Apartheid

A teacher's guide

Godfrey N. Brown

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The future belongs to them.

Preface

Since its establishment, Unesco has implemented a programme for the promotion of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace, in which increasing emphasis is placed on teaching in relation to contemporary world issues, including apartheid. Article 6 of the Unesco Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which was adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its eighteenth session in 1974, states that: 'Education should contribute to international understanding and strengthening of world peace and to the activities in the struggle against all forms and varieties of racialism, fascism, and apartheid as well as other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred and which are contrary to the purposes of this recommendation.'

In the light of this recommendation, the present work, comprising six main chapters, furnishes 17 'Apartheid Exercises' presenting essential facts concerning apartheid and its effects, and concerning international and national efforts to eliminate it. Suggestions are offered for teaching about the subject through curricular studies and extra-curricular programmes in primary and secondary schools. While the work is primarily intended to help classroom teachers and to acquaint young people more fully with the dangers and basic inequities of apartheid, it should also prove to be of interest and value to curriculum planners, school inspectors and those responsible for the preparation of textbooks and other teaching materials.

The author, Professor Godfrey N. Brown, Director of the Institute of Education, University of Keele, United Kingdom, has had extensive teaching experience in both Africa and the United Kingdom. His book was written under a Unesco contract and with funds made available from the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid. Grateful acknowledgement is made to him and all those who provided comments and suggestions.

Although the final work is a co-operative effort, it should be clearly understood that the author is responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this book and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not commit the Organiza-

tion; likewise the designations employed and the presentation of the material in this book do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Unesco Secretariat concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Acknowledgements

Note on apartheid exercises

Teachers are asked to note that the exercises in this book are indicative rather than definitive. They seek to illustrate an approach which is likely to be more effective in the classroom than didacticism or 'chalk and talk'. Those who are concerned with the training of teachers may well find them helpful as material in discussing varying teaching strategies.

While it is believed that the exercises given follow a reasonably logical sequence in respect of apartheid and, taken together, are likely to contribute to a meaningful learning experience for young people, this should not preclude the use of individual exercises to reinforce teaching in other connections. Subjects like history, geography, literature, social studies, citizenship can, it is suggested, on occasions make use of separate exercises. Similarly, somewhat modified in terms of language and assumption, they may be used with children and young people over a considerable age and ability range.

In others words, an attempt has been made to supply the cloth; the cut and the style of the garment produced can best be tailored by the teacher according to individual circumstances.

Contents

1   Introduction: an educational approach

'What is apartheid, miss?' 'How does it come about?' 'Is it wrong?' 'Why is there so much about it in the papers or on the radio?' 'What is likely to happen about it?' 'Is there anything we can do about it, miss?'

Probably in only a small minority of the world's classrooms is the teacher likely to be confronted with such questions. Arguably there are two main reasons for this. First, in many classrooms it is expected that the teacher rather than the taught will do the questioning though this will vary between classrooms and between cultures. Secondly, again subject to a similar proviso, in many classrooms there is an unwritten law that the teacher is well advised to avoid contemporary events and in particular to have nothing to do with anything that is controversial. And so?: 'Well you see it's very complicated.' 'We will be coming round to apartheid at a later stage in the course.' 'It isn't in the syllabus and we need to concentrate on the syllabus if we are going to pass our exams, don't we?' 'There's no time for that now, perhaps a little later.'

But 'a little later' never materializes. The young person's spark of curiosity has been doused by the adult's indifference. The young person may well lose interest in the subject after such responses or at best have a feeling of dissatisfaction about his knowledge of a significant phenomenon of our time. Probably the teacher will forget the questions asked; possibly she will feel a slight twinge of unease like a lazy person sweeping the dust under the living-room carpet, but possibly—just possibly—the teacher may wonder to herself if there should be a place for consideration of issues involved in the curriculum. If so, what place? With children of what age? How should 'apartheid' be treated?

The object of this book is essentially to help the teacher to deal with the kind of questions asked in the first paragraph. At one stage further removed, it is hoped that it will help the trainers of teachers to help the teacher who asks and is asked about apartheid.

It may be helpful to the reader to underline at the start the kind of approach that the book will take in respect of the questions asked.

First, it should be clear that the emphasis throughout will be on apartheid

in South Africa. The problems of Namibia (South West Africa) are similar but involve further complexities. It is, of course, a significant topic and could be the subject of further study by the teacher along the lines of the teaching strategy that this book advocates.

Secondly, since it is hoped that the readership of this book will be world-wide, it is obviously impractical to prescribe detailed treatment of apartheid in the many and varied systems of education to be found in the world. Teachers' personal and other resources are so varied that any such prescription would seem utterly unrealistic to many readers; some would be likely to argue that what was being suggested was patronizingly simple, others would see it as hopelessly impractical. To overcome this difficulty as far as possible, this book is addressed in the first instance to the teacher as a person and as a reader in the hope that it may initially provide a worthwhile experience which can then be translated into terms appropriate for classrooms at whatever level or in whatever place.

Thirdly, this book treats apartheid as a problem rather than as an easily explained phenomenon. It is a problem that will no more go away of its own accord than will the dust under the carpet. It has been estimated that there are over fifty countries in the world that have, in varying degrees, multi-ethnic problems and possibilities. There is dust, varying in nature and amount, under quite a few carpets.

As we learn in many subjects of the curriculum, ranging from under-standing mathematics to comprehension of language, problems need to be understood before they can be solved. The facile, seedy solution is all too often wrong—adding, indeed, to the dimensions of the original problem. And topics within subjects, as apartheid may be regarded, are even more apt to be disposed of a little too easily. This is why the present book advocates an approach to apartheid that is wider in its implications than just 'dealing with another topic'. It is hoped that much of what is said will have value not only for those concerned with teaching about apartheid but also for educators who are tackling other problems in international studies or international relations.

Fourthly, apartheid is a human problem, a problem very largely of man's making rather than a problem stemming from a natural event like famine, drought or flood. It involves man's relationship with man. Throughout history, throughout the world, such relationships have involved problems. At the same time, because they have been problems of man's making they can be solved by man. Thus, to a large extent the problems of slavery and serfdom have been solved by man. This was not easy. The people of ancient Rome used to tell the story of a slave set free by his master who was asked what he would do first in his new state as a freed man. 'Why, buy myself a slave of course!' was his reply. To say that a problem of man's making can be resolved by man's solution is not to say that the process will be an easy one. Apartheid, in fact, has proved to be an almost intractable problem since the end of the Second World War.

Finally, it is a problem that involves humanity as a whole. It does not merely involve the Republic of South Africa. It is a world problem.

This merits further explanation. In the first place, few people are devoid

of all prejudice concerning others. To recognize this is not to condone it. If we ask ourselves whether there are really good grounds why we do not like, or try to avoid, another person, it is surprising how trivial our reasons often are: 'I can't endure his voice'; 'the pompousness of the man really gets me down'; 'she's so sanctimonious'; 'I can never forgive her for having said that'. One could fill a library with reasons why people do not like others, treat them differently or avoid them altogether. In many cases there may be good reasons for such behaviour, but probably in a far greater number of cases the reasons are essentially rather shallow. The present book will perhaps demonstrate that we ourselves may well be practising a form of apartheid. The Afrikaner poet, Breyten Breytenbach, who has both travelled far in terms of humanity by translating Shakespeare into Afrikaans, and been confined to a South African gaol for his beliefs, was taking a 'world educator's view' when he said: 'Looking into South Africa is like looking into the mirror at midnight when one has pulled a face and a train blew its whistle and one's image stayed there, fixed for all eternity. A horrible face, but one's own.'[1]

But if we are honest with ourselves, if we look into the mirror squarely, we can all benefit from self-analysis. The fact that we do something in a certain way makes it no more right than if our neighbour does the same thing. In all teaching, but particularly in teaching about human relationships, it is imperative that practice conform with precept. Good precept can so easily be undone by bad example. Indeed it may well be that good precepts are perpetrated in order to distract the attention of others from bad examples. Not all those who point to the wickedness of others are free of wickedness themselves! Moral indignation can mask self-embarrassment.

Fundamentally, apartheid merits world attention because it involves the negation of human rights to a uniquely extensive degree. And this makes it a world problem. Teachers should be careful that too exlusive a pre-occupation with human rights in a specific geographical area does not throw out of balance the 'world dimension' that is implicit in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948.[2]

We need to remind ourselves periodically of a passage in its Preamble. The Universal Declaration constitutes

a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Some international lawyers have pointed out that the Declaration has gradually acquired some legal significance although such an intention was disavowed by the authors.

1. Breyten Breytenbach, *The Alienation of White South Africa*, in A. La Guma (ed.), *Apartheid*, p. 138, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1972.
2. It is salutary to recall that the Amnesty 1977 Report showed well over 100 states to be transgressing human rights. In 1977 Amnesty International was awarded the Nobel Prize.

Article 2 of the Declaration goes on to declare: 'Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion or social origin, property, birth or other status.'

Human rights imply that there can be human wrongs: these arise when behaviour fails to satisfy the standard that the Declaration sets out. This is easy to say in theory but difficult to determine in practice and this gives rise to a further aspect of the approach to apartheid adopted in this book: the reader's right to make up his own mind and to accord the same right to those he teaches. This indeed is in accordance with article 18 of the Universal Declaration: 'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.'

Being free to think means that one must be free 'to receive and impart information and ideas'. That is why in this book and in the teaching on apartheid which it advocates the rationales of apartheid and of anti-apartheid will be presented. People, not least future citizens in today's classrooms, need to be free to think things out for themselves, not told what to think in respect of those universal problems which include apartheid. Only thus can education 'be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms' (Article 26 of the Universal Declaration).

Another reason why apartheid must be seen as a world rather than a purely South African problem is to be found in the concern of the United Nations. This will be examined in a later chapter. Here it must suffice to say that over the years the United Nations has repeatedly condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity and again and again called upon the South African Government to revise its policies in conformity with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The most representative of all the United Nations bodies, the General Assembly, has expressed deep concern over the grave situation in the Republic of South Africa as being an issue that impairs friendly relations among Member States and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

Anybody who is familiar with the issues of international diplomacy will confirm that on no matter are the peoples of the developing world more united than in the denunciation of apartheid in South Africa. They are convinced—as are many other people—that it constitutes a threat to the peace of the world. This being so, apartheid far from being simply a problem for South Africa becomes a problem for the rest of the world as well. In other words their problem becomes our problem.

To sum up, teaching about apartheid in all its implications, far from being a distant rather peripheral issue in terms of curriculum development, needs to be examined in its world context and to be seen as having direct relevance to the lives of all of us.

Within the guidelines set out above, it is hoped that this book both advocates and exemplifies a genuinely human rights approach to apartheid. It is based on the key idea of human dignity that underlies the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Preamble of this Declaration states: 'Recognition of the inherent dignity and of equal and inalienable rights for all

members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.'

Fundamentally this is not to say that all people are 'born equal' or that they must necessarily all be accorded uniform treatment.¹ To treat 'unequals' equally can be an affront—in some cases—to the dignity of the individual.² A moment's reflection about the classroom situation illustrates the point. There may be occasions when punishing a whole class for the fault of an individual or group of individuals may be educationally justifiable but, at the same time, unless the educational reasons for doing this are made clear, it can mean that innocent people are made to suffer for no fault of their own. This basically affronts our sense of the dignity of the individual. Perhaps this has best been put by the Dignity of Man Foundation:

Expressed individually or collectively, dignity is not dependent on geographical area, economic station, or racial description. It is not ascribed by membership in any cultural, ethnic, political or religious group. Dignity is that permanent element of human nature which, when expressed, affords equal rights without suppression; recognizes that understanding does not require agreement nor does disagreement require conflict; does not equate compromise with defeat; and it is dedicated to the peaceful interaction of all people. It is represented in the best traditions of human struggle to overcome obstacles and limitations. It is joy and effort to be, to help, to share, to persist, to hope, to love, to laugh and to do better.

Many a teacher might individually, or with a class of older students, reflect on this passage in detail, phrase by phrase, word for word. In particular it should be noted that this account of dignity sees it as a process rather than as a static attribute. It is an effort to be. This process can permeate a whole curriculum and a whole school. It can help us to an increased understanding of what is involved in apartheid.

In seeing others we see ourselves

The reader (teacher, student or member of the general public) who has embarked on this work is most unlikely to be encountering the concept of apartheid for the first time. Even if the word itself is an unfamiliar one, the idea of racial discrimination will hardly to be entirely new.

What presuppositions, prejudices, opinions do we bring to a consideration of the issue? Below, two exercises are set out which it is hoped will encourage the course of self-examination which, as argued in Chapter 1, is involved in, indeed is inextricably associated with, the issue of apartheid seen as a world problem.

These exercises, which will be further developed as the work proceeds, are intended, first, as an aid to the teacher or to teachers in training and,

1. With teachers in training and with older students, it is particularly helpful to discuss questions such as 'What constitutes discrimination?' 'What constitutes protection of minorities?' Within such philosophical parameters, the question of apartheid fits most appropriately.
2. It should be noted that the concept of 'dignity' used in discussion of human rights has much in common with the concept of 'autonomy' much used in educational theory.

secondly, as an indication of an educational approach to apartheid. In this second respect it is hoped that they may be found suggestive of the kind of 'human thought' activity that teachers can employ in this work. Similar exercises, more closely geared to the age, aptitudes and abilities of those being taught can be devised.
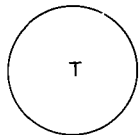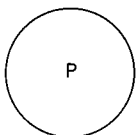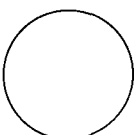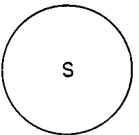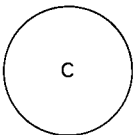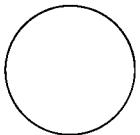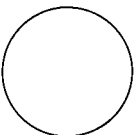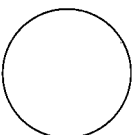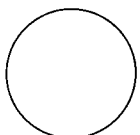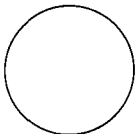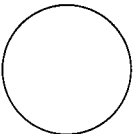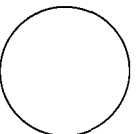
<div align="center">APARTHEID EXERCISE 1</div>

Personal significance

There are good psychological grounds for believing that a person's mental health depends to a considerable degree on: (a) the way he sees himself; (b) the way he sees others as seeing him; and (c) the extent to which he manages to integrate (a) and (b) into something approaching what he conceives to be his ideal self. This makes for what is called a well-integrated personality.

In all of this, the status we are accorded by the society in which we work is important. If our human rights are ignored or impaired, our status is reduced, what we can do is reduced, and our mental health may suffer. Think of yourself in terms of status: you have a son- or daughter-relationship status in respect of your parents, a peer-group status depending on how your friends and contemporaries see you, and a particular status in regard to your learning ability in the classroom. You can perhaps think of other statuses.

Try in connection with these ideas of self and status to fill in the following diagrams: to describe your own position. (You can do this in private, confidentially, for yourself alone.)

What am I?

T = Teacher   P = Parent   S = Student   C = Child

Now fill in other relationships, e.g. friend/friend. You may require more or fewer circles.

Think about the way the status relationships help you to see yourself, how you see others seeing you. Some of these relationships will make you feel comfortable, some will help you to feel that your life is fuller as a result of the relationship. Others will make you feel more diminished, make you feel that you fall very far short of your ideal self. Which are these and why?

Try now to represent this pictorially by showing how the status relationships add to, or reduce, your sense of significance by drawing lines round the cycles of your diagram. The 'What am I?' represents the essential you. It is marked with a cross. Where a relationship adds to your sense of significance you can represent this in the following way (N.B. the 'central you' line is long):
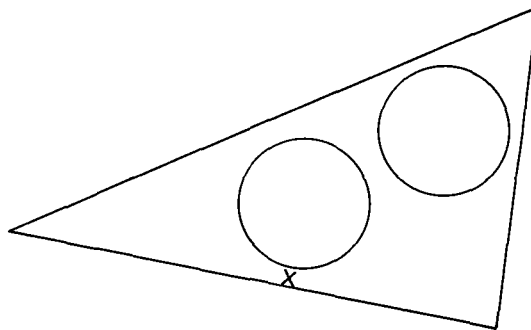
What am I?

When the reverse happens, you can show this by altering the lines around the circle in the following way (N.B. the 'central you' line is short):
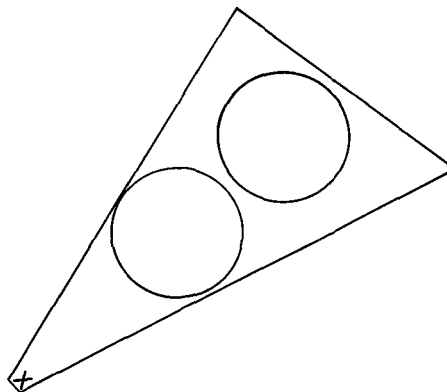
What am I?

If you do this for a number of relationships you will find that 'What am I?' will find itself answered—to a limited extent, of course—by the shape and area of the

'What am I?' part of your diagram. If relationships are contributing a good deal to your sense of significance, you may end up with an area like this (N.B. the 'central you' area is large and not constricted):
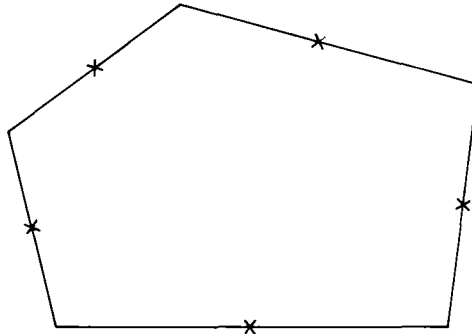
If the result of your relationships is mixed you may end up with an area like this:
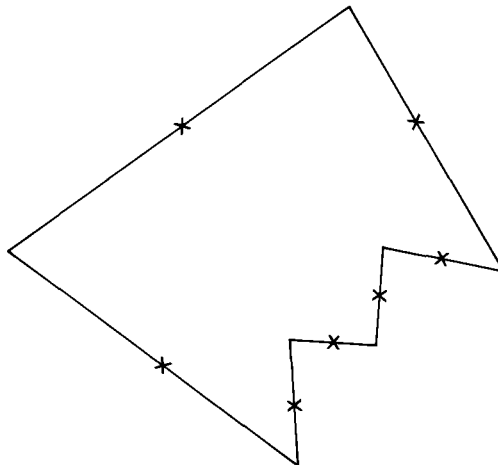
Some of the relationships that contribute to the 'central you' are very constricting. In certain cases they can contribute to depression for the individual. Relationships like those shown below constrict and depress:
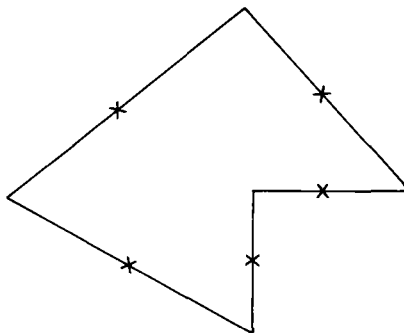
Against the background of your thought about this exercise, now attempt the next.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 2

Individual significance

We are most of us better at telling others what to do than doing it ourselves. Throughout the world there are people whose philosophy seems to be: 'Don't do as I do; do as I say.'

There is likely to be an element of this kind of thinking in all issues involving human rights. Thus, on the issue of apartheid, it is easy to *describe* what is happening and to *prescribe* what people in South Africa should do about it, it is much more difficult to *understand* the complexities of the problem. One way that will help is by trying to see ourselves in analogous situations.

Very few situations, of course, are analogous. The South African situation is deep-seated, all-embracing and very tense. Nevertheless, it can be helpful to question ourselves about the kinds of issue involved. If 'we', the subject, can see 'us', as object, we can better appreciate how 'they' react towards others. With this in mind, let us try to set a *self-questionnaire*.

This is essentially concerned with a giving/taking relationship. Many prescriptions for dealing with apartheid are concerned with this. For instance, it is argued by various people that the situation would be greatly remedied by:

1. The white South Africans giving up power to the black and coloured South Africans.
2. The black and coloured South Africans taking what power they are allotted by the white South Africans, and negotiating more.
3. The white South Africans giving full recognition to the rights of all the citizens of the Republic.
4. The black and coloured South Africans giving understanding to the position in which the white South Africans find themselves.
5. The white South Africans giving up their claims of racial superiority.
6. The black and coloured South Africans giving up their claims to use legitimate force both within and from outside the country.

Read over the list again and tick those statements which seem to be right. Once you have done this, ask yourself the following questions:

When 'they/them' become 'we/us'

1. Would I give up something that I prize very dearly, for the sake of others?
2. When did I last give something that I prized very dearly for the sake of others?
3. Do I generally tend to act like my friends and acquaintances?
4. When I act differently from my friends and acquaintances, why do I do so?
5. Do I take bad treatment from others without complaint?
6. Am I prepared to fight for (a) my rights, (b) better conditions?
7. Do I put up with bad conditions if I fear that trying to make them better may also mean that, for a time at least, the conditions may get worse?
8. Would I be prepared to be imprisoned or killed for what I believe to be right?
9. Am I good at foreseeing all the consequences of my actions?
10. Do I settle for immediate/middle-term/long-term benefits from my actions?
11. Have I ever done anything to try to avert violence or war? If so, when?
12. Do I honestly find these questions easy to answer?

Now:
1. Think about your answers to each of the above questions.

2. Imagine what your answers would mean if you were a South African trying to cope with the racial situation in that country. If your answers would be different if the colour of your skin were different, your thinking is in breach of the Declaration of Human Rights which does not permit of discrimination in terms of colour. If you find yourself in this position, think about the matter further.
3. Now, on the basis of your answers to the twelve questions above go back and look at the ticks you gave to the previous six questions. Would you now wish to alter your responses? If so, how and why?
4. If you are a member of a group, discuss what you have learned from this exercise, based on these questions:
    (a) Do we really do unto others as we would they should do unto us?
    (b) Do we expect others to do unto us what we would do unto them?
    (c) Can we, should we, do better than we do? If so, how?
    (d) Do we understand better why apartheid is proving so difficult a problem for the peoples of the world in the United Nations?
    (e) Return to the first paragraph of Exercise 1 and consider your position in relation to this paragraph.

2

What is apartheid ?

Apartheid is the way men organize men in the Republic of South Africa. Apartheid is the prejudgements and thinking associated with this organizing. The tensions and antagonisms involved in this organization contrast in striking fashion with the fortunate endowment of the country by nature. What is often represented as 'purgatory' by the historian and sociologist is a country that more closely resembles 'paradise' for a physical geographer and the geologist. There is, in fact, a fundamental distinction to be drawn between the quality of the natural environment and the way that people live in the Republic of South Africa. Let us start by considering the country in terms of a world perspective.

The world context

The Republic of South Africa as a land area is rightly sometimes referred to as a 'sub-continent'. Look at Figures 1 and 2 and locate South Africa. How does this compare for size with the area of your own country? The area of South Africa is 1.2 million square kilometres. What is the area of your own? South Africa covers an area greater than the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium taken together.

The Republic of South Africa in terms of population is less of a 'sub-continent'. Look at Figure 3; again find South Africa. How does this compare with your own country? The population of the Republic is estimated to be approaching 30 million. Again how does your own country compare with this? Other countries in the world with a population about the same size as South Africa are Colombia in South America, Zaire in Africa, Canada in North America and Yugoslavia in Europe.

There is one feature of South Africa of which its population is acutely conscious—the composition of its population. The total population of nearly 30 million is said to be composed of 19 million black Africans, 4.5 million white Africans, 2.5 million coloured Africans and 500,000 Asian South

Percentage of illiterate population over 10 years old

- ⧄⧄⧄ 0-5%
- ∴∴∴ 5-50%
- ‖‖‖ 50%+

No internationally accepted figures available

Tropic of Cancer

Equator

Tropic of Capricorn

FIG. 1

Percentage of illiterate females over 10 years old

\\\\\	0-5%
::::::	5-50%
|||||||	50-80%

More than 80%

No internationally accepted figures available
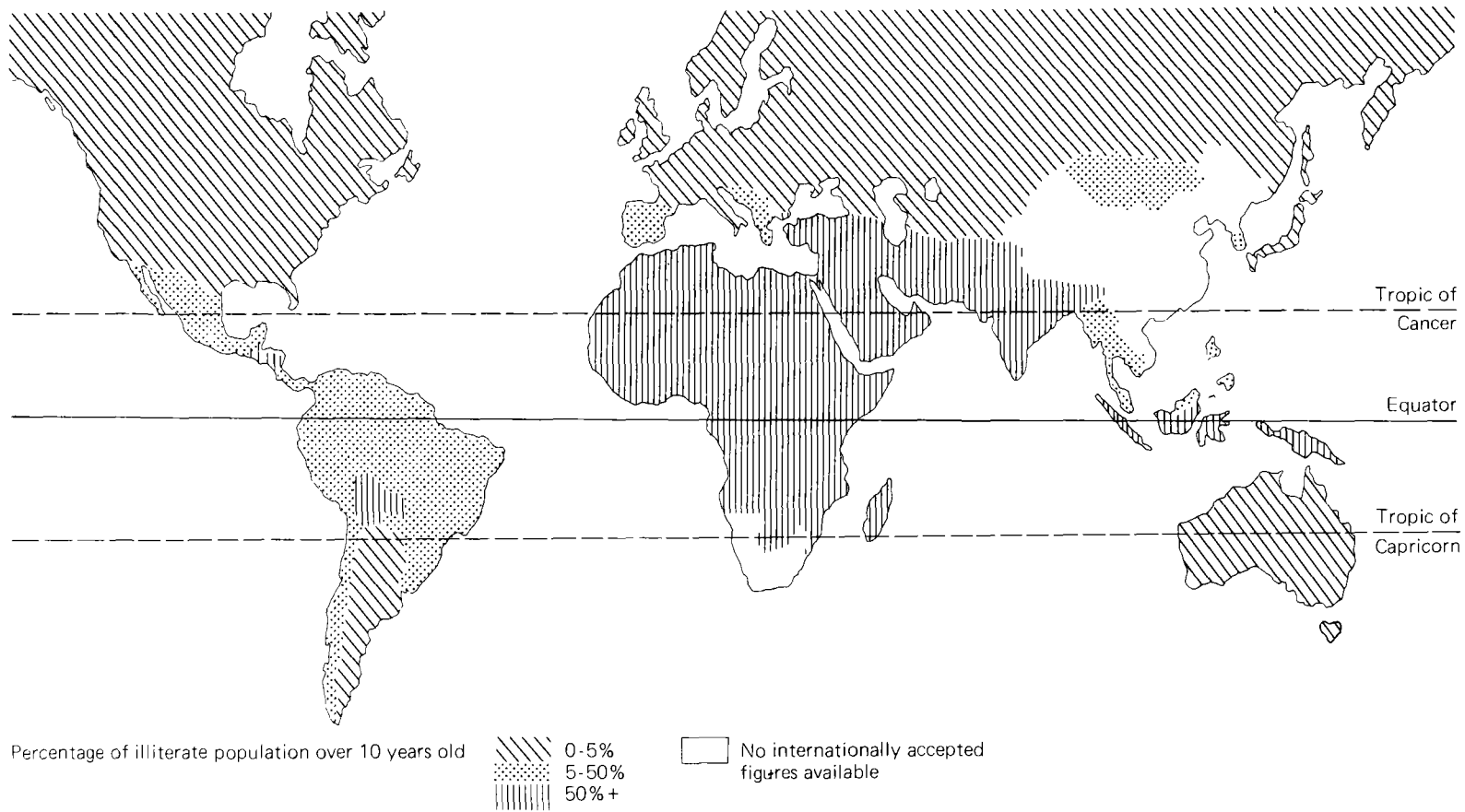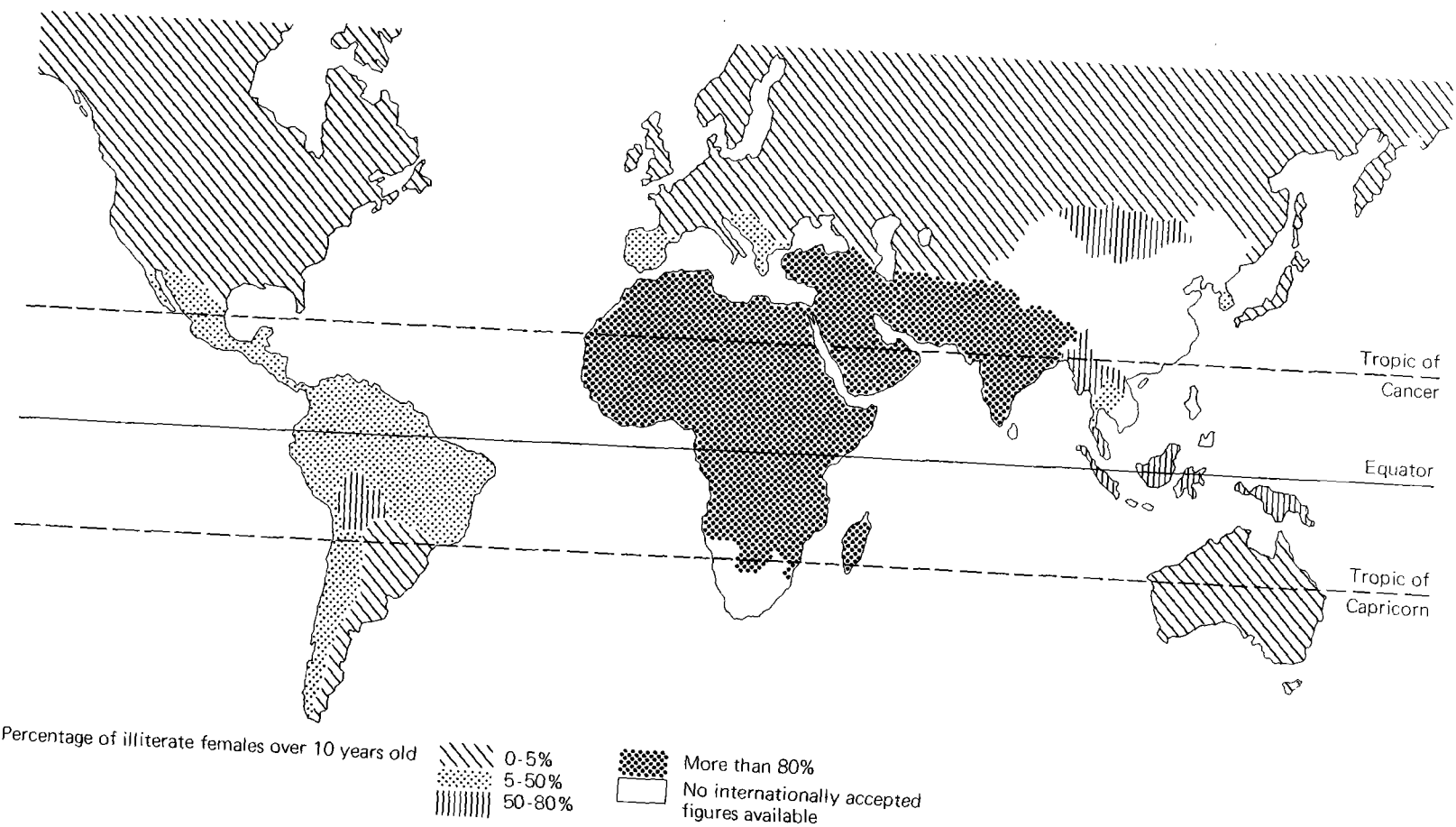
Fig. 2

Africans. This very characterization of the people of South Africa is, of course, an affront to the concept of the dignity of man. It should suffice to talk about the total population of South African citizens. However, apartheid means that this is impossible. Thus, black South Africans derive from the indigenous inhabitants of the continent of Africa, white South Africans are people of European stock who settled on the continent where, in many cases, they have lived for generations. Coloured Africans are people of mixed European, African or Asian background. Asian South Africans are people of Chinese or Indian descent. For convenience, in this book 'blacks' are taken to represent the non-white population of South Africa although the idea that one race can be used as a reference group for another is totally rejected.

Nonetheless it is important that teachers clearly understand and make clear to those they teach that the coloured and Asian populations in South Africa suffer similar discrimination to that suffered by the blacks.

As in numerous other countries—e.g. the United States, Brazil, the United Kingdom and Malaysia—South Africa has a population that includes communities that come originally from other parts of the world. Teachers should reflect on this. They should ask themselves and their class: 'Is this true of our own country? If so, does it matter? Does it create problems and possibilities? If not, can we try to think of the problems and possibilities that an ethnically mixed population might give rise to?'

The Republic of South Africa in terms of economic development is an important power. An appropriate idea of its relative significance can be obtained by reference to Figure 4 on page 26. This shows in schematic form the Gross Domestic Product, or, in simpler terms, the value of goods and services produced within a state, charged at ruling prices, of the countries of the world. Again, this situation gives rise to exercises for teachers and taught alike. Such questions as the following will lead to greater understanding. How does South Africa compare with your own country? With which other countries is it comparable? In terms of economic development, South Africa is among the thirty countries that have the highest production capacity. How does this come about?

A consideration of geographical and geological factors helps to provide an answer. The climate is mostly subtropical ranging from the rich fruit-producing area of the southern Cape and the east to the dry deserts of the northern Cape. Generally speaking, rainfall decreases from east to west; it exceeds 1,000 mm per annum along the east coast and diminishes to less than 125 mm in the arid west-coast region. On the central plateau area rainfall varies between 375 and 750 mm. Although in the high veld regions of the interior there are short frosty winters, for the most part the climate is sunny. The average number of hours of sunshine per day varies from 7.5 to 9.5. In London the corresponding figure is 3.8 and in New York 3.9. With these climatic conditions, and with a fortunate topography and good soil, South Africa displays one of the richest varieties of plant life. It has more than 20,000 species of wild flowers.

Population ☐ = 1 million

Netherlands
Belgium & Lux.
German Dem. Rep.
Scandinavia

Canada

Ireland

United States

United Kingdom

Poland

Fed. Rep. of Germany
Czecho-slovakia

USSR

Mongolia

Korea (Dem. People's Rep.)

Mexico

Cuba

Switz.
France
Austria

Other Eastern European countries

Other Caribbean countries

Italy

Yugo-slavia

Korea (Rep. of)

Other Central American countries

Venezuela

Greece

Turkey

China

Japan

Colombia

Portugal

Spain

Israel

Iran

Afghanistan

Brazil

Arab Middle East

Pakistan

Other South American countries

Other North African countries

Egypt

Nepal

Taiwan

Oceania

Chile

Argentina

Nigeria

Ethiopia

India

Bangladesh

Burma

Hong Kong

Philippines

Other African countries

Laos

Thailand

VietNam

South Africa

Madagascar

Malaysia

Indonesia

Sri Lanka

Australia

New Zealand

Dem. Kampuchea

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

Even more important for the conditions of life of its people, the country possesses nearly all the minerals and metals needed in a developed, urbanized, high-income society. It has the world's largest deposits of gold, chromium, platinum, vanadium, manganese, asbestos and vermiculite. In addition there are large deposits of diamonds, uranium, titanium, antimony, manganese, iron, copper, coal, nickel, phosphate, tin, thorium, zirconium, silver (in gold ore), gypsum, mica, salt, talc, graphite, magnetite, pyrites, limestone and fluorspar. Only one element for all-round industrial development—oil—is missing, but even this can be manufactured artifically from coal.

Fully to understand apartheid and the bitterness it creates one needs to understand the materially favourable conditions in which it is found. How, against this background and world perspective, do people organize their fellow citizens in South Africa?

The nature of apartheid

The answer to this question is not in terms of the inherent dignity of the individual citizen but by colour of skin and 'racial origin'. The ruling white South African Government claims that the people of South Africa comprise distinct groups: the whites, various distinct African nations, the coloureds and the Asians. These peoples, it asserts, are all distinct and should therefore be subject to separate development. Their whole life-styles should be kept as distinct as possible. They should live in different areas. The black South Africans should live, as far as possible in their 'homelands'. These areas, in many cases, used to be termed 'native reserves'. They later became known as 'Bantustans' (i.e. lands for the Bantu); later still they were called 'homelands', and today the government likes to refer to them as 'nations'. It must be emphasized that for many black South Africans the 'homelands' are not their homes. They live in urban areas. Their 'homelands' are not homes of their choosing. They are 'homes' that have been assigned to the blacks by the whites.

They are set forth in their South African Government version[1] in Figure 5. Teachers should try to reproduce this map for their classes: possibly duplicating copies; or making a transparency for the overhead projector; or using an epidiascope to produce an outline on paper and then marking this on the paper with pen or paint brush, or, if need be, simply making a free copy on the blackboard. The questions that arise from this map are legion and students should be encouraged to think them out for themselves. Here is a selection:

Question: What percentage of the total land area of the Republic is given to
    the homelands?
Answer: 13 per cent.
Question: Who decides on the areas to be designated as homelands?
Answer: The white government.
Question: What major South African town is to be found in the homelands?

1. *Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality,* Pretoria, State Department of Information, 1974.

Answer: None. Soweto has a population of 1.3 million but it is less of a normal town than a labour reserve for neighbouring Johannesburg.

Question: Do all the black Africans (19 million) live in the 'homelands'?

Answer: No; probably only about one-third of them—although the South African Government claims that it is nearly a half. The homelands do not have the resources to support them. More importantly, the white South Africans require the black South Africans to work in their industrial developments, in their businesses in towns, and in their homes as servants. About half the total black South African population live in the towns of white South Africa. The exploitation of South Africa's rich economic resources is dependent upon the black work-force. Even so, blacks can become unemployed, and then they are sent back to what is considered their appropriate homeland.

Question: Do the blacks who live in 'white' areas live with their families?

Answer: No. The pass laws deny blacks who actually work in 'white' areas the right to permanent residence in those areas. They have to carry a reference book (usually called a pass book) which they have to produce on demand by a policeman or other official. During the period 1974/75 nearly 1,000 trials were held every day of blacks who had been prosecuted under the pass laws.[1]

The families of blacks working in white urban areas are expected to live in a 'homeland' (or 'black nation'). Family life is utterly disrupted. The Urban Areas Act makes it a criminal offence for a black African woman to live with her husband for more than 72 hours in an urban area if she has not received a permit to do so.

Question: Do the homelands cover areas of vital economic significance?

Answer: The best answer to this question is to be found in Figure 6. Here it is suggested that some means of juxtaposing Figures 5 and 6 should be found. This of course can be done easily enough using an overhead projector but other possibilities include making tracings and adding to the blackboard copy of Figure 5.

A more accurate picture of the 'homeland' map of South Africa will be found in Figure 7. This has been produced by Unesco and the following points are particularly noteworthy: (a) the homelands and industrial areas scarcely coincide; (b) the homelands are often and quite deliberately adjacent to industrial areas since they provide a convenient black labour force and keep contacts between blacks and whites to a minimum; (c) the homelands often consist of non-adjacent areas rather like pieces of a jigsaw strewn haphazardly.

Question: Seeing that the 'labour force' is such an important consideration in apartheid, is the black African able to undertake any job anywhere for which he has the necessary qualifications and abilities?

1. Dr Koornhof, Minister of Plural Relations, said in the South African Parliament on 8 February 1979 that it was the intention of the South African Government to scrap the present pass system as soon as possible and to replace passes with identification documents similar to those used by whites and other population groups. The indications are that this may all be part of government policy to make black South Africans 'foreigners' in 'white' South Africa.

General location of Bantu 'homelands'.

| SWAZILAND | Independent states |
| General location of Bantu 'homelands' | |
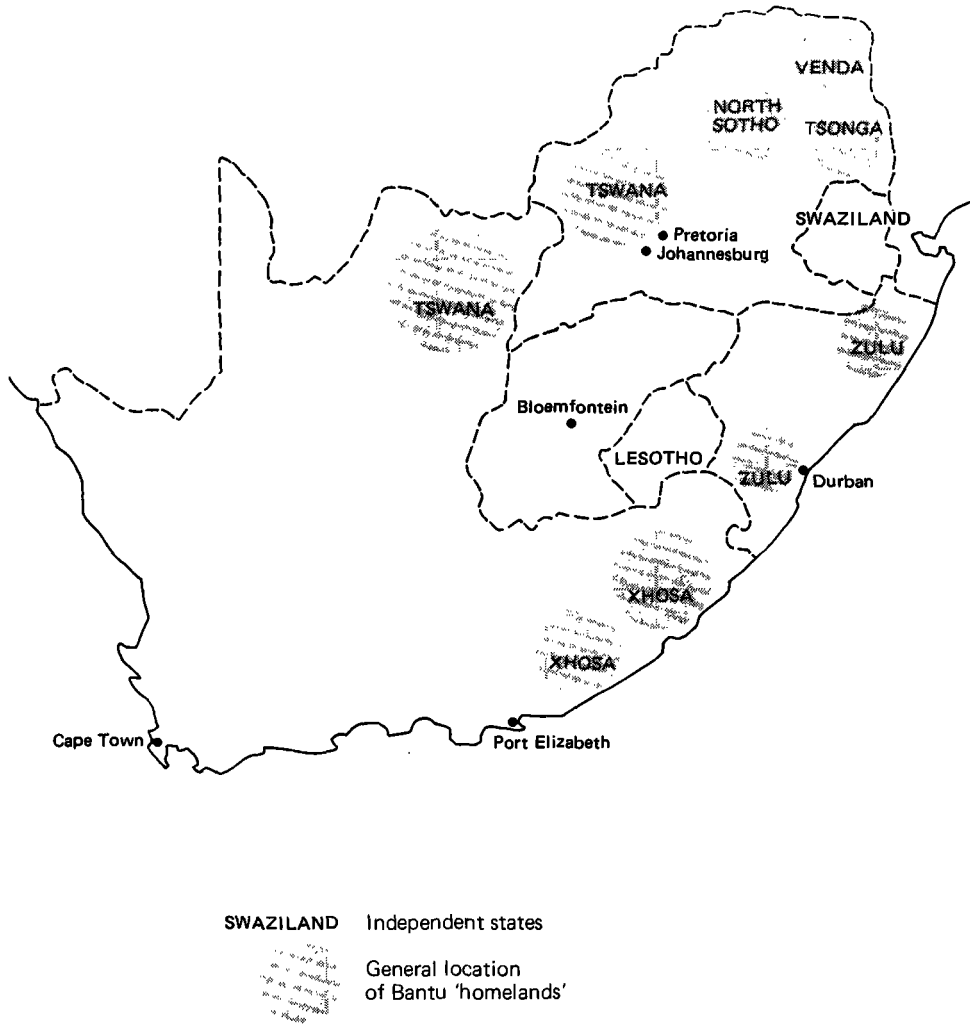
FIG. 5. General location of Bantu 'homelands'.

Answer: No. First it is exceedingly difficult for a black to obtain qualifications for better paid jobs. Only about one black in twenty is permitted to take his education beyond the primary level. Schooling for white children is free and compulsory; for black children it is not compulsory and their parents have to find money for fees, uniforms and books.

Secondly, certain skilled occupations are open only to whites. Only on a very limited scale indeed, and then only in African townships and 'homelands', can non-whites work above a certain level of skill or responsibility. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1957, the Minister of Labour is empowered to prohibit the employment of whites by others and to reserve classes of occupation wholly or partially to persons 'of a specified race'.

Coal
Chrome
Asbestos
Iron
Diamonds
Gold
Uranium
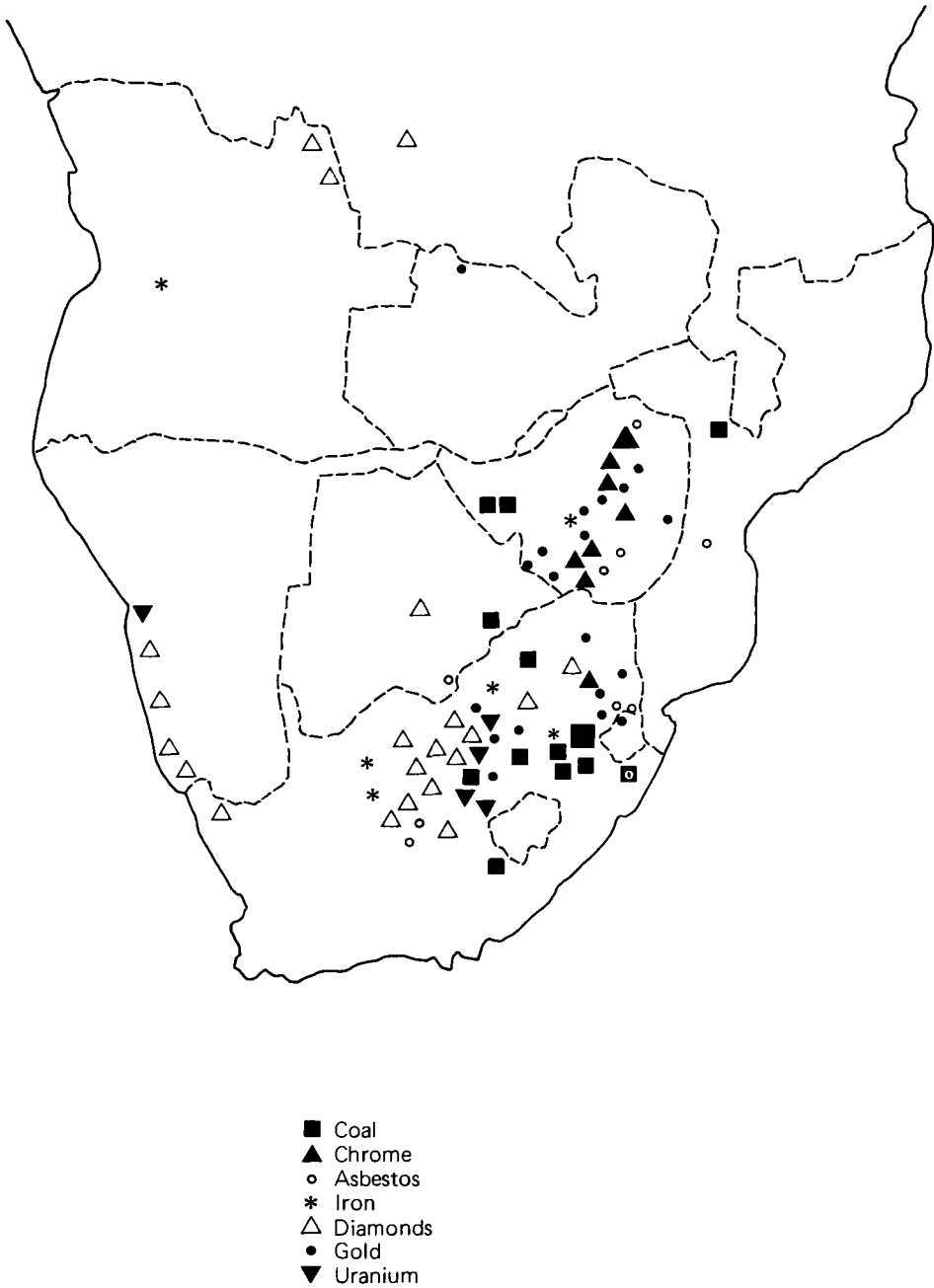
FIG. 6. Southern Africa's mineral resources.

Bantu 'homelands'
Industrial growth points

FIG. 7. Land allocation in South Africa: Bantustans.

Question: Why does the South African Government on Figure 5 delineate the 'homelands' in such a vague way?
Answer: The dialogue above should suggest answers to this question.
Question: If all of this describes apartheid, may it none the less be the case that the system has become accepted in South Africa and that it should be allowed to continue?
Answer: It may be that some South Africans who should see themselves as the victims of apartheid do not do so. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that some may acquiesce—or for reasons of self-interest —support the system. As United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said in June 1977 the previous seventeen years had 'seen

racism progressively institutionalized in every aspect of South African society'. Year after year, day after day, apartheid has continued and, although some changes have been made in the access of blacks to public amenities, there has been no indication on the part of the Government of South Africa that any significant relaxation of the system will be permitted.

Yet, as we shall see later, there have been very many protests from within South Africa against apartheid.

Questions and answers like these can help the teacher appreciate the all-prevailing nature of apartheid. They can also be used with older students but how can the system be 'felt' by younger pupils?

Apartheid at the primary-school level

Should there be teaching about apartheid at the pre-school level and in the primary school? Generally speaking the answer to this question would be 'no'. For the majority of the world's children whose only formal education is at primary school (perhaps better regarded as basic education) the few years of schooling need to be given to acquiring literacy, numeracy, socialization and an introduction to the problems and possibilities of development. For those children who are fortunate enough to proceed from primary to secondary school, teaching about apartheid is best deferred to the secondary stage—and its fullest consideration to the more senior school.

The reason for this is that apartheid represents a very complex problem—one which will tax mankind's intellect and integrity to the full if it is to be solved satisfactorily. To deal with such a problem when children are too immature to appreciate it in much of its complexity, means that a disservice is done both to those who are taught and to what is taught. In many developing countries it would rightly be regarded as a waste of scarce teaching resources.

However, what has been said above must in no sense be construed to mean that the issue of apartheid should be ignored by the primary-school teacher. It should indeed be one of the relevant issues which contribute to the determination of the primary-school curriculum. In other words, in both developing countries and high-income countries alike the object in the primary school should be to provide to those being taught a foundation on which they may subsequently build a reasoned appreciation of the issues involved in South Africa. How is this to be done?

Fundamentally the answer lies in making sure that concern with human rights is reflected in the school. It may perhaps not feature in the day-to-day subjects being taught but it is present in the very ethos of the school itself. It may not be taught but it needs to be learned. It needs to be learned in the give-and-take of the school day and the way that the dignity of the individual, teacher and taught alike, is respected. This means that the curriculum, the school's organization and the educational process are all concerned to demonstrate reason and justice. Thus the child grows progressively more aware of his school as a community and of the significance of the individual's contribution to the community and the community's contribution to the individual. Gradu-

ally the child learns through increasing participation that human rights are right and their abnegation is wrong. This will mean on occasion that the ethos of the school will require him to sacrifice his own interest to the general good.

How this is put into practice has been examined by Unesco in a useful booklet[1] which deserves to be better known in institutions which train teachers. Here it must suffice to give a brief indication of the approach that is advocated:

Ideas about equal rights for all without discrimination may be conveyed gradually, first through studies of the local community and, later, on the basis of information about other countries and peoples which, together with the children's personal experience, provides a realistic background for the discussion of rights and obligations in daily life and in the wider world outside the school.

With older pupils who have acquired sufficient knowledge and impressions of other countries to begin to appreciate the reasons for differences in social customs, ways of life and economic standards, some more direct study might be attempted of past and present struggles to attain basic rights.[2]

It must be emphasized that this approach represents something of an ideal. Many teachers will lack the knowledge and equipment needed to attempt it with measurable success. This, however, is less important than a concern to encourage both open-mindedness and fair-mindedness in those who are being taught. The lessons of the day are forgotten or assimilated and many adults today would be hard put to it to recall a single primary-school lesson which they received when they were young. Nevertheless in some measure, at least, it is most likely that their primary-school teachers contributed to the attitudes of sympathy or intolerance which they show to others. Once again we are reminded that there is an element of apartheid in the psyche of many people.

Apartheid at the post-primary level

For those who teach children at post-primary level, the issue of apartheid must be given consideration. It may be that the amount of such education that their pupils receive is so limited that direct teaching about apartheid may be neither feasible nor desirable. This is a decision, however, that should be consciously made and not allowed to go by default. Where it is decided that direct teaching about apartheid will not be undertaken, it is even more vital that the 'human rights' approach advocated for the primary school should be strongly reinforced with older children.

If it is decided that the issue of apartheid is of sufficient importance to merit attention in the curriculum, how is this to be done? On this issue it is impossible to generalize because conditions in schools throughout the world are so different. However, teachers may find some suggestions helpful,

1. *Unesco; Some Suggestions on Teaching about Human Rights,* Paris, Unesco, 1968.
2. Ibid., p. 40.
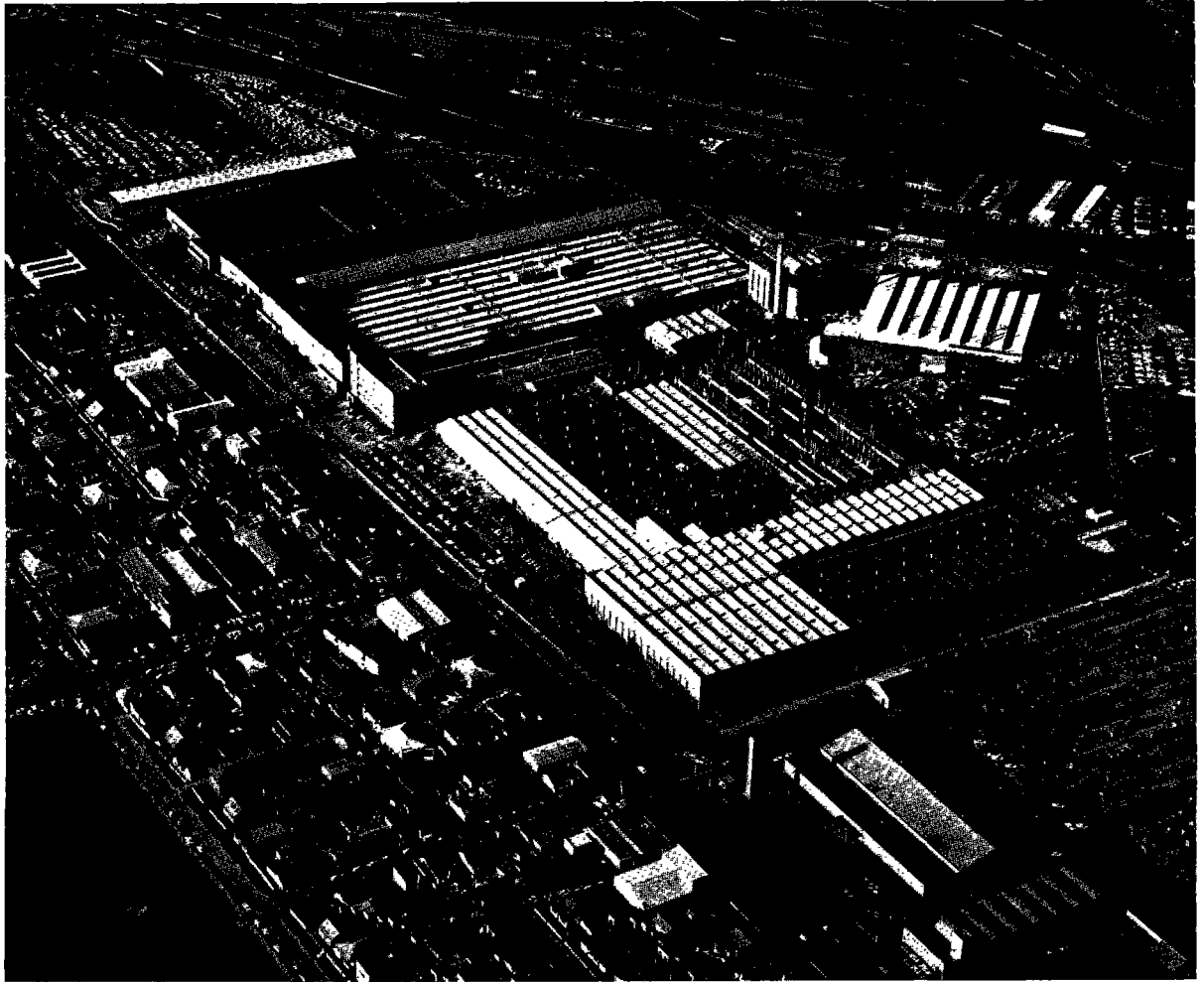
An aerial view of the manufacturing and assembly complex of General Motors South African, located on ninety acres of land approximately four miles from the centre of Port Elizabeth. Established in Port Elizabeth forty-two years ago, it is the largest motor-vehicle factory on the African continent. The company employs more than 5,500 people.

[Photo: B. Binnell]

A resettlement area in South Africa.

[Photo: Tony McGrath/IDAF]
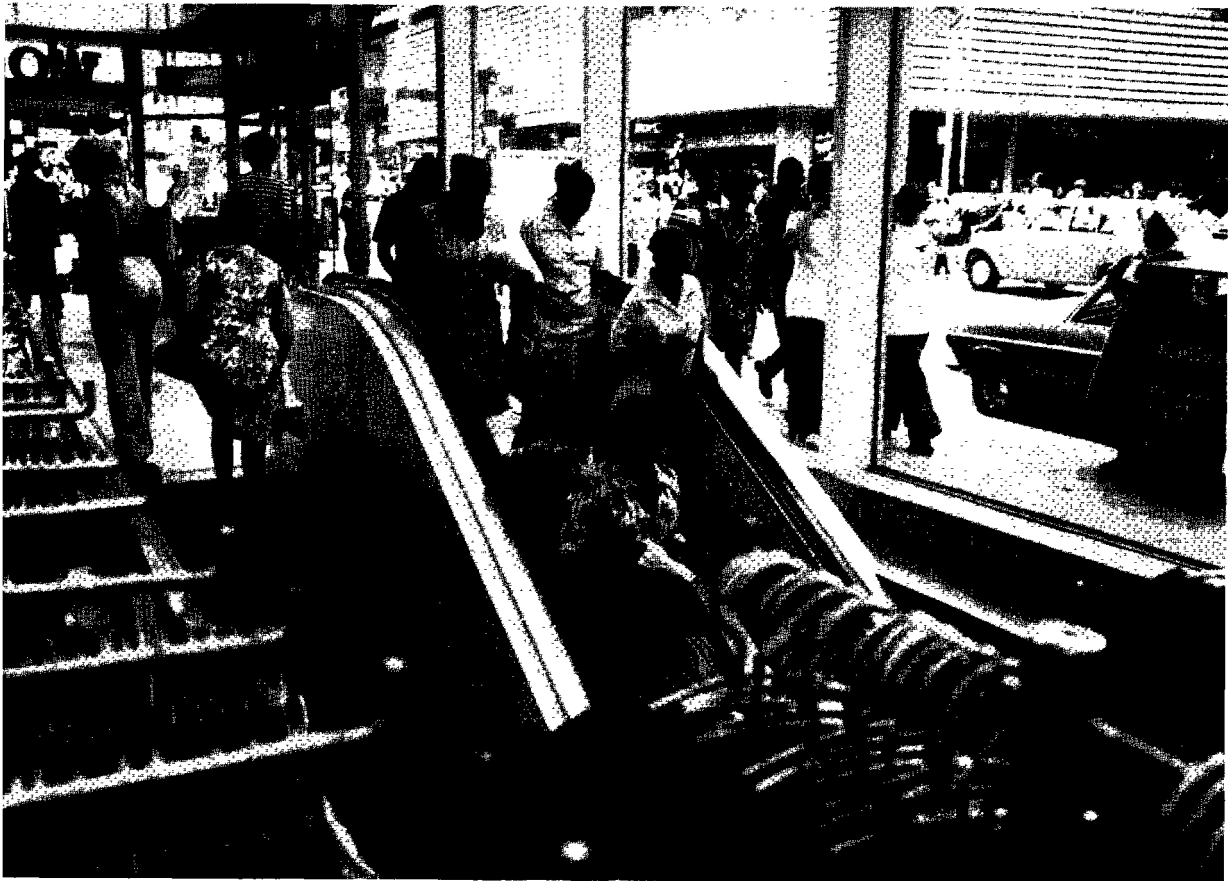
Shopping in Johannesburg.

An area in Soweto.

[Photo: Abisag Tülman]
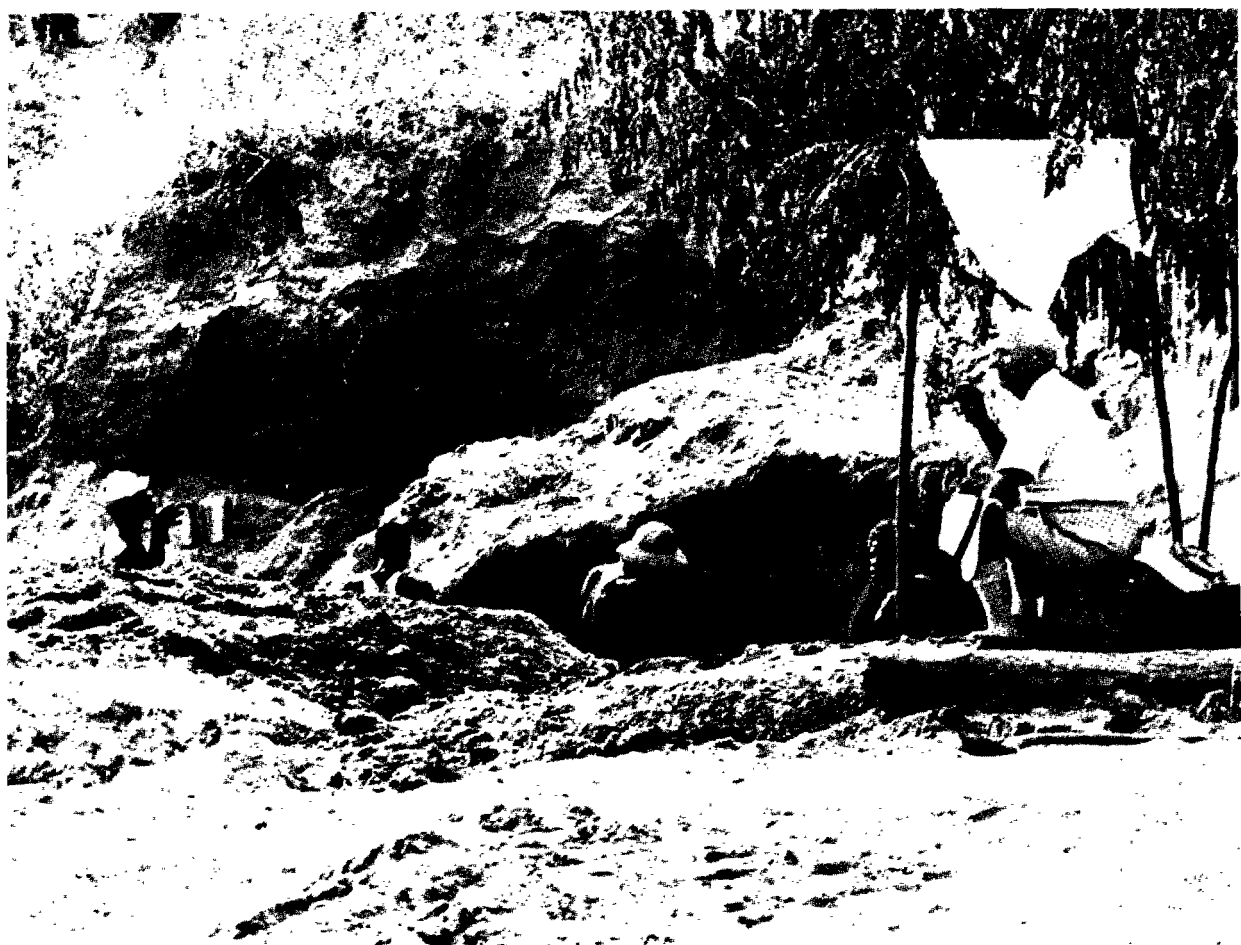
Black quarry-workers and white overseer.

A demonstration against the pass laws, on the steps of Johannesburg City Hall, 1960.

White student demonstration, Johannesburg, 1972.

Suburban dwelling, Pretoria.

African housing.

[Photo: John Seymour]

Family on a plantation
in Natal owned
by a British company.

Primary school for black South Africans.

[Photo: Ernest Cole/IDAF]

Gold-mine workers in the Transvaal.

[Photo: John Seymour/IDAF]

University of the North, Pietersburg, Transvaal, for a very small minority of black South Africans.

Sharpeville, March 1960.
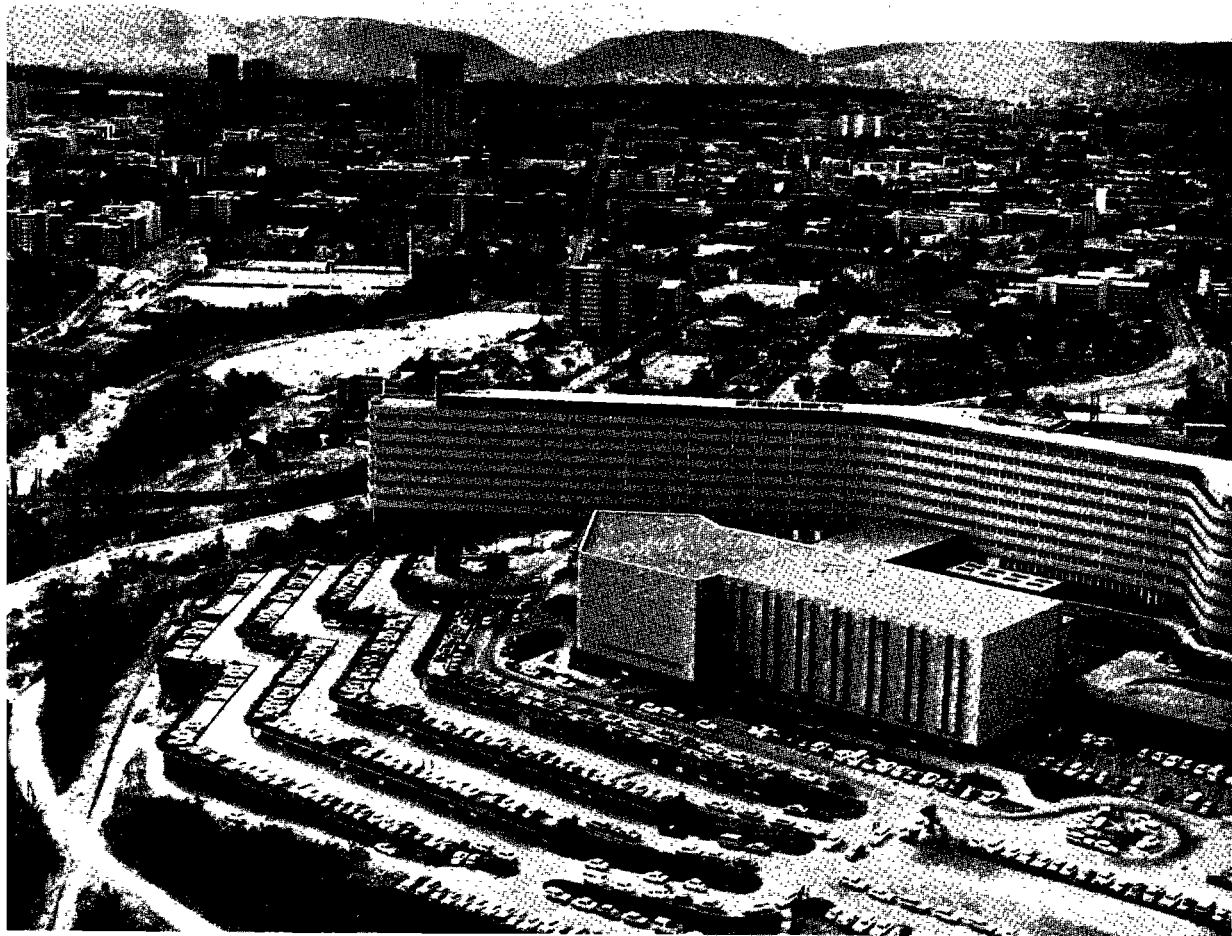
Aerial view of Pretoria, capital of the Republic of South Africa.

perhaps less as a guide than as a stimulus to their own thinking about activities that would be appropriate to their own conditions. How can they help their own pupils and students?

First, simulations can be helpful. Pupils can be encouraged to imagine themselves in the South African situation and think about its meaning under the title of 'Sensing the Situation'.

Here the teacher is concerned with moving away from an abstract approach to dealing with a concrete situation. Young people need to be helped to understand that, in South Africa, with slight modifications here and there, there is separate provision for whites and non-whites in:

buses	galleries	cafés and restaurants
trains	cinemas	factories
taxis	theatres	hospitals
parks	public lavatories	schools
zoos	beaches	universities
museums	sports grounds	

Let members of a group or class select one of the topics in the above list and try to conceive what the situation would be like if they were a black or a white South African in respect of, say, travel in trains (differences in respect of buying tickets, waiting for trains, accommodation on trains—eating, sitting, resting, etc., and the very possibility of moving about freely). Or let them try to sense how they would feel in respect of museums (museums represent the history of a country, but in South Africa they are geared especially to recreating the past of a small section of the community—the whites; entry to museums is restricted and few Africans ever have the opportunity of seeing anything of the history and achievements of their own forefathers). Let pupils try to sense the situation at first-hand so far as is possible.

Being in the picture

An associated activity is to encourage pupils to collect pictures of the human situation in South Africa and to try to imagine themselves 'in the picture'. The photographs on the following pages have been selected to furnish some comparison. If these can be reproduced, either by machine or by hand, so that members of a class can share them, this will be helpful to the learning process. Let the class register the differences and the similarities between the photographs. Then get the members of the class to think of themselves as (a) black and (b) white in the situations depicted in the pictures. Then let them ask themselves such questions as:

1. Am I happy or discontented at being here?
2. Does the situation in which I find myself seem fair? Does this matter to me?
3. Does this situation limit my freedom of choice? If so, how?
4. In view of (3) do I see my future as bright or gloomy?

Even from looking at a series of photographs, one can get something of the 'feel' of apartheid. The Unesco series of slides on apartheid is particularly helpful. The more one learns about South Africa the more disquieting this 'feel' becomes.

Living apartheid

Another approach that may be possible in some schools where teachers have a considerable voice in determining the curriculum is to try to replicate South African conditions in class. This requires extensive preparation and should not be undertaken lightly; otherwise it may have the very reverse effect from that intended.

It means investing a small minority—about 10 per cent of the class—with power to determine what the class as a whole will do during a given period of time. The 10 per cent must be selected on some criterion over which the individual can have no say whatever—the colour of their hair or their eyes, say—and it should be made clear to them that they must believe they have a responsibility to put the interest of their own group before that of the rest of the class. They must see the colour of their eyes or hair as reflecting the fact that their forebears played a particularly dominant role in contributing to and developing the class as a whole. It is this that, as a result, invests them with special powers of government, which they can use to promote their own interests which they can be encouraged to believe are the interests of the community at large.

In the classroom situation they should then proceed against this background to replicate day-to-day living conditions in South Africa. They are the A group in the class; the rest of the class are the B group. They will need to find classroom equivalents for:

EVERY DAY UNDER APARTHEID

If you are an average white:
A1. Your earnings will be fourteen times that of the average black and enable you to enjoy a very comfortable standard of living.
A2. You will be able to consult a doctor without difficulty (one doctor for every 400 patients).
A3. Your children can enjoy an education under a system on which the state spends $696 per pupil per annum.
A4. You can move freely in 87 per cent of the Republic's land area that has been assigned to the whites.
A5. You are free to live with your spouse and children.
A6. You know that you are a member of an élite group in your country.

If you are an average black:
B1. Your earnings will enable you to live only a little above subsistence level.

B2. You will find that seeing a doctor is often impossible or involves much waiting and queuing (one doctor for every 44,000 patients).
B3. Your children can, if they are fortunate, take part in an educational system on which the state spends $45 per pupil per annum.
B4. You can move in 'white areas' only if you carry a pass book which you must produce on demand.
B5. If you work in a 'white area' you are deprived of the right to live with your family.
B6. You know that you are a member of a deprived group in your country.

Try to continue to list the differences between As and Bs.

The A/B group simulation could be limited to certain periods during the school day or to out-of-school activities. A time limit of a day or two or even some weeks might be set. The 'advantages' of the A group might involve freedom from school or class and the right to exact obedience from B members. It might take the form of investing the As with the power to determine who should be members of teams for games periods, who should be excused certain class assignments (including, possibly, homework exercises); who should participate in certain social events and so on. Such a simulation calls for good sense and responsibility on the part of the teacher who should set the objectives and constraints of the exercise according to prevailing circumstances. Wherever possible, the teacher should discuss the exercise with colleagues on the staff and with community leaders and parents and win their support for what is being attempted. Without such 'community support', the whole exercise might give rise to recriminations arising from a lack of understanding.

Many teachers and many school systems may wisely decide that the difficulties of such an exercise are likely to outweigh the possible advantages. However, the trainer of teachers or the university lecturer on world studies or international relations should be prepared to see (a) apartheid in its world context and (b) the apartheid exercise in its community context, and (b) in relationship to (a). This kind of comprehensive thinking rarely finds expression in teacher-training or university courses in international relations. It calls for much study and preparation on the part of those who are teaching the teachers or lecturing the students. Perhaps nowhere has the nature of the comprehensive approach involved been better put than by Ralph Pittman:

It is not enough to know about bargaining and authority, legitimacy, administration and control, imperialism and racialism, and the traditional concepts included in the usual definitions of the subject, for these are necessarily part-topics in the study of human beings; the knowledge they generate is inevitably always fragmentary and does violence, however fruitful, to our understanding of human affairs. The knowledge of *politics* we seek must take its proper place as only one aspect of human behaviour, divorceable in theory from other aspects but never so divorceable in practice. How, for example, can we talk about war, a central question in the study of world politics, without talking about conflict in general of which war is a particular, albeit especially violent, form? How can we talk about *conflict* in general and war in particular without

talking about aggression or self-transcendence, loyalty, obedience or the urge to survive? And how, in all humility, can we pronounce on drives, needs and capacities like these without some associated knowledge of *psychology, biology, ethnology* (comparative animal behaviour and *brain physiology*? To do less would be to abuse the real scope of the problem in the interests either of analytical precision misplaced academic modesty, activist fashion, or some such defence of a provincial status quo. Likewise, can we talk about imperialism and the profit mechanics of the market economy without discussing dishonesty and greed? And these in turn may well have to be seen as human attributes of a biological or *cultural-anthropological* kind, or as psychological or sociological processes, before their full political implications become clear.

Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that holding our discussion down to just those topics considered politically relevant usually excludes what may be the most interesting and important facets of the question from the point of view of bringing about political change to some more just or humane way of life.[1]

The italicized words do not appear as such in the original; they have been singled out as indicating areas of study in which many teachers may feel themselves to be somewhat deficient but which merit study if they wish to do justice to such issues as racial discrimination. To this end, it is suggested that institutions of higher and teacher education compile bibliographies that can help the teacher.

From pre-school to university the human-rights approach to problems like apartheid calls for curriculum resource appraisal, school-management scrutiny and the active involvement of those concerned with curriculum development.

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1. Ralph Pittman, *Human Behaviour and World Politics*, pp.26–7, Macmillan, 1975.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 3

Relevant studies

Re-read the Pittman passage, note the words in italics. List them. Are there other subjects that a person seriously concerned with the problem of apartheid should be aware of, and knowledgeable about? If so, add them to your list.

Now undertake a 'central you' type exercise in respect of your relationship with the subjects listed. You could do this by means of the diagrammatic representation previously employed:
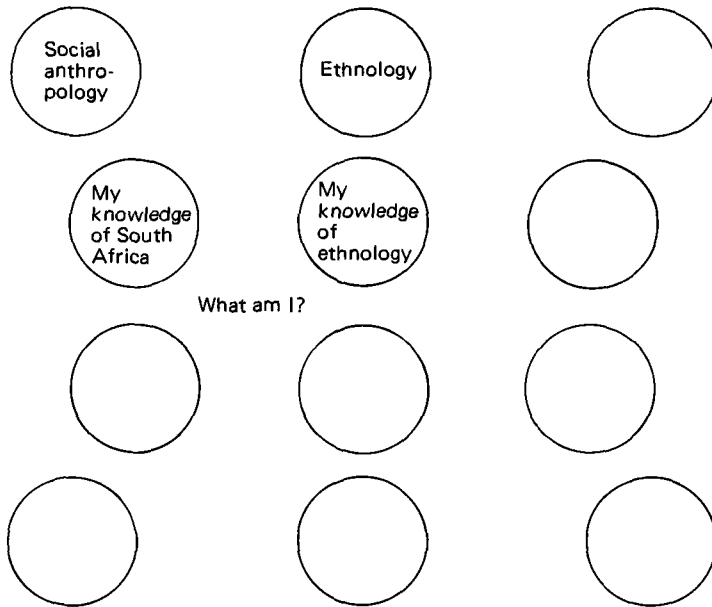
How does the 'central you' area now appear? Compare it with the area that you obtained when you undertook Exercise I (p. 16). Is it larger or smaller? Which of the two areas seems to you to be the more significant? Why?

APARTHEID EXERCISE 4

'If I were they'

The teacher should now be armed with a good deal of self-knowledge, an indispensable aid to understanding the human issues involved in apartheid. It is now necessary, against the background sketched in Chapter 2, to try to project oneself into the South African situation.

Imagine that you are a white South African who believes in and practises apartheid. Try to fill in the circles that are suitable for yourself in this situation.
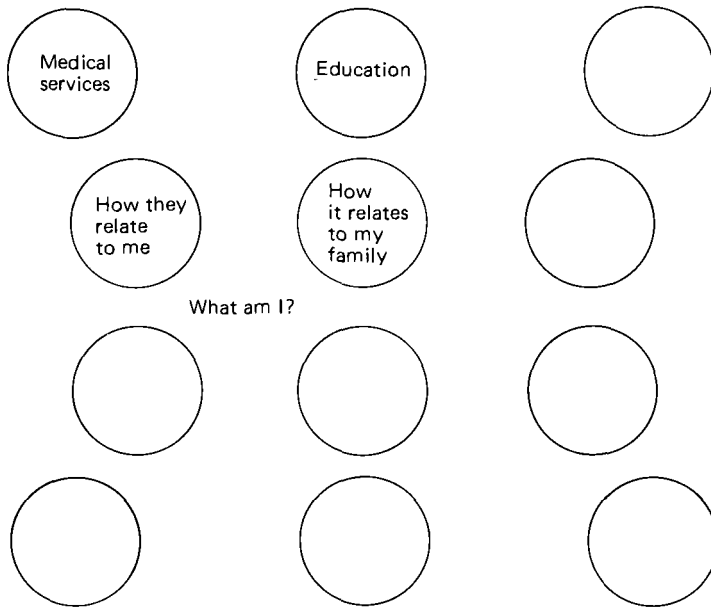
Do you think that the white South African's sense of significance is increased or diminished by the racial situation in South Africa?[1] Draw in the straight lines to show how you would see the 'central you' in this situation.

If you use the material given under 'Sensing the Situation' and 'Every Day under Apartheid' you will get some help in doing this. Reflect on each incident given in the table very carefully to try to decide the length of the line that goes to make up the 'central you' area.

Now do the same exercise again but this time assume that you are a black South African.

Try to think what the overall pattern of significance is likely to be in terms of the population of South Africa as a whole. Think of the areas that you have described being brought together in a vast 'population jigsaw'. Try to represent what this jigsaw is like but remember that for every white South African there are nine non-white South Africans.

What is this likely to mean in terms of the size of the pieces of your jigsaw. Will it mean that the smaller pieces are even smaller, and the larger pieces even larger? Or would the reverse apply? Or possibly a mixture of the two?

Now go back to your own personal 'What am I?' diagram and remember that this represents 'you, yourself'. It is not a piece in a jigsaw. It is a person known to you more intimately than any other person.

Try to persuade the older class that has been studying apartheid by this exercise to imagine how they would feel if they were a black or white South African under an apartheid system. Get them to write down their feelings about each of the two situations. Discuss their responses in class.

1. In any class it is likely that the way in which individual children respond to the questions set will vary—e. g. some will see both the white and the black South Africans' sense of significance being reduced (though not to the same degree); others may see the white South Africans' sense of significance as being enhanced while the black South African's self image is likely to be damaged and diminished.

This does not matter because: (a) it illustrates the variation that exists in South Africa on this issue; (b) it can give rise to a very human discussion of what it is like to be actually living in South Africa.

Again answers to this are likely to vary but the same considerations apply. It is probably as well, however, to try to build up on the blackboard a summary of the reasons underlying the two possibilities.

3   How did apartheid come about?

As we saw in the last chapter, 'apartheid' is an Afrikaans word originating in the Republic of South Africa to describe the separation of the white and black members of the population. It involves social, economic and political separation. South African official statements talk about separate development rather than 'apartheid'. Since the early 1960s the South African Broadcasting Corporation has substituted 'self-government'. Whatever euphemisms are employed, however, apartheid remains a peculiarly, though not exclusively, Afrikaner manner of organizing people.

Those who support apartheid maintain that it enables the white and the non-white groups to 'develop' their own cultures in a way that is appropriate to their own particular groups. Those who oppose apartheid maintain that it is an institution founded by a dominant white group to enable it to exploit a subordinate non-white group.

But how does it come about that there is a dominant white group in South Africa where out of a total of nearly 30 million people less than 4 million are whites? How does it come about that this dominant group speaks of 'apartheid', an Afrikaans word derived from Dutch? Why is Afrikaans so widely spoken when South Africa used to be a member of the British Commonwealth? Who are the black African people of South Africa for whom the South African Government is intent on making 'separate provision for development'? The answer to these questions requires a knowledge of the history of Africa.

But, before trying to understand African history let the teacher and the taught be cautioned. Most Africans did not keep written records—apart from Arabic records in some areas of the continent—before the arrival of Europeans. Instead, like the ancient Hebrews and Homeric Greeks, they developed a remarkable oral tradition (though no more free of error and distortion than written records). Because of this, it has too often been assumed that there has been no history of the African peoples. The mistake is rather like assuming that because you have not received letters from a friend, he must be dead! Even distinguished historians have been known to assert that there is no such thing as African history, only the history of European activities in Africa.

Such statements are like saying, 'There can be no African history because I don't know of any.'

Until recently, much of the 'history of Africa' has made precisely this mistake. It talks about Europeans discovering Africa without recognizing that in the same process Africans were discovering Europeans and the concept of Europe. When did this process of mutual discovery happen? Apart from Mediterranean Africa which was known in ancient times, it started in the fifteenth century as Europeans explored the seaway around the coast of Africa to India, and Africans and Europeans have been discovering each other ever since.

Archaelogists have shown that at the end of the first millennium A.D. there were many scattered Khoisan (Hottentot and Bushman) settlements along the coast as well as further north in the interior, between what is now Bloemfontein and Johannesburg and also north of what is now the Pretoria area. Between the fifth and fifteenth centuries Bantu-speaking peoples established settlements around Pretoria and Johannesburg and, throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, began moving southwards.

In 1652, the Dutch East India Company established (according to many Europeans) or seized the land for (say many Africans) a trading post at the Cape. In the course of time the trading post became a settlement with the predominantly Dutch settler population practising farming and making wine. The Europeans[1] had achieved a higher material standard of living than had the indigenous African population though not necessarily more highly developed social institutions. Many of them, for instance, were attached to a religion based on a fundamental belief that mankind was divided into 'the chosen' and 'the damned'. The Dutch also emphasized individual property rights, whereas the indigenous Africans were far more community conscious. The truth is that both groups had different concepts of human rights, though this was a term that neither group would have used.

The next important step in a thumbnail sketch of the history of South Africa occured in 1716 when the importation of slaves, mostly from West Africa, Madagascar and Mozambique, but also from Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, was instituted. Hitherto the lines of demarcation between the Europeans and other peoples had not been rigidly drawn but, as in America, slavery produced a much sharper stratification along lines of colour.

The coloured South Africans, who are descendants of these slaves, have played an important role in the development of South Africa. When slavery was abolished in 1833 there were nearly 30,000 slaves at the Cape.

In teaching about race relations from an historical point of view it is impossible to avoid the issue of slavery. In all the world's continents except Antarctica there has been slavery or something very akin to it at some time in history: the owning and exploitation of others. Much of the relationship between 'whites' and other races has been distorted because it has involved the practice of slavery with the whites in the dominant position. In this respect, classes might well be reminded of the notorious 'triangular trade' which was

1. 'European' is used deliberately in this context. The Dutch were joined in South Africa by other European nationals, notably British, French and German.

carried on between Western Europe, West Africa and the West Indies and other parts of the American continent. This involved battening slaves between the decks of slave ships. Slavery too was a trade that was extensively carried out in East Africa, often with Arabs as intermediaries. None of the world's peoples has, or has had, a monopoly of virtue—or vice.

The Europeans were in a minority in the country; their more advanced scientific and technical skills, coupled with their religious beliefs, their practice of slavery, and the fact that farms were large and scattered, meant that the Boers (farmers) felt that they needed to stress their authority. This need, they believed, had to be based on the idea that they were superior to other peoples. And so, out of what was considered necessity plus self-esteem—a characteristic not unknown elsewhere—the mythology of racial superiority was born. Conditioned by frequent conflicts between Boer and African it was to grow into the phenomenon known as 'apartheid'. If the Dutch considered that the Africans, especially the Bushmen, were 'savage' and 'warlike' it seemed to the Africans that the Europeans were both 'powerful' and 'rapacious'.

Gradually the settlement grew; farms grew larger and the Boers more wealthy. They moved inland, first bartering with the Africans and then establishing cattle farms. These had to be large because the climate was so dry that the pasture for cattle was not particularly good. The Dutch East India Company started allocating pastureland of about 6,000 acres per head to the Boers—and some had more than one such cattle farm. The land was often simply taken from the black Africans who lived there. The myth of racial superiority developed further. That 'myth' is the right word to use is attested by much archaelogical research. Perhaps this can best be demonstrated to a class by encouraging interest in the ruins of Old Zimbabwe, near the town called by Europeans Fort Victoria in the country they named Rhodesia.

The impressive ruins of Old Zimbabwe attest to the considerable technical building achievements of the empire of the Monomotapa (eleventh to fifteenth century) which carried on a gold trade with Asia. Archaeologists have discovered Chinese porcelain in their excavations.

At the same time as the Boers were extending northwards from the Cape, the Bantu-speaking peoples of the hinterland were moving southwards. In the course of these movements, the Khoisan settlements with which the Dutch East India Company had originally had most contact were greatly reduced. Some were absorbed by the British; some entered the service of the Dutch settlers where they intermarried with slaves and others of mixed descent, and some were reduced to living as best they could in the poorest parts of what they had previously regarded as their own land. Other countries in the world bear witness to similar treatment accorded to the original inhabitants of a territory. Teachers might well explore this sad record with regard to areas better known to their classes than the southern part of Africa. At the same time, it is important to stress that the international community, especially through the United Nations, is dedicated to eliminating this kind of inhumanity.

By the time the British took over the administration of the Cape in 1806, the seeds for conflict between the races, black and white, had already been sown. The coming of the British introduced yet another 'ethnic' factor into the

situation. Because of this complex ethnic pattern, South Africa has experienced structural tension to an extreme degree. Not only has there been the tension between black, white and coloured but there has also been much mistrust between South Africans of British and Dutch descent. In other words, there has been a struggle not only between the dominant and subordinate groups of the population but also within these groups. Teachers who are concerned with the history of the country should note this situation. It is too easy and essentially false to represent the whites as a civilizing 'force for peace' confronted by warring tribal factors. Boer and British whites in their relationships were no less tribalistic than the Zulu and the Swazi—to name but two of the numerous ethnic groups living in this part of Africa. The Anglo-Boer wars (1880–81, 1899–1901) were no more 'civilized' than the wars waged by the black Africans. Among other things they added the concept of 'concentration camps' to the repertoire of repression.

There is indeed much that is similar in the history of blacks and whites in South Africa in the nineteenth century. Both were afflicted with land hunger, both were concerned to throw off the yoke of those who sought to oppress them and both were to make long and exceedingly difficult migrations to accomplish this. Because African history has been given a European orientation, many will have heard of the Great Trek, the move into the interior by the Boers in reaction to British authority (and especially the abolition of slavery). Few, however, are likely to have heard of the Mfecane, the great movement of the Bantu people which preceded the Great Trek. This took the Bantu of Southern Africa into what are today Zambia, Malawi and the United Republic of Tanzania. This movement, like the Great Trek had its heroism and its travail and dispersed the people widely; it was in large measure aimed at enabling them to live their kind of life in their kind of way. Like the Great Trek, it also resulted in the appropriation of the land belonging to others. Between them, the Mfecane and the Great Trek resulted in inter-racial and inter-ethnic tension in a much larger area of southern Africa. The history of the area had set the boundaries of apartheid.

In the nineteenth century, matters were further complicated when the white settlers in Natal, anxious to produce tea and sugar as had been done in Mauritius, decided to adopt the Mauritian expedient of using Indian labour to undertake the work involved. The British Government agreed to the idea and the first shipload of Indian workers reached Durban in 1810. The process continued and by 1904 Asians in Natal outnumbered those of Caucasian stock.

The momentous step in the development of apartheid occurred in 1867 when diamonds were discovered along the Orange and Vaal rivers. This led to an influx of fortune-seekers. A rural community started to change into an industrial society. It meant the inflow of much investment, urbanization and the development of railways and other forms of communication. This in turn led to the entrenchment of vested interests. At first, the ownership of mines was open to anybody, irrespective of the colour of his skin, but in 1875 the right to own and operate a diamond concession was permitted only to whites. In 1886 the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand took industrialization a stage further. People flooded in, mostly, though not exclusively, from the

United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Gold meant wealth and power, and the erstwhile Boer farmers and British settlers, together with other white fortune-seekers, found they had both. Probably more than any other factor, this economic development contributed to the particular quality of racial discrimination in both South Africa and Rhodesia.

In other colonies white settlers enjoyed a privileged position in relation to the indigenous population. In southern Africa, however, there was also industrial development to a degree that was not matched in any other colony. This meant that labour was needed on an extensive scale. The 'Bantu' labour force (so the whites argued) had been given an opportunity through the good offices of the whites—and, some would add, divine providence—to work in 'white industries'; the 'Bantu' should accept their lot and be grateful.

In dealing with this question, the teacher should make clear how the concept of apartheid has become woven into the texture of economic life in South Africa. This, in its turn, as we shall see in a later chapter, has become further enmeshed in the international economy. There are those—employers and employees alike, in countries that have investments in South Africa—who feel that an improvement in the condition of the black labour force in South Africa would result in a reduction of returns on investment and thus contribute to a deterioration in their economic welfare. As against this, others argue that the improvement of conditions for black South Africans could mean increased markets for products from other countries. However, their basic argument for ending apartheid is moral rather than economic: human rights should not be bought and sold.

The teacher should also present the logical situation in which supporters of apartheid find themselves. The rationalization for the existence of apartheid is the difference between the cultures of the races. However, economic circumstances oblige one race to work for another.[1]

However in so doing, the black race is forced to participate in the culture of the whites although he cannot enjoy any of the benefits that elsewhere would result from this participation.

Against the historical, geographical and economic development of South Africa, the South Africa Act passed by the British Parliament in September 1909 can be seen as another step in this continuum. It was condemned by politically conscious black South Africans and mistrusted by the Boers. Essentially it gave self-government to the whites of South Africa. That this was the case was demonstrated by the Land Act of 1913 which allowed black Africans to own less than 10 per cent of the national territory. Inevitably, in the course of time, since Afrikaners outnumbered English-speaking whites by about three to two they would come to dominate the government. This, however, did not happen fully until 1948 when the Afrikaner Nationalist Party came to power with Dr D. F. Malan as Prime Minister. Before this date,

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1. This must not be taken too literally. There are, of course, white employees as well as black employees. They enjoy more favoured conditions than the blacks. There are also black employees in the 'homelands'. Nevertheless for the great mass of the people the employment situation is as described.

black Africans had protested against racial politics by passive resistance and strikes. In passive resistance they owed much to an Indian in Natal, Mohandas (later 'Mahatma') Gandhi. From 1948 onwards, the Government of South Africa has been committed to the policy of apartheid.

The black population has by no means acquiesced in the racial policy of the South African Government. Many and repeated protests were made. For example, in 1912 four black lawyers who had studied overseas called together a convention in Blomfontein and launched the African National Congress (ANC). Here the delegates agreed to regard themselves as Africans rather than as members of a particular ethnic group, such as the Zulu or Xhosa, and to avoid the practice of racial discrimination. Race was no longer to be a factor of significance in assessing the capabilities and worth of a person. The Congress sent a delegation to the United Kingdom to protest against the Land Bill which so flagrantly violated this principle, but were unable to secure any redress of their grievances. In 1945, the ANC adopted a Bill of Rights which began: 'We the African people in the Union of South Africa urgently demand the granting of full citizenship such as is enjoyed by all Europeans in South Africa', and went on to call for an end to racial discrimination in respect of land and property ownership, work, trade-union membership, free, compulsory and inter-racial education. But it was all to no avail, as the history of South Africa since the end of the Second World War has demonstrated.

Teachers will frequently find that the constraints of time and curriculum planning do not permit an in-depth study of the way in which the whole structure of apartheid has been erected. It should suffice, however, to point out, with historical examples, the way in which the foundations of the structure can be traced back to the seventeenth century and how it has been elaborated ever since. The façade and the finishing have been completed over the last decades, but the building is a much older structure. Intertwined in its foundations are the roots of the Afrikaner stock and its descendants. Its demolition can be no easy matter.

The completion of the structure can best be explained by reference to the various Nationalist governments that have ruled the country since the end of the Second World War. As indicated earlier, Dr Malan deliberately established apartheid. It was, he maintained, a question of survival. 'As a result of foreign influences,' he declared, 'the demand for the removal of all colour bars and segregation measures is being pressed more and more continuously and vehemently; and all this means nothing less than that the white race will lose its ruling position and that South Africa will sooner or later have to take its place among the half-caste nations of the world.' This philosophy produced the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949; in 1950, the Suppression of Communism Act,[1] the Population Registration Act, and the Group Areas Act, by which machinery was set up to mark off separate areas for residence, occupation and trade for the different racial groups; and in 1951 the Bantu

1. Since much concern is expressed in South Africa about communist infiltration, it is instructive to study the definition of communism contained in this Act. It is as follows: 'The doctrine of Marxian socialism as expounded by Lenin or Trotsky, the Third Communist International or the Communist Information Bureau or any related form of that doctrine

Authorities Act. Riots, resistance and then retaliation followed. To give but one example, black Africans who entered the 'For Whites Only' door at Johannesburg railway station were sentenced to hard labour in prison for two months. The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 declared that

any person who in any way whatsoever advises, encourages, invites, commands, aids or procures any other person or persons in general or uses any language calculated to cause any other person or persons in general to commit an offence by way of protest against a law . . . shall be guilty of an offence.

The Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953 and subsequently amended on numerous occasions. Some idea of what this has meant can be derived from quotations from Dr Verwoerd (the former prime minister):

Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State. . . . If the Native in South Africa today . . . is being taught to expect that he will live his life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake (1953).

Our school system must not mislead the Bantu by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze (1954).

The salaries which European teachers enjoy are in no way a fit or permissible criterion for the salaries of Bantu teachers (1954).

All this means of course good education for white South Africans and inferior or non-existent education for black South Africans. The former get compulsory, free primary and secondary schooling; the latter get free primary education but have to pay for their secondary schooling. It has been estimated that the pupil/teacher ratio is roughly 60: 1 in black schools but 20: 1 in white schools. Over 90 per cent of black South Africans do not finish primary school.

In respect of university education, students attending residential universities in 1973 were numbered as follows: whites nearly 65,000 at ten universities; coloured just over 2,000 at four universities; Asians just over 3,000 at five universities; blacks, 3,600 at eight universities.

expounded by Lenin or Trotsky, the Third Communist International or the Communist Information Bureau or any related form of that doctrine expounded or advocated in the Union for the promotion of the fundamental principles of that doctrine and includes in particular any doctrine or scheme: (a) which aims at the establishment of a despotic system of government based on the dictatorship of the proletariat under which one political organization only is recognized and all other political organizations are suppressed or eliminated; or (b) which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbance or disorder by unlawful acts or omissions or by means which include the promotion of disturbance or disorder or such acts or omissions or threat; or (c) which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union in accordance with the directions or under the guidance of or in co-operation with any foreign or international institution whose purposes or one of whose purposes (professed or otherwise) is to promote the establishment within the Union of any political, industrial, social or economic system identical with or similar to any system in any country which has adopted a system of government such as is described in (a) or (b) which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Union the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement of any object referred to in paragraph (a) or (b).

Details of apartheid in education are given because they are likely to be of particular interest to readers of this book. However, they need to be set against the whole trend of South African policy.

In 1954 Dr Malan resigned and his place was taken by Johannes Strijdom, an even more uncompromising believer in apartheid. He believed in *baasskap*—the domination of the white race in South Africa. His words were forthright:

Either the white man dominates or the black man takes over. I say that the non-European will not accept leadership—if he has a choice. The only way the Europeans can maintain supremacy is by domination. . . . And the only way they can maintain domination is by withholding the vote from the non-Europeans.

And so the mass of the people of South Africa remained without an effective voice in determining their own affairs. They were able, however, at a large Congress in Kliptown near Johannesburg in June 1955—before it was broken up by the police—to proclaim their 'Freedom Charter'.[1] This was considered by many white South Africans to be seditious. Its authors were arrested and 156 of them were put on trial—a trial that dragged on for five years before they were finally acquitted.

In 1955 the Criminal Procedures Amendment Act permitted the police to enter any meeting without a warrant if they felt the situation justified this. In 1957 the Separate University Education Act was passed entrenching apartheid in institutions of higher education in the country, but it is not necessary to list all the legislation enacted by the Strijdom Government—it was all concerned to promote *baasskap*. In the meantime by strikes, protests and passive resistance the black Africans made quite clear their rejection of the whole concept.

On the death of Strijdom in 1958, he was succeeded by Dr H. F. Verwoerd, who had previously been Minister for Native Affairs and a principal architect in completing the structure of apartheid as we know it today. He at once insisted that the blacks should not be called Africans; they might be called 'natives' or 'Bantu' but never Africans. He went on to elaborate the concept of establishing separate Bantu national units which could develop into independent Bantu states bound to the white Republic of South Africa. These units became known as 'Bantustans'. The first to be created was the Transkei[2] which became 'independent' in October 1976 and was followed by Bophuthatswana in December 1977 and Venda in September 1979. Such 'independence'—strictly under the control of the South African Government—has not been recognized by the United Nations or any of its of its Member States except South Africa.

Serious riots, protests and disturbances also marked the Verwoerd regime. Undoubtedly some blacks thought that the establishment of new 'nations' for their particular ethnic groups might afford them an opportunity of gratifying their own personal ambitions, but the evidence is overwhelming

1. See page 67. Do you consider this document seditious?
2. For a fuller discussion of the Transkei see page 69.

that this view was not widely shared. The Sharpeville tragedy[1] was but one of a number of protests and demonstrations which led to the declaration of a five-month emergency by the government in 1960. The International Commission of Jurists whose report was published in the same year found that the laws of South Africa denied 'to a vast majority of the population those opportunities without which the legitimate aspirations and dignity of a human being cannot be realized'.

The following year South Africa replaced the Queen, as Head of the Commonwealth, with a President; white South Africans, by a comparatively small majority, opted for the country becoming a republic within the Commonwealth. However the opposition of the members of the Commonwealth to the policy of apartheid was such that, after lengthy discussions at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London in March 1961, Verwoerd withdrew South Africa from membership of the Commonwealth. In Parliament, the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, probably spoke for many of the people of the world when he said, 'It was not because all of us were without sin that we felt so strongly, but because this theory of apartheid transposes what we regard as a wrong into a right.'

While the implementation of apartheid was strengthened by increasing restrictions on the blacks it was none the less noteworthy that the urban economy of the country made ever greater demands on the black labour force. The position of the whites depended in large measure on the strength of the economy to which the blacks contributed their labour. In September 1966 Piet Koornhof, a Nationalist M.P., went on record as saying that if South African whites really wanted to be free, they should cease to be dependent on 'foreign black labour' in their own white national areas. Statements of this kind emphasize the paradox that lies at the heart of apartheid: a doctrine of racial separation supported by an economy of racial 'integration'.

On 6 September, 1966 the Prince Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, probably the man who more than any other had attempted to give apartheid a philosophy, was assassinated and replaced by Balthazar Vorster. Enforcement of racial discrimination continued with unabated vigour. A new Terrorism Act followed. This defined terrorism as any act committed to endanger law and order. The Mixed Marriages Amendment Act of 1967 extended the ban on mixed marriages to those contracted outside the country. The following year, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act made it a punishable offence to be a member of, or assist, a multi-racial political party. In 1969, the General Law Amendment Act authorized any cabinet minister to prohibit the giving of evidence before a court if he believed that this would be prejudicial to the interests of the public or the security of the state.

But the politico-economic paradox of apartheid remained. The need for black labour obliged Prime Minister Vorster in 1974 to decide that the government would establish industrial training centres for blacks in urban white areas. Economic necessity gave rise to some minor relaxations of apartheid. Some believed that economic growth would by itself contribute to the ending of apartheid. Others believed that foreign firms could help

1. See page 88.

accomplish this by withdrawing their investments from South Africa. A notable opponent of this view was Helen Suzman, sole Progressive Party member of the South African Parliament, who declared: 'I am certain that the continued economic expansion of South Africa will prove to be the strongest weapon against apartheid.'

The contrary view was expressed by the late Steve Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness movement, who declared:

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.

Opponents of the regime, indeed, are split over the apartheid steps that are called for in respect of the economic-political paradox that it involves.

Teachers of older students might with advantage explore the problems and the possibilities of the two approaches to the question of foreign investment in the South African economy. They should study the issue with as much contemporary documentation as possible and be aware that overseas companies have been much criticized for the conditions in which this black labour force works in South Africa. Indeed, some companies, as a result of these criticisms have sought to improve these conditions. Students should also be aware of the fact that the International Monetary Fund has made considerable loans to the South African Government. On the other hand, there is also evidence that foreign investors, dismayed by the racial strife and tensions in South Africa, in many cases see the country as a poor place to put their money.

In 1976 in the African 'township' of Soweto near Johannesburg, schoolchildren staged a demonstration against the Bantu Education Act (see page 68). The police opened fire. Over the next few days hundreds of schoolchildren, students and workers were shot dead. South Africa witnessed the widest expression of discontent ever seen. Black, Asian and coloured South Africans joined forces to show their detestation of the regime. The authorities reacted by shooting, killing, wounding and imprisoning the demonstrators.

Soweto is important in the history of South Africa because it shows how widespread is the dissatisfaction with apartheid, and because it shows increasingly that young people are expressing this dissatisfaction.

'For freedom we shall lay down our lives. The struggle continues', say their banners and placards. And the future of 'Azania' as many protesters prefer to call South Africa is likely to lie with today's young people committed to the struggle.

How long will it continue? Here the teacher must examine the possibilities. Neighbouring Angola and Mozambique, until very recently part of the Portuguese empire, are now self-governing African countries. Comparative study can encourage hopes, but the history of apartheid counsels caution. The Portuguese had a 'metropolitan' base outside Africa; the white South African has no such base. None of South Africa's neighbours has a white population which dates back to the seventeenth century as is the case in South Africa.

Certainly the United Nations' Anti-Apartheid Year was not marked by any change of heart by white South Africans. In October 1977 the white government banned nineteen Black Consciousness and anti-apartheid organizations and two newspapers with a large black readership. In the elections of November 1977 white South Africans, voted overwhelmingly to oppose black liberation movements with every means at their disposal. White consciousness, never dormant, reacted with alarm to the rediscovery of Black Consciousness.[1]

APARTHEID EXERCISE 5

South African history

This chapter can only give the merest indication of the complex history of South Africa. Inevitably the personalities and the cause and consequence of events has had to be omitted in trying to provide a structure to show how apartheid came into being and developed. This thematic approach, however, necessarily simplifies complex issues and omits related aspects of history which can increase understanding of the South African situation.

This exercise has been devised, with this purpose in mind, together with the need to redress the balance in favour of black South Africans, who all too often tend either to be omitted or cast as villians in histories of South Africa. So far as resources permit and time allows, it is suggested that teachers and students should try to find out something of the contributions made to South African history by:

Abdul Abdurahman	Nadine Gordimer	King Moshoeshoe
Christian Barnard	James Hertzog	Alan Paton
Steve Biko	King Hintsa	Ambrose Reeves
King Cetshwayo	John Tengo Jabavu	Sandile
Basil D'Oliveira	Albert Luthuli	Pixley Ka I. Semo
John Llanalakhe Dube	Daniel Malan	King Shaka
Patrick Duncan	Nelson Mandela	Jan Smuts
Bram Fischer	Kaiser Matanzima	Robert Mongaliso Sobukwe
Mahatma Gandhi	Wilton Mkwayi	Helen Suzman

APARTHEID EXERCISE 6

The Freedom Charter

With reference to Apartheid Exercise 4 (page 53) it is suggested that a class might with profit study the Freedom Charter. An appropriate procedure might involve:

1. See page 71.

(a) a list of the rights contained in the Charter; (b) against each right, a description of the situation under apartheid; (c) a comparison with the rights set out in the United Nations Universal Declaration (against each right listed in the Freedom Charter, indicate whether it is to be found in the United Nations document); (d) consideration of rights which are to be found only in the Charter or the Declaration and a discussion of the reasons for this.

This exercise could, of course, be amplified or modified to bring it within the comprehension and capabilities of younger classes.

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.

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for, and to stand as a candidate for all bodies that 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.

There shall be equal status in the bodies of the 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 offence. All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

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.

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger. The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams 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 whenever they choose. People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

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 the 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.

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, 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.

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage arrangements with their employers. The state shall recognize 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 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 open 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.

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. Rents 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 hospitalization shall be provided for all with special care for mothers and young children. Slums shall be abolished 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. Leisure and recreation shall be the right of all. Fenced ghettos and locations shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

South Africa shall be a fully interdependent 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 among 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.[1] The right of all the people of Africa to interdependence and self-government shall be recognized 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.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 7

Worldwide 'Bantu Education'?

Separate educational systems for the different races and ethnic groups is an essential part of apartheid. In books used within the white South African system very limited mention is made of the contribution of the black majority to the development of the country. In a content analysis of South African history textbooks published in 1965 it

1. *Botswana. The Former Protectorates:* On 30 September 1966 the High Commission Territory of Bechuanaland became a republic within the Commonwealth, called Botswana.

Lesotho: On 4 October 1966 the High Commission Territory of Basutoland became a monarchical state within the Commonwealth, called Lesotho.

Swaziland: On 6 September 1968 the High Commission Territory of Swaziland became a monarchical state within the Commonwealth, called the Kingdom of Swaziland. *N.B.* If resources permit, it will be found instructive to make a comparison between the position of citizens of the former High Commission Territories and those of the Republic of South Africa.

was shown that European History, European Settlement and European development took up almost all the books.[1]

However, white South African history textbooks are probably not alone in virtually ignoring the history of the blacks. How about the textbooks in your own country? Try to undertake a content analysis of commonly used history textbooks concerned with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to assess: (a) what percentage of the content is devoted to Africa; (b) what percentage of the content is devoted to South Africa; (c) what percentage of (b) is devoted to the history of white South Africans (e.g. the Anglo-Boer wars); (d) what percentage of the content of the book is devoted to the history of indigenous African people.

Given the contribution that African colonies made to the prosperity of many European companies and European families can (c) and (d) be justified? More fundamentally, given the Human Rights approach to education, is there any justification for (c) and (d)?

APARTHEID EXERCISE 8

The Transkei

Throughout the world, the radio brings us nearer to those who are distant. With this in mind, Unesco Radio in December 1978, Anti-Apartheid Year, broadcast a series of programmes about South Africa. The following passage about the Transkei is taken word for word from the script used.

It is suggested that teachers might care to reproduce this script and have their class imagine that they are the radio staff in Paris and broadcast it. It could start, as did this programme, with music and an introduction:

Narrator: Apartheid isolates the white man. . . . His windows are painted white to keep the night in.
[*Song*[2]—*and out.*]
Announcer: Unesco Radio presents *His Windows are Painted White*. . . . as part of Unesco's contribution to United Nations action against Apartheid.

Then the following passage from the broadcast can be used:

Voice M: Transkei, the first Bantu homeland, which was accorded 'independence' in 1976, is considered to be the 'model' for Bantustan development.
Voice F: This is how Donald Woods, who was himself born in Transkei, describes it:
Narrator: It is a pretty and fertile country, about the size of Denmark, but it has almost no industry and very little development of any kind. It is supposed to be the home of 2 million Xhosa people. There is already severe unemployment, and if what the government wants happens, an extra 2 million people, now living in cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town, will be regarded as citizens of this remote area.
Voice F: Transkei lags behind in everything but segregation, reported the *New York Times* in 1971 and Woods confirms that this is so:

1. F. E. Auerbach, *The Power of Prejudice in South African Education,* Cape Town and Amsterdam, 1965.
2. It would be useful for the class to choose and produce an appropriate song to illustrate the theme of the broadcast.

Narrator: To be fair, there is a certain measure of freedom from apartheid in the Bantustans, more than in the so-called white areas of the Republic. . . . In the Transkei I could go into any hotel, bar and cinema and there would be no racial segregation. And now they are talking about allowing mixed marriages. . . . in fact marriages between blacks and whites have taken place.

Voice F: While noting that the construction of homeland government and university buildings had progressed rapidly, the *New York Times* observed that the people of Transkei were suffering from lack of employment, land shortage, low levels of agricultural production, inflation, and inadequacy of housing and social and public services.

Voice M: Donald Woods comments:

Narrator: I have little doubt that the Transkei government would like to be more fully independent, particularly economically. Unfortunately, the Bantustan budgets depend so much on grants from Pretoria that it is debatable how much independence any of them could actually exercise. Something like 80 or 90 per cent of the Transkei budget comes from Pretoria. . . . And this suggests that if they ever did anything to anger Pretoria too much, economic aid would simply be cut off.

Voice F: The legislative assembly of Transkei has 109 members, 64 of whom are chiefs, holding office automatically. The appointment of chiefs is subject to the approval of the South African Government.

Voice M: Matters related to defence, internal security and foreign affairs in Transkei are handled by the South African Government.

Voice F: White people resident in Transkei remain citizens of South Africa, and the Transkei government has no powers over them.

Voice M: The South African parliament can at any time overrule any law passed by the Transkei Assembly.

Narrator: On 26 October 1976, the General Assembly of the United Nations condemned the establishment of Bantustans, rejected the declaration of 'independence' of the Transkei and declared it invalid, and called upon all governments to deny any form of recognition of . . . the Transkei and to refrain from having any dealing with the so-called independent Transkei or other Bantustans.

Voice F: It did so by a vote of 134 in favour, none against, with one abstention.

Note: Simulations in respect of the racial situation in South Africa can have the effect of giving classes a feeling of more active involvement with the issue. Direct simulations are difficult to make realistic. They can result in the figure of the Afrikaner seeming a figure of fun rather than an agent of repression of another race. The simulation of a Unesco broadcast, however, can get round this difficulty. In this respect the passage given above is suggested as a model which might be copied by the teacher or the class on a number of themes associated with apartheid, e.g. 'The Coloureds of South Africa', 'Indians in South Africa', 'The urbanized Black', 'Black Consciousness', etc.

4

How is
the existence
of apartheid
rationalized?

Many white South Africans when challenged about the existence of apartheid
in their country argue that they are being realistic—dealing with the situation
as it is rather than how, ideally, it might be. Some are willing to admit that the
system of apartheid is far from being as beneficial to all concerned as the
government is apt to claim. But, they say, apartheid is better than its
alternative.

What, then, is the alternative to apartheid? Essentially it is to apply the
concept of human dignity to all the individuals who comprise the population of
a country, and as a result to accord them equal human rights. In South Africa
such a policy is referred to as 'integration'. The Government of the Republic
has repeatedly condemned integration as the wrong policy for the country.
Why?

There may be some who believe that the reasons that the South African
Government gives should not even be listened to; such reasons should simply
be condemned outright as obviously unacceptable to articulate international
opinion. Teachers, however, should avoid adopting such a viewpoint for a
number of reasons of which the following are particularly important.

First, not to examine the viewpoint of the South African Government is
grossly to simplify the whole issue of apartheid. Whether we like it or not that
government is committed to pursuing a policy of apartheid. That is a fact
which no amount of wishful thinking can alter. The existence of apartheid,
then, depends on (a) the strength of the Government of South Africa and (b)
the strength of the arguments that can be used to support apartheid.

In respect of (a) within the context of Africa, the South African
Government is very strong indeed, both economically and militarily. We have
already seen how well endowed the country is with economic resources and
the white government has exerted every effort to exploit these resources
to the full. In fact, there seem to be very good grounds for believing that
the South African Government now possesses a nuclear capability in arma-
ments.

In respect of (b) further examination is called for. Many people show
colour prejudice and practise racial discrimination without giving it a thought.

They do it because 'that's the way things are; everybody else acts in that way'. Teachers should not fall into the error of believing that condemnation without thoughtful examination can counteract such discrimination. If they do so, they will be conditioning and indoctrinating their students in much the same way as those they condemn. Moreover, when students learn that reasons have been given for pursuing an apartheid policy they are likely to be disillusioned with their teacher. They will be likely to say 'Nobody gave us these reasons before: we have never heard these arguments. Possibly we have been misled.'

What then are the reasons and the arguments of the South African Government? A brief summary would go like this:

South Africa is undeniably a multiracial, multi-ethnic, multicultural state. The Zulu, Xhosa, whites, coloureds and Twana are the major constituent groups within the state. In particular the 'white nation' has established itself over a period of time as have the other groups. It is as African as they are. The Afrikaners are different from the Dutch settlers in Indonesia who were able to 'return home' after Indonesia achieved independence. The Afrikaners are already home, having evolved a language in Africa and not in Europe. White South Africans like to point to the fact that they have been ruling themselves since 1910—longer than some of the states of Eastern Europe which were created by the Treaty of Versailles (1919).

Given this background, the white South Africans, feel that they are justified in securing their own future. In this connection they believe that integration will not work in Africa. They allege that everywhere on the continent newly independent African states have failed to implement the political and civil rights contained in the United Nations declaration. They point to the one-party states and military regimes to be found on the African continent. This has happened elsewhere in Africa, why then, they ask, should the black peoples of South Africa behave any differently? What special characteristic do they possess which would enable them 'to cast aside their own racial, cultural, ethnic and religious feelings when all other black nations in Africa have failed to do so?

It must be conceded that there is a certain amount of reason in this viewpoint. Newly independent African states have experienced enormous problems of development as they have emerged from the colonial situation. In many instances and for many reasons, these problems have led them to abandon, at least temporarily, some of the political and civil rights proclaimed in the United Nations Declaration. But it must be remembered that much anthropological research has demonstrated that indigenous patterns of government in Africa—contrary to the white South African stereotyped view of these—have very frequently been based on democratic traditions. Moreover, the countries to which white South Africans refer in such derogatory terms have for the most part been small and poor. No fewer than sixteen of the United Nations list of the twenty-five least developed countries in the world are to be found in Africa. South Africa, as white South Africans are proud to demonstrate, is in a vastly different economic situation. Again and again, African leaders of independent African states have stressed that hard economic reality has obliged them in the interests of development, to take political action which they regret but believe to be necessary. Against the background

of much greater wealth in South Africa, it is arguable that such action would not be necessary if integration were to be implemented.

Nor must it be forgotten that the South African Government tends to indulge in selective reference when it condemns integration as unworkable. It has not been found easy to implement anywhere but it has certainly been found possible, as Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania, African countries with very different economic structures, illustrate. In Brazil, which had long-standing white colonial settlement somewhat similar to that found in South Africa, integration has been achieved to a very considerable extent.[1] There the Afonso Arinos Law of 1951 makes the practice of discrimination a punishable crime. In New Zealand, the Maoris have been accorded full citizenship. In the United States, too, there has been a steady, admittedly difficult, progress towards full integration of the entire American people, irrespective of their ethnic origins, during the twentieth century.

Classes might be encouraged to think of (a) countries in the world at large where people of different groups live together as full citizens and (b) countries where discrimination is practised in ways that run counter to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Why, it might be argued, cannot the white South Africans achieve what white South Americans and North Americans have done and are doing?

The answer to this question is simply that they wish to hold on to what they have and not run the risk of endangering what they hold. Therefore they unequivocally reject integration:

The integration model is totally unacceptable to almost the entire white nation. This is a fact that cannot be wished away; nor the fact that they wield the political and economic power and are numerically the second strongest nation in South Africa.[2] The South African political party which advocates political integration based on the concept of merit, obtains scarcely three per cent of the vote in the general election. For all practical purposes this is an overwhelming rejection of the concept of integration.[3]

The Government of the South Africa goes on to assert that just as the whites do not desire integration, neither do the masses of the major black nations, the Indian community in South Africa nor the majority of the coloured community. Here it has to be said that there may be some truth in these assertions. It would be extraordinary if this were not to be the case. After all, the essence of South African policy is that the various ethnic communities are different from each other and merit separate treatment. Indeed, competition and rivalry between black Africans is actively fostered under apartheid. Given the fact that as the quotation above demonstrates the 'white nation' wields 'political and economic power', it is scarcely surprising that people from all ethnic groups can be found who will condemn integration and support apartheid. That these people are as numerous as the South African Govern-

1. See Apartheid Exercise 15 on page 100.
2. The reader is invited to analyse the three 'facts or opinions'. This kind of analysis can with advantage be undertaken with older students.
3. State Department of Information, *Multinational Development in Africa: The Reality*. p. 77, Pretoria, 1974.

ment claims is highly unlikely; people do not normally acquiesce in being accorded a subordinate position as is the case for the majority of people in South Africa. The claim is contested by the overwhelming mass of international witnesses.[1]

The model of apartheid that the South African Government is pursuing foresees South Africa as dissolving into a number of independent 'neighbour states'. It has even expressed the view that it is in the 'penultimate stage of development' towards this end. Yet group and developmental differences, coupled with the predominently white ownership of the means of production and the distribution of the black labour force outside the 'neighbour states' would seem to indicate that the penultimate stage might well be less of a stage and much more of a continuing problem.

Against a background of the hostility of African states, the condemnation of international opinion, the non-recognition of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda as independent states by the rest of the world, the South African Government's view that in the long term there might be a 'South African Community of Nations' seems to lack realism. Some would argue that it is essentially an exercise in hypocrisy designed to mask the exploitation of the black and coloured peoples of the country. Others would argue that such a South African Community of Nations represents a sincere view of people who believe that an integration process is fraught with far more difficulties than 'separate development'. Yet others would believe that both hypocrisy and sincerity characterize the white South Africans view.

A policy designed to avoid group conflicts cannot be said to run counter to civilized conceptions of human rights, dignities and freedoms, irrespective of race, colour or creed. On the contrary, the Government's fundamental aim with self-determination for all the country's peoples is the elimination of the domination of one group by another. The very purpose is to facilitate the development of each people into a self-governing national entity, co-operating with others in the political and economic spheres in a manner mutually agreed upon. The principle of self-determination to which the Government is committed, leaves the way open for each population group eventually to make its own choice regarding its political future.[2]

Against the Republic's view, critics of the regime argue that this is an attempt to 'dress up' the policy of the South African Government in clothes likely to be found acceptable by the outside world. They point out that the views of the great majority of the people of South Africa have never been taken into account; that far from representing self-determination for the many, apartheid represents self-determination for the few—the white minority. It is this minority that determines what it wants for itself and then tells the rest what will constitute self-determination for them. In other words, South Africa is trying to persuade the rest of the world that apartheid's conscripts are in fact volunteers. In doing so, they run the gamut of euphemisms—and this may well represent the transition from excuse to rationalization.

1. See Chapter 5.
2. South African Consulate (New York), *Multinational Development,* p. 10, Los Angeles, South African Press and Information Office, 1978.

At the same time it must be remembered that rationalization can give way to the genuinely held view that it constitutes a reasonable philosophy of life. It is all too easy to believe that what is good for 'us' is good for 'them' as well. One of the complexities that the teacher has to face in tackling apartheid is to disentangle excuses, rationalizations and philosophy. There is perhaps no better way of trying to do this than to examine one's own behaviour and that of the group with which one is most familiar. This will enable young people to understand the South African situation. At the same time it needs to be stressed that the French proverb 'To understand all is to forgive all', is a grotesque over-simplification of the human situation. However 'understanding all' essentially permits us to determine, and keep under review, a situation that may in the case of South Africa have repercussions of world significance.

One possible approach that teachers might care to examine with classes in tackling the question of whether or not apartheid constitutes a philosophy or a rationalization would be a historical one which would show how certain social conditions give rise to certain philosophies which in turn interact with these conditions. Thus the predominance of the Church in Europe in the Middle Ages gave rise to scholasticism; the political and industrial situation of the nineteenth century in the Western world gave rise to Marxism, and the political situation and the predominantly agricultural nature of China saw Marxism develop into Maoism. Somewhat similarly the sense of isolation, coupled with the idea of being an 'elect' minority, has given the Afrikaner in particular, and the white South African in general, a sense that he is especially righteous.

Associated with this kind of historical explanation, a class might explore the psychological issues involved. There is a defensiveness in people that is directed at enabling the individual to obtain and maintain peace of mind—a kind of personal security. When our behaviour is subjected to criticism by others we seek first to make excuses and, secondly, to justify our excuses by means of a theory that covers the multiplicity of those excuses. Thus the child whose behaviour is criticized may at first make limited excuses—e.g. 'I couldn't do the assignment because I felt unwell at that time.' As the misdemeanours increase in number so do the excuses. Ultimately some 'cover all contingencies' theory may be advanced: e.g. 'I cannot give of my best because I come from an underprivileged social class.' It may be that apartheid conforms to something like a similar pattern with 'native reserves' giving way to 'Bantustans' which in turn are replaced by 'homelands' and are then superseded by 'independent' nations.

Certainly the South African Government likes to use concepts like the 'self-determination of peoples' which have been the concern of international organizations since the time of Woodrow Wilson. In doing this it maintains that it is in fact supporting rather than destroying human rights as the following passage indicates:

South Africa's objective is self-determination for all its peoples. This simply cannot be achieved by forcing all the national entities within the country's borders into a single integrated unit, to be governed on the basis of one-man-one-vote. The white nation, for one, would lose its identity and would, in effect, revert to the colonial status it has long

since outgrown. In this respect South Africa, in fact, anticipated the resolutions adopted unanimously at the United Nations conference on the multinational society held in Yugoslavia in 1965.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 9

The realities of the South African situation as seen by the South African Government

Consider carefully the following contentions:
1. The whites would only be able to maintain their national identity as long as they enjoyed political viability in that part of South Africa which evolved historically as their homeland.
2. In the event of the Bantu (blacks) attaining a permanent political majority in white South Africa, the white Republic would eventually have a black-majority government which would inevitably, given the history of post-war Africanization, relegate the whites to an impotent minority in their land of birth.
3. The national growth and peaceful co-existence of white and black based on absolute individual political equality is impracticable within a common geo-political framework. Separate development implies that national sovereignty is not a divisible commodity that can be allocated to disparate nations compelled by the British colonial regime to live within the same political boundaries.
4. Permanent white guardianship or supremacy over a number of black peoples is not only impossible but also morally unjustifiable.
5. Since the end of the Second World War a wave of political and national self-consciousness has swept over the non-white world. The policy of the South African Government is not one of inhibiting or frustrating the political emancipation of the blacks in an arbitrary manner, but to regulate their development towards independence on the basis of creative self-withdrawal. Separate development is thus aimed politically at reconciling the indigenous nationalism of each of the black peoples with each other, and with white South African nationalism, on a basis of peaceful co-existence.
6. Separate political development of the black peoples requires a separate territorial basis for the whites and for each of the embryonic black states.
7. South Africa is thus as concerned about fundamental human values, freedom, dignity and justice as any other state in the world.

The teacher should consider the above contentions very carefully, having regard particularly to the questions listed below. If appropriate, one or more of the assertions might then become the basis for a class discussion with the teacher using the occasion to try to assess whether the human significance of apartheid has really been understood. A good exercise might be subsequently to get the members of a class to rewrite the six 'realities' and the conclusion in the light of their study of apartheid.
1. Does the 'national identity' mentioned in (1) matter? If so, why? Is the assertion made in (1) necessarily true?
2. Can the use of 'inevitably' in (2) be justified? If the assertion made in (2) were to come to pass, would it matter if the whites were 'relegated' to an important minority in the land of their birth'? Could such a relegation be justified? If so, how?

3. Can the first sentence of (3) be supported? If so, how? If not, why not? What meaning is given to 'national sovereignty' in this statement? What meaning is given to it in the United Nations?
4. Is the statement in (4) acceptable? Is this statement supported by the situation in South Africa?
5. Is the first sentence of (5) true? Has 'the wave of political and national self-consciousness' been (a) experienced in South Africa?; (b) given the opportunity for expressing itself? Note the use of the word 'policy'; by what right is such a policy carried out? Note the use of the word 'aim'. Can such an aim be achieved by the methods being used?
6. Can you (a) accept this statement? (b) think of any countries in which what is asserted is not true?
7. Compare the assertion of the South African Government about its concern for the 'fundamental human values, freedoms, dignities and justice' with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Can the assertion be sustained? If so, why? If not, why not?

APARTHEID EXERCISE 10

The Government of South Africa's argument in an international context

This is a more difficult exercise in analysis. It involves examining some of the South African Government's claims in so far as they involve other countries.

The following quotations[1] usually contain a half-truth. (It has been well said that a half-truth, like a half-brick, can for certain purposes be better than a whole—it carries further). It is suggested that they will form a useful 'peg' for classroom discussion with older pupils. But this discussion will need to be 'informed'. This means that the class will have to decide: (a) what point the statement is trying to make; (b) whether the statement accords with objective findings, and (c) how large a 'brick of truth' it contains. Process (b) is likely to involve further study (e.g. what was the Central African Federation? Why did it come to an end?).

Quotation 1: Whoever tries to sell integration to black and white leaders in South Africa will first have to prove that the Central African Federation never existed, nor India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, Scandinavia, Malaysia—nor even the whole of Europe for that matter.

Quotation 2: In the integration model, the Zulu politician will have to compete for a place in the sun against politicians from seven or eight other black groups as well as white politicians. The world knows how in certain societies with a multiracial population, as distinct from a multinational one, the non-white politician has a torrid time working his way up despite an elaborate structure of laws to protect him. In the model of separate development he has only to compete with his own people, in his own area and in his own language. Even the shepherd boy on the hills overlooking the Transkeian capital, Umtata, can dream of the day when he is Prime Minister of his

1. These quotations have all been extracted from the South African State Department of Information publication, *Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality,* Pretoria, 1974, pp. 78-94.

own land. In the integration model he will have to destroy his cultural make-up and personality in order to wage a battle in a field crammed with competitors from other groups.

Quotation 3: If history has any meaning or any precept then mankind's entire past is a warning against attempts to enforce integration upon the peoples and races in South Africa. Never in history has any people voluntarily sacrificed its language, customs, culture, standard of living, or its legal, constitutional and historical rights for the sake of an ideology that has nowhere been applied with any appreciable success in societies segmented by deep social and racial differences. No other people or nation has ever made, or will ever make, such a sacrifice voluntarily in similar or even related conditions.

Quotation 4: Sweden, Norway and Finland once formed one country—three peoples of the same colour, same standard of development and socio-cultural background. Yet the world accepted the division of this relatively homogeneous sub-continent. A more recent example is Singapore's resignation from the Malaysian Federation because of ethnic differences. And what about Germany? The world is not prepared to prescribe that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—one nation until World War Two—should integrate; on the contrary, the world has accepted two sovereign Germanys. To think that in South Africa one can ignore similar political realities in favour of fine-sounding phrases, such as 'an integrated society based on merit alone', is to turn one's back on a world which has never allowed itself to be laced into a strait-jacket of universal formulas and slogans. Cyprus has been given a theoretically watertight checks-and-balances constitution to bring about peaceful co-existence—not even integration—of two Mediterranean-type peoples; yet a United Nations peace force cannot be withdrawn from the island. There has been no serious attempt to integrate Canada with the United States. The world is quite happy to accept two Germanys, two Koreas, Bangladesh and Pakistan, but it recoils at the thought of the political division of the southern sub-continent of Africa. The proposed British formula for Northern Ireland (Ulster) is based on the premise that Ulster's continued separate existence from the Irish Republic (Eire) can only be changed by the majority of Ulster's Irish (where there is a Protestant majority) and not by a majority of the Irish of all-Ireland (Eire plus Ulster), which has a Catholic majority. Majority rule for the whole of Ireland has, therefore, for all practical purposes been ruled out: the Irish Catholic minority in Ulster cannot therefore call upon an Irish Catholic majority in all-Ireland to change a Protestant majority in Ulster into a Protestant minority in all-Ireland. Proportional representation has been proposed for the new Ulster Assembly, i.e. two separate political communities are formally acknowledged, *not on an ethnic or racial or cultural basis, but purely on a religious basis.* This shows how absolutely nonsensical it is to force an integrated dispensation on the white nation and black nations of South Africa. One might as well expect the Middle East problem, particularly the Palestinian dilemma, to be solved by way of an enforced integration with Israel.

Quotation 5: The fast climbing graph is not difficult to interpret. It points to the phasing out of white guardianship and to the coming into being of the South African Community of Nations. It is impossible to know what its final shape will be: indeed, it may never have a final shape because of forces of continual change. What can be said is that *the evolution of this community will not lead to a politically integrated super-parliament.* There is no possibility of the white nation jeopardizing its independence or of the black nations surrendering theirs to such an institution. A co-operative association of sovereign communities is the only means in South Africa for maintaining the distinctive identity of each group, and for protecting the legitimate interests of smaller groups against the weight of numbers which would be the case in an integrated one-man one-vote system.

5   How does
the world view
apartheid?

There have been great changes in the world since the end of the Second World War. Since 1945 the world has seen the greatest drive in human history to ensure that every individual of the world's population shall be accorded certain basic human rights. This has not yet been fully achieved but most states have aligned themselves with the effort that has been made.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that apartheid in South Africa has earned the repeated condemnation of international opinion as a 'crime against humanity'. Both the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have recorded the view that apartheid cannot be reconciled with the Charter of the United Nations or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All of this, however, is apt to seem rather remote from the classroom. Young people—and, indeed, many older people as well—are apt to see the United Nations Declaration as something rather distant. They see it as abstract, having little meaning in their own lives and difficult to appreciate in a human context.

The issue of apartheid can help them to overcome these difficulties. Human Rights can help them better to understand apartheid. Copies of the Declaration of Human Rights can be obtained from United Nations information centres throughout the world. A copy could be displayed in the classroom. Students could be encouraged to read it with a view to undertaking a project on apartheid. Then individual students or groups of students could select a specific right and investigate how this right relates to apartheid.

For instance, some might study article 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his own country.

Others might study article 16:

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

The United Nations Declaration comprises thirty articles, which taken together with the preamble will enable a class of students to assemble a comprehensive picture of what apartheid means and why it has earned the condemnation of the United Nations. At the same time, for older students, it can constitute a useful insight into the history and comparative nature of the Human Rights movement. By considering, along with the Universal Declaration, such documents as the English Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789, the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands of 1815, the Constitution of the USSR of 1977 and the constitutions of some of the independent African states of the 1960s one can get a perspective on apartheid in relation both to time and space. Against this background one can better appreciate the actions that the United Nations has taken on apartheid. Here it must suffice to sketch the history of these very briefly.

The United Nations General Assembly first considered the policies of racial discrimination of the South African Government as long ago as 1946 and the specific policy of apartheid as long ago as 1952. Year after year since then, the General Assembly has deplored the failure of South Africa to change its racial policy. Steadily its condemnation has hardened. It has asked Member States to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, not to export to, or accept imports from, South Africa; in 1962 it established a Special Committee against Apartheid to keep the position under continuous review.

In 1963 the Security Council instituted a voluntary embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa since it was believed that these were being used to sustain apartheid. It also widened the embargo to include equipment and material for the manufacture of arms in South Africa. In the same year the United Nations' specially constituted Group of Experts declared that 'all people of South Africa should be brought into consultation and should thus be enabled to decide the future of their country at the national level'.

In 1970 the Security Council condemned all violations of the voluntary embargo but the greater step was taken on 4 November 1977 when the Council unanimously made the embargo mandatory. This was the first time that Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter[1] had been invoked in this way. The following month, the General Assembly, concerned about South Africa's efforts to acquire nuclear-weapon capability, asked the Council to make mandatory the ending of the supply of any material that South Africa might use in this respect.

Then, in 1974, South Africa, a founder member of the United Nations, was suspended from taking part in the General Assembly. It has not

1. Chapter VII concerns 'Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression'.

participated in sessions of the Assembly since. Increasingly the African liberation movements have been given international recognition, including the opportunity of participating in debates of the General Assembly.

In August 1977 the Assembly, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the Government of Nigeria, held a World Conference for Action against Apartheid, in Lagos. This gave rise to the Lagos Declaration which utterly condemned all aspects of the apartheid system, expressed full support for the legitimate aspirations of the South African people, and called on all the governments and peoples of the world to support efforts made to eliminate discrimination.

Particular mention must be made of 21 March which the United Nations observes as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. On that date, in 1960, sixty-nine African demonstrators were killed in the shootings at Sharpeville by the South African authorities. It is appropriate, therefore, that 21 March should be given a special place in the school calendar.[1] Some brief appropriate readings have therefore been included at the end of this chapter. These might be used in special assembly meetings supplemented wherever possible by additional readings derived from the literature of the country in which the school is situated. Such readings might be selected by students as a means of more closely identifying themselves with the chronic background suffering of black South Africans against which the shootings at Sharpeville came as a searing flash of pain.

Another noteworthy effort is the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which began on 10 December 1973. As a contribution to the Decade, this book was prepared during International Anti-Apartheid Year (which began on 21 March 1978) at the mid-point of its ten-year programme.

Throughout the world, individuals, institutions and organizations are doing what they can to boycott South African goods and put an end to co-operation with the Government of South Africa. Teachers should be alert to this kind of development in their own countries. They should be prepared to discuss the issues involved. At all times they should acknowledge that this kind of development can adversely affect the position of blacks and coloureds in South Africa.

Should such developments therefore be discontinued? There is a point of view that would answer this question with a 'yes': boycotting South African goods, discontinuing relations with South Africa can only worsen the lot of those it is determined to help, if only by making the white South Africans more determined to continue with apartheid policies. On the other hand, many black South Africans have declared that they believe a period of even greater suffering may be endurable if it helps to shorten the life of a regime which they find oppressive in the extreme.

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1. Other United Nations dates which merit attention are: 16 June (International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa—the anniversary of the 1976 uprising in Soweto and other areas) and 11 October (Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners—proclaimed by the General Assembly in a resolution calling for the release of all imprisoned or restricted for involvement in the struggle for liberation in South Africa).

Probably teachers will find one of the most useful approaches to the issues involved in the 'outside world's' reactions to apartheid in the field of sport. This is a subject in which many youngsters and students are keenly interested but which often finds little reflection in the academic curricula of schools and colleges. White South Africans are no different from others in their enthusiasm for sports. Indeed the Afrikaners who for the most part have led farming and outdoor lives probably attach more importance to sport than do other peoples. In 1967 when the Olympic Games were closed to South Africa because of the way it segregated its sporting activities, its representative on the International Olympic Commitee declared:

Expulsion from the Olympic Games has deprived us of the very reason for our existence. Despair, frustration and disillusionment have been deeply felt at all levels of sport in South Africa and among all sections of the population. The stigma of being looked upon as an outcast has not been an easy cross to bear.

White South Africans hold sport in high esteem but it must not be allowed to break the 'essential barriers' of apartheid. In vain has South Africa sought to send 'mixed teams' to the Olympics, making concessions on the international sportsfield that they would never permit in factory or school in South Africa. In 1970 the International Olympic Committee decided (with 35 for, 28 against and 3 abstaining) to expel South Africa from the Olympic movement.

It will be seen that the voting was much closer on this matter than is normal when apartheid is discussed internationally. Why? The teacher may wish to present the kind of arguments that were used. In favour of South African membership of the Olympic Movement it was said, for instance, that:
1. The movement was essentially a sporting organization and political considerations should not influence its decisions.
2. Other countries with illiberal sporting policies were able to send athletes to compete in the Olympics.
3. South Africa was prepared to make concessions to international sporting opinion by: (a) sending a mixed team to represent the country; (b) letting the team travel together, wear a common uniform, be accommodated together and march under the same South African flag; (c) allowing white and non-white members of the team to compete against each other; (d) allowing the South African team to be selected by a team comprising equal numbers of white and non-white officials.
4. By allowing South Africa to take part in the games a start might be made in bringing down apartheid.
Doubtless other arguments will occur to the reader.

Against this, however, it was argued:
1. In South Africa the non-whites remained at a disadvantage because of apartheid. They lacked opportunities for mixed sports-play or even spectatorship.
2. Apartheid puts the blacks and coloureds at a disadvantage in respect of the physical needs of life: food, clothing and shelter, the opportunity to reproduce and in respect of such psychological needs as security, acceptance by society, opportunities for advancement.

3. Equal opportunities for sporting activity were denied to all South African citizens at the local, provincial and national levels but as 'a face saver' the South African Government was prepared to allow more opportunity at the international level, thereby misrepresenting the real situation in the country.
4. South African representation in the games would result in the withdrawal of all other African teams.
5. If (4) were to happen, the result might be the splintering and finally the break up of the Olympic Movement itself.

Once again other arguments may commend themselves to the teacher.

These arguments have been deployed in this way—in something like 'blackboard' summary form—because it is possible that they *could* feature as the basis for a class or student debate. The word 'could' is italicized deliberately. The teacher who is concerned, in the words of article 26 of the Universal Declaration, 'to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship *among all nations, racial or religious groups' will need to decide whether this* concern would be met by arranging such a debate. In a mono-racial situation it might or it might not; in a multiracial situation it might not or it might. The teacher would need to know the class concerned and in the light of this knowledge would have to decide whether such a debate would increase or decrease racial tolerance. Generally speaking, however, on issues of this kind, it is preferable to arrange for classroom discussion rather then classroom debate—even if the former lacks much of 'the sense of occasion and drama' of the latter. Discussion is concerned by reasoned argument to arrive as near the truth as possible: debate is concerned to win opinion to support a particular argument.

Finally, it should be noted that there has been some modification of apartheid with regard to sport in South Africa. Teams from each racial group in the country can compete against each other in international events. But there is still little opportunity for full training for black sports people and therefore no mixed trials or mixed teams. In the world of sport, apartheid means that South Africa continues to be an 'outcast'.

Much the same verdict could be given in respect of apartheid as it affects a whole variety of activities in society: work, housing, transport, education, cultural events like plays, concerts, exhibitions, etc. In all of these activities the South African Government enforces apartheid and thereby earns the condemnation of the rest of the world.

In this connection it should be noted that although a clandestine black press exists in South Africa, the blacks have no regular newspaper which reflects their viewpoint. There are only the English and Afrikaans papers which voice the opinions of the Caucasian minority. The former papers, in some instances, were concerned about their black readers but since 1977 when the two newspapers with a large black readership were banned, even this has been greatly reduced.

An 'outcast', 'a threat to the peace of the world', 'violation of human rights'; the condemnation is heavy yet the regime continues. The penalties inflicted on South Africa seem light. Inevitably students will ask 'Why?' and 'How?'

'How does it come about that despite the universal condemnation that apartheid receives in the international councils of the world, it nevertheless manages to survive?' The answer to this is complicated.

First it should be noted that for a long time the Member States of the United Nations were reluctant to interfere in what some, though not all, felt to be the internal affairs of a Member State. Even resolutions condemning apartheid, they agreed, would seem counter to the Charter of the United Nations, Chapter 1, article 2 (7), which reads as follows:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII. (Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.)

As we have seen, however, apartheid came to be regarded as increasingly serious and as a threat to the peace of the world. With the adoption on 4 November 1977 by the Security Council of a far-reaching resolution (No. 418) calling on Member States to cut off all supplies of arms and military equipment to South Africa, the United Nations began to be more actively concerned with the issue than ever before.

This was, of course, a reflection of what had been happening in South Africa. For long the black and coloured African population had apparently accepted the apartheid regime. The truth was, of course, that whereas some individuals may have been prepared to acquiesce, the majority were reduced to such a subordinate position, and were so conditioned, that they saw no alternative to the status quo.

However, in June 1976, the blacks in Soweto, an African township in Johannesburg, rioted against their conditions. The riots and the general open disaffection spread to other urban centres, and the South African Government reacted with great severity. The toll was heavy: 500 dead, over 1,100 injured and nearly 1,300 arrested. In this great black urban revolt it was noticeable that young people in particular were active. Their parents might have been conditioned to endure apartheid, but young people have made it increasingly apparent that they are more conscious of the issues involved.

With Soweto, the Republic's claim that the blacks were prepared to accept apartheid was shown to have virtually no foundation in fact. Internal disruption of this order—with its implications for race relations throughout the world—simply had to receive condemnation by the United Nations. No longer could the United Nations Charter be used to shield South Africa from international pressure.

That this pressure has not resulted in breaking apartheid arises from the economic position of South Africa. First, South Africa is seen as an important supplier of strategic minerals to Western countries. Second, South Africa has attracted much investment from Western countries and helped these investments to earn large profits. Because of South Africa's role as a supplier of minerals and as a source of profit, there has been a great reluctance on the

part of certain Western countries to do more than condemn South Africa. This has been true especially during a period of world recession in trade. When Western countries have been experiencing large-scale unemployment and high inflation they have been reluctant to take action that might cause further adverse repercussions for their own people.

Something of the international economic dimensions of the problem can be seen by studying Table 1.

TABLE 1. South Africa's role in the Western world and world mineral supply (estimates as a percentage of total Western world and total world production, 1975)

Commodity	Western world rank	As a percentage of Western production	World rank	As a percentage of world production
Platinum group of metals	1	86	1	49
Gold	1	74	1	59
Vanadium	1	58	1	46
Chrome ore	1	41	2·	26
Manganese ore	1	41	2	24
Antimony	1	31	1	21
Diamonds	2	20	3	16
Asbestos	2	19	3	10
Uranium	3	13	3	13
Fluorspar	5	6	8	5
Coal	6	5	9	2
Nickel	6	4	7	3
Phosphate rock	8	2	10	2
Tin	9	1	11	1
Copper	10	3	12	2
Iron ore	10	2	12	1
Zinc	13	2	18	1
Lead	31	0.05	41	0.03

Source : A. Gupta : *Issues in South Africa International Studies* (quarterly journal of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal University), Vol. XVII, No. 1, January-March 1978, p. 7.

Older students might profit by studying this table. Their attention might be drawn to the minerals listed as number 1 in the ranking order and to the belief that the United States, Western Europe and Japan cannot find alternative sources of supply for these minerals.

Regarding investment in South Africa it should be noted that the profits these attract stem in large measure from the very system of apartheid itself. Simply stated, this system means that the black labour force is poorly paid by Western standards. This in turn means that the cost of the labour component in production is low. And, of course, because this cost is low the resulting profit is high.

Western firms also compete against each other to earn profits. They argue that, were they not to trade with South Africa, their place would simply be filled by other firms that were prepared to do so. Thus there is competition between Western firms to trade with the apartheid regime at the very time that the Afro-Asian countries are calling for an end to such trade. Figure 8 helps to explain the situation.

Exports

A. Federal Republic of Germany (5.8%)
B. Belgium (4.1%)
C. Italy (3.9%)
D. France (3.9%)
E. Other Europe (8.3%)
F. Africa (15.2%)
G. Oceania (0.1%)
H. Adjustments (4.3%)
I. South America (0.5%)
J. Other North America (2.8%)
K. United States of America (7.3%)
L. Other Asia (4.5%)
M. Japan (12.9%)
N. United Kingdom (26.4%)

Imports

A. Federal Republic of Germany (14.7%)
B. France (3.6%)
C. Italy (3.4%)
D. Switzerland (2.2%)
E. Netherlands (2.2%)
F. Other Europe (5.8%)
G. United States of America (16.6%)
H. Other North America (1.5%)
I. Oceania (2.7%)
J. Adjustments (0.7%)
K. South America (1.0%)
L. Africa (5.4%)
M. Other Asia (9.8%)
N. Japan (9.5%)
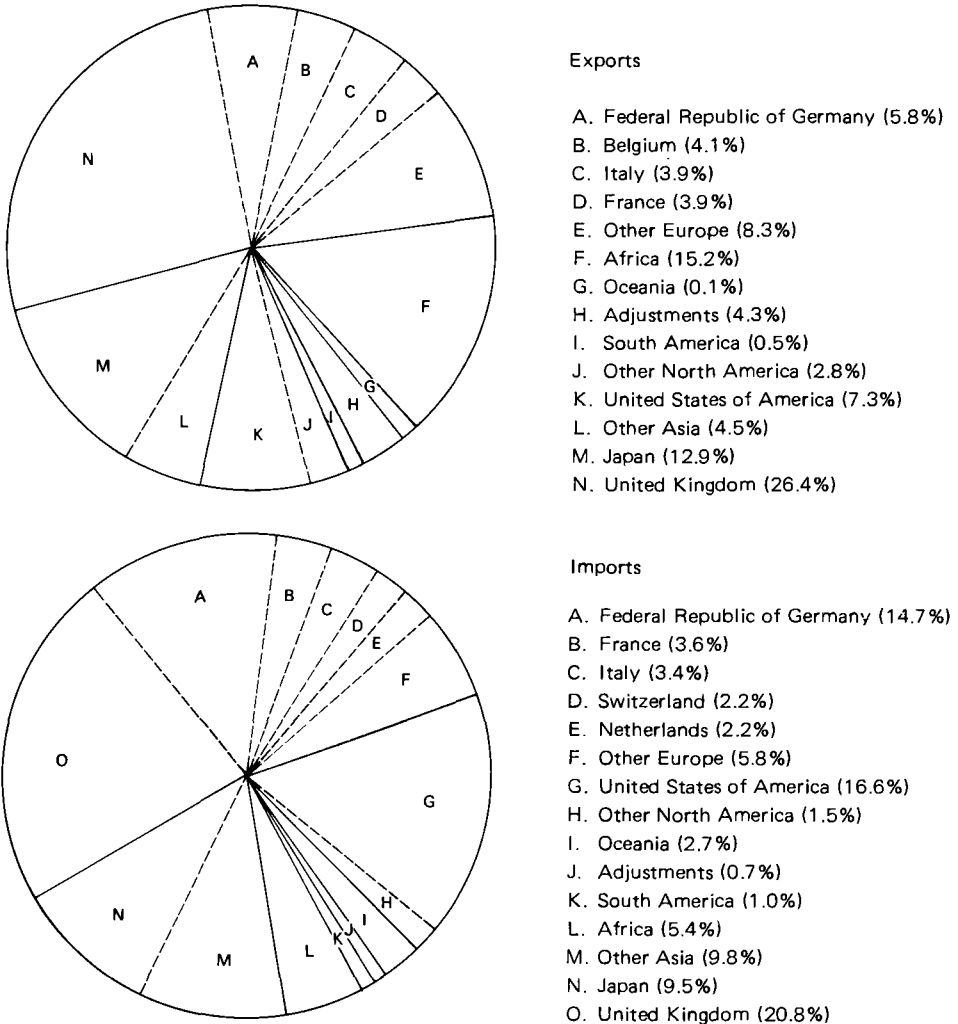O. United Kingdom (20.8%)

FIG. 8. Direction of South African trade.
Source: Unesco *Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa: South Africa,* p. 39, Paris, The Unesco Press, 1974.

Whilst Figure 8 may not be entirely up to date, it does, at least, enable the reader to understand the response of South Africa's major trading partners to the charge that they are condoning and, indeed, actively upholding apartheid. In effect that answer is to say that those who make the charge have least to lose by trading with South Africa and that those who are charged have the most. It may be regrettable but it is a fact that few states (like individuals) act against what they consider to be their own best interests.

Is there no real answer then? There is certainly no easy one. The tentative formulation of an answer, however, is beginning to appear. It comprises three elements: boycott, aid and the New International Economic Order (NIEO).

The first element means simply getting people to dissuade businesses and corporations from collaborating with South Africa. Some countries have also decided to implement the United Nations resolutions on sanctions. Scandinavian countries, for instance, have decided to prohibit new investments in South Africa, and in 1977 France called a halt to the supply of military equipment to South Africa.

The second element concerns the provision of humanitarian assistance to those who have suffered as the result of racial discrimination. Thus the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, set up in 1965 to help political prisoners and their families in southern Africa, has received over $5 million in contributions. Similarly, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, with financial resources of almost twice as much, also provided on a voluntary basis, now administers over 1,300 scholarships.

The New International Economic Order argues that whatever can be identified as a world problem (such as poverty) should be dealt with as a *world* problem. In other words, the resources of the world as a whole need to be deployed in solving it. Thus, for instance, in order to enable poor countries to increase their productive capacity it may be necessary for rich countries to exercise restraint in production and consumption. This may result in short-term discomfiture for the peoples of the wealthy countries, but it can, so it is argued, result in long-term benefits. The disequilibrium between the haves and have-nots is reduced and, as a result, tension is reduced. By this means, the prospects for more enduring peace are enhanced, as are the prospects for continuing world economic development.

The relevance of the NIEO to apartheid may not be immediately apparent. Essentially, however, apartheid, like poverty, is a problem that arises from an uneven distribution of the economic production of the world. In this sense, as in the human sense, it is a world problem. And once again it would seem to be necessary to harness world resources to solve it. Unless the world's states, in the interest of the world's good, are prepared, where appropriate, to exercise restraint and make sacrifices, prospects cannot be good.

In pointing out the world dimensions of the economics of apartheid the teacher is faced with a triple responsibility. First, he must make clear on what grounds trade with an apartheid regime is to be condemned. Secondly, he must make clear on what grounds such trade is supported. Thirdly, he must encourage students to consider the potential for the good of the world offered by the NIEO. Here it has been explained in perhaps over-simplistic terms.

The NIEO, it must be emphasized, remains a problem; it is certainly not a panacea. Nevertheless it can represent an approach to the problem of racial discrimination which thoroughly deserves something that it rarely obtains—a place in the learning scheme of teachers.[1]

APARTHEID EXERCISE 11

The shooting that rang round the world

21 March 1960: concerned with protesting about the implementation of apartheid by the South African Government and in particular the pass laws, and believing that an announcement was to be made at the Sharpville police station on 21 March, a crowd of black Africans surrounded the wire fence round the building. Inside, the 130 white South Africans and 62 black African police were armed with rifles and machine guns. Tension, noise, confusion grew apace. The police contended that they were being stoned by the crowd and that they heard two shots fired. Without orders they started shooting: within minutes 69 black Africans were lying dead or dying and 180 were wounded.

21 March 1966: United Nations Secretary-General U Thant declared the establishment of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination as an occasion to remember 'the victims of Sharpville and those countless others in different parts of the world who have fallen victim to racial injustice'. On this day, the following readings may be apposite:

Lincoln's Gettysburg's Address (19 November 1863)

But in the larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or to detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

Dostoevsky's 'The Brothers Karamazov' (1880)

Until you have become really, in actual fact, a brother to every one, brotherhood will not come to pass. No sort of scientific teaching, no kind of common interest, will ever teach men to share property and privileges with equal consideration for all. Everyone will think his share too small and they will be always envying, complaining and attacking one another.

Thomas Mann's 'Magic Mountain' (1924)

A man lives not only his personal life, as an individual, but also, consciously or unconsciously, the life of his epoch and his contemporaries.

1. See especially G. FitzGerald, *Unequal Partners*, New York, United Nations, 1979 and *UNCTAD for a New Economic Order*, New York, United Nations, 1978.

Leopold Senghor's 'Spring Song' (b. 1906)

I said to you:
Listen to the silence beneath the angry storm,
Africa's voice sounding above the long roar of the guns
The voice of your heart, your blood, it is there beneath the frenzy in your brain.

The Prayer of St Francis of Assisi (1182-1226)

Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace. When there is hatred let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is sadness, joy; where there is darkness, light.

No Man Shall See My Grave[1]

When the wind blows hot
And the stars are darkened
No man shall see my grave
With wreaths in South Africa.

No man shall see my grave
In the cemeteries of sorrow
If the compass of my ship fails me
For that Ship will not be mine.

When waves become mountains
and skies are dark and mountainous
This ship of mine cannot sink
My people cannot sink.

No man shall see my grave
Before the evil sinks
Because death cannot bring life
Death sometimes is desertion.

The rivers of ice and sand
Cannot break my courage
The mountain of bombs and apartheid
Cannot stop my people

They rule not my fate
They rule not my soul
They cannot bury me
Vultures cannot bury me

No man shall see my grave
Where vultures fly
Where rivers flow with blood
And the fate of man is balanced

My son shall see my grave
In waters clean and meadows cleansed
By our ship of freedom
A ship that cannot sink.

1. By James Pitse (of the African National Congress), in A. La Guma (ed.), *Apartheid*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1972.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 12

International figures in the fight against apartheid

On 11 October 1977, the United Nations General Assembly held a special meeting to mark International Anti-Apartheid Year and awarded gold medals to seven people for their distinguished service against apartheid. They wer: Canon L. John Collins (United Kingdom); Michael Manley (Jamaica); the late General Murtala Mohamed (Nigeria); the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (India); the late Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana); Olof Palme (Sweden); the late Paul Robeson (United State of America).

It constitutes a useful exercise in understanding something of the international rejection of apartheid to have a class, either on an individual basis or in group project work, compile a 'citation' explaining why the United Nations selected each recipient for the honour bestowed on him.

A class may also be asked to imagine that it had further gold medals to award. To whom would it award them and why? In carrying out this second part of the exercise it is suggested that special consideration should be given to South Africans and to women.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 13

The work of the United Nations in the fight against apartheid

It would be a mistake to think that the United Nations and its agencies are only concerned with apartheid as a subject of political discussion and condemnation. They are also concerned to give practical assistance to those who fight against apartheid. Thus, for example, Unesco undertakes the following tasks:
1. It enables black South Africans to study in secondary, post-secondary, technical and professional institutions outside South Africa.[1]
2. With the assistance of Finland, a guide on the editing and writing of school textbooks by members of the South African liberation movements is being prepared.
3. With the assistance of the United Republic of Tanzania, members of the liberation movements are prepared to be teachers, educational administrators and planners.
4. It is beginning to be concerned with women's needs in respect of liberation movements in South Africa.

1. During the period 1978-79 Unesco awarded 41 Fellowships to black South Africans sponsored by the African National Congress (32) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (10) for study in the following countries: Bulgaria (8); Botswana (1); Canada (3); Ethiopia (1); France (2); India (1); Mozambique (5); Netherlands (1); Swaziland (1); United Republic of Tanzania (9); United Kingdom (4); United States (3); Zambia (2).

During the same period it awarded 42 study grants to black South Africans sponsored by the African National Congress (25) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (17) for study, often at school level, in the following countries: Botswana (4); Egypt (1); Gambia (1); India (1); Kenya (4); Mozambique (1); Nigeria (2); Swaziland (1); United Republic of Tanzania (19); United Kingdom (5); United States (5); Zambia (2).

5. It undertakes the diffusion of accurate information about apartheid through Member States, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations.

For study

A. Do you think that other activities could be added to the above list? If so, what?
B. Do you think that there is any possibility for educationists to contribute to these activities? If so, how?

6

What is the significance of apartheid for us?

Teachers who are concerned with the subject of apartheid find themselves obliged to cross a chasm on a tightrope. One side of the chasm might well be labelled unrealism, the other might be called despair.

Unrealism represents the triumph of wishes over experience. It frequently takes the form of 'if only' or 'ought' statements. 'If only', say the unrealists, 'the whites or the blacks or the coloureds would see that . . .' Alternatively they describe situations and present solutions. 'Having regard to this situation,' they say, 'the best course of action would be . . .', or 'seems to be', or 'might well be'—but the intention is clear: a certain individual or group *ought* to do something, then all would be well. This rather facile approach to apartheid has already been examined. Here it must suffice to say simply that the teacher has been warned. Practically and educationally it is better to think of what 'we' can do rather than what 'they' should do. But this brings us across the chasm. What can we do?

The other side of the chasm, that of despair, has not been explored. Many thoughtful teachers might well think that this is the greater danger in dealing with apartheid. They could argue that the racial situation in South Africa has been before the United Nations since 1948 and that little progress has been made in resolving it. There would seem to be two alternatives: either (a) apartheid continues in existence with all the negation of human rights that this involves, or (b) it is brought to an end by violence—in which case people of the various ethnic groups in South Africa would be killed or wounded and, quite possibly, people from outside the Republic as well. Despair would seem to be the only appropriate reaction in respect of either alternative.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that in a book published in 1971,[1] based on case studies of fifty international disputes that had arisen since the end of the Second World War, two British authorities on international relations put South Africa into the category of unsolved disputes.

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1. F. S. Northedge and M. D. Donelan, *International Disputes: The Political Aspects*, Europe Publication for the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies.

There were, the authors said, nine such disputes in the fifty international disputes examined. This contrasted with eleven 'quiescent disputes', fourteen 'coercively solved' disputes and sixteen 'peacefully solved' disputes. In placing South Africa in the 'unsolved disputes' category the authors saw apartheid as being a particularly intransigent problem:

What is at stake is enormous indeed; it is nothing less than the whole way of life and possibly the sheer existence, too, of the organized community which is defending the *status quo*. For that community there can hardly be said to exist a half-way house between total victory, mitigated perhaps by certain symbolic concessions to world opinion, and total defeat. They must either give in and bow the knee or fight to the death. It may be presumed that national communities, as distinct perhaps from individual persons, will fight to the death, or at least maintain a sustained semblance *of doing so, rather than give way on a matter on which their whole survival seems so* nakedly to depend.

Such words would seem only to deepen the despair which is so frequently the reaction to a consideration of apartheid. Yet it is to be doubted whether deep despair is justified even in respect of the especially complex, tension-torn dispute about a people's way of life in South Africa.

At this point it is worth considering the unresolved disputes discussed by Northedge and Donelan. First, an examination of the cases cited by the two authors clearly indicates that apartheid is by no means the only example of an unresolved dispute. Second, it serves to demonstrate that progress can be made towards achieving a solution. Few students of international relations would deny the accomplishments of the past decade in Namibia, Viet Nam, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Admittedly, there has been, in a number of the countries involved, considerable warfare and bloodshed. Yet—and this applies, in some measure at least, to the apartheid-linked problems in both Namibia (South West Africa) and Zimbabwe—it would be too melodramatic to describe even this as a 'fight to the death'.

In short, the teacher's conclusion in respect of apartheid must be to acknowledge frankly the elements of despair in the situation. Not for nothing has the United Nations General Assembly condemned the present regime in the Republic of South Africa as 'a threat to the peace of the world'. At the same time, having regard to international disputes generally there must also be elements of hope. Regarding the fifty disputes examined, Northedge and Donelan found that in seventeen of them the United Nations' role had been extensive and in another twenty-five disputes the United Nations had participated, to some extent, in negotiations. We have seen in Chapter 5 that it would be false to represent apartheid as rampant and the United Nations as dormant. The African National Congress sent a delegation to the Versailles peace talks in 1919 to plead against race oppression in South Africa but it achieved nothing. The very vigilance that the United Nations shows in respect of apartheid must be one of the best hopes for the future. Any teaching about apartheid that fails to take into account the work of the United Nations must remain incomplete: despair without hope. Young people need to compound both the elements of despair and of hope into creative vigilance in respect

of apartheid in South Africa and wherever the denial of human dignity is found.

This vigilance needs to be concerned with avoiding racial discrimination in ourselves and in others. It means keeping informed about the racial situation in southern Africa and lending support to those who are concerned with promoting human rights there. This could mean making contributions to those agencies who are working to this end. It could mean withdrawing support from those institutions and organizations that continue to trade with South Africa. Above all, however, it means ensuring that the reproaches that we apply to others cannot be laid at our own door. Nowhere is this more important than in regard to multiracial schools.

The multiracial school

This is a subject that merits very close attention. In South Africa multiracial schools are not permitted to exist. Educational administrators and teachers who are concerned about human rights must wish to see schools open to pupils of different races and of different ethnic groups—not only in South Africa but throughout the world. This is, however, a sensitive issue which needs to be handled with the greatest care if those we are concerned to help—children and young people—are not to suffer in the process. New multiracial schools may be part of the answer for teaching about apartheid but there can be no gainsaying that many existing multiracial schools still represent problems rather than solutions. It is to such schools that our attention must now turn.

In dealing with apartheid, the teacher of the multiracial class is likely to find that the situation calls for much thought. Should apartheid feature in the syllabus or not?

There can be no simple answer to this question. The teacher, or those responsible for the curriculum, will have to try to assess the effects of such teaching by considering such factors as the following:

1. *The intergroup relationship in the class.* Is there an understanding, tolerant attitude or is there tension or conflict? In the former case there are likely to be better prospects for teaching about apartheid than in the latter.
2. *The likely impact of teaching about apartheid.* Is the teacher confident that such teaching will not result in a worse rather than a better multiracial situation? Even in a classroom where there is racial tension, an examination of the South African situation could help students to explore conscious and subconscious fears, motivations, and suspicions. On the other hand, in a classroom where a tolerant racial attitude is to be found, teaching about apartheid could result in hostility and recrimination. The teacher simply has to try to take stock of himself and ask the question: 'Am I likely to do more harm than good?'
3. *The importance of apartheid.* This is not just a South African problem but a problem that has implications and repercussions for all members of the human race. In these circumstances, the teacher has to decide whether those who are being taught are likely to come to more harm if they learn about apartheid outside the school rather than inside the school.

Overriding all these considerations must be the realization that those we teach are likely to live in an increasingly multiracial, polycultural society. Given the quickening rate of technological change, the likelihood of people living simply in contact with their own families, class and tribes, as so many of the world's peoples have done throughout history, will dramatically diminish. Organizations like the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies, the Organization of American States, the European Community and the Organization of African Unity—to take only a few at random—are all dedicated to stressing interdependence. Developing countries which were once colonies frequently have more direct contact with people from the rest of the world (and not just nationals of the colonial power) than they did before they achieved independence. There is every indication that this state of affairs will continue.

This is a factor which must, of course, weigh heavily with those who are preparing teachers for entry to the profession or are seeking to strengthen their skills by in-service courses. The teacher-educator has a need to recognize that he is helping teachers who will be helping citizens of the twenty-first century and who will increasingly find themselves in multiracial, polycultural situations. Is there an appropriate strategy to use with regard to apartheid?

It is hoped that this book, by emphasizing the world of the individual against the background of the world at large, will have provided some enlightenment on this matter. Wherever there is a multiracial educational situation it is best to start from that situation and to recognize that, given the circumstances of the world we know, problems are likely to arise. In the world at large these problems also exist. Racial discrimination in a given locality can often be paralleled by the inequalities that mark the dialogue between the majority of the states of the Northern hemisphere and the majority of the states of the Southern hemisphere. This is what the so-called North–South dialogue is all about. The microsituation of the multiracial classroom can bring increased understanding to the North–South situation. In its turn the larger situation can bring increased objectivity to the smaller. Young people can begin to appreciate that no matter what race we belong to, we are all likely to be the victims of discrimination.

This means that the teacher who is not sure whether to teach about apartheid in a multiracial school would be advised to adopt an approach which seeks to bridge the world of the pupil and the world of North and South. When, and only when, the teacher feels sufficiently confident that the bridge can sustain a consideration of apartheid should this be attempted.

In the classroom, as already suggested, multiracial tension can be reduced by creating an atmosphere in which human rights are not so much taught as lived. They should inform the interaction between teacher and taught and should seek to permeate the interaction between members of the class. Unobtrusively, class seating arrangements should encourage racial mixing, groups for group-work and teams for games should be as mixed as possible, school social events should try to bring the parents of pupils of different races together. If there is a parent-teacher body, or if parents have a voice in the appointment of school managers or governors, every effort should be made to try to ensure that human rights are respected in the representation. On occasions it may be necessary and desirable to refer directly to the human

rights issues involved, but it is preferable that these be accepted as being of the essence of the living reality of the school.

Against this background, the whole issue of human rights in the world at large can be explored. In doing so, the teacher in the multiracial classroom must be both circumspect and constructive—circumspect but not devious. Issues of human rights and wrongs can be studied frankly and openly but only if the teacher is multiracial in his awareness throughout. He needs to ask himself constantly: If I were young, if I were of a different race, if I were pupil rather than teacher, how would I be reacting to the issues we are studying? Would I be likely to have my racial prejudices reinforced or reduced? Are my pupils really learning what I am teaching or are they in fact learning a completely different lesson? (Teachers' views can often be dismissed by a class as either running counter to the received wisdom of the community and/or stemming from their professional position—e.g. 'Of course, as a teacher, he *has* to say that.') Self-monitoring by the teacher along these lines seems absolutely essential. Those who are concerned with the professional formation of teachers should encourage this capacity—possibly using video-taping of teaching practice if circumstances permit.

The 'constructive' approach to human rights means essentially not only dealing with the violations of human rights but showing what the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies and other bodies are doing about these violations. In secondary schools, the curriculum all too often lacks an international dimension. Appreciation of the arts and the study of science frequently proceed without any reference to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco); geography is studied without reference to the World Meteorological Office (WMO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO); economics are studied with but little reference to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). This list could, of course, be greatly extended. A sane approach to human rights however, demands that the possibilities of international organizations in the various subjects of the curriculum be explored. Frequently these organizations can supply publicity materials and information which although not always in a form suitable for direct use in a classroom can be 'cannibalized' by a teacher to give greater international content to his lessons. And, in some cases, e.g. the materials produced for the Unesco Associated Schools network, the material is especially designed for classroom use.

In secondary schools, it is suggested that this type of approach be taken right across the curriculum. A little thought, a little investigation, may mean that subject teachers can concern themselves not only with their own subjects but with the human rights particularly relevant to these subjects. We all need to be conscious that we inhabit a world of gross inequalities, as can be seen from Tables 2 and 3.[1] The exact figures quoted in these tables matter less than the awareness of what they mean in terms of relationships between races and ethnic groups.

1. G. FitzGerald, *Unequal Partners*, p. 9, New York, United Nations, 1979.

TABLE 2. Distribution of real GDP in the world, 1978

Category	Group of countries	Range of GDP per head (dollars)	No. of countries	Estimated population 1978 (millions)	Estimated annual population increase (millions)	(percentage)
1	Rich	5 000–15 000	32	645	4.5	0.7
2	Near-rich	3 200–5 000	16	480	4.5	0.95
3	Upper middle income	2 500–3 200	16	330	7.5	2.4
4	Lower middle income	1 375–2 500	29	235	5.0	2.25
	Poor					
5	First group	875–1 375	31	1 190	21.0	1.9
6	Second group	500–875	23	1 015	21.0	2.2
7	Third group	275–500	20	260	6.0	2.5
	World		167	4 155	69.5	1.7

TABLE 3. Geographical distribution of income groups in different countries

Category	Group of countries	Europe	Middle East	Africa and Indian Ocean	Latin America	Carib- bean	North America	Asia	Oceania
1	Rich	14	8			2	2	2	4
2	Near-rich	10		1	2	2		1	
3	Upper middle income	4	2	1	6	2		1	
4	Lower middle income	2	2	5	7	8		3	2
	Poor								
5	First group		2	13	5	2		5	4
6	Second group			13		1		9	
7	Third group			13				7	

And so we return to the concept of dignity as an effort to be. We have seen how black Africans are concerned with this concept. It is the central theme of the report (1972) significantly entitled *Learning to Be* submitted by Unesco's International Commission on the Development of Education. The promotion of this learning needs a significant commitment on the part of all who are concerned with the education of young people.

The apartheid phenomenon can help them in their task by first enabling them and their students to appreciate what dignity means. Learning about apartheid means examining a society in which the dignity of a large percentage is negated. Dignity, like freedom and equality, its associated concepts, is not easy to understand. Ask someone if he is free and he may readily assert that he is; ask him what freedom means and he may be stuck for an answer. Yet he could readily give instances of those who are not free. From such instances it is possible by systematic study to build up an understanding of what freedom involves.

Using the ideal of dignity in juxtaposition with the practice of apartheid enables a similar process to go forward. We can see what indignity, lack of freedom, deliberately engineered inequality means in practice. We recognize that South Africa may not be alone in this practice—although the intent, extent and deliberate 'legalization' of this practice is probably more deeply rooted in South Africa than elsewhere. In this recognition we come to realize that we ourselves may not be entirely free of attributes of apartheid-type thinking. This lack of freedom inhibits our own 'learning to be' and in its turn restricts the fuller achievement of dignity in ourselves and, by implication, in those we teach.

All of us have a particular 'world view', an attitude associated with a particular perspective which we have acquired through experience with others. In some the world view is narrow and circumscribed; in others it is broad and much more open. Dignity as 'effort to be' involves moving from one world view to the other. The kind of contribution that learning about apartheid can make to the process may be schematically represented as in Figure 9. Note that in this diagram the size of the outer circle is much reduced for the purposes of illustration. To conform with a scale anywhere near that used in the other circles, the outer circle's circumference would need to be shown on this page as virtually a straight line.
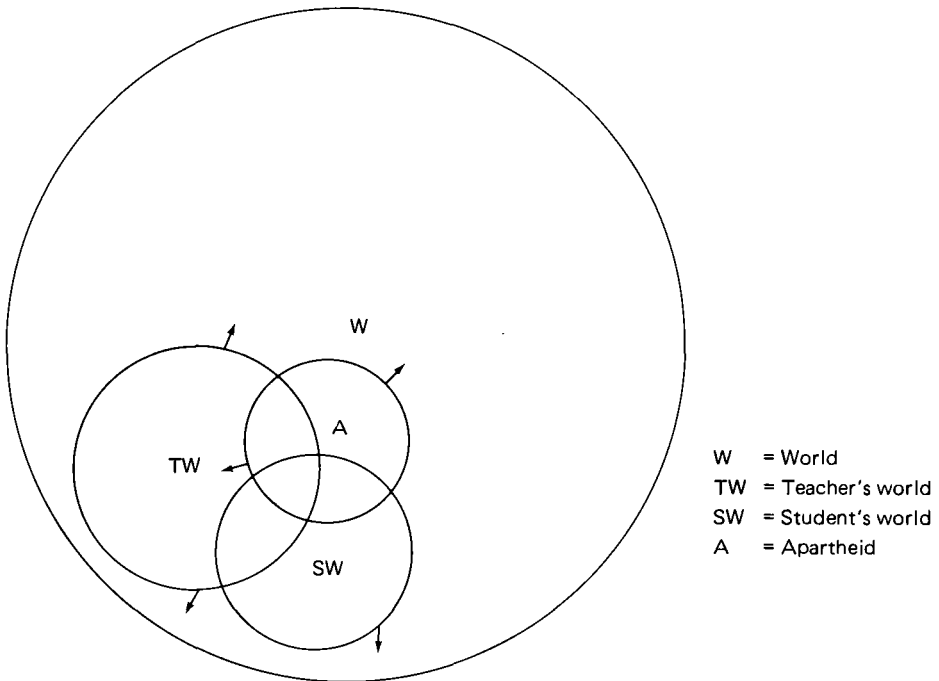

Fig. 9. Apartheid within the context of world studies. Arrows indicate growth in size of circle meaning: (a) increased appreciation of world; (b) closer approximation of teacher's and taught's 'world' to each other and to the world in general; (c) the way that the study of apartheid can contribute to (a) and (b).

The constructive approach to human rights means recognizing the interdependence of peoples throughout the world. It means that by trading with South Africa, for instance, we may be enabling the apartheid system to continue to the detriment of the majority of the population of that country. It means that the diminishment of black people by white people is an infection that breeds animosity and enfeebles black and white alike, though not, of course, to the same degree. It means that the imbalance of the world's goods between the more prosperous North and the more impoverished South has a similar effect: man's stature is diminished and the infinite resources of the human race are not used for the good of mankind.

The constructive approach tries to counteract the depression that may arise from studying apartheid against a world setting by showing what the world is doing about the situation. In this connection, future historians may well see the year 1974 as particularly significant. In that year at a special session of the United Nations General Assembly the Members of the United Nations solemnly proclaimed their united determination to work urgently for 'the establishment of a New International Economic Order'. The first article of the Declaration read as follows:

The greatest and most significant achievement during the last decades has been the independence from colonial and alien domination of a large number of peoples and nations which has enabled them to become members of the community of free peoples. Technological progress has also been made in all spheres of economic activities in the last three decades, thus providing a solid potential for improving the well-being of all peoples. However, the remaining vestiges of alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and neo-colonialism in all its forms continue to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and all the peoples involved. The benefits of technological progress are not shared equitably by all members of the international community. The developing countries, which constitute 70 per cent of the world's population, account for only 30 per cent of the world's income. It has proved impossible to achieve an even and balanced development of the international community under the existing international economic order. The gap between the developed and the developing countries continues to widen in a system which was established at a time when most of the developing countries did not even exist as independent States and which perpetuates inequality.

The reference to apartheid should be noted but it should be seen within the context of a document designed to correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations.

The teacher of today's generation is concerned with the quality of life of the future generation—as was James Kwegyir Aggrey (1875–1927), an educator of a former generation in the then Gold Coast. He said: 'You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys and a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for full rich harmony you need both the black and the white.'

One senses that Aggrey, had he been alive today, would have been both pleased at the amount of world progress that has been made towards the

elimination of discrimination since that date and acutely conscious of what remains to be done especially in regard to the southern part of his own continent.

Will it be possible to say that in South Africa in the second half of the twentieth century the policy and practice of apartheid constituted virtually the only system of institutionalized racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation in the world; the only system which denied the majority of the population individual and collective political, economic, social and other rights on the basis of the colour of their skin? And what, one wonders, will have happened to apartheid?

That today's concern about apartheid should result in tomorrow's elimination of radical discrimination needs to be part of the professional ethic of the world's teaching profession.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 14

Supporting the Republic of South Africa

Turn to Tables 2 and 3, on page 97. Then follow the procedure outlined below.
1. Place your own country in its appropriate category from 1 to 7.
2. Now try to imagine what an average day for an average inhabitant in the other categories would be like—concentrate particularly on countries which are in categories furthest from your own (e. g. if you are in category 1 give emphasis to category 7; if you are in category 4 concentrate on both categories 1 and 7).
3. From the data given in this book, try to determine to which category the average black South African and the average white South African belong.
4. From Figure 8 on page 86 try to assess to which categories South Africa's main trading partners belong.
5. Consider carefully the following assertions and discuss them in class:
   (a) in the world at large a system not unlike South African apartheid is to be found: (i) arguments in favour; (ii) arguments against;
   (b) in the world at large there are many people who consciously or unconsciously support South Africa: (i) arguments in favour; (ii) arguments against;
   (c) in our country there are many people who consciously or unconsciously support South Africa: (i) arguments in favour; (ii) arguments against.
6. A blackboard summary of points made under (5) could appropriately conclude with 'What are we going to do about it?'

APARTHEID EXERCISE 15

Race in Brazil

The following passage is taken from a study made for Unesco in 1952.[1] It provides an interesting comparison with the development of race relations in the Republic of South

1. C. Wagley, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil,* pp. 142–4, Paris, Unesco, 1952.

Africa. It can be useful to the teacher in a number of ways of which two seem particularly noteworthy: (a) as an exercise in different historical development between Brazil and South Africa; (b) as an indication of the value of undertaking a study of Brazil as a means of off-setting the dispiriting experience that studying apartheid can be.

Brazil was founded as a society formed of two distinct castes, namely a caste of European masters and a caste of Indian or Negro slaves. Brazilian society, however, consisted exclusively of castes for only a very short time. Intermediate social groups began to take form almost immediately after 1500. In fact, when the Portuguese arrived to settle in Salvador (Bahia), which was one of the first settlements along the coast, they found Indian half-breeds. The famous Caramuru (Diego Alvares Corria), a Portuguese sailor who had probably been left there by a French boat as early as 1509–11, was found living with his numerous children by various Indian women. Very few Portuguese women came to Brazil in the first days of the colony, and the Portuguese men are said to have found the Indian women exceedingly attractive. Miscegenation between Portuguese males and Indian women began almost at once; the mamelucos, the offspring of these unions, were raised as freemen and the European whites took wives from among the half-breed and quarter-breed women. A group of European/Indian mesticos were formed who stood midway between the European elite and the Indian slaves.

Race mixture continued with ever-increasing speed after the arrival of African slaves in large numbers. The Portuguese plantation owners, their sons and relatives took concubines from among the Negro slaves and the sons of these white fathers and Negro mothers were often given special treatment. They were taught to be administrators on plantations; they were made free men; and they were often educated—a few were even sent to Portugal where they attended the famous University of Coimbra. Soon mulattoes were represented among the professional classes as lawyers and physicians, they entered the priesthood and public life, and not only mulattoes but also Negroes gained their liberty and entered the economic and public life of the Colony during slave times. As Frank Tannenbaum has shown in his excellent essay entitled *Slave and Citizen*, one of the characteristics of slavery in Latin America which distinguished it from slavery in the English colonies and in the United States was the numerous methods provided in Latin America for manumission. By 1798 there were 406,000 free Negroes living in Brazil, and by the time of abolition in 1888 it is estimated that there were three times as many Negro freemen as Negro slaves. These freemen—Negroes, mulattoes, and others of part Negro descent—formed a series of social strata between the European slave-owning caste and the lowly slaves.

Almost at once the relations between the Portuguese masters and their Indian and Negro slaves began to produce intermediary social strata between the two castes. By the end of slavery, the intermediate freeman class made up of people of Negroid, Indian and Caucasian racial stocks, and of a wide variety of mesticos, was numerically more important than the white elite or the Negro slaves. With abolition in 1888 the slaves entered Brazilian society as freemen, although by the twentieth century a relatively large number of European workers entered the country to join the ex-slaves and low-class freemen as labourers on plantations and in industry. Meantime, many land-holding families of 'pure' European descent lost their aristocratic status and their dominant political position as they became less wealthy or even impoverished; many aristocrats have dropped in social status from the 'white elite caste' to the level of the people who were descendants of slaves. Simultaneously, individuals who were descendants of slaves or low-class freemen have improved their economic and social standing; people of mixed racial ancestry and descendants of recent European immigrants have so prospered that they are represented among the financial and politically dominating class of the country. Especially since the formation of the Republic, politics has offered a road to social advancement, and many Brazilian families now of high rank first came to the fore during the early Republic; the 'old families' of colonial aristocrats have inter-married with this new upper class and the old European caste has been broken down throughout most of the country. Where Brazilian society was once formed by castes, it has now become a society of social classes which are themselves undergoing rapid change.[1]

1. As is the case in other countries, however, it should be noted that these classes contain elements of discrimination arising from race and ethnic origin.

Note: A number of the exercises in personal significance and persoal relations provided in this book can be undertaken in respect of Brazil, New Zealand, Hawaii, and other areas where there are differences from the racial situation to be found in South Africa. Teachers who undertake such a study subsequent to their examination of apartheid will be making progress towards a syllabus in World Studies.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 16

South Africa and self-determination

Not the least valuable aspect of studying South Africa's policy on apartheid is that it encourages critical thought. Generally most of the material studied in the curriculum is there to be accepted and to be learned. Understandably teachers are much more concerned with what is right rather than what is wrong.

But the world outside the classroom, provides a mixture of what is right and what is wrong. Young people need to be given the opportunity of acquiring the ability to discriminate between the two. Apartheid provides them with an opportunity to do this. By examining the rationale of this practice one can begin to appreciate how certain practices can be given an appearance that, without further study, may appear more praiseworthy than blameworthy.

It is suggested that the passages given below provide opportunities for such study:

The view of the Republic of South Africa

The black population of the Republic of South Africa comprises nine major ethnohistorical groups. Each group functions as a broad social system involving an intricate pattern of tribal, clan and kinship affiliations. The homeland of each main group serves as the geo-political nucleus of that group, e.g. the Transkei being the historical homeland of the Xhosa people. In terms of the Republic's separate development policy, each one of the groups is a potential independent nation. These peoples are therefore treated as embryonic nations, with some already poised on the penultimate step towards full independence. Of the nine it is expected that at least some will amalgamate with one or more of the other groups and post-independence federation between some of the nine is also not excluded so that, ultimately, there may be only about four or five new nation-states in South Africa.

The multi-national approach is central to the policy of separate development, the point of departure from which the present government's whole homeland policy is evolving. In terms of this policy, the blacks are not treated as a non-differentiated mass of black individuals, and are not regarded as cultural neuters without any ethnic personality, devoid of even the most rudimentary form of nationalism. Separate development is based on multinationalism, involving the guardian white nation of the Republic of South Africa and several black peoples, the latter already called nations, because fully-fledged nations are what these peoples are determined to become.

Traditionally, these nations are structured along tribal lines. It is a fact of South African life that the vast majority of blacks are still tribally connected. Tribal loyalties are still extremely strong and traditional life-styles continue to be a powerful formative and socializing influence in black society, despite the forces of modernization that are unavoidably impinging on traditional life-styles.[1]

1. *Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality,* Pretoria, State Department of Information, 1974.

The view of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

There is no evidence that this policy is working. A few craft centres have been set up in the 'homelands', and white industry has shown no desire to move into border areas despite incentives, for simple economic reasons—the lack of communications and the reluctance of white managerial staff to take jobs in the middle of nowhere. The analysis made by *The Economist* (supplement on South Africa, June 1968) explains the dilemma.

Because the Bantu have lagged so far behind white South Africans in economic development, these homelands are very stagnant and depressed areas in the middle of a very rich one. The natural pattern is therefore for the young men in the poor and stagnant area to go and find well-paid jobs in the rich and growing labour-hungry ones. By all means, mitigate this if possible by usual 'depressed area policies': which in this case should mean giving special treatment and investment incentives for white capital to go into the Bantustans (though probably on a leasehold system for the land, and subject to some special system of company registration and company law and company taxation in these Bantustans); plus an agricultural policy which should be designed to get away from traditional, small-scale subsistence farming and to bring into being a modern, larger-scale, cash-crop, Bantu professional farmer-class.

Unfortunately, however, the dream of the late South African Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd, was that the Bantu in their homelands should relapse into being the nice, tame, contented peasants of his mythology. His agricultural policy was, therefore, that the homelands should base themselves on precisely the traditional subsistence farming which has kept them poor (although with some experts in avoidance of soil erosion helping them); and his industrial policy was that white 'exploiters' capital should be forbidden, but that a government-sponsored Bantu Investment Corporation should shuffle out money to help establish some small selected semi-rural crafts.[1]

The United Nations' view

THE STATES PARTIES TO THE PRESENT COVENANT,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

Part I

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.[2]

1. *Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa: South Africa and Namibia*, Paris, Unesco, 1974.
2. Preamble and first article of *The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*.

Even after a cursory reading of the above statements, it will be obvious that here is matter for hard thought and further study. Young people need to reach their conclusions by conviction not by parroting what they have learned from others—no matter how right-minded the others may be. Without genuine independence, as individuals or as a people, it is very difficult to be of service to others.

If possible the passages should be duplicated for discussion with older pupils. They might then be asked to go through the passages underlining those they found unacceptable or would wish to modify. Reasons for doing this should then be sought. Finally consideration might well be given to the view that 'the self-determination of a given society depends in the last analysis on the dignity of the individuals who constitute that society'. And this consideration leads directly to the final exercise in this book.

APARTHEID EXERCISE 17

The dignity of man

The whole of this guide has been concerned to consider apartheid in relation to the concept of the dignity of man seen in a world context. It can, perhaps, most appropriately end with a poem that is so simple and yet so profound that it can be discussed at many different levels in the classroom. In simple language it brings together the basic concern of this study: apartheid; individual dignity; World Studies; and the teacher's purpose.

'Africa's Plea'

I am not you—
but you will not
give me a chance,
will not let me be me.

'If I were you'—
but you know
I am not you,
yet you will not
let me be me.

You meddle, interfere
in my affairs
as if they were yours
and you were me.

You are unfair, unwise,
foolish to think
that I can be you,
talk, act
and think like you.

God made me me.
He made you you.
For God's sake
Let me be me.'

1. By Roland Tombekai Dempster, in Langston Hughes (ed.), *Poems from Black Africa.*

Appendix: a check-list for teachers concerned with eliminating the 'apartheid mentality'

1. Have you done your best to ensure that the curriculum of your school has been 'internationalized', paying particular attention to the needs of the world's most deserving peoples?
2. Have you attempted to establish a relationship (by correspondence or otherwise) with a school less fortunately situated than your own?
3. Have you tried to ensure that your school is concerned with community service activity within your own country/overseas?
4. Have you made the effort to take the parents of those you teach into the school's confidence in respect of its concern to promote a better world?
5. Have you given thought to direct/indirect teaching about apartheid?
6. Have you sought to encourage those you teach to be critical of prejudice and facile sloganizing?
7. Have you encouraged them to take an interest in contemporary world affairs, having regard to how the present is rooted in the past but growing towards the future?
8. Have you tried to ensure that you are familiar with the main developments in apartheid in South Africa since the publication of this book?
9. Have you taken a long hard look at your own attitude in respect of the issues discussed in this book?
10. Have you made any decisions about concrete actions you can take to eliminate racial discrimination? If so, what are they?