "All right, Mina. All right."

It was raining steadily, but not hard, and Charlie Pauls stood in the half-light on the edge of the glare of the headlamps and watched the scene. The rain rapped against his yellow slicker and ran off it in trickles, dripped from the peak of his cap. Police were counting off prisoners into the trucks, shouting at them, waving flashlights and truncheons.

Somebody said, sharply: "What you standing around here for, *jong?*"

Charlie looked aside and there was a policeman watching him. Under the shiny bill of his flat uniform cap his eyes had

the look of dead cinders in the shadows, and he had a blonde moustache, pearly with raindrops. He wore pistol harness over his wet raincoat.

"You got any business here, man?"

"Just looking," Charlie said, and feeling suddenly malicious, grinned at the policeman through the wet stubble on his face.

"Move off," the policeman said. "Go home."

Something smoldered inside Charlie and now he said, stiffly: "I'm just looking. Can't a man watch his own people being sent off to jail?"

"Oh," the constable said, his moustache moving as he spoke. "Oh, a hardcase bastard, *ne?*" His hands started to grope for the handcuffs on his belt while his shadowy eyes watched Charlie.

Charlie said, his voice surly: "Okay, I'm hardcase. Now what then?"

"Bet you're one of those Communist troublemakers. I'll show you."

Charlie grinned insolently through his surliness. His eyes watched the constable's hands. They were big and red, the color of wet ham, as they fumbled with the handcuffs. Then the policeman turned his face slightly, to call for assistance, and Charlie hit him suddenly on the exposed jawbone.

It was a hard, snapping blow, with all his weight behind it, and the policeman's feet left the ground and his back struck it with a hard, muddy, plopping sound, as if he had been dropped from a great height. Then Charlie was off, past the flaying khaki-clad legs, heading for the darkness.

Behind him he heard the policeman yell, and then a chorus of yells. Feet stumbled through the mud as more police came up, shouting. But Charlie was a yellow blur through the darkness, dodging and ducking like a whippet.

One of the police raised his service pistol and fired. The shot made a flat, snapping sound in the rain and the flare of the muzzle gashed the dripping light of the headlamps, while the echo of the gunshot ka-yapped among the shanties.

Charlie was gone, into the jungle of shacks. He skidded down an alleyway, climbed over a low tin fence, and sat down against it. He knew that if he kept on running he might come up against other police searching the settlement. So he sat in the mud in the rain and recovered his breath. He thought. That was a nice blow, never ever got one in like that. Then he began to laugh. He laughed silently, his body shaking under the yellow oilskin.

Since he was no longer near the congregation of prisoners, he could not see police bring his brother, Ronald, into the light of the trucks.

Student Handout #10-A

EXCERPT FROM *RUMOURS OF RAIN*, BY ANDRE BRINK

Why am I writing down more and more of what I would have preferred not to discuss? What is worse, it seems to become more and more of a "novel," dictated by a form of romanticism of which I've tried over many years to rid myself. And yet I have no choice but to take an unflinching look not only at that weekend, but beyond it—the way one would peer through a windscreen smeared with gnats—at the entire landscape of my life. Perhaps that is the only remaining hell.

Strange that Charlie should also have spoken about "hell." As if one can never really escape from it.

We drove out of the city, towards the south-west. To Soweto. I'd never been there before (nor since). And what I remember of it is muddled—not just because of the accumulation of impressions, but because I was so furious with Charlie. And scared. I may as well admit it. It was, perhaps, the only experience in my adult life which truly scared me, while at the same time it was impossible to find any reason for it. For nothing happened. That was the worst. Nothing happened, but anything *might* happen at any moment. Suppose we were stopped by police? A man in my position. It would immediately be given a political angle. What was Martin Mynhardt doing in Soweto? They could break me for it if they wanted: in South Africa people had been broken for much less.

The houses. Not the shacks of iron and wood and junk I could vaguely recall from the Moroka one had driven past years ago, but identical oblong blocks with tiny doors and windows: tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands of them. The mere uniformity was terrifying. My God, how would one ever escape from that maze once one was lost in it? Suppose Charlie dropped me and said: Now go home on your own? Smoke. It was still early afternoon, but the previous night's smoke still lay in a dark bank over the townships while a new layer was already beginning to form. Children playing and kicking up a row. Potholes and ditches in the dusty road. Rubbish dumps on every street corner. Ribbed dogs scavenging for food and slinking off whenever someone approached. Women in bedraggled little gardens behind wire fences: some wearing the long skirts and headscarves of rural areas, others in minis or the shrill colours of city fashions; slacks and platform heels. Some pregnant, with bulging bellies; others holding suckling infants to their breasts or carrying them on their backs; still others as thin as reeds, with sharply pointed bras. Boys gambling with cards or pebbles or coins in the middle of the street. Here and there an old man on a tomato box in the sun in front of his house. And then the open wastelands between townships. Rubble heaps, erosion ditches, the skeletons of old cars; children scuttling like cockroaches in the garbage of smoky mounds. Old thin women poking in the rubble like moulting black fowls, or crows, or vultures. Teams of boys playing soccer in the dust, with soccer balls, tennis balls, bundles of rags, stuffed stockings. Netting-wire fences fluttering with windblown litter, like a parody of Christmas: papers, plastic bags, tufts of wool and hair, patches of multicoloured rags. Churches, halls, schools

with bare playing grounds surrounded by frayed trees. Jazzy shops. Petrol pumps. The face-brick and barbed wire of police stations. And heaped up beside the dusty lanes serving as streets: all the refuse of a human existence—broken baths, tins, drums, cardboard boxes, torn-off car doors or shattered windscreens, bits of hose-pipe and lengths of wire, tyres, chamber pots, plastic buckets, three-legged pots, aluminium casseroles, the rags and remnants of discarded clothes, dead cats, turds, the tattered remains of carpets and curtains. At that time of the day there weren't many cars among the little houses and shanties, but what could be seen ranged from dilapidated old American models and patched-up Volkswagens to a few shiny Mercedes, Jags and Citroëns.

"You could have come by bus too," said Charlie. "Did you know they organise coach tours through the townships, like through the game reserve? See the natives in their natural habitat. Please don't feed the animals."

"That's enough, Charlie. It's time to go home now. You wanted to show me, and now I've seen it. Let's go."

"How do you know what I want to show you? Give me a chance, man. We're first going round to my place. What makes you think I'm such a bad host?"

He paid no attention to my objections. Somewhere in the midst of all the identical little boxes he found his house and stopped. From all directions in the neighborhood swarms of small children converged on the Mercedes. If the car got damaged, I swore grimly, there would be hell to pay.

A thickset, neatly but plainly dressed woman opened the door.

"Meet my friend Mr. Mynhardt," Charlie said. (I still don't know who she was.)

In the small, tidy front room we sat down—Charlie on a straight-backed dining chair, I on the floral Chesterfield sofa. The cement floor was covered with a blue linoleum. Plastic flowers in a vase on the ball-and-claw table. A calendar on the wall.

"Charlie, are you sure it's not against the law for me to be here?"

"Of course it's against the law. But don't worry. Here's the tea." He rose to take the tray from the woman, offering it first to her, then to me.

"And how are you, Mr. Mynhardt?" she asked in a neutral voice.

What could I reply to that? I said something non-committal. She smiled. And so the tone for the rest of our jolting conversation was set. I had the impression that Charlie, sitting back and watching me was thoroughly enjoying himself, while all the time I was trying to concentrate, as unobtrusively as possible, on what I could see of the street behind the gingham curtains, in case a police van passed or stopped outside.

There was a constant backdrop of sound: radios or record-players, playing mostly jazz, and just too far off to distinguish any tune (most of the stuff probably didn't have a tune anyway), leaving only a disquieting pulsation on the threshold of one's consciousness as accompaniment to our

uncomfortable small-talk. Children bursting out crying or shouting in the street, undaunted by the three or four or five blocks separating them. Dogs barking; one howling interminably, accompanied by the rhythmic sickening smacks of the thong or rubber pipe with which he was being beaten.

It seemed like at least an hour before Charlie finally rose. I followed him in nearly indecent haste, almost neglecting to say goodbye to the enigmatic woman. Her hand cool and dry in mine. A secretive smile. "So nice to have met you, Mr. Mynhardt."

But that proved to be only the beginning. I don't think Charlie had planned it in advance; but he was a master of improvisation. I was still under the impression that we were on our way out of the labyrinth of child-block houses, threatening in their very passivity, when he suddenly stopped again.

"Something wrong?" I asked, startled.

"No, we're just dropping in on an old pal of mine."

"But Charlie—"

"Relax, man, be a sport. It's not every day I have the chance to treat you."

Did he want to treat me or to terrorise me? I'm still not sure. All I could tell with a measure of certainty after another hour had passed, was that he had no intention of taking me home before dark. And as the afternoon grew older, in our visits to one "old pal" after the other, the tone of the townships changed almost imperceptibly. One became aware of the piercing sirens of trains following each other in the distance in more and more rapid succession; of more cars appearing in the streets, sending clouds of dust up against the windows; of a low wave of sound approaching from far away, the dull thunder of the crowd returning home—the thousands, the hundreds of thousands of workers vomited from Johannesburg, from *iGoli*. The din became more comprehensive, at the same time more general and more intimate. And with the coming of the dark the entire obscene spectacle of human life from cradle to grave was reduced to sound. In the hours we spent there I became conscious—not with the exact formulation of statistics, but with the warm biological shock of sudden discovery of my guts—of babies being born and old people dying in my immediate vicinity; of people being murdered and others raped; of men and women making love or assaulting one another; of fathers getting drunk and children beaten. All the events taking place all over the world every day, but here with an immediacy and an overwhelming obtrusiveness I'd never experienced so violently before.

Outside in the increasing dusk the noise of soccer-playing children went on until it was too dark to see; complemented by the deeper voices of men joining them after work. And gradually, as in a cross-fade in a film, the outdoor sound was transformed into indoor sound. More and more radios. People talking in loud voices. Great explosions of laughter. Terrifying quarrels, screams, shouts. Short staccato silences. And, because of the innumerable houses huddled so closely together, the staggering sensation of the *presentness* of everything became even more overpowering. And one reacted to it, not with one's ears, or nose, or mouth or whatever, but physiologically, with one's whole body.

More and more strangers drifted into the house of the friend where we were having drinks, lured like moths by an open flame. Not that there was all that much light, for none of the houses we visited had electricity. Outside, there were mesh-protected lamps on tall posts at street-corners, each huddled selfishly over its own small pool of light. And in the distance, marking the course of the high barbed-wire fences enclosing the townships, were blinding floodlights reminiscent of the photographs of concentration camps.

In the end there must have been twenty or more people crammed into the small front room. Women disappeared from time to time and reappeared with food—prepared in the kitchen and in the kitchens of neighbouring houses, I presumed, judging from the seemingly endless number of plates and knives and forks passed from hand to hand until everybody had been served. We ate on our laps; what it was, I couldn't make out, and I didn't want to give offence by asking. All those bodies, the smell of perspiration, the powder and perfume of the women: in the unsteady light of candles and lamps there was an air of unreality about it all. I can't remember anything of the conversations—there were too many of them going on all around me at the same time. No one seemed to pay any particular attention to me anyway, I was just one of the many who'd happened to drop in, Charlie's pal, meet Mr. Mynhardt.

I felt a growing panic to get out. Oppressed by the heavy physical warmth of the room I made my way to the window to breathe in the cool, dusty night air. But after a few minutes I moved away again, not wanting to be spotted from the street by a roving police van.

At long last Charlie rose and announced: "Well, boys, see you. Got to go now."

I followed him hastily.

"Now listen, Charlie, this is enough."

"We're just beginning to loosen up, man."

"I'm not taking any more nonsense from you. I want to go home."

"We're going to a shebeen first."

"For God's sake!"

Laughing in his boisterous way, he turned the ignition key.

"Give me the keys," I ordered. "It's my car. I'll drive."

Much to my surprise he complied without any objection, leaving the car idling as he got out on his side so that we could change places. But of course: we hadn't been going for five minutes before I was hopelessly lost. Apparently unconcerned, he sat humming happily, drumming on the roof with his fingers to keep time.

"Now stop that, Charlie and tell me how to get out of here."

"O.K., man, don't get sore." He began to give me elaborate instructions, which I followed warily, not sure I could trust him. Suddenly he shouted: "Stop!"

I slammed on the brakes. "What's the matter?"

"We're here." He got out.

"Charlie, come back!"

"We're first looking in here."

"Go to hell! I'll drive home on my own."

"See you then."

I pulled away with screeching tyres, but stopped within a few yards as soon as it hit me that without him I'd be in an even more hopeless position than with him. Not to speak of

the very real danger of being attacked by a gang of tsotsis in the dark. And how would I be able to explain my presence if a police patrol were to stop me?

Furious and frustrated, I got out of the car and locked it.

I wasn't sure what to expect. But the shebeen turned out to be a house like any other, with a gathering of men and women inside, drinking in the front room, served by an unbelievably fat woman, Auntie Mame. After Charlie introduced me, I was more or less ignored. And it was quite a shock when he ordered me a whiskey as if it were the most natural thing in the world.

We went to other shebeens too, afterwards. At least one of them was a luxurious place by any standards, a double-storied house with soft carpets and modern furniture; here conversation was hushed, limited to small groups. Doctors, businessmen, journalists, according to Charlie's nonchalant introduction.

"But how can you bring me to a place like this?" I asked. "Suppose one of your journalists recognises me—"

"Calm down. They're all off duty."

And then there was another place, a dingy little den, reverberating with sound, one dark whorl of bodies writhing and dancing to the rhythm of earsplitting music; one could hardly see for the smoke; and mixed with it was the bitter-sweet smell of hash. By that time I had no defences left and abandoned myself to whatever Charlie wanted us to do, too exhausted even to be angry. God alone knows what he gave me to drink. Probably *skokiaan*. Everything was pervaded with the sour pungent smell of beer. *Mqombothi*, Charlie spelled it out for me, relishing every syllable.

It must have been nearly dawn when we stumbled out into the dangerous night, my eyes and temples throbbing

with a headache worse than anything I'd ever experienced before. I couldn't see straight; unable to grasp what was happening I had to hold on to the car while Charlie unlocked the doors. Suddenly I began to vomit. Steadying me with his hands, he quietly went on talking and laughing, comforting me in the way Welcome Nyaluza had helped me once, many years before. It was the lowest I'd ever sunk in Charlie's presence, retching while he gently held on to me, unperturbed by it all.

Slumped in my seat I sat beside him, my head lolling against the half-opened window, barely conscious of what was going on around us. One thing did strike me, though: however dark it was, surely no later than four in the morning, the streets were already swarming with people, and endless throng of them on their way to the stations and to work. To *iGoli*.

"Well," Charlie laughed. "Not a bad party, hey?" His voice didn't even sound tired. I made no attempt to answer. All my anger and resentment and disapproval had been broken down; he'd shattered the last remains of my dignity and self-respect; the more miserable I'd become during the night the more it had seemed to stimulate him.

He stopped in front of my apartment block in Joubert Park. I didn't even know that he'd been aware of the existence of the place; I'd certainly never mentioned it to him before. But I was too tired to ask. With his arm around me he supported me, a few steps at a time, to the lift. In the apartment he ran a bath for me. He would probably have undressed me as well if I hadn't stopped him. Afterwards he helped me into my bed. He probably caught some sleep too; but when I stumbled dazed, from my bedroom just after nine o'clock, he was already waiting on one of the deep chairs in the lounge, as fresh as any proverbial daisy.

Student Handout #10-B

LIFE IN "COLORED" SOUTH AFRICA

The following passages are excerpted from Richard Rive's novel *Emergency*. The book deals with the life of Andrew Dreyer, a young man designated "Colored" in South Africa's racial classification system. Andrew grew up in Cape Town, in the slums of District Six—then a Colored township. He has moved to Walmer Estate, a more "respectable" Colored area.

The excerpts begin in the late 1940s. Andrew is attending secondary school and staying with his sister Miriam and her husband Kenneth, a man who is also classified Colored but chooses to represent himself as white. Like Kenneth, Andrew's brother, James is also able to "pass" as white and has become a drinking partner of Kenneth's.

(The 'he' mentioned in the first line refers to Andrew.)

EXCERPT FROM *EMERGENCY* BY RICHARD RIVE

Every weekday morning he met Abe Hanslo and Justin Bailey, two of his classmates, at College Street corner, and together they would walk along Constitution Street, past the high-stooped houses where whites lived cheek-by-jowl with Coloureds, past dingy, mean Indian shops, till they turned off near Constitution Street Flats.

Abe was a bit of a dreamer, excellent at languages, with a flair for expressing himself well. He was fanatical about politics. Fair, with freckles around the nose, and green eyes and a mop of fair hair. Justin, on the other hand, was an extrovert. He discussed everything and argued heatedly, and was on friendly terms with all his schoolmasters, whom he referred to privately with great relish by their Christian names. These two were a contrast to Jonga, Broertjie and Amaai. Andrew was determined to blot out the memory of the slums, the dirt, the poverty. He remembered the feeling of shame and humiliation he had experienced when Miriam had told him that Justin and Abe had come to pay their respects in Caledon Street after his mother had died. He was glad he had not been home. He wondered how they had reacted. Had they realized before that he lived in a slum?

For a short time afterwards he had avoided Abe and Justin, but they showed no difference in their attitude towards him. He decided to seal his District Six background forever in the limbo of the past.

In the mornings on their way to school, his two friends usually discussed school life, sports and politics. Mostly politics. Andrew seldom joined in the conversation. He suffered from acute self-consciousness tinged with a strong feeling of inferiority.

"You know," Justin would begin. "I'm sorry I was born Coloured."

"Oh, rubbish!" Abe would cut him short.

"I mean because of all it means in South Africa."

"What on earth is that?"

"Well, you know. Whites only, Non-Europeans Keep Out, all the humiliation."

"One only becomes Coloured when one thinks of oneself as Coloured."

"Do I?"

"Yes, if you think in terms of Coloured, white, African and so on."

"But there are different races. There is a difference."

"It's artificial."

"Then what the hell are you?"

"I'm South African."

"Coloured South African?"

"There is no such animal as a Coloured South African or a European South African. There are only South Africans."

Andrew listened admiringly to the discussion. The generalities, truisms, semantics. What a difference between these youths and Jonga and Broertjie. Abe, he discovered, read widely, Cedric Dover, Howard Fast, Dostoyevsky, Thomas Paine. He was an executive member of the Modern Youth Association, a radical students' organization, and usually returned from discussions and lectures with what Justin referred to as half-digested scraps of political theory. Justin usually started the argument from something he had heard or read. He had a genius for not being original.

"You know Chinese are accepted as Europeans in South Africa?"

"I have always considered China and Europe as two distinctly different places."

"Chinese are allowed to sit in the reserved seats on trains and are allowed in white cinemas."

"What a crazy situation."

"While we are kept out."

"Segregation works only one way in this country. Against Coloureds, Africans and Indians."

"So you do use those terms. I thought you were ostentatiously South African."

"I use racial terms only as a matter of convenience."

"And you have the nerve to call me a racist?"

"I have said before that race barriers are artificial."

"Do you want to attend a white cinema?"

"I just want to attend cinemas."

"White cinemas?"

"Any cinemas."

"You go to a segregated Coloured High School?"

"I have no alternative."

"Therefore you accept segregation."

"No!"

"You attend white sports meetings?"

"No. Do you?"

"Sometimes."

"Why?"

"I can learn something from them."

"From your segregated seat on the grandstand?"

"Why not?"

"Are you prepared to learn at the expense of your principles?"

"Isn't that what you are doing at a Coloured school?"

"That's different."

The argument would continue in the Quadrangle till the bell rang for the first period. Andrew admired Abe for his tenacity in argument. He always silently disagreed with Justin, although he knew the latter was often right. There was something about Justin which rubbed him up the wrong way. Like Herby Solomons. He was a play-white, was Herb, and lived in the European area above Mountain Road. He sat at a rear desk and seldom spoke to anyone other than Abe. Justin told Andrew in confidence that all Herby's friends were play-whites whom he had convinced that he was a student at Cape Town High. For that reason he walked all the way to Oranjezicht every afternoon when school closed, and took a bus from the white Institution. Andrew and Justin ignored him openly.

They would usually stroll home at a leisurely pace, Justin and Abe arguing all the way. Miriam would be waiting and prepare his lunch in her quiet, efficient way.

Time passed and November came rich and warm, which meant the start of Matriculation examinations. Hard work and furious cramming. Latin hexameters, the Extension of Pythagoras, the importance of the supernatural in *Macbeth*, atomic weights. He found no difficulty in adapting between this and Caledon Street. Even the air smelt cleaner, and from his window he could see the broad sweep of Table Bay with Robben Island in the distance.

Abe had often invited him to visit him at home, but he had always declined out of self-consciousness. One evening, taking a break from studying, he walked up towards De Waal Drive to Abe's home, and after long hesitation rang the bell.

He was surprised at the comfort and luxury of the place. Abe had a large study to himself, pleasantly furnished, with Gauguin and Utrillo reproductions on the wall. In one corner stood a record player on which were records of Beethoven, Mozart and Smetana. How different from the Boys' Room at 302. It was here that he had first heard the *Moldau*.

"I like your room," he said self-consciously.

"Oh, it's all right."

"It must be wonderful to study here."

"I manage."

"You know, Abe, I've been thinking."

"You don't say."

"You're always talking politics to Justin."

"So?"

"About poverty and oppression."

"Yes?"

"With all this around you?"

"These are material things."

"They are nevertheless important."

"Not fundamental."

"One only realizes the value of material things when one has never had them."

"Does one really?"

"Yes. I grew up somewhat differently. In a slum to be exact."

"District Six."

"Yes, District Six. Caledon Street. I've known poverty."

"So where does that leave you?"

"It eats away the soul."

"Poverty is not your monopoly."

"But can you ever understand what I'm talking about,

Abe? The filth, the grime. Prostitutes. Street fights. People with no aim in life except to eke out their miserable existences on their Friday night's pay."

"I can appreciate that."

"I had three friends."

"Yes?"

"Close friends. Broertjie, Jonga and Amaai. Jonga had been to a Reformatory."

"Yes?"

"I'm sorry if I'm boring you."

"You're not, go on."

"They were my friends. I had no other choice."

"You sound as if you're apologizing."

"I existed in two worlds. I used to leave school in the afternoon to go back to District Six."

"I understand."

"Do you still accept me as a friend?"

"Don't be silly. You're being self-conscious over nothing. I couldn't care less where you came from."

"I'm glad. I thought you might be like Herby."

"Herb's O.K. He can't help himself."

"He's a play-white."

"He's a victim of this society as much as we are."

"But surely he can think for himself?"

"I think we should try and understand people like him. It's easy for Herby to cross the colour-line. He's fair and his hair is O.K. It means advantages. No abuses. Better facilities. All that goes with the divine rights of a white skin."

"Then what about you?"

"There's too much at stake."

"For you?"

"For all of us."

"Do you think this crazy set-up will ever change?"

"It must."

Andrew left feeling wonderfully refreshed. He walked home past Zonnebloem, taking a roundabout route, thinking of Gauguin and Smetana, politics and friends like Abe. District Six seemed miles away. He hummed snatches of the *Moldau* as he walked down Nile Street.

Andrew finishes secondary school and, passing his examinations with honors, earns a scholarship to university.

It took some time to adapt himself to University life, but once he knew the ropes he took it in his stride. Arguments raged. Discussions, political theories. Socialism. Fascism. Capitalism. Non-racial democracies. After much persuasion from Abe he joined the Modern Youth Association, and attended his first lecture on "Colonialism and the African Stage." More words and arguments. Condemnations. Imperialism as the highest development of Capitalism. Secondary industry in South Africa. The dilemma of class and caste. Abe in the forefront. Parrying and thrusting. This House moves the following motion. Mr. Chairman, in reply to the last speaker. I wish to move a motion of no confidence. On a point of order, Mr. Chair. A crazy vortex of theorizing, moralizing, generalization, invectives, stock phrases, clichés. To quote Lenin. Already in the seventeenth century Spinoza said. Plato prescribes Communism for his Guardian Class. Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains. Bacon, Voltaire, Nietzsche. Mr. Chairman, I wish to review and rescind. Motions, counter-motions, amendments. Till Andrew felt part and parcel of it all and entered into the verbal fray and dogfights with fervour.

In 1948 the Malan-Havenga coalition won the South African election with the battle-cry of apartheid. Segregation. *Eiesoortigheid*. The Nationalist Party, representative of white Afrikanerdom, won seventy-nine seats in the House of Assembly to the United Party's seventy-one, although outvoted by 140,000. The first all-Afrikaner Government in South African history came into being, while the largely unrepresented non-white sat back and watched with fear and uncertainty.

"So what happens now?" Andrew asked.

"I suppose we wait and see," Abe replied.

"Do you think that now the Nats are in, the situation will change radically?"

"Not really. But there'll be more intensive legislation and we'll be at the receiving end."

And very soon the Nationalist Government started putting its programme into practice. In September, train apartheid was introduced on the Cape Town Suburban Line. Special seats were to be reserved for whites only. Andrew and Abe attended a mass protest meeting on the Grande Parade as observers from the Modern Youth Association. Speaker after speaker condemned the Government scheme. They spotted Justin in the crowd, busy handing out pamphlets. Finally, volunteers were called for to ride the trains and challenge segregation. Sit where you like. Be prepared to be gaoled for your principles. All those who are ready to do this step up to the platform. A queue formed. Justin was helping to sign up volunteers.

"I'm going up," said Abe. "How about you?"

"I don't know."

"We have no alternative. If we are going to fight, we must be prepared to suffer the consequences."

"I suppose so."

Andrew realized with misgiving the hopelessness of his own situation. He existed on sufferance. What would Miriam say? Kenneth? It could very well mean the end of his academic career, which he couldn't afford to risk. It had been rescued only by a miracle. And now he should jettison it all?

"No, Abe. I'm not going to."

"Scared?"

"Yes, in a way."

"Well, I'm going."

Abe joined the queue of volunteers. Andrew watched him hot-eyed, overwhelmed by feelings of shame and remorse. Humiliation burned inside him at the thought of Abe considering him a coward. But could Abe understand? Could any of these people understand? His very existence was threatened. All his hopes of an academic career. To be branded a coward, gutless. He turned abruptly and walked away, tears burning his eyes. He walked all the way up Darling Street and Hanover Street till he turned down towards home.

He read the following day that the demonstration had been called off, but that brought him no relief. For weeks afterwards he avoided Abe. He seriously considered resigning from the Modern Youth Association, but in the end merely avoided attending meetings. He threw himself into University work with a vengeance, studying till the early hours of the morning, and sometimes with bloodshot eyes he saw the sun rising over Table Bay.

Tired and suffering from severe strain, he wrote his first-

year examinations. Life passed in a haze of foolscap sheets, spot questions, memorizing, paraphrasing, condensing. Then back to Nile Street to revise feverishly for the next paper. When the results appeared he had gained a distinction in English, but merely managed to pass in Latin, History and Philosophy. He determined to work harder during the following years, politics or no politics.

Andrew's second year at University also passed speedily. Things started to gather momentum and life took on a serious aspect. He worked furiously, so that at times he fell asleep at his table through sheer exhaustion. Abe he sometimes saw on the campus, but they merely nodded coldly when they ran into each other.

Very early in the next year, the coons still dancing in the streets of Cape Town and the houses still decorated with festival bunting, he sat eating his evening meal at the kitchen table with Miriam and Kenneth. James was expected later, and Andrew was on tenter-hooks in case he should still be eating when his brother came. Kenneth was, as usual, immersed in his newspaper. Andrew tried to gulp down his hot coffee at speed. Miriam sat quietly, a rather worried look on her face. Andrew knew that she was not very partial to James's visits. From behind the *Argus* Kenneth suddenly burst out.

"These bloody coolies, bloody curry guts!"

Miriam looked puzzled, but Andrew knew what he was referring to. At the Market in Victoria Street, Durban, an Indian had smacked an African boy who had then fallen against a plate-glass window and cut himself. That had sparked off the worst African-Indian riots in the country's history. More than a hundred people had been killed and over a thousand wounded. Shops, factories and homes had been fired and destroyed, and flames danced over Cato Manor.

"Why do you say that?" Miriam asked him, still puzzled.

"Because Indians don't bloody-well belong in South Africa. It might be a good thing if the Kaffirs murdered the whole bunch of them."

"Really, Kenneth!"

"Don't really me. If the whole bloody lot could be sent back to their country it would be healthier for decent Coloureds and whites. The Kaffirs one can deal with. Indians have always turned my stomach."

Andrew felt that he had to say something, anything to counter Kenneth, but then he thought better of it, and remained silent.

"Now, you take their women. Do they ever allow us to see their wives? Bring them into our company? Not a damn. But they want our Coloured girls all the time."

"That's not fair," Miriam insisted.

"Oh, isn't it? Since when have you become so fond of Indians? Why the hell didn't you marry a bloody coolie and rear a lot of oily, curry brats?"

They heard a knock at the door. Miriam was still looking at Kenneth in horror.

"Come on, answer it!"

"But Kenneth!"

"What the hell, don't sit there like a bloody fool!"

"I'll go," said Andrew rising.

He walked down the passage feeling as if he might explode. He opened the door to admit James and a heavily-powdered white woman. His brother mumbled a distant

greeting, and Andrew then retreated to his room as fast as he could. He still felt he should have countered Kenneth's racialistic remarks. How long would he have to endure his brother-in-law? He realized that there was almost nothing he could do. Maybe one day, when he was qualified and could stand on his own two feet. Maybe then he could answer back.

From his room he heard the front door bang as Miriam went out, and soon afterwards the glasses were clinking in the lounge. For how much longer would he have to stand by helplessly?

The Nationalist Government unleashed a spate of legislation to implement their policy of segregation. Apartheid. Different races must be separated. Post office apartheid. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.

"But Kenneth," Miriam insisted on another evening, "these laws must affect you as a Coloured man."

"Do I look like a Coloured man?"

"No, you don't, but you are registered as one."

"Do you for one moment think that anyone would suspect that unless they saw my wife?"

James was now a frequent visitor, often accompanied by different white women. Kenneth resented Andrew's answering the door, and said as much to Miriam who tactfully advised Andrew to keep to his room. Best stay out of his way altogether, he finds your presence embarrassing. The moment James came Miriam would find a pretext for going out. There was obviously no love lost between brother and sister. Where she went Andrew did not know. Kenneth and James would settle down to their drinking with whomsoever James had brought along.

Early in September, months after the train protest incident, Andrew slipped into a Modern Youth Association meeting, and quietly occupied a rear seat. Abe sat at the main table, taking notes. The topic under discussion was opposition to post office apartheid. Segregation had just been introduced in all post offices in the Cape Peninsula, and the Modern Youth Association had been invited to send members to a demonstration outside the central General Post Office at noon on the 13th. At the end of a protracted and sometimes heated discussion, the students' association decided to identify itself with the anti-apartheid demonstration after adopting a weighty resolution twice the length of the American Declaration of Independence.

Andrew now regretted having gone to the meeting. Was that further proof of his cowardice? His gutlessness? Or was it sheer apathy? He didn't know himself.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 13th, his mind was made up. He cut all lectures for the day and hitched a lift to Town. Outside the General Post Office he found a crowd milling about. More than a hundred demonstrators stood lining the pavements with protest posters, and at the far end he spotted Abe. This might be his chance to make it up, prove himself, save his conscience. He pushed his way through the spectators till he stood behind his friend.

"Hello, Abe," he whispered. "I'm reporting for duty."

Abe turned around and showed no reaction when he saw who it was.

"Good!"

"Where do I find a poster?"

"There are none left, but you can share mine. Grab one end."

For the next two hours they stood, while the crowd grew larger and the police marched up and down the line. A white lady walked in front of the demonstrators waving her umbrella.

"Keep your heads up and you'll go far!" she kept repeating in a high-pitched voice.

"You agree?" Andrew asked.

"What?"

"If you keep your head up you'll go far?"

"Sure. Don't you?"

"Of course I do," Andrew said, and he meant it.

Andrew completes his university studies and gets a position teaching high school science. His job begins in January 1952, as more apartheid laws are passed and racial tensions continue to grow.

Andrew kept off politics to the best of his ability till April when the country celebrated the tercentenary of the landing of Johan van Riebeeck, who had founded the first permanent white settlement at the Cape. Amid much pageantry and ceremony there was great talk of three hundred more years of white rule. There was also a move afoot amongst non-whites to boycott the festivities and not participate in the celebration of their own oppression. Thousands of leaflets were distributed and Andrew gave some to selected students in his class.

The following morning before school started, van Blerk called him into the office. The Principal held a leaflet in his hand.

"Mr. Dreyer, do you know anything about these leaflets?" He handed the leaflet to Andrew.

"Yes, I do."

"They are circulating in the school. Have you any idea of their origin?"

"I'm not prepared to answer you."

"Could it be that they come from you?"

"Are you making an accusation?"

"Yes, I am making an accusation."

"Well, you know what to do in that case."

"Mr. Dreyer, you are jeopardizing your career in its infancy. You are not allowed to distribute political material on school premises."

"Thank you for your advice."

"Good morning, Mr. Dreyer."

Andrew went back to his class in a huff. During lunch-time he met Keith.

"Van Blerk knows about my distributing boycott leaflets."

"That's lousy."

"He asked me about their appearance on the premises."

"And off the premises?"

"He didn't mention that."

"I think it is time we called his bluff. He has no control over us after school."

When the final bell rang to end the school day, Keith and Andrew stood outside the Main Gate, distributing fresh leaflets. Van Blerk passed them without saying a word.

The following afternoon after school they were again outside the gates. Students queued along the pavement for leaflets. Van Blerk got into his car and drove off. Fifteen minutes later he was back, accompanied by a police officer. For half an hour the two sat in the car watching Keith and Andrew distributing the boycott notices.

On 26th June 1952, the Congresses began their Defiance

of Unjust Laws Campaign. It was based on the Gandhian precept of civil disobedience and was completely non-violent. African and Indian volunteers deliberately broke some apartheid law or other, thus inviting arrest.

Andrew had read about it and discussed it thoroughly with Abe. They found far too many points of disagreement with the Campaign to entertain the idea of playing an active part.

One day late in August, as Andrew's train pulled into Cape Town Station he saw a crowd gathered near the ice-cream stalls. People were milling around and Andrew also tried to catch a glimpse of what was happening. From the conversations around him he gathered that a group of Defiers had just been arrested for deliberately occupying a whites-only train compartment and that the police were trying to lead them off. There were shouts of Freedom and Afrika and thumb-raising. Very soon Andrew found himself standing in front of the crowd. The Defiers were manacled and being pushed and shoved by the police. Among them Andrew spotted Justin walking firmly and refusing to be hurried along. He in turn noticed Andrew and half-smiled, raising his thumb in the Congress salute as he walked off to prison.

Andrew watched bewildered and stunned, unable to appreciate fully what was happening. Instead of going straight home he first went to see Abe.

"Remember last Tuesday evening we discussed the Defiance Campaign?"

"Yes," Abe replied.

"We came to the conclusion it was merely a Congress stunt?"

"Yes."

"I saw Defiers being marched to prison this afternoon."

"So?"

"Justin was among them."

"Who?"

"Justin Bailey."

"So what does that mean?"

"It makes all the difference seeing a close friend in manacles."

"Now don't be sickly and sentimental."

"I am feeling sentimental and I'm not ashamed to admit it. I felt a coward because I wasn't marching with him."

"How noble and sugary. Look, Andrew, this situation must be opposed on a rational basis. Changes cannot be brought about by stunts jerking at people's heart-strings."

"What about train apartheid?"

"Tactics do not hold good for ever. What was suitable before need not be applicable now."

"I suppose you're right in a way."

"What do people like Justin and company hope to achieve? A change of heart in the powers that be?"

"I don't really know."

"We must hit them where it hurts most. Their pockets, not their consciences."

"I guess you're right. But seeing Justin in handcuffs did something to me. Something inside which I can't explain."

In October there were riots in Port Elizabeth. At New Brighton a white constable tried to arrest an African who had stolen a tin of paint. His friends tried to release him and the policeman fired into the crowd. Tension mounted and an S.O.S. was sent out for police reserves. Then the rioting started. Four whites were murdered, there were dozens of African casualties, seven of them fatal.

The following month there was violence in East London. Police baton-charged a religious gathering after ordering the crowd to disperse, and many Africans had their skulls cracked. People's tempers were inflamed to white heat. A European nun who had worked for Africans in East London for many years was set upon by some rioters and murdered.

Although he knew it was useless, Andrew reapplied for his post for the next year. Van Blerk must have branded him as an agitator in the eyes of the authorities for he received a reply regretting that his position had already been filled. He heard later that a non-graduate had taken his place.

Student Handout #11

CREATING A STORY

Based on what you've learned thus far from studying the situation in South Africa, write a short story about life in that country.

Listed below are some examples of the topics your story might deal with. They are merely **suggestions**. Feel free to change any of these or to make up a totally original one.

Try to make your story as real and believable as possible.

- A married black male mine worker has three children. There is a threat of a strike at the mine where he works.
- An African woman and her family are being moved from their home in an illegal shantytown to the bantustans.
- A white government official has the job of moving 4,000 Africans (old men, women and children) from a township into the homelands.
- A white reporter is covering life in the townships.
- A woman who is "banned" lives in a remote area out in the country.
- A 16 year old black South African is arrested for not having his pass with him.
- A "Colored" woman and a white man fall in love.
- A husband and wife live legally in Soweto, the large African township outside Johannesburg. They have been asked by a friend in the bantustan if he can come live with them (illegally).
- A leader of a black union at an auto factory in Port Elizabeth has been fired for being too "political." A group of workers plans a response to his firing.
- A white woman tells her African servant that she'll have to send her new baby to the bantustans to be with friends if she still wants to work for her.
- A black man was overheard saying he thought the ANC was a good organization. He was arrested and is now being prosecuted.
- An 18 year old white man opposed to apartheid tries to decide with his friends whether to resist the draft. The penalty could be many years in prison.
- An African man has been sick with the flu for over a week. When he returns to his job the white boss says that he is fired—he must leave and go back to the bantustans.
- A poor couple's 15 year old son dies in prison. The authorities say he had a heart attack. The parents don't believe this. They've been told to travel the several hundred miles to Cape Town to collect the body or the government will bury it. They have no money.

Student Handout #12

AFRIKANER EXPERIENCE: TIMELINE

- 1652 Dutch trading company establishes a settlement on the Cape of Good Hope. The colony is intended to supply Dutch ships on their way to the East Indies with fresh provisions. The Dutch settlers call themselves Afrikaners or Boers. One problem: the area is already inhabited by Khoisan hunters.
- 1658 First substantial importation of black slaves. Taken from a Portuguese slave ship captured at sea.
- 1659-60 First KhoiKhoi-Dutch War.
- 1814 Great Britain establishes control over Cape Colony.
- 1834 British abolish slavery in South Africa. Afrikaners, dependent on slavery, are angered.
- 1836-38 The Great Trek: 10,000 Afrikaners set off on a mass migration northward to escape British rule. Establish Boer states of Transvaal and Orange Free State.
- 1838 Battle of Blood River: 500 Afrikaners defeat 10,000 Zulus and take their land. Boer republic in Natal founded.
- 1852 British recognize independence of Transvaal.
- 1854 British grant independence to Orange Free State.
- 1886 Gold is discovered in the Transvaal. British mining companies move in.
- 1899-1902 Boer War between British and Afrikaners. 250,000 British troops defeat 40,000 Boers: 5,000 Boers die in battle, 5,000 Boer adults and 20,000 children die in British concentration camps. Defeat of Boers creates a new class of poor whites. Second Great Trek: Afrikaners migrate to the cities.
- 1910 Establishment of the Union of South Africa.
- 1911 **Mine and Works Act** passes. It imposes a "color bar" in the mines. Skilled jobs are reserved for whites only. Strikes by blacks are made a crime.
- 1922 To cut costs, South African companies increase the ratio of blacks to whites working in the mines. Whites seize control of the mines. The army kills many white workers retaking the mines. Four leaders are sent to the gallows.
- 1939 Led by Prime Minister Jan Smuts, the South African Parliament, by a narrow margin, votes to join war against Nazi Germany. Siding with Germany, an estimated 250,000 Afrikaners join Ossewabrandwag movement to sabotage the war effort. Many Afrikaners are imprisoned, including B.J. Vorster (Prime Minister 1966-78).
- 1948 Nationalist Party comes to power, supported by Afrikaner workers, farmers and industrialists. Nationalists begin instituting official policy of apartheid.
- 1949 250,000 Afrikaners make a pilgrimage to the Voortrekker Monument in celebration of their new found unity.
- 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: During peaceful demonstration protesting Pass Laws, police kill 69, wound 180. The two black nationalist organizations, African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress, are banned.
- 1961 The Nationalist Party holds referendum on question of ties to Great Britain. South African whites vote to become a republic, severing ties with the British Commonwealth.
- 1961 African National Congress (ANC) organizes its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation.) Plans sabotage attacks against the government.
- 1974 Coup in Portugal overthrows regime which is the last European government to deny independence to African colonies, including Angola and Mozambique.
- 1975 Mozambique becomes independent. Angola becomes independent. These formerly white-controlled countries are now led by people who strongly condemn South Africa's apartheid system.
- 1976 Soweto Uprising: protests across the country. As many as 1,000 people, mostly young, are killed.

Student Handout #13

AFRIKANER EXPERIENCE: QUESTIONS

1. "The 'laager' is above all a state of mind which sees enemies everywhere and tries to protect against them." Explain your understanding of this 'laager' mentality and what experiences in Afrikaner history gave rise to it.
2. The film discusses the split between the Afrikaners and the British in South Africa. What were some of the events which caused antagonisms between these two groups of white South Africans?
3. How do white Afrikaners justify their treatment of the black majority in South Africa?
4. Based on what you know about the Afrikaner, how likely do you think it is that there will be a **peaceful** change to a non-racial democracy in South Africa? Explain.

Student Handout #14

AFRIKANER EXPERIENCE: QUOTES

1. "The Afrikaner dilemma was this: he has needed black muscles to work the land for him but he has always lived in fear that those same muscles would one day take the land from him."
2. "Blood River showed what a small band of disciplined and well armed men could accomplish. The lesson has not been forgotten: today the white man in South Africa rules because he has the guns, and he's willing to use them."
3. General Herzog: "Only one person has the right to be boss in South Africa: namely, the Afrikaner."
4. 1948: "The Nationalist (Party) platform said, 'If we reject the master race principle and if the blacks are given the vote, how can the European remain boss? The European must retain the right to rule the country and to keep it a white man's country.'"
5. 1960: "They (the Afrikaners) had defeated the British only to be confronted with an ultimately more formidable enemy: the old 'black peril' in the shape of black nationalism."
6. "Despite their own experience as revolutionaries, the Afrikaner Nationalists felt no sympathy for black nationalists. They saw them as rivals for political power, to be suppressed at all costs."
7. "For Afrikaners, communism is the anti-Christ, and liberal thinking will lead to the destruction of the race."
8. "It has been said that white South Africans have a passion for security rather than liberty."
9. "In trying to safeguard the laager, the laws of Afrikanerdom have created innumerable enemies dedicated to its destruction."
10. "On an unprecedented scale, Afrikaners are depriving 17 million of their countrymen of their citizenship, making them strangers in their own country . . . At a time when blacks are losing a tribal identity and gaining a national consciousness, Afrikaners are trying to force retribalization upon them."
11. "The world's mistrust of apartheid is caused by this glaring contradiction: the Nationalists proclaim that their policy is to separate black from white, yet the present and future prosperity of the Afrikaners depends upon cheap black labor."

Student Handout #15

GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE: TIMELINE

Note: The film, *Generations of Resistance*, begins with black struggles for equality and justice in the 20th century. But long before that, Africans were fighting to maintain their land and freedom.

In 1659, only a few years after the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, the Khoikhoi people fought to resist the theft of land and cattle by the Europeans. Conflict continued for many years.

The 18th and 19th centuries were filled with struggles by various African groups to halt the theft of their territory and the destruction of their way of life.

The Xhosa people, in particular, fought a series of wars against European expansion. On the occasion of the imprisonment of the Xhosa leader, Makana, a number of his comrades appealed to the British and offered up themselves in exchange.

Their appeal to Makana's white captors eloquently expresses their view of the origins of European/African conflict in Southern Africa:

"The war, British chiefs, is an unjust one. You are striving to extirpate (root out) a people whom you forced to take up arms. When our fathers and the fathers of the Boers first settled in the Suurveld (the area west of the Fish River), they dwelt together in peace. Their flocks grazed on the same hills; their herdsmen smoked together out of the same pipes; they were brothers . . . until the herds of the Xhosas increased so as to make the hearts of the Boers sore. What those covetous men could not get from our fathers for old buttons, they took by force. Our fathers were men; they fought for their property. They began to hate the colonists who coveted their all, and aimed at their destruction.

"Now, their kraals and our fathers' kraals were separate. The Boers made commandos on our fathers. Our fathers drove them out of the Suurveld; and we dwelt there because we had conquered it. There we were circumcised; there we married wives; and there our children were born . . .

"We wish for peace; we wish to rest in our huts; we wish to get milk for our children; our wives wish to till the land. But your troops cover the plains, and swarm in the thickets, where they cannot distinguish the man from the woman and shoot all."

The timeline picks up the ongoing struggle for justice in South Africa in 1905:

- 1905** Imposition of Hut Tax.
- 1906** In Natal, a section of Zulus under Chief Bambata rebelled against British authorities. In the Nkandla Mountains, he built a guerrilla army of 1,000. Smashed by the British, Bambata was captured and his head was cut off. In this and other Zulu rebellions, some three to four thousand Africans were killed. The "Bambata lesson" was that tribally based resistance was doomed to failure.
- 1912** African National Congress formed—"The primary objective of this organization was to fight against tribalism among ourselves which was the greatest enemy at the time . . . We began to regard ourselves as one nation."
Selby Msimang, ANC
- 1913** **Native Land Act** passed. Prohibits Africans owning land anywhere except in certain areas called "Native Reserves." This "disinheritance" left only 7% of South Africa to Africans. All the rest was designated "white."
"The white people who come to South Africa wanted to take, to own, South Africa—completely without us. That has been the real grievance amongst our people for a long time. Even now we cannot think the South African situation will ever reach a stage where there will be peace in this country until the wrongs done to African people by the Act of 1913 could be righted."
Selby Msimang
"To enter his own country an African must now show a pass to those who stole it."
- 1919** ANC anti-pass campaign. 700 are arrested in Johannesburg. 400 dock workers strike in Cape Town.
- 1920s** Many Africans migrate to cities.
- 1926** **Colour Bar Act:** Reserved skilled jobs in mines to white mineworkers. South African Indian Congress formed.
- 1930** Three blacks killed by police at a pass burning demonstration.
- 1939** South Africa enters World War II. Africans' labor sought in the economic boom accompanying war effort. ANC supports war effort in hopes of post-war democratic rights.
- 1944** ANC Youth League founded by Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, et. al.
600 Indians jailed for passive resistance against segregation in Natal.
- 1946** At least 60,000 African miners strike.
- 1948** National Party wins elections. Announces official policy of apartheid.

- 1949 **Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act. Population Registration Act.** ANC Youth League announces "Programme of Action": civil disobedience and noncooperation against pass system and other laws of apartheid.
- 1950 **Group Areas Act.** ANC calls general strike, police kill 18 in Transvaal.
Suppression of Communism Act—all efforts to end apartheid called "communist."
- 1952 ANC and allies launch Defiance Campaign—deliberately break apartheid laws. Over 8,500 arrested. Police kill 33 demonstrators.
Government introduces whipping as punishment for anyone breaking the law as a protest.
ANC membership increases from 25,000 to 100,000.
- 1955 **Freedom Charter** adopted at the Congress of the People. Provides basis for ANC policy.
- 1956 The Women's Campaign—Government introduces passes for women. Thousands arrested in protests. Their slogan is, "You have struck a rock once you have struck a woman."
- 1956-61 Treason Trial. 156 activists including Nelson Mandela tried for treason—acquitted after 4 years.
- 1957 Pondoland—Mountain committees formed to organize resistance to control by Bantu authorities.
- 1959 Pan Africanist Congress established. Pass book chosen as target of protest. Deliberately seek arrest: "No bail, no defense, no fine."
- 1960 Sharpeville massacre—69 Africans killed by police while demonstrating peacefully against pass laws. African anger erupts throughout country. State of Emergency declared by the government. ANC and PAC banned by the government.
Pondoland massacre—demonstrating for an end to control by Bantu authorities, pass books, and segregation in education, 30 Africans are shot as they flee armed police and helicopters.
- 1961 ANC organizes for armed struggle: forms Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation. Engages in limited sabotage.
- 1964 Rivonia Trial: Mandela, Sisulu and others sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage. Sent to Robben Island.
- 1969 South African Students Organization (SASO) forms and elects Steve Biko president. SASO is South Africa's first organization formed in the new "Black Consciousness Movement."

"The main aim actually in developing Black Consciousness as an ideology was to try to make people proud of themselves, proud of their color. For quite a number of years the main aim of blacks was to try to become white, which is physically impossible and psychologically frustrating. . . . If a slave wants to be free he must begin by appreciating himself. Otherwise he has got no hope of defeating the master if he still feels he's inferior."

Henry Nengwekhulu

- 1976 Sparked by new requirements that certain courses be taught in Afrikaans, Soweto students lead boycotts of schools, marches and demonstrations. Police kill between 600-1,000, mostly young people, in the "Soweto Uprising."
- 1977 Steve Biko is killed while being held by police. Seventeen Black Consciousness organizations banned.

"Perhaps the one working in somebody's kitchen there—the cook there—may be a guerrilla. The one working in the garden there may be guerrilla. There is nothing—not even the delivery of milk or delivery of newspapers—that the white people can do without the African hand. It is the African people who are everywhere."

Woman in Generations of Resistance

Student Handout #16

*Adapted from the original**NELSON MANDELA: THE RIVONIA TRIAL SPEECH TO THE COURT*

I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa . . . In my youth in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Among the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defense of the fatherland. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me.

Having said this, I must deal immediately with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober judgement of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the whites.

I have already mentioned that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). I, and the others who started the organization, did so for two reasons. First, we believed that as a result of government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to channel and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country. Second, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful ways of expressing opposition to apartheid had been closed by laws, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a lifetime of inferiority, or to defy the government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided violence; when this form was made illegal, and when the government resorted to a show of force to crush the opposition, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

For thirty-seven years—that is until 1949—the African National Congress adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But white governments remained unmoved, and the rights of Africans became less and less.

And this time a new decision was made to protest against apartheid but peaceful, but illegal, demonstrations against certain laws. So, the ANC began the Defiance Campaign, in which I was placed in charge of volunteers. More than 8,500 people broke apartheid laws and went to jail. Yet there was not a single instance of violence in the course of this campaign.

During the Defiance Campaign, the Public Safety Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed. These laws provided worse penalties for protesting against laws.

Despite this, the protests continued and the ANC stuck to its policy of nonviolence. In 1956, 156 leading members of the ANC, including myself, were arrested on a charge of high treason and other charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

In 1960, the Sharpeville massacre resulted in a “state of emergency” being called and the declaration of the ANC as an illegal organization. My colleagues and I, after careful consideration, decided that we would not obey this law. The African people were not part of the government and did not make the laws by which they were governed. For us to accept the banning was the same as accepting the silencing of the Africans for all time. The ANC refused to break up, and went underground. We believed it was our duty to preserve this organization which had been built up with almost 50 years of hard work.

We held a large conference. The conference was attended by Africans with various political ideas. I was the Secretary of the conference and was responsible for organizing the national “stay-at-home” which was called to protest our continued lack of rights. As *all* strikes by Africans are illegal, the person organizing such a strike must avoid arrest. I was chosen to be this person, and so I had to leave my home and family and go into hiding to avoid arrest.

The stay-at-home was to be a peaceful demonstration. Careful instructions were given to organizers and members to avoid any violence. The government’s answer was to make new and harsher laws, send armed vehicles and soldiers into the townships in a massive show of force to scare the people. This showed the government had decided to rule by force alone.

We had to continue the fight. Anything else would have been surrender. Our problem was not whether to fight, but was how to continue the fight. We of the ANC had always stood for a democracy, with full participation regardless of someone’s race. And we didn’t want to drive the races further apart than they already were. But the hard facts were that fifty years of nonviolence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive laws, and fewer and fewer rights. When some of us discussed this in May and June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy to work for a nonracial State by nonviolence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy. They were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism.

At the beginning of June 1961, after thinking long and hard about the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that violence in this country was inevitable, and it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and nonviolence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force.

The decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. For many years our thinking had been guided by wanting to avoid civil war. But when we decided to include violence as

part of our policy, we realized that we might one day have to face the prospect of civil war. This had to be taken into account in making our plans. We needed a plan which was flexible and which allowed us to act with the needs of the times. Above all, the plan had to be one which recognized civil war as the *last* resort.

Four forms of violence were possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism, and there is open revolution. We chose sabotage. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy had results, democratic government could become a reality.

The first plan was based on a careful study of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign investment and foreign trade. We felt that destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications, would tend to scare away business from the country, make it more difficult for goods from the industrial areas to reach the seaports on schedule, and would in the long run hurt badly the economic life of South Africa. This would force the voters (whites) of the country to reconsider their position.

Umkhonto had its first operation on December 16, 1961, when government buildings in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Durban were attacked. The selection of targets is proof of our policy. Had we intended to attack life we would have selected targets where people were and not empty buildings and power stations.

The response to our actions among the white population was violent. The response of the Africans was one of encouragement. Suddenly there was hope again. Things were happening. People in the townships became eager for political news. Our first successes were met with a great deal of enthusiasm, and people began to wonder how soon freedom would be obtained.

But we in Umkhonto worried about the white response. The lines were being drawn. The whites and blacks were moving into separate camps, and the chances of avoiding a civil war weren't good.

Already many, many Africans had died as a result of racial violence. In 1920, when the famous leader, Masabala, was held in Port Elizabeth jail, 24 of a group of Africans who had gathered to demand his release were killed by the police and white civilians. In 1921, more than one hundred Africans died in the Bulhoek affair. In 1924, over two hundred Africans were killed when the Administrator of South West Africa* led a force against a group protesting the dog tax. On March 21, 69 unarmed Africans were murdered by police at Sharpeville. And the list goes on.

Experience has taught us that outright rebellion would give the government just more opportunities for the massive slaughter of our people. However, if war were inevitable, we wanted the fight to be fought on terms most favorable to our people. The fight which held out the best chances for us and least risk of life on both sides was *guerrilla warfare*. We decided to make plans for the possibility of guerrilla warfare.

I made arrangements for our recruits to have military training in other African countries. We realize that it would take many years to build up a large enough group of trained soldiers to start a guerrilla campaign, and whatever happened, the training would be of value.

Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the government *declares* them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work, and not be thrown out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work, and not to be forced to live in rented houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in their own ghettos. African men want to have their wives and children live with them where they work. African women want to be with their menfolk and not be left permanently widowed in the Reserves (bantustans.) Africans want to be allowed to travel in their own country and to seek work where they want to and not where the Labor Bureau tells them to. Africans want a fair share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society.

Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them, our horrible conditions will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes white men fear democracy. But it is not true that the vote for all will result in black domination. Political division, based on color, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one color group by another. The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racism. When we win, we will not change that policy.

Our struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime, I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

(This speech was delivered to the court on April 20, 1964. Mandela was convicted of attempting to overthrow the government of South Africa. He was sentenced to life in prison, and sent to Robben Island.)

*South West Africa is now called Namibia.

Student Handout #17

NELSON MANDELA: SPEECH TO THE COURT: QUESTIONS

1. What are the conditions in South Africa which you think Mandela wants changed?
2. In what nonviolent ways did Mandela and the ANC try to change the South African system?
3. Mandela came to decide that nonviolent change in South Africa was impossible. What were the reasons for his decision?
4. Why did the ANC decide upon sabotage rather than other forms of violence?
5. Based on this speech, what kind of person does Nelson Mandela seem to be?
6. Do you agree with Mandela and the ANC's decision to use violence to change South Africa? If so, explain why. If **not**, describe what other methods of change might be effective. (Use the other side to answer this.)

Student Handout #18

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

*Adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown, Johannesburg,
on June 25 and 26, 1955*

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws; All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN
THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they

choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE
WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and hunger;

The State shall help the peasants with implements, seed, and tractors to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, or organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship, and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The State shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE
SHALL BE OPENED!

The Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the State; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children; Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the State;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland* and Swaziland—shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

*Now Lesotho and Botswana, respectively.

Student Handout #19

BLACK UNION ACTIVIST

You work in Jamison's Foods, a factory which cans food in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Recently, tensions in the factory reached the boiling point. The members of your union, the General Workers Union, met and decided to call a strike.

Workers have been getting angrier and angrier as the cost of living goes up while their wages stay the same. The average worker in Jamison's now makes about 43 rand a week. How does the company expect you to live on that when the official poverty level for a family is 54 rand a week! Conditions are even worse for women workers. They make anywhere between one third and one quarter less than men. Incredibly, the company has laid people off when work was slow and then forced other workers to accept overtime rather than rehire those laid off. If complaints are made to the white supervisors they often respond with insulting racial remarks.

Finally, five union members, chosen democratically by workers in the factory, went to talk to company officials demanding that Jamison's negotiate with the union about the workers' grievances. These people were fired. One of them, Jacob Tembu, was detained (arrested without charge) by the government. (The government has been known to torture prisoners held in detention; many have died.) You think that Tembu was arrested because he is also active in the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (PEBCO), a group working to improve conditions in Port Elizabeth and ultimately to end apartheid. He is one of the most dedicated leaders for freedom in this part of the country.

Your wages and conditions at work aren't the only complaints you have these days. You live in the township of Kwazekela. Not long ago, township officials decided to raise the rent charged on your tiny house to 18 rand a month from the 15 rand you'd been paying. Even that had been too much. And if this isn't enough, bus fares also are increasing.

Worst of all, of course, is the continued oppression you feel as a black living in a racist country: having to carry the humiliating pass book, not being allowed to live where you choose, your children forced to attend inferior schools.

Your strike is for an immediate improvement in conditions, but also to say "**Enough**—we want the whole system to change, now!"

There are some things that you should keep in mind as you begin your strike. The union is technically an all-African organization. Coloreds are in a different, but generally supportive union. The Africans tend mostly to have unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, while the somewhat higher skilled jobs are reserved for the Colored workers. Almost all the supervisors are white.

Many of the Africans at Jamison's are contract workers. They are considered citizens of various bantustans—generally the Transkei or Ciskei—and are only allowed to be in Port Elizabeth so long as they are at work. A strike could jeopardize their legal right to stay in Port Elizabeth.

Another thing to consider as the strike begins: Jamison's has recently invested lots of money in heavy machinery. The company would probably find it difficult to weather a long strike or a steep decline in the amount of their canned goods being sold.

You've decided to hold a workers' meeting to determine democratically the best ways to carry on the strike. Remember, as you begin your meeting: **Your goal is not just winning higher wages or better conditions at Jamison's. Your ultimate objective is to work towards the kind of society described in the *Freedom Charter*.**

Student Handout #20

PLANNING THE STRIKE: QUESTIONS

1. **What should the demands of the strike be?** Keep in mind that you can demand things you may not expect to win immediately but which might help to educate others about what **should** be fought for. Be aware that if your strike appears "political"—demanding changes which go beyond higher wages and better working conditions—you run the risk of increased government harassment. This is not to say you shouldn't be political, only to remind you of the risks.

2. Already the government has declared your strike illegal. You did not go through all the proper channels which might allow you to have a legal strike. Doing that could take between 12 and 18 months. **Should you call your strike off for the time being in order to try to get the government to legalize the walkout?**

3. The company has offered to reinstate four of the five fired workers. However, they say Jacob Tembu is a troublemaker and is not welcome back at Jamison's. The company also promises that if the strikers go back to work they will begin negotiations with workers about raising wages and improving conditions. **How will you respond to the company's new offer and the refusal to rehire Tembu?**

4. The company is doing all it can to get the Colored workers—who are mostly skilled—to stay on the job so they can keep production going. Management is promising Colored workers wage increases if they remain working. Company officials have also been telling the Colored workers that they would be foolish to stick with a bunch of Africans; that they have much more in common with whites. After all, they argue, Coloreds now sit in the national parliament and there is even a Colored cabinet minister. **What arguments will you use to convince the Colored workers that they should come out on strike with other black workers? Think of as many as you can.**

5. On one occasion the government attacked and beat up strikers as they picketed the factory. Officials invoked the 1982 Intimidation Act which makes it illegal to use "threats," "jeers" or "jibes" to keep others from working. Already, fifteen of you have been arrested for violating that law. If convicted, these people would face up to ten years in prison and a fine of 19,000 rand. **In what ways will the workers respond to this harassment? Will you continue to picket at Jamison's?**

6. You know that in order to win the strike and also to help move South Africa towards the democracy described in the **Freedom Charter** you need to gain the support of people who work and live in the Port Elizabeth area. (Better still would be to reach people throughout the entire country.) For one thing, the company is trying to recruit people to take your jobs—to "scab"—from the very townships in which the strikers live. The owners of Jamison's also continue to make money by selling their products in and around Port Elizabeth.
 There are a number of crucial questions you need to answer thoughtfully: **What arguments can you use in the townships to convince the people of the community that this is *their* strike too?**
Are there ways you can involve community members in your strike actions?
Are there actions you could encourage people to take in *their own interests* which might also help you?
Note: Consider all these questions carefully. Answering them well is the key to a successful strike.

7. As you know, many black workers at Jamison's are "on contract"—considered citizens of different bantustans but allowed to live around Port Elizabeth so long as they are at work. The company has given the government a list of all the strikers who are on contract. Unless these workers immediately return to work the government says it will "deport" them back to their homelands, with no possibility of ever again legally working in Port Elizabeth. **How will the strikers respond to these threats of "deportations"?**

Student Handout #21-A

ZIMBABWE RESEARCH GUIDE

Assignment: Find out everything you can about South Africa's relationship with Zimbabwe.

Questions to research:

- How did Zimbabwe get its independence?
- What role did South Africa play—either positively or negatively—in Zimbabwe's independence?
- What kind of society is the leadership of Zimbabwe trying to create?
- Is Zimbabwe currently experiencing any internal difficulties that South Africa could take advantage of?
- In what ways could Zimbabwe be said to be dependent on South Africa?
- What is Zimbabwe's relationship with, or attitude towards, the African National Congress or other liberation groups in South Africa?
- Why and how might Zimbabwe pose a threat to white minority rule in South Africa?
- In your view, what kind of social changes would have to take place in South Africa to give peace and justice a chance to develop in Zimbabwe and the rest of the region?

Possible subject headings in the Readers Guide or card catalog:

Zimbabwe
Rhodesia
Southern Africa
Robert Mugabe
Joshua Nkomo
Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference—SADCC

Student Handout #21-B

MOZAMBIQUE RESEARCH GUIDE

Assignment: Find out everything you can about South Africa's relationship with Mozambique.

Questions to research:

- How did Mozambique get its independence?
- What role did South Africa play—either positively or negatively—in Mozambique's independence?
- What kind of society is the leadership of Mozambique trying to create?
- What problems has Mozambique experienced since independence?
- Which of these have been caused—at least partially—by South Africa?
- In what ways could Mozambique be said to be dependent on South Africa?
- What are Mozambique's plans for freeing itself of this dependence?
- What is Mozambique's relationship with, or attitude towards, the African National Congress or other liberation groups in South Africa? How has this relationship changed over the years?
- What agreements have South Africa and Mozambique come to in the past? How successful have these been?
- Why and how might Mozambique pose a threat to white minority rule in South Africa?
- In your view, what kind of social changes would have to take place in South Africa to give peace and justice a chance to develop in Mozambique and the rest of the region?

Possible subject headings in the Readers Guide and card catalog:

Mozambique
Portugal
Southern Africa
Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference
Samora Machel
Nkomati Accord

Student Handout #21-C

NAMIBIA RESEARCH GUIDE

Assignment: Find out everything you can about South Africa's relationship with Namibia.

Questions to research:

- When did South Africa take control of Namibia (Southwest Africa)?
- What are the reasons South Africa has not given up control of Namibia? What conditions has the South African government said must be met before Namibia can be independent?
- What have been the effects of this South African control on the Namibian people (social, economic and militarily)?
- What efforts are Namibians undertaking to gain their independence?
- What are the goals of SWAPO—the Southwest Africa People's Organization? What kind of society would they like to see created in Namibia?
- What role has Angola played in Namibia's fight for independence?
- How has South Africa responded to the Angolan role in the Namibian conflict?
- What role have other African nations played in this independence struggle?
- What has been the relationship between SWAPO and the African National Congress in South Africa?
- In your view, what kind of social changes would have to take place in South Africa to give peace and justice a chance to develop in Namibia and the rest of the region?

Possible subject headings in Readers Guide and card catalog:

Namibia
Southwest Africa
South Africa
SWAPO
Angola
Sam Nujoma
United Nations

Student Handout #21-D

ANGOLA RESEARCH GUIDE

Assignment: Find out everything you can about South Africa's relationship with Angola.

Questions to research:

- How did Angola get its independence?
- What role did South Africa play—either positively or negatively—in Angola's independence?
- What kind of society is the leadership of Angola trying to create?
- What problems has Angola experienced since independence?
- Which of these have been caused—at least partially—by South Africa?
- What is Angola's role in the Namibian war for independence?
- What is Angola's relationship with or attitude towards SWAPO, the Southwest Africa People's Organization, in Namibia?
- How has the South African government responded to Angola's role in this conflict?
- What agreements have South Africa and Angola come to in the past? How successful have these been?
- Why might Angola, at least indirectly, pose a threat to white minority rule in South Africa?
- In your view, what kind of social changes would have to take place in South Africa to give peace and justice a chance to develop in Angola and the rest of the region?

Possible subject headings in Readers Guide and card catalog:

Angola
Portugal
Namibia
Southwest Africa
Cuba
SWAPO
UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
Jonas Savimbi
Aghostino Neto

Student Handout #22

EXCERPT FROM *BATTLEFRONT NAMIBIA* BY JOHN YA-OTTO

LESSONS IN BLACK AND WHITE



I was always hungry. My breakfast of porridge and milk wore off fast, and if I brought food to school, I would finish it by mid-morning, between the sessions of physical exercise and school construction that the Rhenisch Mission leaders made part of our curriculum. From then on it was a battle between time and my rumbling belly. The lack of food made me so drowsy that I would get up and stand by the wall to keep from nodding off. Later would come the hunger pangs, usually brought on by the sight of some student eating. Once they had started, they became impossi-

ble to ignore; no biblical wonder, no verbs or multiplication tables could erase the image of meat and white bread that seized my brain. The prickling contractions in my solar plexus spread down to my legs. In the breaks I would fill myself with water, but that helped only until the constant trips to the outhouse made me feel even more wobbly. Nothing but food can chase away hunger when you're an adolescent and stretching like a mealie stalk.

Supper was not until seven or eight o'clock, so after school I joined my friends to raid vegetable gardens in the

white townships. The green peas and tomatoes might be delicious, but there was never enough to fill me up. A better place to go was the white bachelors' bunkhouses, where we could find potatoes and whole sandwiches in the rubbish bins. In Aus, too, I used to search through the rubbish for food, scraping the mould off the bread and fruit and gulping the edible parts down then and there so that Anna wouldn't find out. But here in Tsumeb the older boys laid claim to the bunkhouse location; they respected each other's spots and ganged up on any outsider who moved in on their grounds. Only the crumbs were left for us younger ones, though I was luckier than most when Danny Mutilifa, who 'owned' one of the more bountiful bins, recruited me to watch his spot until the senior classes were let out. Before I left school he would collar me: 'Make sure I find you at my bin Johnny; let nobody else near it!' Only after Danny had sorted through the day's haul would I get my cut.

Another way to get food was to work for a white family. The year I turned fourteen I was hired by a Dutch couple in Kleintsumeb, the district where engineers and managers lived. When I arrived after school, I went straight to the back steps where the cook, an old Herero woman, gave me a big piece of bread and coffee with plenty of milk in a can. Then I washed dishes, weeded the garden, and bicycled into town for groceries.

It would often be evening before my chores in the Dutch people's house were done. It was no good for a black boy to be caught in Kleintsumeb after dark, and I used to run along the back roads to the Ohoromende location. One night I ran right into a group of white boys playing with a dog. I turned down an alley, but was too slow. 'Slave! Kaffir boy!' the boys yelled. 'Get him, get him!' They set the dog on me. I couldn't possibly outrun the big beast, so I picked up a big rock and turned to face him. His ears lay flat along his head and his teeth were bared. As he was about to leap, I let out a howl and threw the stone, my eyes closed with fright. I must have hit him because when I looked again the dog was limping back towards the boys, whimpering. I seized the moment and ducked down the alley, crossed the next street and was gone.

I was almost home when a policeman on a bicycle pulled up beside me. Without a word, he grabbed my arm and handcuffed me to his bike, then set out for town so fast that I had to run to keep from being dragged to the ground. I was completely out of breath when we reached the group of boys. 'Ja, that's him,' they shouted. 'He threw rocks at our dog.'

'I'll take care of him,' the policeman said. 'C'mon, blackie, let's go.' And off we went at the same lung-puncturing pace. By the time we reached the police station, the policeman was only a blurred figure riding in front of me.

What were they going to do to me? Ever since I had been a little boy in Aus I had learned to fear the constables. They raided Anna's *shebeen* and arrested our neighbors for being without passes. From the adults I heard how they beat up contract workers who ran away from their bosses. In Aus, however, these things had been the worry of the grown-ups; I could play and fight as I pleased. Now, as my captor led me into the charge office, the worst fears went spinning through my head.

And sitting behind the counter was none other than Sergeant Rautenbach. Of all Boer policemen, Rautenbach

was the one who inspired the most fear in Ohoromende. He could track down anyone, and once he had his man, he was said to be ruthless. When he led the pass and beer raids, he would walk along the lines of arrested men and women before they were taken away, staring each one in the face, inscribing them in his mind, all the time swinging his key chain on his finger. When he swung his keys like that, everyone shuddered.

I began to weep before the feared Boer had a chance to open his mouth. 'Now, what's this one done?' he finally asked, without taking his expressionless eyes off me.

'No, no, *baas*,' I protested. 'These boys sent their dog after me and I defended myself and that's all that happened, honestly.'

Rautenbach's keys swung from his finger. His eyes bored right through me. 'Did you say "boys"? Don't you know that you're a kaffir?'

'But, *baas*, they were young, younger than me, *baas*.' I tried to defend myself.

From under the counter Rautenbach drew a *rottang*, a thick piece of reed treated with salt water. Without looking at me, he tried it on the counter. Whoop, whoop! The length of reed smacked down. Suddenly the officer who had brought me in grabbed me from behind and held me in an armlock. Bending me forward, he pulled my shirt up over my head.

The *rottang* stung my back. 'The way you talk to me is the way you talk to any white,' Rautenbach said. Again the *rottang* and I screamed. 'If it's a boy, call him *kleinbaas*; if it's a little girl, call her *kleinmeisie*.' His voice was calm, like that of a patient teacher. Each sentence was punctuated by a rap of the *rottang*.

When they were done, Rautenbach sent an African constable to get Isak. I was still sobbing when he arrived. 'Uncle, they beat me, they beat me.' I ran over to him and lifted my shirt to show him the welts across my back.

'This isn't a damn dressing room,' one of the whites said. 'Get your kid out of here, Isak; he's just upset.'

On our way home I told Isak what had happened. The old man said nothing; he just gnashed his pipe between his teeth and stared down at his feet as we shuffled through the location. I couldn't understand it. Isak did not seem to react at all. 'But isn't there something we can *do*?' I finally cried.

Isak stopped and turned to me. 'No! There's nothing we can do.' He tried a faint, comforting smile, but his voice betrayed his bitterness. 'You must understand, Johnny, there's nothing we can do about these Boers. Just learn to stay out of trouble, that's all.'

Stay out of trouble! It seemed we couldn't leave our house without being in danger! What had we done to be treated this way? And Isak, who preached honesty and equality before God, how could he let it pass? The more I thought about this, the more questions I found. The whites had bigger houses, better food, more money than us—why did they also have to treat us worse than dogs? Were they afraid of us? Take the farmer who had waved his gun at Isak and me: uncle had even said the man was a Christian. But the other white Christians I knew seemed to be different—or were they? There was Pastor Rechtmeyer, Isak's superior in the church: I had always thought of him as a kind man who gave us sweets whenever we ran an errand for him. But, there were other things about him that made me wonder

what kind of a person he really was. When Isak returned, exhausted, from his long trips, he immediately had to walk the two miles to the pastor's house with the money he had collected, even though it would have taken the pastor no more than five minutes to drive over to our location. The few times he did come, Rechtmeyer never entered our house; he stayed in his car and had one of us children run to fetch Isak. In that way they talked—the missionary behind the wheel, with the window rolled down, Isak standing in the street bending down to hear what his boss told him.

There were other things too. The missionaries got eight or ten times Isak's salary, yet they never went out on the dusty back roads to confront hostile farmers. They didn't even attend Isak's services in the crowded, steaming-hot location church. Once at the supper table, after a particularly frustrating day, I could see that Isak was fed up. 'These whites are all the same. Some will call you "brother, brother" and shake your hand, but after you've left, they'll wash their hands, just like the rest of them.' He was talking as if to himself, staring at his plate. 'All they care about is the money I collect for them,' he mumbled. Still, he remained faithful to the Church. God, he repeatedly told me, was not responsible for mankind's follies. And with the secular world looking bleak for our people, religion was Isak's only source of hope. Once he had mounted the pulpit, he forgot about racism and hypocrisy; for a short while no earthly evil could block out the blessing that came from being with the Lord.

Was it the case, then, that I could not trust any whites? After being whipped by Rautenbach, I became suspicious towards all Europeans, including the missionaries whose paternalism and jaundiced view of equality now seemed all too clear. Nevertheless, some of them displayed a sincerity and a genuine commitment that kept me from being antagonistic towards the Church. One such person was Emma Köller, my teacher during my last two years at the Rhenisch Mission school. While other teachers rapped our knuckles bloody for being unruly, the most *Schwester* Emma could bring herself to do was to pick up the ruler and plead, 'It would hurt if I used this. Child, it would make Jesus very unhappy.' Her unbounded love was exploited by young boys such as Ben Amathila and me, her top students. When I had not prepared for a class, I would lie back on the bench and moan until Emma noticed. 'Johannes, are you sick?' She would come over and put her hand on my forehead. 'Maybe you are hungry. Have you eaten today?' Her kitchen was always well-stocked with bread and jam and meat. I would spend the rest of the afternoon at her house behind the school, eating, picking fruit in the garden and cleaning up so that the place looked nice when *Schwester* returned at the end of the day.

I kept in contact with Emma for years after I left Tsumeb. She used to tell me that I had the material in me to become a bishop and was sad that I had become involved in politics. Some of her letters were opened by the Special Branch police; if they were wondering why so many SWAPO activists were former students of Emma's, they must have felt cheated when they read her words: 'My child, I know you feel strongly about your politics, but you should also keep up with your Saviour Jesus. It is He who will free us and His ways are not violent.'

The difference between Emma and our other teachers

was that she encouraged us to study, to learn. During the final year in the mission school, I began to think seriously about my future. I had become a leader of our mission's Christian Youth Association by virtue of being an exemplary student. What I wanted to do with my education was not yet important: I only knew that I did not want to spend my life shovelling coal or living in some contract workers' compound. Had it not been for the political upheaval, which offered a new, secular alternative, I might well have stayed on to become a member of the congregation council, choir leader and socially active in the community—but lacking the inner fire of conviction that made Isak such a forceful person.

Halfway through that year, I decided that my only hope lay in Augustineum College in Okahandja, the only high school for Africans in Namibia. There, I thought, I would find an oasis of reason, a haven where no racial barriers were erected. Armed with a diploma from such an institution, I would be judged by my ability, not by the colour of my skin. But the competition for admission was stiff. I approached my studies with undivided zeal and scored high in the exams. Ben Amathila and Bernard Shanyengange, the only two among my friends with the same ambition, had left school shortly before exam time, Shanyengange after a fight with a teacher, Amathila because his parents could not afford to keep him in Tsumeb any longer and called him back to his native Walvis Bay to work in the canneries. Thus I was the only one left in our class to go straight to high school.

When I stepped off the train at Okahandja in January 1955, clutching my cardboard suitcase and a bucket of dried meat, I might as well have had 'new student' written across my chest. My uniform was spotless: white shirt, blue blazer, grey khaki shorts, black knee socks, and shiny black shoes. The blazer badge was in Latin and translated: 'From hard work there is victory.' But I felt like a man. My graduation from the mission school had coincided with my confirmation, a boy's formal step into adulthood. The ceremony called for elaborate preparation in catechism class, though my mind had been ninety per cent on the new clothes that were required—adult clothes. Isak could not afford anything special, so I wrote to my uncle Petrus Haufiku in Tsovis who responded with a mail-order catalogue from Edwards & Co. in Cape Town. I sent away for a full dark brown suit with double-breasted jacket and trousers with creases sharper than knives. The gem was the beautiful Battersby hat, which had become the envy of every youth in Ohoromende. With this important ritual behind me, I felt in every way ready to take my place in Augustineum, our country's ultimate seat of wisdom.

'From hard work is victory'—if I had thought that Augustineum would be different from mission school, I should have thought twice when I read the school motto. The college buildings were old and badly in need of renovation. Consequently, the year I arrived, bricklaying was made part of the curriculum, taught by a semi-literate old Boer who with few words and vague gestures supervised the construction of a new dining hall. In the mornings he was gruff in the manner of the road-gang boss he had been before coming to Augustineum. He never really showed us the work but would curse us if the mortar was not mixed correctly and the walls turned out crooked. We spent nearly

as much time taking down bad work and scraping the used bricks clean of dried mortar as we did actually building. Towards midday, when the old man had had his early shot of gin, the pace would slacken until gradually he drifted off into his own world altogether and we students sought the shade of the jacarandas while the remaining mortar crusted and finally turned to rock in the mixing troughs. It took us the whole year to finish that dining hall, and it still looked as if one big gust of wind would be enough to obliterate this testimony to our new skills.

That first year I spent half of my days on construction. The rest of the time was spent in the classroom under Mr. Osborne, our science teacher, and Mrs. Smith who taught history and Afrikaans. Osborne knew his subjects and when he stuck to teaching, the class was quiet and attentive. But all too often he would forget about science and launch into the strangest monologues about his physical strength. He was young and well built and when he brought his fist down, the heavy wooden desk shook. 'I can beat any of you,' he would say with a grin. 'With this fist I'll turn you into mincemeat. One smack in the mouth and you'll swallow your teeth like stempmealies.' He danced like a boxer, swinging wildly into the air, laughing at his own jokes until the class, too, laughed. I couldn't understand why a competent teacher would spend time on this kind of foolishness. But then much of Afrikaner behaviour was beyond me and Osborne's was not the most troublesome.

Mrs. Smith was a different case. I don't know why she was teaching because she didn't believe that Africans could or should be educated. Worse, she had nothing to teach us; all she ever did was to make us read from the text and listen to her racist tirades. 'You have come here only to fill your stomachs and sleep on a bed,' she would tell us. Then she would ramble on about how we Africans were completely dependent on the whites. 'How many blacks have guns?' she would ask with a laugh. 'If we wanted to, we could wipe you out in a minute.' Unlike Osborne, Mrs. Smith had no respect from our class. To show her what we thought of her insults, we would bang our books on the desk tops and shout to each other across the classroom.

One day when the principal, Mr. Steenkamp, came by on inspection, Ishmael Tjombe found the courage to raise his hand. 'Sir, we would like to bring your attention to something,' he said very politely. 'Sir, we have come here to get an education, but Mrs. Smith seems more preoccupied with insulting us than with teaching.'

There was a long pause as Mrs. Smith's face turned successive shades of red. Steenkamp's eyes scanned the rows of expectant faces; Ishmael obviously had the class behind him. 'My concern is that you learn as much as possible,' Steenkamp finally said. 'Mrs. Smith and I will have a talk about this.'

A few weeks later, however, Mrs. Smith resumed talking rubbish. But now our fear had been broken; we were not going to take this. 'Mrs. Smith,' one of my classmates interrupted her, 'why don't you just give us the reading assignment and let us study in peace.'

Mrs. Smith exploded in fury. To be told what to do 'by a black boy like you' was the worst insult she had ever received. She told us to shut up or leave. But it was Mrs. Smith who left eventually, forced by a stream of complaints to depart the year before I graduated. We were awakening

to the power of our numbers.

It was a great sacrifice for my family to send me to Augustineum. Isak, of course, had no money for fees. Abraham, Rheinholdt, and some of my other uncles helped, but their contributions barely covered the minimum costs. The first school year I had no pocket money and when my friends went down to Okahandja town on Saturdays, I would pretend to be too busy with my studies to go along. I found it more difficult to hide my shame when they returned with bags of bread, canned meat and sweets, which they piled up on their shelves. The Windhoek boys in particular seemed to spend freely, and though they shared generously I could rarely bring myself to accept. There was nothing I could give them in return. 'No thanks, I don't like to eat much,' I would scoff while struggling to take my eyes off their smoked sausage. I had to find a way to make money. When Joe Ithana offered to take me along to Windhoek for the summer break, I jumped at the idea.

Joe had a job pumping petrol in a downtown service station. The day after we arrived, he took me to see the boss. 'There's nothing to the job, man,' he told me. 'It's all a question of attitude.'

With that important piece of advice I went to the cramped smoke-filled office where Mr. Grobenau sat behind the desk, feet propped up. I stood in the doorway, waiting for the man to notice me.

'Ah, what's this?' Grobenau finally looked up from the paper he was reading. 'How are you, boy?' There was no trace of greeting in his voice.

But I was ready. 'Very good, *baas*. And how is the *baas*?'

Grobenau put down his paper. 'Suppose I'm a customer who has just paid—what do you say?'

'Thank you, my *grootbaas*.' I turned on a broad smile and held out my hand. 'Here is your change, my big *baas*.'

I was hired. Grobenau gave me overalls, a cap, and a rag for cleaning windshields. He told Joe to show me what to do—sweeping floors, washing cars and mending flat tyres. After a week I was ready to serve customers. 'Now watch me,' said Joe, and he sprinted out to meet a shiny station wagon that had just pulled up. He bowed low on one knee as he took the order and danced around the car as he cleaned every window and checked the tyre pressure. He cleaned the headlights with his rag and showed the driver the dipstick as he checked the oil. When it was all over and the station wagon was back on the street, Joe showed me the twenty-pence tip in his palm, 'That's what you have to do,' he shrugged. 'Better get used to it.'

Before long I had worked out a quite convincing routine. When a customer pulled up to the pumps, I ran out as though I had been waiting for him the whole day. I cleaned the windows and checked the oil and water before I gave him a chance to order.

'Fill it up, boy.'

'Ah, my *grootbaas*, I will serve you,' I cried.

While the tank filled, I walked around the car, polishing the chrome until it shone. I watched the driver all the time, doing my best to keep his attention. If he looked pleased, I even cleaned the headlights and number plates before accepting his money. The more attentive the customer, the greater the fuss I made of him—and it usually paid off. When a man was with his wife or girlfriend, I would make a special effort, going down on my knees and throwing my

cap into the air. 'Oh, my *baas*; this must be my *missies*. How she is beautiful!' I pretended to faint at the size of his tip. I had never met such a generous *baas*.

As I became skilled around the pumps, another dimension of the job came to the fore: it was a challenge to manipulate the customers. At first I had been genuinely nervous about making a slip with them; now my bowing and scraping were calculated manoeuvres. As I approached the car, I'd size up the driver for what he might be worth and treat him accordingly. The dour types, farmers in town and government officials got only the minimum treatment. Younger businessmen and workers, German and especially Americans and Canadians, could be good for a fifty-pence tip if everything went well, so for them I performed my best. By the end of the summer, the trepidation I used to feel when faced with whites back in Tsumeb had given way to the what-can-I-get-out-of-this-one attitude that I had so admired in the Windhoek boys.

I made more money during my first two weeks at Grobenau's than I would have made working the whole summer as a houseboy in Tsumeb. Even when I put aside half of my earnings for school, I had enough left over to buy myself a pair of stylish tweed trousers and a crew-neck sweater of the kind city boys wore. In this outfit I no longer felt shy to go to the cinema with Joe and his friends. After seeing a film starring Louis Armstrong—the great Satchmo—I took a week's worth of tips and bought a second-hand recordplayer and some old records with the 'His Master's Voice' label. How the music stirred me! In the beginning I knew only African singers such as Dorothy Masuka and Miriam Makeba but later, when I was back at Augustineum, American pop music invaded Namibia. The Mills Brothers, the Everly Brothers, Pat Boone and Elvis; we played their records over and over again until we knew the words of every song, if not their meaning. My favourites were Elvis' 'Jailhouse Rock' and 'Shiboom, Shiboom', which I practiced until I could copy Elvis gurgling deep down in my throat better than anyone else in the school. The wall behind my bunk was covered with magazine pictures of Elvis, Harry Belafonte, Natalie Wood and Tony Curtis.

I knew how to handle myself in the world. No Mrs. Smith could ever make me lower my eyes from now on. Back at Augustineum, I left the blazer and the black knee socks at the bottom of my suitcase never to touch them all year. My new friends were Moses Garoeb, Onesmus Akwenye, Tommy Akwenye and the other city boys. They were sophisticated fellows. Among other things, they read newspapers—something I had never done. In 1956 and 1957 the papers were full of articles about the Bus Boycott and other protests against the government in South Africa. In 1957 Ghana became independent under Kwame Nkrumah, an educated and articulate man who was respected by many Europeans but whom our teachers considered as just another kaffir who would ruin everything the British had done to build up his country. On Sundays, my group of friends and I would sit in the shade of the big poplars near the dormitory and talk about the things we had read, such as the Suez crisis. We knew that the Egyptians had kicked out the English, who then went to war, but we didn't quite know what to make of this conflict, until one day Osborne happened to bring it up during his regular boasting binge, blasting the 'cheeky' Egyptians.

'But isn't it their canal?' somebody dared ask him.

'Whaaat, the Egyptian's canal???' Osborne repeated, incredulous. South Africa would never stand for anything like that, he ranted; South Africa knew when to put its foot down. During his half-hour tirade he did not explain anything, but only a fool would have dared to ask him again. The answer would have to come from elsewhere—and in time it did.

In our group, I was satisfied while the other boys discussed the complex events. But when someone lent me a tattered copy of the *Cape Times* or the *Windhoek Advertiser*, I searched the pages for headlines about the United Nations, Suez, Ghana, Hungary—anything that had come up in our conversations. I hid the papers in my bedding to make sure that nobody but my friends knew what I was reading. One day shortly after the 1957 winter break, Efraim Mizee showed me a leaflet he had brought back from South Africa. It was a single sheet of paper, printed on both sides and folded in half to make four pages. It described how the whites of South Africa's ruling Nationalist Party saw themselves as the *herrenvolk*, the master race, how they exploited black people, how their police beat and harassed us. Efraim told me that he had been given the leaflet by a member of the African National Congress, an organization that I had read about in the papers.

The crumpled sheet felt like fire in my hands; we'd be in trouble if someone caught us with this. Yet my eyes wouldn't leave the page—what it said was true! Master race, that was it! My hands quivered as I read; my heart pounded as if I'd had a sudden attack of fever. It was true—but it was dangerous. I almost wished that Efraim hadn't shown me the leaflet. I had come to Augustineum to get an education, not to get involved in anything subversive and end up getting expelled. Trying my best to seem indifferent, I handed the leaflet back and, without a word, brushed past Efraim to join the stream of students going to the dining hall.

Though I did my best, I could not block out of my mind what I had read in the leaflet. Everywhere I turned, troublesome questions cropped up. My favourite subject in school was history, but our textbook contradicted the stories every Namibian child is told by the elders. The Germans had never been 'invited by warring tribes' to bring peace to our country, neither had South Africa brought us prosperity. True, we had fought among ourselves, and the Germans had taken advantage of this to conquer us all. The text, however, said nothing about our grandparents' resistance and about the terrible slaughter of the Hereros and Namas that followed the conquest. Even as late as the 1930s, air force planes had bombed Chief Ipumbu's village at Ukwambi, not far from my birthplace. Only in the last fifteen years—since I had been born—had there been no open resistance against Boer rule. But it no longer surprised me that our schoolbooks were lying; the whites simply wanted us to think that they were more intelligent than we, that they were a superior race and that, consequently, they were entitled to rule. But what fool would believe that there was something superior about our old, drink-sodden bricklaying 'instructor'? And he was not the only stupid Boer I had met.

When I returned to the garage the following summer, I needed nobody to show me how to get the big tips. I was

making more money than any of the other pump boys. As a reward, Grobenau put me on the night shift as well. I worked alone and after the evening traffic had died down, I would make myself a bed across the office chairs and go to sleep.

One night I was woken up by the frantic honking of a car pulling in. Fumbling with the pump keys, I ran outside. 'Yes, baas?'

'Fill it up,' said the Boer at the wheel.

When I had finished, he started the car. 'Back to bed, kaffir,' he shouted through the window. 'Thanks for the petrol and go to hell.' And he sped out of the station before I could say anything. The money would be taken out of my wages.

Twice I was beaten by a gang of drunken whites who had nothing better to do than to pester Africans. They pushed me around and kicked me, rolled me in puddles of grease and turned the water hose on me. I was too terrified to try to defend myself. When they came a third time, I knew enough to keep the door locked. Rigid with fear, I watched them as they tried to kick in the door and pressed their boozed-up faces against the glass. 'Open the door, you black bastard, or we'll kill you!'

These types, drunk now, were the sort I crawled for in the daytime. 'I treat them like gods and what do I get?' I thought. The servile grin on my face became increasingly forced as a new, gnawing resentment welled up in me every time I went to attend to a car. If being a fool was the only way an African could make some money in this system, what was I trying to do with my schooling? When I thought about Augustineum, it was our discussions that came to my mind. One day, I felt, the dam that held back my feelings would burst. But before I reached that point, the summer break ended and I returned to Augustineum for my final year.

The petrol station job made me realize that I could never work directly under whites. That was one, but only one, reason for my decision to become a teacher. Our country needed *African* teachers. All around, children were flocking to the schools that existed; in some places they walked for an hour or more and crowded into classrooms so packed that they had to sit on the floor with nothing but a slate and a piece of chalk. But to learn what? Bricklaying? Mrs. Smith's racist nonsense? The years at Augustineum had taught me this: if we Africans wanted to learn, we would have to rely on ourselves.

Many of my classmates chose the same course, and the more we discussed our plans, the more wrongs we found in our situation at the college. Even if most of us worked hard at our studies that year—the final exams could make or

break our futures—an atmosphere of suspicion seeped into our relations with the teachers. They became jittery and seemed to read the worst intention into the simplest question. Their reactions alienated us even more, and as the year ground on, our lessons became a war of nerves. It was not until the graduation ceremony, however, that the tension broke into the open.

The dining hall had been cleared of tables and we were seated in rows, dressed in our Sunday best, hushed and solemn at the weight of what lay ahead. I was selected to be valedictorian for our class. For weeks I had pondered what to say; I could not make up my mind whether to be pleasant or serious, whether to talk about the good times past or the challenge of the future. In the end time had run out and I wound up with just a few notes that didn't say much of anything. The teachers were seated on stage, facing us for the last time. My education was officially over; I no longer depended upon their approval, yet the burden of their judgement hung over me as I clasped the notes in my sweaty palms. Since I didn't have the courage to speak my mind, I should have asked to be replaced as valedictorian. But it was too late now.

Mr. Steenkamp, the principal, shook me out of my quandary. I knew him as a soft-spoken, almost meek person, so it surprised me when, instead of offering wise words of encouragement, he cut his farewell speech down to a point-blank warning: 'Whatever your career, don't get mixed up in politics!' Teachers in particular had an obligation to the government, he said; anyone who used their classroom as a political platform was a sinner.

This talk about obligation to the government angered me. My obligation lay with the people, with those who were going to be my students. Heart pounding, I mounted the podium and began speaking without even thinking of my notes. I spoke of the importance of education for a people like ours, of how young teachers should help to shape the future of our country. The sentences came rapidly, carried by their own logic to the conclusion: 'It is only when our people have education that we will have independence.'

With the tension in the hall now thick as fog, the ceremony was brought to an awkward close.

In the following year, the tension at Augustineum turned into open conflict. Halfway through the final term, the government closed down the senior class and sent the students home. By then I was teaching in Windhoek and had discovered that the polarization at Augustineum was only part of a confrontation building up throughout the country. The events to unfold in Windhoek would be on a different scale, the consequences much more severe.

Student Handout #23

LESSONS IN BLACK AND WHITE: QUESTIONS

1. What were the conditions in John Ya-Otto's life which made him angry and dissatisfied?

2. What experiences did Ya-Otto have which made him feel able to fight back against the system of white supremacy?

Student Handout #24

FACTS ON INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

- Over 350 U.S. companies have investments in South Africa.
- Firms with investments in South Africa include American Airlines, Ford Motor Co., Del Monte, Encyclopedia Britannica, Coca-Cola, Firestone Tires, Goodyear Tires, Kodak, Max Factor, Nabisco, Johnson and Johnson, IBM, Pepsi, Revlon, U.S. Steel, Twentieth Century Fox Films and General Motors—to name only a few.
- U.S. corporations have at least two and a half billion dollars (\$2,500,000,000) invested in South Africa.
- U.S. corporate investment has risen dramatically in the last thirty years:



- U.S. bank loans to South Africa total over \$4.5 billion. Some of the largest banks in the U.S. are involved in these loans: Bankers Trust, BankAmerica, Chase Manhattan, Citibank, Continental Illinois, First Boston, First Chicago, Manufacturers Hanover, and many others.
- U.S. companies hold an estimated 25% of South Africa's gold mining stocks. This amounts to about \$2 billion.
- As the Associated Press put it, "From Chevrolets to copper to Coca-Cola, American business is in South Africa in a big way."
- "We're entirely dependent on the U.S. The economy would grind to a halt without access to the computer technology of the West. No bank could function; the government couldn't collect its money and couldn't account for it; business couldn't operate; payrolls couldn't be paid. Retail and wholesale marketing and related services would be disrupted."
C. Cotton, Director of Burroughs, South Africa
- "In the long run, South Africa is still highly dependent on foreign capital to achieve a high rate of growth."
South African Reserve Bank

Student Handout #25

TO INVEST OR NOT TO INVEST . . . THAT IS THE QUESTION: PRO

"By and large, the presence of American companies does a lot of good. They pay high wages and offer good conditions. As a result, other companies have to raise wages and improve conditions to remain competitive in the labor market."

Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu homeland

"If mining gold, an honorable profession, allows blacks an opportunity to work and earn a higher standard of living, I see no reason why you and I should not support it. I do not wish to encourage black unemployment, eventual civil war, and the destruction of a great society."

T.E. Slanker, Gold dealer (seller of Krugerrands)

"Ford believes that the industrialization of South Africa is bringing social and economic changes that will increasingly benefit all groups in that nation, and that the presence of American-owned companies in South Africa is a positive factor in encouraging economic progress and equal opportunity."

Ford Motor Company

"Every extra rand invested is another ray of hope for those trapped on the dark side of apartheid, every extra job created is another step toward the peaceful transition that the forward process of economic life will impose."

Johannesburg Financial Mail

The Reverend Leon Sullivan, a black Philadelphia minister, feels that if U.S. companies abide by his "Sullivan Principles," positive change will occur in South Africa. Many U.S. companies in South Africa have agreed to cooperate voluntarily.

Sullivan wants every company to agree to these six principles:

1. Nonsegregation of the races in eating, toilet and work facilities.
2. Equal employment practices for all employees.
3. Initiation of training programs to prepare blacks for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
4. Equal pay for equal work.
5. Increasing number of blacks in management and supervisory positions.
6. Improved housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

"American investment in South Africa is not that crucial. Even if Ford or General Motors were to pull out, someone—most likely a European automaker, would move in. I believe Americans who argue that the way to achieve reform is to pull out entirely are overestimating their country's power to influence events elsewhere in the world."

Tom Wicker, *The New York Times*

TO INVEST OR NOT TO INVEST . . . THAT IS THE QUESTION: CON

"The argument is often made that loss of foreign investment would hurt blacks the most. It would undoubtedly hurt blacks in the short run, because many of them would stand to lose their jobs, but it should be understood in Europe and North America that foreign investment supports the present economic system and thus indirectly the present system of political injustice. We blacks are therefore not interested in foreign investment. If Washington wants to contribute to the development of a just society in South Africa, it must discourage investment in South Africa. We blacks are perfectly willing to suffer the consequences. We are quite accustomed to suffering."

Steve Biko

Leader, Black Consciousness Movement, South Africa

"It is our view that liberals—however well intentioned—who oppose our campaign for investment withdrawal, are, in the long run, only delaying the change that is essential if South Africa is to be rid of apartheid and slave labor. It is not enough to grant higher wages here, better conditions there, for this leaves the apartheid system intact, in fact it props it up longer—the very source of our misery and degradation."

African National Congress

"The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which will shorten the day of blood, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already, our children are often undernourished, and, on a small scale (so far), we die at the whim of a policeman."

Chief Albert Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize winner

Former President of the African National Congress

"If the United States could get its corporations out of South Africa, can stop supporting the racist regime that killed so many of our people, the black people in South Africa would appreciate that. American organizations and movements can play a very

STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

important role in getting America out of South Africa and getting Americans to identify with the liberation movements and the true owners of the land."

Tsietsi Mashinini
exiled President of the Soweto Students Representative Council

"U.S. corporations must know that they are investing to strengthen one of the most vicious systems since Nazism." On the Sullivan Principles: "Our rejection of the code is on the basis that it does not aim at changing structures. The Sullivan Principles are designed to soften the effects of apartheid. We do not want apartheid to be made more comfortable. We want it to be dismantled."

Bishop Desmond Tutu
General Secretary, South African Council of Churches
Winner, Nobel Peace Prize, 1984

Student Handout #26

U.S. BANKS AND CORPORATIONS

You represent a number of U.S. corporations and banks with either investments in South Africa or large loans to South African businesses. As a spokesman for General Motors summed up, "We've been there for over 50 years, and we plan to be there for a long time to come."

Taken as a whole, U.S. investment and loans in South Africa are quite important. There are about 350 U.S. companies operating there and 6,000 companies which do business with South Africa. Over 125 U.S. banks have made loans to South Africa. Your investments are extremely profitable. Throughout the 1970s the rate of profit for your business in South Africa was twice the rate it was in the United States.

But you don't see yourselves as immoral people profiting from the misery of the black South Africans. Far from it. In the first place, you offer jobs for 100,000 people in South Africa—many of them black. True, this only represents 1% of the total workforce—but you are doing your part. Also, over the last ten years, black wages have increased 400%! White wages increased too, but only by 250%. You can't argue with statistics. Obviously black workers are a lot better off than they were ten years ago. And besides, blacks in South Africa are much better off than in the rest of Africa.

You don't see your companies playing a big part in ending apartheid. Let's face it: you are in business to make a profit—not to change society. You need to obey the laws wherever you do business. But you believe that slowly you are having a "civilizing" influence on South Africa. Change is taking place. The government has loosened up on some laws. More theaters and restaurants are now integrated—and some beaches too. The government has even legalized black labor unions. And besides, what would happen if U.S. corporations pulled out? Thousands more unemployed, hungry people would be forced back to the homelands. How would that help change things?

You have also signed the Sullivan Principles—six points which you have agreed to abide by—whenever possible:

- Not separating races in eating, lounging and working facilities.
- Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
- Equal pay for employees doing the same work.
- Starting training programs in supervisory and technical jobs for non-whites.
- Increasing the number of blacks in management and supervisory positions.
- Improving workers' lives in areas of housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

It's true that these are not laws which govern you but they are guidelines you try to follow.

But remember, you're not a charity. Often you have to deal harshly with unruly workers. For example, workers at Ford Motor Co. went on strike a few years ago when the company fired an employee for political activity. Ford fired all the strikers. (Unfortunately, they were forced to hire them back because they were the ones who knew how to run the plant.)

Yes, laws against strikes and sabotage do help keep your workers under control. And the high unemployment helps provide an abundant source of cheap labor. Some people say you profit from the bad conditions of blacks. But business is business. And if you didn't take advantage of these conditions then some other company from some other country would.

Student Handout #27

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

For many years your organization has been fighting for the freedom of South Africa. What especially angers you is that foreign countries who say they are for justice and equality actually help the white ruling class in South Africa to stay in power. For example, United States corporations and banks invest heavily in South Africa. They actually **profit** from the poverty of the black people. True, these corporations pay higher wages than many South African companies, but they pay nowhere near what they pay in the United States or Western Europe. And besides, you want more than higher wages: **you want an end to the whole system of apartheid.**

The investments of American companies greatly strengthen the system of apartheid. For example:

Computers. IBM, Burroughs, Control Data and other U.S. companies control an estimated 70% of the computer industry in South Africa. Computers are used to enforce the Pass Law system, and for police communications. Without computer technology provided by the U.S., South Africa would find it much harder to maintain its repressive system.

Energy. Though South Africa has lots of gold, diamonds and coal, it has no oil. Because all OPEC nations (Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, et al.) refuse to sell oil to South Africa, they've had to turn to U.S. companies. Mobil and Caltex (a joint Standard and Texaco company) control almost half of the petroleum market in South Africa. In 1976, each company had sales of \$500 million in South Africa and owned almost 1,000 gas stations apiece. Much of the oil refined by these companies in South Africa is sold to the military.

Transportation. Three U.S. companies, Ford, General Motors and Chrysler, account for one-third of all motor vehicle sales in South Africa. These companies admit that they provide vehicles for South African military and police.

American corporations say, "We offer high wages, good conditions and thousands of jobs." But you in the ANC don't want slightly improved working conditions. You want an end to the entire system of apartheid: to the pass books, the homelands, the townships, and the lack of political rights. How do nicer working conditions for the 100,000 people Americans employ in South Africa contribute to ending apartheid and establishing democracy?

To achieve democracy the ANC is attempting to cripple the economy so that the white government will be **forced** to negotiate an end to apartheid.

As a part of this strategy, the ANC is trying to force all foreign companies to get out of South Africa. Not only do they strengthen the system, their presence also makes it likelier that their governments will support the South African government to protect those investments.

Further, the absence of U.S. corporations will deprive the South African government of oil, computers, vehicles and money needed so badly to fight against your ANC guerrillas. Besides, if American companies began to pull out, the whites in South Africa would be tremendously demoralized—it would show their weakness and isolation, that the world was deserting them. It would bring surrender of their privileges that much closer.

The South African government and others say only the blacks will be hurt if companies pull out. In the short term blacks will be hurt. But you're already hurting, and if it will hurry the day of freedom, a little more suffering is well worth it.

Student Handout #28

SOUTH AFRICA: EXPRESSING YOUR OPINIONS

Here's your chance to express your opinions to someone about the situation in South Africa. Choose one of the people, organizations or companies listed below and write him/her/it a letter. Be sure to include the following information somewhere in your letter:

1. Who you are: "occupation", city you live in, school you attend, and why you're interested in South Africa.
2. How you feel about what is going on in South Africa. Give examples so the person who receives your letter knows that you are well-informed. Perhaps you might use some statistics or examples you're familiar with.
3. Your specific concerns regarding the person/organization you are writing. That is, address the issue(s) in which the recipient is involved.
4. How the action you are asking the person to take will affect the situation in South Africa.
5. Any questions you may have for the person to answer.

Note: You don't **have** to express an opinion in your letter if you don't want to. You may simply want to ask for more information.

Prime Minister Pieter Botha
c/o South African Embassy
3051 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington DC 20008

or

c/o Union Buildings
Pretoria, Republic of South Africa

African National Congress
Observer Mission to the U.N.
801 Second Ave., Suite 405
New York, NY 10017

Ford Motor Co.
Public Relations Officer
The American Road
Dearborn, MI 48121

Winnie Mandela
802 New Location
Brandfort, Orange Free State
Republic of South Africa 9400

International Business Machines
Public Relations Officer
Armonk, NY 10504

The President of the U.S.
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.
United States Delegation
United Nations
1 U.N. Plaza
New York, NY 10017

SWAPO
Mission to the U.N.
801 Second Ave., Suite 1401
New York, NY 10017

Student Handout #29

SOUTH AFRICA: FINAL PROJECT

Assignment:

Throughout your study of South Africa you've been learning about a part of the world which is filled with tension and violence. You've seen films, read stories, debated one another, and written about this area of the world. Now you have the opportunity to choose from a number of different methods to express and sum up your thoughts and feelings about South Africa.

From the list of ideas below, choose one method to express yourself. Use that medium to communicate your thoughts and feelings about the situation in South Africa. Remember, this is your chance to summarize all you've learned and felt throughout this unit. Be as creative and thoughtful as you can be.

1. Write a poem or song.
2. Write another short story about some aspect of life in South Africa.
3. Construct a collage.
4. Design a poster expressing some thought about South Africa.
5. Do a painting or drawing depicting an aspect of South African life.
6. Choreograph and perform a dance about South Africa.
7. Write and perform a short skit about something you've learned.
8. Write an article for the school or community newspaper about South Africa and what the class has studied.
9. Come up with an idea of your own, or combine some of the above ideas. You don't have to be limited by these suggestions.

Student Handout #30

A DIAMOND BY JOEL GUNZ

There was a woman
in a jewelry store
trying on diamond earrings.

She didn't know
that she was also
wearing crystallized tears
wept by thousands of
black miners.

Diamonds have an inner facet
not often talked about
by the salesmen at
Zales
or Tiffany's.

That facet is clouded
with thousands of people
choking and dying
from intense
heat
and dust.

Masses of black people
forced by poverty
to drain, chop, stab,
burn and suck
the land of its riches
until it becomes
nothing more than
dead gravel.

Afterwards, as "superfluous appendages,"
they are forced to live on it.

Their crystallized tears
are bought by white people
who wear them
around their necks,
wrists and fingers,
shamelessly advertising
the spilled blood
of the Zulu and Xhosa.

Strangers in Their Own Country introduces students and teachers to the lives and struggles of the people of South Africa. Designed as a manual for high school teachers, the book incorporates short stories, poems, role plays, simulations, news articles and historical readings to reveal the drama unfolding in Southern Africa.

Bigelow's curriculum encourages students to think for themselves. For example, students simulate the distribution of land and wealth in South Africa, read a powerful fictionalized account of life in a township, role play the dilemmas facing the emerging trade union movement and debate the effects of foreign investment on the apartheid system.

While the book is laid out as step-by-step instructions for high school teachers, its usefulness extends far beyond. Many of the lessons in the curriculum can be used in church, community and labor union study groups. Most of the materials in *Strangers in Their Own Country* are easily adapted to the junior high school or college level.

"Bigelow's curriculum on South Africa stands alone as the only commercially published teaching unit on South Africa with integrity, breadth and depth. This curriculum tells the truth about life in South Africa. South African Blacks speak for themselves about the political, economic, and human conditions they face daily.

"I recommend this unit to every teacher of American or world history, economics, international politics, non-western studies, African studies, and of social studies in general."

Marylee Crofts
Curriculum Specialist
African Studies Center
Michigan State University

"*Strangers in Their Own Country* is factual material imaginatively presented. Students will care about what they are learning. No one will be untouched by this sensitive presentation of the complex situation in South Africa."

Gail Hovey
Executive Editor
Christianity and Crisis

"I warmly commend this work to teachers, students and the general public. I believe it can make a major contribution to the struggle for freedom in South Africa by enabling people in the United States to have a better understanding of the issues involved and to indicate the lines of action which will help bring freedom and justice to my unhappy country."

Dennis Brutus
from the foreword

William Bigelow teaches social studies at Jefferson High School in Portland, Oregon. He is also a director of the Curriculum Workshop, a project which produces and distributes innovative curricula.



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