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INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

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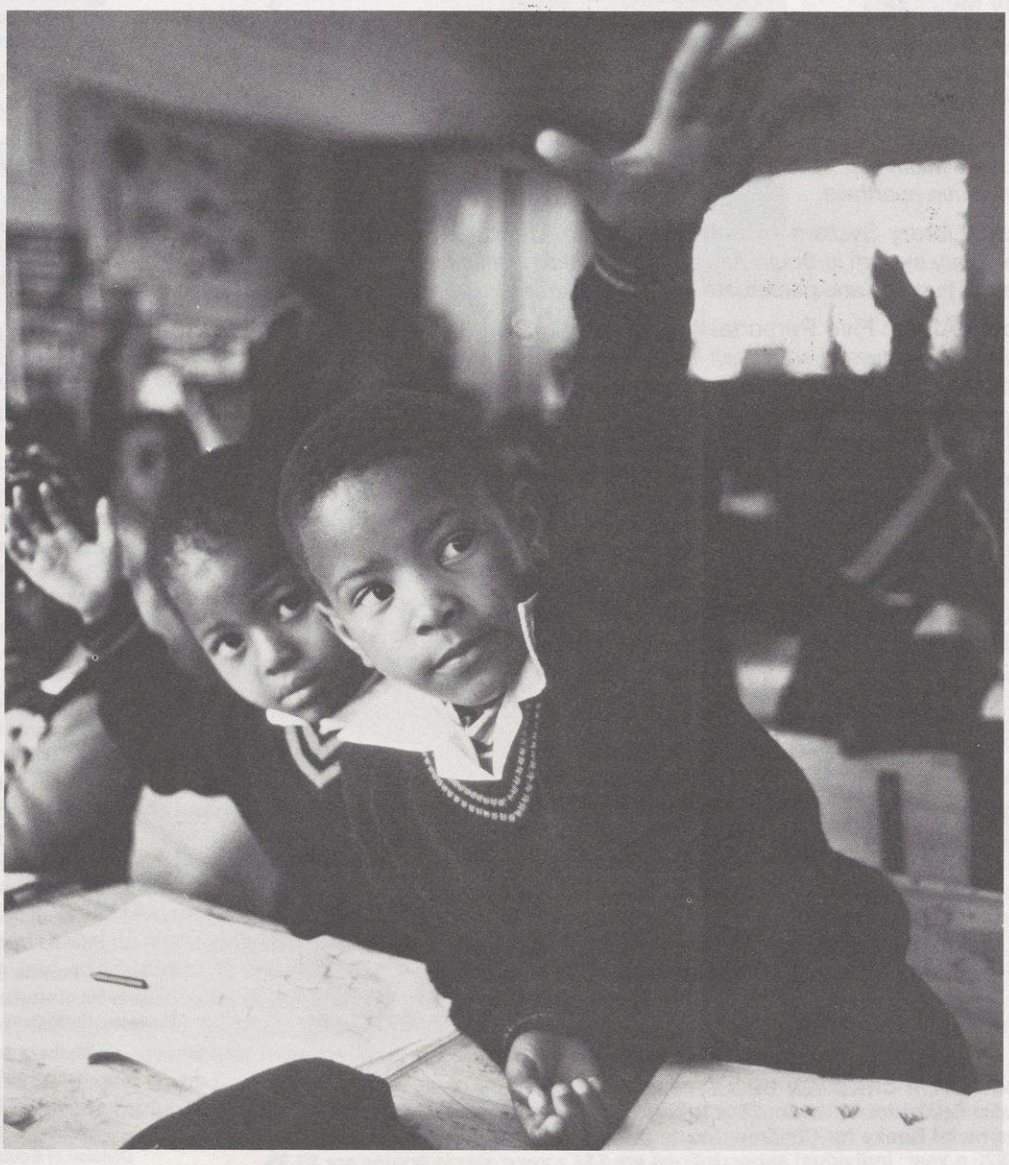


South Africa: Educating for Inequality

INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

BULLETIN

VOLUME 16, NUMBERS 5 & 6 1985

SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE ON SOUTH AFRICA
GUEST EDITOR: MOKUBUNG NKOMO; ASSOCIATE GUEST EDITOR: BRENDA RANDOLPH

ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTS

COVER

Photo of South African students supplied by the United Nations (Photo /151671)

INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN BULLETIN is published eight times a year by the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023. **In the U.S., institutional and contributing subscriptions are $20 a year; individual subscriptions are $14 a year; single copies are $2.95 each for regular issues, $3.95 each for special double issues plus $1.00 handling; bulk rates available upon request. For rates outside the U.S., see back cover. A subscription form appears on the back cover.**

20th Anniversary Year

Encouragement, Inspiration, Support. . .

I first heard of the CIBC in the early 70s when I was the Senior Community Relations Officer for the Merseyside Community Relations Council in Liverpool.

I looked forward eagerly to the arrival of the *Bulletin*, which was so useful in those early days when very little had been done about the issue of racism in children's books and little thought been given to it. Those of us campaigning against racism in Britain found encouragement, inspiration and support from your organization and the *Bulletin.* Some of us eventually set up the National Committee on Racism in Children's Books; our first task was to set up our own *Bulletin,* which we named *Dragon's Teeth.*

Now that I am running my own Equal Opportunities Training and Consultancy Agency I find that the materials in the *Bulletin* and other CIBC materials are of continuing usefulness and inspiration.

It has been my privilege and my pleasure to have had this continual link with CIBC for so long. The CIBC is contributing to a more humanistic and peaceful world.

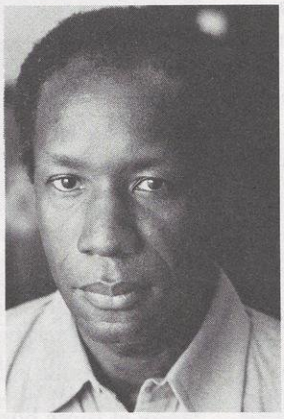
Dorothy Kuya
Co-Director
Affirmata
London

Pioneering Efforts . . .

It is with pleasure that we mark the 20th anniversary of the Council on Interracial Books for Children. No history of the struggle for educational equity would be complete without a description of the work of the Council and its pioneering efforts to help eliminate racism, sexism and handicapism in children's books and other educational materials. We are convinced that the progress that has been made—particularly in the work with the publishers of textbooks and children's books—would not have been possible without the not-so-gentle nudging of the Council.

We also want to take this opportunity to commemorate the vision and courage of Brad Chambers. He helped the Council achieve its goals in the face of enormous odds, and his best tribute is the Council's past work, present efforts and continued success.

Merle Froschl and Barbara Sprung
Co-Directors
Educational Equity Concepts, Inc.



In the Forefront. . .

The name of the Council has always been misleading; it has always been something more than the Council on Interracial Books for Children. For twenty years it has been in the forefront of the fight against racism and sexism and other forms of bias in children's literature.

While many concerned individuals and organizations wanted to counter the presence of stereotypical images and content in children's literature and textbooks, the CIBC did something about it. The CIBC worked with minority and other professionals to establish guidelines for identifying anti-human bias in all genres of children's literature. The CIBC worked with textbook publishers to develop guidelines for eliminating these biases. Probably more than any other organization, the CIBC was responsible for heightening publishers' awareness and for helping to bring about the changes that we see today.

But the CIBC didn't stop there. Beyond racism and sexism, it used its methodology and resources to identify other types of social injustice that are presented in or supported by publishers of children's literature: militarism, colonialism, homophobia, ageism, handicapism, etc. More teachers, librarians, publishers and parents have become aware of the important place of textbooks and children's literature in early attitude formation. Thanks to CIBC, they all have tools available to them for working to eliminate these biases.

The Schomburg Center salutes the CIBC.

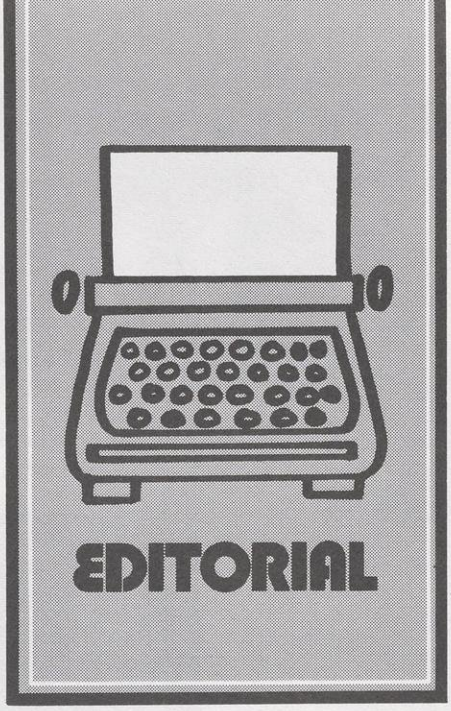
Howard Dodson
Chief
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture
The New York Public Library

South Africa Must Be Free!

"Ninety per cent of the whites are not thinking of a political solution. They think of a military solution. They will not share power with Blacks."—William Kleinhans, Professor of Political Science, University of South Africa, Pretoria

"The Boers should have got rid of all the Blacks a hundred years ago . . . then we wouldn't have this problem today. . . . You people killed your Indians, and those you didn't kill you stuck on the reservation. What is the difference between that and our homelands policy?"—female Afrikaner taxi driver

(Both quoted by Ben Bradlee Jr. in the *Boston Globe*, August 27, 1985.)



It has become increasingly clear that the Black people of South Africa and their allies in the anti-apartheid struggle are at grave risk. They operate within a police state that has marshalled all the force at its command to destroy the movement toward a free multiracial society. Their leaders have either been arrested or murdered and their organizations outlawed. Their attempts at peaceful non-violent protest have been countered by police equipped with tear gas, rubber bullets and horsewhips. Hundreds of school children, some as young as seven years, have been arrested in an effort to force them to end their boycott of a rigidly segregated school system.

The recent arrogant and intransigent pronouncements of Prime Minister P.W. Botha indicate clearly the intention of the minority government to continue and escalate the draconian measures by which 4.5 million well armed and prosperous whites subjugate and control 24 million Blacks. As this issue of the *Bulletin* goes to press, the Black people of South Africa are being subjected to a legalized reign of terror calculated to break their resistance to the racist system of apartheid and to thwart their efforts to establish a free and democratic society. For example, Dr. Allan Boesak, a leader of the United Democratic Front, a true Rainbow Coalition, was recently arrested for his role in organizing what was intended to be a peaceful non-violent demonstration against the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela.

Over the past few months the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa had brought the struggle against the world's most repressive regime to a new level. Effective Black boycotts of white-owned businesses in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage in the eastern Cape brought many of these businesses to the verge of bankruptcy. In a heroic show of defiance thousands of Blacks turned the funeral of four murdered leaders of the United Democratic Front into a massive protest rally against the racist policies of the white minority government.

The "state of emergency" declared by the Botha government gives legal sanction to the acts of terror that had been systematically committed against the anti-apartheid groups. Sweeping powers have been conferred upon the police, who are virtually unaccountable for their actions. They may arrest and detain anyone they desire without warrant and without charges. Those arrested can be detained for as long as two weeks. Since these two week periods can be continually renewed, an individual can be incarcerated for long, indefinite periods. Prisoners are denied access to their families, lawyers and the courts. The unrestricted powers granted the police to interrogate prisoners "fully" without interference has been construed as a license to torture, maim and even kill those detained.

Those persons of good conscience in the world community have recoiled in horror as the violence and brutality of the apartheid regime becomes daily more apparent. In this country there was a recognition of the need to use the power of international pressure to help bring an end to the repressive apartheid regime. There was a reforging of old alliances built during the Civil Rights movement as actors, religious leaders, elected officials, professionals, social activists, students and trade unionists united in an unprecedented show of support for the liberation struggle in South Africa. The Council—in line with its commitment to the elimination of racism in all its forms, wherever it exists—is proud to support the efforts of the Black people of South Africa and their allies to rid their country of the evil of apartheid and to build a free, democratic and multiracial society. We recognize that the current minority regime constitutes a clear and present danger to world peace and stability. We are aware also of the connection between the use of cheap Black labor under inhumane conditions and lower wages and unemployment in certain industries in the United States.

In this issue we present a view of South Africa "from the inside" by persons who have experienced apartheid and can testify to its pervasive and corrosive influence on Black and white alike. It is our earnest hope that these materials will stimulate our readers to an even higher level of activity and support for the heroic freedom fighters of South Africa. World peace and security depends upon their victory in this struggle. South Africa must be free!—Beryle Banfield, President, Council on Interracial Books for Children.

About this Issue

This *Bulletin* is the second of two special issues on South Africa. This issue focuses on conditions in South Africa. The first issue (Vol. 15, Nos. 7&8) examined the depiction of South Africa in U.S. materials and suggested resources to assist parents, teachers, librarians and others in providing accurate information about South Africa. Copies of the first issue can be ordered for $3.95 per copy (**prepaid**) from the CIBC, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023.

Our thanks to the following people who assisted in the preparation of this issue: Penny Andrews, Carol Bundy, Robert Cummings, Dinah, Ernest F. Dube, Chris Nteta and Nana Seshibe.

The South African government's claims about its educational system are contrasted with apartheid's realities

Education for Blacks in South Africa: Fact vs. Fiction

By Mokubung Nkomo

Ever since June 1976 — when Black student protests in Soweto and elsewhere were ruthlessly subdued by police and armed forces — Black South African students have been in protest against the educational system.

Students are quite aware that the educational system serves a critical function in the structure of apartheid and is designed to maintain total white domination. The system does this by educating Black people just enough to fulfill the demands of the South African economy but not enough to compete for power with white South Africans. Periodic changes made to meet the needs of the economy continue to conform to the goals set in 1953 by Hendrik Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, later Prime Minister:

> Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live.... The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community while he cannot and will not be absorbed there.[1]

In the nine years since Soweto, protests against the educational process for Blacks in South Africa have escalated. Students' grievances have ranged from the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction to the inferior, segregated education for Blacks and the entire system of apartheid. School boycotts, retaliatory school closures and student demonstrations broken up by tear gas and machine guns have been common. Increasingly the demands of students are being supported by their parents, independent trade unions, church and civic groups.

Other than the white regime's brutal response to students' protests, its reaction to demands for equity has been, in one sense, too little and too late. Instead of responding substantively to the demands for educational equity, the government has engaged in such theatrics as changing the name of the department responsible for African education three times in six years: from Department of Bantu Education to Department of Education and Training to, most recently, the Department of Cooperation, Development and Education.

Such "reforms" as the government has introduced are calculated to prevent genuine equity. These include: limiting the ages of students, thereby excluding older, more politicized students; attempting to prohibit boycotts by making school attendance mandatory; and, after finally granting students the right to democratically elect student councils, imposing a constitution and prohibiting any political activity by these councils.

For several years now the regime has employed sophisticated public relations gimmicks, both abroad and internally, to suggest that progress is being made. (In the United States, for example, the South African Information Service distributes a free curriculum package entitled "South Africa: Mosaic of Progress." The kit portrays a varied but tranquil society which is managed through a policy of separate development.[2]) The regime routinely points out with pride the fact that the number of schools, the enrollment and the total allocations for Black schools have increased substantially in the last few years. The fundamental issue of segregated education and the inferior curriculum that accompanies it — not to mention the basic issue of apartheid — are brushed aside. This article focuses on the South African government's claims about the educational system and contrasts them with reality.

Claim One: Education for all "national" groups in South Africa is of "equal quality."

Fact: Following the dictates of apartheid, there are four educational departments in South Africa — *i.e.*, white, Asian, "Coloured" and African. African education is further subdivided into ten ethnic groupings that correspond to the so-called "homeland" authorities. (The regime now claims these divisions ensure the maintenance of cultural and social integrity; formerly, it maintained that such divisions were in accord with "divine will.")

To test the "equal quality" claim, we simply have to compare the resources allocated to the various groups.

Per pupil expenditures. Expenditures on Black education have always been less than those for whites. For example, during the 1982-83 school year the per pupil expenditure for whites was $1,323; for Africans, it was $178 per student.[3] While the 1983-84 budget does show a 13.9 per cent increase for African education, white education recorded a 20.9 per cent hike for the same period.

Teacher-Student Ratios. Class size has always been greater in African, "Coloured" and Asian schools than in white schools, placing additional burdens on those teaching children of color and having an adverse impact on the learning process. In 1982, the elementary level teacher-student ratios were as follows: whites — 1:18.2; Asians — 1:24.3; "Coloureds" — 1:27.3; and Africans — 1:39.5.[4] (In the rural areas and in the

A History of Black Education under White Rule

1904: Special curriculum for African children introduced in Transvaal Province.
1905: Segregated state schools established in Cape Province.
1930: Communist Party runs night schools for Africans.
1953: Bantu Education Act—all mission schools placed under state control and expenditures limited. Mission education had often been on a par with education available to white pupils; from now on, education for Africans deteriorates.
1956: Protests against the establishment of Bantu Education, initiated by the African National Congress.
1959: Extension of Universities Act prohibits "open universities" from registering Black students; inferior segregated ethnic colleges established for Africans, "Coloureds" and Asians.
1970: South African Students Organization (SASO) established; it was inspired by Black consciousness and formed by Black students to represent Black students. Banned in 1977.
1976: Soweto protests set off by educational issues, particularly the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African schools.
1978: Founding of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Student Organization (AZASO). COSAS was banned in 1985.
1980s: Continued protests by Black students throughout the country, with numerous boycotts, marches, etc. met by violent government repression.

Source: "Info 84—A Folder of Facts and Figures on South Africa," published by the Human Awareness Programme, P.O. Box 95134, Grant Park 2051, South Africa.

"homelands" the Black class sizes are much greater.)

Teacher Training. Because of inadequate financial resources and training facilities, teacher training for Blacks has in general been poor. (Again, following apartheid's design, children are by and large taught by teachers of the same race.) For example, in 1979, the numbers of teachers in each group who had high school diplomas were: in African schools — 20.32 per cent; in Asian schools — 86.42 per cent; in "Coloured" schools — 37.24 per cent; and in white schools — 100 per cent.[5] These figures remain substantially the same in 1985.

Failure rate. The consequences of the regime's policies are dramatically illustrated by the high failure rate among African students. It is estimated, for instance, that at least a third of the African students in South Africa do not complete the first four years of schooling; roughly 50 per cent do not go beyond grade seven. The dropout rate at the elementary school level is particularly distressing since this contributes to a high illiteracy rate.

Only two per cent of the African students who enter school successfully complete their education 12 years later. Of those who enter high school, only 25 per cent are able to reach the 12th grade. (Moreover, failure rates in such basic subjects as English, mathematics and science are exceedingly high.)

Black schools have been in a constant state of crisis since 1976, with increased boycotting in the 1980s. The impact on students has been enormous. The chart below shows the decrease in the percentage of African students in the 12th grade who achieve either a matriculation exemption or a senior certificate. A matriculation exemption (col. 1) is earned by students who have made grades high enough to gain university admission. The senior certificate (col. 2) simply verifies high school attendance and the possession of minimal skills. In 1978, more than 75 per cent of these students earned one of these credentials, but by 1983, fewer than 50 per cent did (col. 3).

Credentials Earned by African Students

	Matriculation Exemption	Senior Certificate	Total
1978	33.0%	43.2%	76.2%
1980	15.7%	37.5%	53.2%
1983	9.8%	38.5%	48.3%

Figures taken from "In Pursuit of Learning" by Ken Hartshorne, *Human Resources* (1984-1985) p. 43.

When analyzing the quality of South African education, it is also instructive to compare the pass rates for the different groups. In 1980, the 12th grade pass rates for the four groups were as follows:

	Percentage of Passes[6]
Whites	95.0
Asians	85.7
"Coloureds"	56.3
Africans	53.2

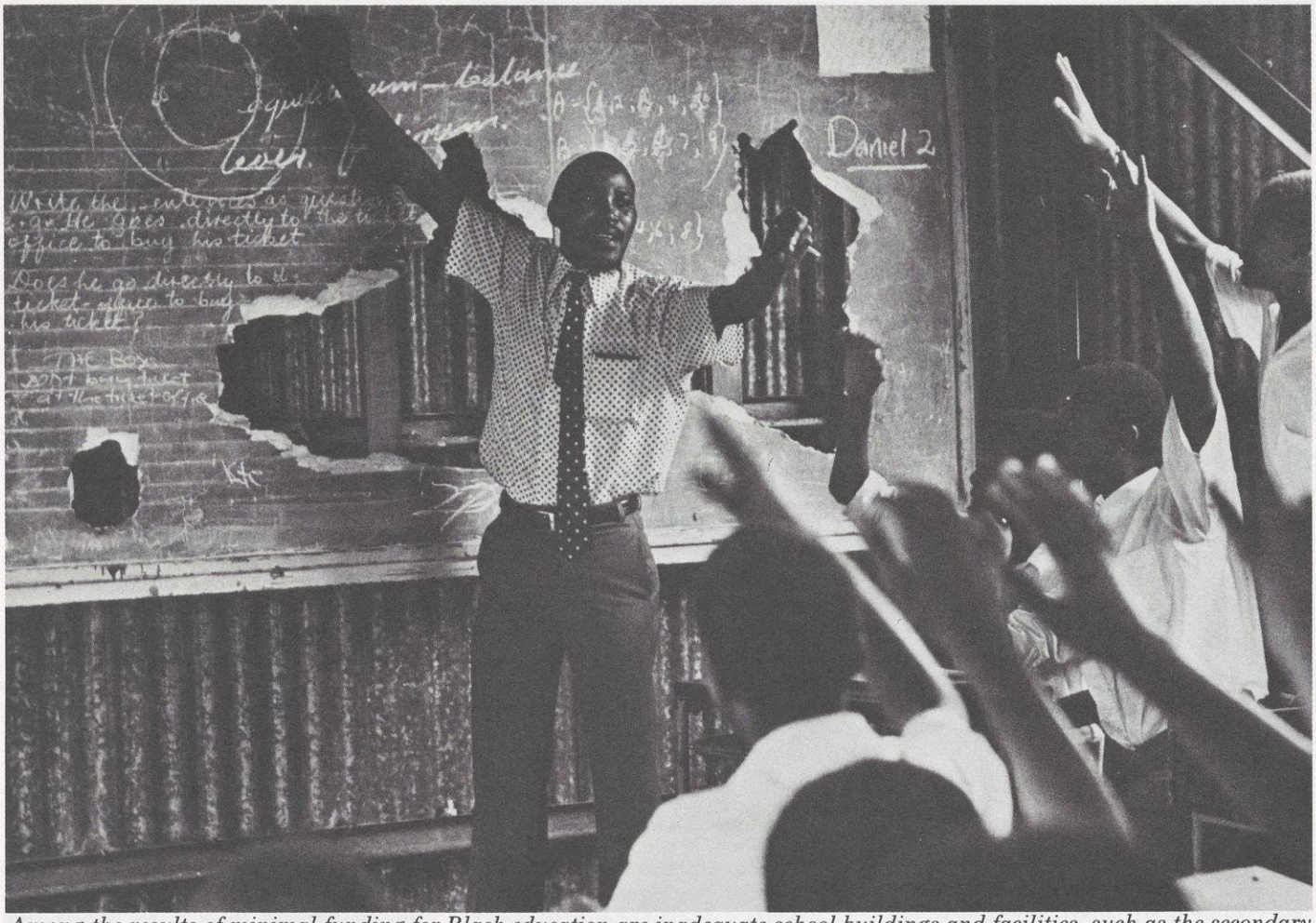
This profile indicates that the success or failure rate is a function of the resources that the regime allocates to each group according to its assigned position on the artificial race pyramid.

It should also be noted here that the current failure rates clearly stem from the policies put into effect after the passage of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 (see box). The government rationale that Blacks require separate education was belied by the very commission formed to design apartheid education; it concluded, "No evidence of a decisive nature was adduced to show that as a group the Bantu could not benefit from the education [they were receiving] or that their intelligence and aptitudes were of so special and peculiar a nature as to demand a special type of education."[7] In fact, it has been suggested that one reason apartheid education was introduced was because some of the missionary schools attended by African students "were not only competing very well with top white schools but were actually surpassing many of them."[8] Such results undermined the myth of white supremacy, so they had to be stopped.

The effects of the separate and unequal system were soon seen. As Philip Tobias, the dean of the Medical School at the University of Witwatersrand, noted:

> Under the policy of Bantu Education, there is no doubt that most of the youngsters have not been getting the training they should have — the right sort of math and physical science and biology and even English language. They lack the general cultural background . . . they used to have.[9]

Clearly, the regime's claim that there is education of "equal quality" or "equal standard" is patently untrue. The claim is as hollow and false as the now de-



Among the results of minimal funding for Black education are inadequate school buildings and facilities, such as the secondary school in Soweto shown above.

bunked U.S. concept of "separate but equal" education.

Claim Two: Education for Blacks in South Africa is "second to none" in Africa.

Fact: This claim is often part of a broader claim that the standard of living for Black South Africans is superior to that of Blacks in independent African states. This assertion is irrelevant at best and specious at worst. The essence of the struggle for social justice in South Africa does not hinge on the quality of life outside South Africa's borders, but rather on the differential benefits accruing to South Africans on the basis of race. The basic question is, do Blacks — whose labor has contributed significantly to the public treasury — receive an equitable share of the wealth? The answer is an emphatic no!

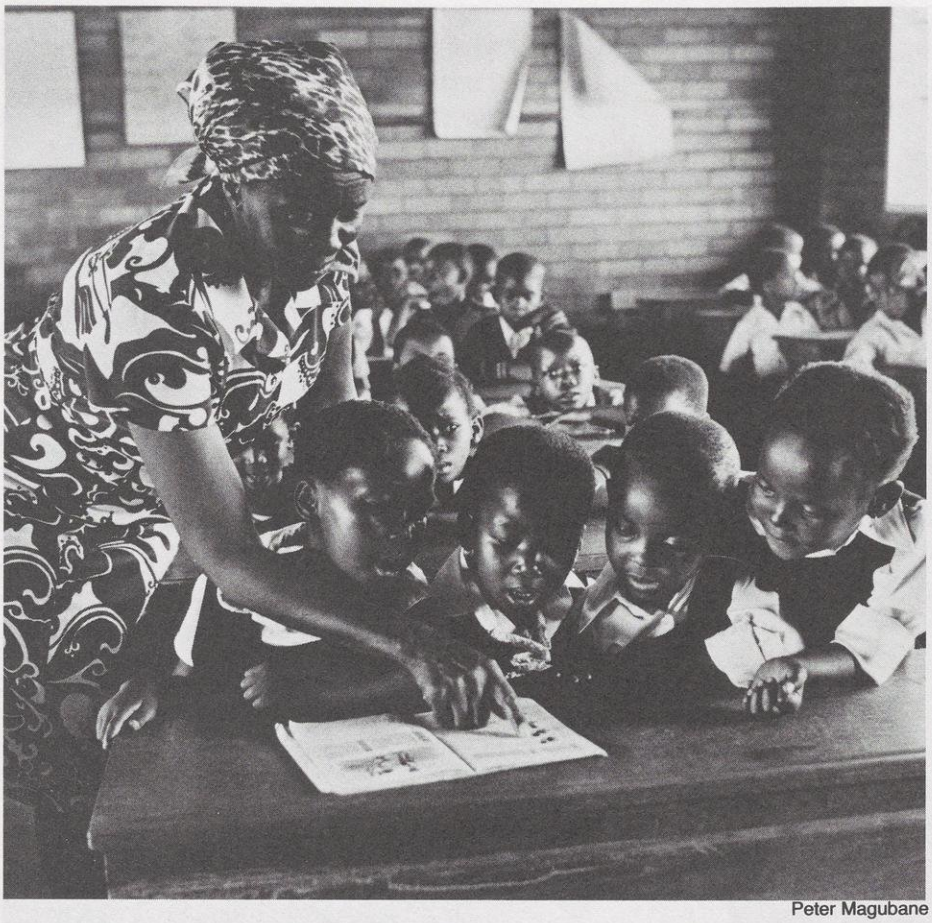
Now let us examine the claim to determine if there is any truth to it in spite of its irrelevancy. Twelve African countries were compared, focusing on such factors as spending on education, school population per teacher and similar factors. The study — which includes statistics on the education of South African whites, thereby skewing the applicability of these figures to Black education — reveals that:

- South Africa ranked fifth in per capita expenditure on education. (Keep in mind the vast difference in expenditures on white vs. Black students.)
- South Africa ranked sixth in school age population per teacher, being outranked by many countries whose GNPs are considerably lower. (In rural areas, the situation for Black students is much worse than suggested by this ranking.)
- South Africa ranked fifth in the proportion of the school age population in school. (We have noted above that the attrition rate for Black students reaches at least 50 per cent by the time they reach grade seven.)
- South Africa ranks third in terms of literacy rate with an overall rate of 65 per cent, but the literacy rate for Blacks is only 19.76 per cent (1982).[10]

Claim Three: That the recent introduction of compulsory education is the single most important step towards achieving equal education opportunities for all population groups.

Fact: Compulsory education for Africans was introduced in January, 1981 but on a gradual basis — the law is to be implemented "when the parent communities are in favor," a condition never required of whites. In that year, it affected only one per cent of the Black students — 40,000 children in a total student population of 3,532,234 involving 202 schools in 38 areas. Only the lower levels of primary school were covered, mostly in urban areas which had not been touched by the student protests.[11]

Paradoxically, but for understandable reasons, the African community's response to the regime's compulsory education policy has been most cynical. Coming as it did after the 1976–80 student



Peter Magubane

upheavals, the law is generally viewed as an attempt to end the school boycotts. Because of the severe financial penalties to be imposed on parents whose children are not in school, the law in effect seeks to obtain parent support through intimidation. The attempts to drive a wedge between parents and their children has not worked, as can be seen by the continued widespread school boycotts in 1984–85 and community support for such actions. In addition, an overwhelming majority of the African community rejected the 1981 legislation as tantamount to accepting inferior education. The general attitude was captured in a statement made by a community activist: "Compulsory education for what — Bantu Education?" The prevailing attitude is that it is a cruel joke for the regime to introduce compulsory education without upgrading the quality of Black education to the same level as that for whites. But even that is beside the point for it will still be segregated and therefore, within the context of apartheid society, unequal.

Moreover, compulsory education without free education is meaningless in the context of South African society.

In discussing free education, the government *White Paper* (1983) stated: "By 'free' is not meant entirely free. . . . 'Free' education indicates that the State accepts a responsibility for the financing of both capital and current expenditures."[12] No reference is made to the need to cover other crucial expenditures for Black students. Firstly, in most schools uniforms have to be worn and these are not inexpensive. Secondly, paper and other supplies have to be bought, and, finally, school fees (sometimes called "donations" or "administrative costs") have to be paid. The closely supervised Black school committees have the unsavory task of enforcing these requirements on a mostly indigent Black population.

In a country where in 1983 the average monthly wage in the mining and manufacturing sectors was $290 for Africans (in contrast with $1,392 for whites); where the unemployment rate for Africans hovered around 25 per cent; and where 63 per cent of Africans in the major urban areas had incomes below the household subsistence level, school costs are extraordinarily burdensome. The fact that white education *is* essentially free rankles all the more for those bearing this burden.

Tinkering with the System

In a recent "reform," the regime embarked, in 1982, on an accelerated program to develop technical and commercial high schools which are to be coordinated with the programs of technical colleges. This is part of a concerted effort to address the shortage of skilled labor which followed the Job Reservation Act, preventing Blacks from entering certain occupations.

These technical high schools are designed to train Blacks for such areas as electrical work, motor mechanics, metal work, fitting and machining, etc. They stress a "practical" orientation and deemphasize "theoretical" considerations. Education in its broader sense is thus being proscribed through the promotion of narrow technical and vocational training devoid of a conceptual framework.[13]

The cultivation of a semi-skilled and skilled Black labor force is, in part, a response to the shortage of white skilled labor. In addition, these workers are to be an integral part of a Black "middle class" designed to act as a buffer between the white minority regime and the vast Black population divested of even the most elementary citizenship rights in the country of their birth. While this Black "middle class" will possess technical skills, its training is calculated to emphasize self-interest and *de*emphasize social concerns and political consciousness. This group will be politically impotent to advance the general interests of Blacks, but more insidiously, it will see such strivings as antithetical to its narrow, vested interests. Whether this stratagem will succeed will not be discussed here: suffice it to say the current attack on Blacks who collaborate with the government seems to be the verdict the oppressed majority has cast on the divide-and-rule scheme.

University Education

Segregated education extends to the university level, where institutions are differentiated according to race and "ethnicity." There are universities for the Afrikaans-speaking population, for the English-speaking population, for the Asian population, for the "Coloured" population and for Africans. (The latter are further subdivided into ethnic categories. In order for Blacks to attend a

university not designated for their ethnic group, they must obtain special permission from the Minister of Education.) While Africans, Asians and "Coloureds" constitute 84 per cent of the population (1983), only 31 per cent attend universities. Seventeen per cent of these are Africans, of whom 41 per cent are enrolled at the University of South Africa as correspondence students (keep in mind that Africans constitute 73.5 per cent of the population). On the other hand, whites — who constitute about 16 per cent of the population — have 69 per cent representation in university enrollment.

The Black institutions do not have such departments as engineering, architecture, astronomy and physics. They do not have adequate financial support to acquire the necessary equipment, construct essential facilities or engage in advanced research projects. Eric Ashby, a noted British scholar, described ethnic Black universities in South Africa as "veritable academic concentration camps." (They have also been described as "glorified high schools.") As with Black schools, these ethnic universities have been paralyzed by protests which have led to the suspension of students, closures and even the killing of students. Their authoritarian administrations, in some cases Black, are generally viewed as instruments of the apartheid system which does not tolerate dissent, even in universities with their supposed rights to autonomy and academic freedom.

South Africa's claims of progress and the provision of an education that is "second to none," of "equal quality" and "compulsory" have been shown to be false. The racist regime possesses neither the capacity nor the will to envision, let alone undertake, the task of meaningful fundamental change.

In sum, the problems that Black students face range from simple practical concerns to fundamental issues regarding the intentions behind the education they are receiving. For example, some of the immediate pressing problems are:

- Poorly built schools with highly inadequate facilities;
- Extremely high student/teacher ratios;
- Lack of textbooks (and those that are supplied are biased);
- Inadequately educated and trained teachers who are very poorly paid;
- An authoritarian and highly regimented school system in which neither parents nor children are involved in decision-making at any level;
- Very low levels of math and science instruction (the instructional level is lower than for whites in all subjects, and exams are less demanding than in the white education system); and
- Inadequate funding (six or seven times more is spent per white student than per Black student).

What is needed, therefore is:

- A single department of education for *all* South African children; and
- Free and compulsory education for all up to and including high school.

In essence, apartheid education is an act of violence, an assault no less destructive and cruel than police and military brutality. Educational equity can only be achieved through the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of an anti-racist and democratic system for *all* South Africans. □

More about Education in South Africa

"Coloured" Schooling (population: 2,600,000)

- Total of 2,056 schools.
- Double sessions for 1,462 classes (38,714 pupils and 1,462 teachers).
- 769,282 "Coloured" students enrolled—79.4 per cent in primary school (K-7th grade) and 20.6 per cent in high school (8th-12th grades).
- Pass rates: 71.3 per cent of matriculation candidates passed, with university entrance granted to 15.1 per cent of total.
- 59 per cent of "Coloured" teachers are underqualified, *i.e.*, below post-matriculation certificate or diploma level.

Asian Schooling (population: 821,000)

- Total of 446 schools.
- Double sessions for 162 classes (5,426 pupils and 28 schools).
- 228,737 Asian students enrolled—66.9 per cent in primary school and 33.1 per cent in high school.
- Pass rates: 37.1 per cent passed with university entrance granted, 46.9 per cent matriculated and 16 per cent failed.
- 17.7 per cent of Asian teachers are underqualified.

NOTES

[1]A.N. Pelzer, ed., *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches 1948-1966* (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966), p. 83. The first sentence in quote can be found in David Welsh, "The Growth of Towns," p. 235; in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (eds.), *The Oxford History of South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 172-243.

[2]For a critical review of *Mosaic of Progress,* see Diana Wylie's "The Hypocrisy of Democracy: Apartheid in South Africa," *International Forum* (Yale University: February, 1983) and this *Bulletin,* Vol. 15, Nos. 7 & 8, p. 23.

[3]*The Star,* January 6, 1984.

[4]*S.A.I.R.R. Annual Survey* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1983), p. 465.

[5]David Smock, "Statistics: Education in South Africa" (Institute of International Education, 1981), p. 1.

[6]*S.A.I.R.R. Annual Survey 1983,* pp. 474, 483, 487, 491.

[7]W.W.M. Eiselen (chair), *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1951), par. 60.

[8]Ernst F. Dube, "The Relationship between Racism and Education in South Africa," *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 55, No.1, p. 96.

[9]Helen Friedman and Harold Friedman, "Black Education in South Africa," *Integrateducation,* Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-6 (Jan.-Dec., 1983), p. 10.

[10]Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures* (Leesburg, Virginia: World Priorities, 1982), p. 40.

[11]*Progress in Education for Blacks* Information Newsletter published and distributed by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information, 1981.

[12]*White Paper: On the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa* (Pretoria: Government Press, 1983), pp. 24-25.

[13]A related development is the so-called adopt-a-school program which pairs schools and businesses, with the latter providing financial and material support. This undertaking serves, at least in part, the same function as the U.S. corporate-sponsored PACE Commercial High School in Soweto, which seeks to instill the "virtues of the private enterprise system." See American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, "Project for the Planned Advancement of Community Education" (Johannesburg, 1979), p. 5; see also H. and H. Friedman, op. cit., p. 23.

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An analysis of South African history textbooks reveals how they function to maintain apartheid

Whose History? Black and White in South African History Textbooks

By Paul Hartmann and May Katzen

Our perceptions of the present and the future are conditioned by our understanding of the past, and history textbooks play a crucial role in forming that understanding. How do South African history textbooks influence the social and political thinking of that country's youth? A look at recent texts provides some troubling answers.

An analysis of 43 selected South African secondary school history texts was carried out during 1980 at the Centre for Mass Communication Research of the University of Leicester on behalf of UNESCO.[1] Most of the books examined were produced for the white educational system, but a few were designed for Black students. Most texts are available in both English and Afrikaans, though some are only printed in one language. We normally used the English version, unless one was not available. (There are not many secondary texts in African languages.) Most of the texts examined are still in use, but in any case, replacements do not differ drastically from those discussed.

We focused on the way these texts contribute to the shaping of public consciousness. We sought to assess how the texts' depiction of the past might serve to perpetuate the ideology, and hence the political and social arrangements, of apartheid and white supremacy in South Africa.

Our conclusion is that, on the whole, the view of the past offered by the textbooks is consistent with, and frequently actively supportive of, the continuation of present racial policies. There is little doubt that the history syllabus was designed, in part, to cultivate attitudes favorable to the maintenance of racial inequality.

In some instances this legitimating tendency is quite overt, as when apartheid is described approvingly and the arguments for it directly endorsed. More commonly, however, and perhaps more insidiously, legitimation operates indirectly as the texts encourage beliefs, attitudes and values that are part of the intellectual underpinning of the apartheid system or that form part of a world-view into which apartheid fits "naturally." There are a number of characteristic ways in which such ideological tendencies find expression in the textbooks. Some or all of the following are to be found in all the textbooks examined.

Pervasive ethnocentrism. History is presented from a white point of view. The texts are Euro-centric, with almost total neglect of the history of pre-colonial Africa, of Latin America and of Asia before the twentieth century. When looking at South African history, texts concentrate on the "progress" of the white groups. Little attention is paid to the concerns of Blacks, who are treated as a problem and an obstacle to the achievement of white objectives.

The glorification of nationalism. Nationalism is a major theme in the presentation of European history, and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism tends to dominate the telling of South African history, occasionally to the point where the English-speaking whites (as distinguished from the British authorities) appear almost as bystanders to the march of events.

African nationalism in Southern Africa is largely neglected, however. When it has taken the form of resistance to white domination (for example, with the African National Congress), texts suggest that it is misguided and illegitimate, inspired by "outsiders." Only when African nationalism can be presented as tribal loyalty or support for the "homeland" policy is it favorably commented upon.

The presentation of the past as a model for the present. This occurs most notably in the presentation of racial segregation, the racial division of labor and the pass laws that enforce these by controlling the movement of Blacks as normal practices sanctified by time, since they can be traced back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As one text states:

> From the early days of the White settlement in this country, Non-Whites have been the labourers.... Over the years it became the accepted thing for Non-Whites to do all the heavy work. This was how a Non-White working class developed....
>
> After the interior had been opened up by the Voortrekkers, the Blacks remained the labourer [sic]. In this way a division of labour based on race came into being in South Africa, with the Blacks as labourer in the employ of the White man.[2]

The presentation of the historically contingent as natural and inevitable. This ideological mechanism is closely related to the previous one. By playing down evidence to the contrary and presenting interpretation as fact, texts make events seem both necessary and desirable. (For example, as seen above, the racial division of labor in South Africa is presented as part of a natural order.) At the same time, books suggest that *un*desirable consequences flow from attempts to alter the natural state of affairs. For instance, the poverty of the new African states is made to appear as a consequence of Black majority rule and the departure of whites.

The perpetuation of myths. By oversimplifying and ignoring inconvenient facts, the texts present a history that is in line with the mythology of Afrikaner

nationalism. For instance, there is frequent allusion to the myth that the Boers (Afrikaner farmers) occupied an empty land when they trekked north during the nineteenth century, thus suggesting that this land "belongs" to whites. The myth that there has been no opposition by Blacks to apartheid policies is more subtly upheld by simply omitting any references to boycotts, defiance campaigns, strikes, etc., or by attributing such activities to outside agitators.

The discrediting of counter-ideologies. "Liberal" ideas concerning racial equality are discredited. Even the French Revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity are treated as suspect and inappropriate in the South African context. All texts that deal with the subject are explicitly anti-Communist. This is probably the area in which the textbooks exhibit the least "objectivity" and rationality. Either it is simply taken for granted that Communist ideas are unacceptable or "the evils of Communism" are stressed.

The assumption of Black incompetence. There is frequent reference to the idea that Black people have not reached a sufficiently high "stage of development" to enjoy full political and civil rights. The extended period of white guidance envisaged for the so-called South African "Black states" before they are granted full independence is explained in these terms. The notion is also reinforced when texts suggest that Black African countries became independent too soon, resulting in their current economic and political problems.

Racism and stereotyping. The texts' suggestion that Blacks are not ready for self-government is part of a more general—and pervasive—stereotype of Black people as primitive, ignorant, unintellectual and warlike. Underlying these stereotypes is the racist notion of white superiority and Black inferiority. While such racism is occasionally explicit, it is mostly implicit and often finds expression in the emphasis given to the "importance" of racial ancestry.

We may illustrate some of the characteristics cited above by looking at three sections of the secondary syllabus.

The Eastern Cape in the Early Nineteenth Century

This topic, covered early in the secondary school curriculum, looks at the beginning of the century when Britain seized the Cape from the Dutch, set up a form of British colonial administration and began to Anglicize the colony. This, coupled with new regulations on slavery and the employment of Blacks, angered the Dutch farmers. The period was also marked by an intensification of conflict between white and Xhosa farmers on the eastern frontier. About 10,000 of the white Afrikaans farmers (Boers) eventually went into the interior to set up independent Boer republics.

Apart from the British, the Boers and the Xhosa, there were people of mixed racial ancestry plus remnants of the indigenous Khoi people in the Cape colony, but all books present this period from a white perspective. Others, particularly the Blacks, are presented primarily as obstacles to the achievement of white objectives. (There are references to "the Bantu problem," "the Xhosa problem" and "the Hottentot [an insulting term for the Khoi people] problem," but nowhere is there mention of a "white problem," a "settler problem" or a "trekker problem.") The legitimacy of white objectives, which tend to be discussed in detail, is by and large taken for granted; Black objectives are seldom adequately explored and their lack of legitimacy is taken as self-evident.

Parallels with the present. Some texts draw parallels between the nineteenth century situation on the Eastern Cape Frontier and present-day South Africa so as to suggest that apartheid is justified by history or that the present is just a natural development of the past. The use of the terminology of apartheid to describe historical events serves the same end. Consider, for example, the infamous pass laws by which the movement, employment and right of abode of Africans are controlled and apartheid is enforced. Although earlier similar laws were repealed in 1828, texts suggest that such laws are tantamount to "natural." A text reports that after the slaves were freed, "many slaves left their previous employers and there was no Pass Law to control their movements." Later, the same book tells us that both Governors Bourke and Cole "allowed the Xhosa to cross the [Fish] river without passes" as part of their failure to enforce the policy of territorial separation. These statements take for granted that a pass law should form a normal part of any sensible policy. By implication, the present-day pass laws are made to seem unexceptional.

One text for Black schools, while pointing out that the pass law favored

Children's Fiction in South Africa

An in-depth analysis of the fiction read by South African children is much needed, but it proved impossible for us to obtain a complete or truly representative selection of children's books. In any case, given the realities of apartheid, any discussion of children's books in South Africa relates only to those groups who have access to such books and not to the overwhelming majority of South African children. The topic is further complicated by issues of censorship, South Africa's dependence on imported books and the fact that other aspects of apartheid take precedence in the anti-racist struggle.

The only existing study of children's literature that has come to our attention is a doctoral thesis by Andree-Jeanne Tötemeyer on children's literature in Afrikaans. This study traces the correlation between Afrikaner nationalism and the racist imagery in Afrikaans children's books. (Not surprisingly, Tötemeyer found that many of the themes and stereotypes outlined in the accompanying article on textbooks also appear in children's literature.)

In addition to children's books in Afrikaans, there is a considerable body of works in English, some written by South Africans but most of U.S. or British origin (see personal histories, page 16). A survey of the most popular books in English in Johannesburg schools found the list headed by Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty*; this was followed by Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, A. Holm's *I Am David*, Johanna Spyri's *Heidi*, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*, Tolkien's *The Hobbit*, Percy Fitzpatrick's *Jock of the Bushveld* (the only home-grown entrant), F. H. Burnett's *The Secret Garden* and Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer*. The same children, asked to indicate their favorite series of books, nominated to the first five places: F.W. Dixon's Hardy Boys Adventures, Enid Blyton's Famous Five Exploits, Carolyn C. Keene's Nancy Drew Books, Willard Price's "Adventure" series and Blyton's Secret Seven sequence.

We hope to publish an article on children's fiction in South Africa in a future issue of the *Bulletin*. Readers are invited to submit information and suggestions for this piece.—Editors

the whites, also lists some "benefits" the law had for the Khoi, such as teaching them good habits. When discussing the repeal of the early pass laws, the text states:

> Above all they [the Khoi] were free to offer or withhold their labour and therefore to improve their condition through their right to leave bad masters and remain with good ones. The evil men among them were also free naturally, to steal, cheat and trespass. The colonists immediately complained of the behaviour of these evil men. It soon became clear that many Hottentots had not yet reached the stage of development where they could appreciate and practise the political, economical, and social rights which were given to them by Ordinance No. 50 [by which the pass laws were repealed].[3]

Once again the pass system is supported and one of the legitimating ideas of the apartheid doctrine—the backwardness of Blacks—is reinforced by invoking the notion of "stages of development" with only the highest being entitled to civil rights.

When discussing the new slave regulations, one book has this to say:

> Between 1816 and 1834 a series of proclamations were issued which made the farmer feel that he was no longer master on his own farm. His authority was undermined by the appointment of slave protectors, the registering of punishment and the stopping of work between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. Slaves became cheeky.[4]

Blatant bias aside, it should be noted here that contemporary white South Africans hold cheekiness to be a cardinal fault in their "servants."

Finally we may illustrate the racist thinking that apartheid demands with an example from a text discussing different population groups. It offers the following astonishing piece of information: "It was scientifically estimated in 1977 that the Coloured people of today are an admixture of 34% white, 36% indigenous and 30% Asiatic blood."[5]

Contemporary South African History

This topic is taught at the most senior level of the secondary school system. Textbooks stress the history of the white groups until they reach the formal introduction of apartheid after 1948. After this, various people of color become the focus of attention, but each group is treated in separate sections of the texts. Such artificial divisions reinforce the notion that each group has a separate history and destiny. In other words, there is a kind of "textbook apartheid" in the structure of the books themselves which accords with the ideology of apartheid.

And, of course, the sections on people of color are presented from an entirely white perspective so that the history of Blacks, "Coloureds" and Asians becomes merely an account of white-imposed legislation.

An example of this "white perspective" occurs in a senior text written for Black students. Discussing the urban migration of landless and unskilled Afrikaners, competing for work with Black migrants in the early decades of this century, the book states: "The Poor White worker, himself unskilled, thus found that in unskilled ranks, preference was given to the Black worker who could afford to work for a far lower wage than the White worker."[6] The statement blames the victims of racist salary practices and implies that a low standard of living was (and is) acceptable for Blacks but not for whites.

Another book explains why a separate administrative system is necessary for Blacks:

> Ever since the earliest days the Whites had regarded themselves as guardians to the Blacks, and it was their task to lead the Black man to help him to develop and to protect his interests. This guardianship could best be pursued by means of a separate administrative system. . . .
>
> The Blacks differ from the Whites socially and economically. This difference is best recognised in a separate administrative system. Because the Black's level of achievement is lower than the White's in several fields (education, economic, social life), it would be unreasonable to administer him in the same way as the White person is administered.[7]

Note how educational and economic disparities between white and Black are presented as disparities in achievement rather than the result of apartheid. Later, the book states that a separate administration is there "to protect the interest, promote the welfare, and guide the development of the Blacks in a desirable direction." It is taken for granted that the "desirable direction" is determined by *whites*!

"If it takes one bulldozer 20 minutes to demolish three shacks, how long. . . ."

A chilling example of how South African education legitimizes the apartheid system is found in the geography syllabus for white students. The process of urbanization—and methods of controlling it—is part of the curriculum. Within this context, white South African children are prepared to answer an exam question requesting them—as "geographers"—to list the criteria they would look for in choosing a location on which 20,000 people will be "resettled."

Over 3,000,000 Black people have been removed from their homes, and a further 1,500,000 are under threat of removal. This removal policy has been called genocide by people who have seen its results, but the question suggests that resettlement is a legitimate, justifiable part of the process of controlling urbanization—instead of the deadly reality it is.

The Contemporary History of Africa

This section of the curriculum is also taught at senior level. The textbooks' treatment of contemporary African history accords with the official South African view. With one exception, the textbooks tend to generalize about African countries from a limited and ethnocentric perspective. They dwell upon the problems in the newly independent states (particularly instances of conflict, military takeovers and one-party systems) and tend to attribute political and economic difficulties to what is seen as the premature departure of "the white man" from the continent. Little attention is paid to the consequences of colonialism on either the political or economic development of these countries.

The treatment of China's interest in Africa provides an opportunity for anti-Communist propaganda. One senior text, for instance, explains that African countries have been dependent on overseas aid from the West since independence, but that recently there has been alarm at the appearance of China on the African scene. This is followed by a lengthy excerpt from a 1973 magazine article that the textbook recommends as an "excellent" account.

The excerpt portrays the Chinese as covert, unscrupulous and inscrutable, describing them as "drab," "unassuming," "patient," "secretive," "coldly calculating," "invaders" and "a coloured race," among other things. Readers are told that China ferries "thousands of little men into Dar es Salaam, like termites burrowing into the foundations of a building"—

> They arrive in Dar es Salaam harbour by the hundreds in Chinese ships, all dressed in identical baggy uniforms with peaked caps and wearing Mao badges, looking for all the world like so many automatons of an assembly line. Each picks up a cardboard suitcase — unmarked and exactly like all

South African history textbooks present history from a white point of view, concentrating on the "progress" of white groups and ignoring the results of apartheid policies—such as the poor living conditions in Black townships like Soweto, shown above. (Photo: United Nations/Contact)

the others, so the contents must be exactly the same.[8]

The magazine from which the article was taken (*To the Point*) turned out to be secretly funded by the South African government as a propaganda vehicle, though this scandal did not emerge until several years after the textbook was published.

Conclusion

It should be noted that there *were* instances where textbooks sought to correct common historical misconceptions, to pay more attention to Black points of view, and to impartially present all the relevant evidence on certain points. (Some books, for instance, include examples of historical writing against the dominant ideology.) Such instances were, however, the exception rather than the rule, and they were generally subservient to the ideological tendencies that we have illustrated. All in all, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these texts are better able to serve narrowly conceived white nationalistic purposes than the more academic function they purport to fulfill. □

NOTES

[1]The study is based on an analysis of 43 textbooks (39 in English, four in Afrikaans) by 14 different authors for Standards 5-10 (grades 7-12). The books were selected from a list of textbooks approved by the Department of Education of the Transvaal Province, where 50 per cent of South Africa's school population (Black and white) is educated. The texts are used by white, "Coloured" and Asian students and, often, by Black students as well (particularly in the higher grades). The syllabus is divided approximately evenly between General (*i.e.*, European) History and South African (*i.e.*, white) History. For a full report of this analysis, see *History in Black and White* by Elizabeth Dean, Paul Hartmann and May Katzen, UNESCO, 1983.

[2]Joubert, C.J. (1979), *History for Standard 10* (Johannesburg: Perskor), p. 232.

[3]Van Rensburg, A.P.J.; Schoeman, J.; Vorster, B.J. (1976), *Active History, Standard 8* (Pretoria: De Jager-HAUM), pp. 79, 81.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 110.

[5]Van Jaarsveld, F.A. (1974), *New Illustrated History, Standard 8* (Johannesburg: Perskor), p. 93.

[6]Van Rensburg, A.P.J.; Schoeman, J. (1980a), *Active History, Standard 9* (Pretoria: De Jager-HAUM), p. 189.

[7]Joubert, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[8]Boyce, A.N. (1974b), *Europe and South Africa, Part 2: A History for Standard 10* (Cape Town: Juta), p. 203.

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A look at how the library system in South Africa—like all other institutions there—is designed to buttress and perpetuate apartheid

The South African Library System—Unequal Funding, Unequal Service

By Mokubung Nkomo

We assume, in the U.S., that the primary function of libraries is to provide public access to information "for the public good." Does the library system in South Africa meet—or attempt to meet—this goal?

In spite of the confusion caused by the race-based system of data reporting, it is clear that the South African library system is designed to *limit* public access. For both school and public libraries, this is accomplished in two ways: (1) an inequitable allocation of resources, with the tiny white minority receiving a disproportionately large share and the great majority of the population—Blacks, "Coloureds," Asians—receiving little or no funds; and (2) a censorship system that keeps a broad range of books out of the public reach.

Prior to the 1984 constitutional revision, all public libraries outside of the "homelands" (white, Black, Asian, "Coloured") were under the control of the white provincial administrations (see fact sheet, p. 28). As the various "homelands" were designated "self-governing" or "independent," these "homeland governments" had been assigned responsibility for the administration of public libraries in those areas. Under the new constitution, the funding and administration of the white, "Coloured" and Asian services will be handled by their respective "parliaments." Since there is no Black Parliament, library services for Black South Africans will continue to be under the jurisdiction of the "homeland governments" or the (white) Bantu Administration Board, which is, in turn, responsible to the (white) Department of Cooperation, Development and Education.

The new parliamentary organization will in no way change the existing inequalities. To date, for example, white libraries have been allocated ten times more funding than the systems for Blacks (see chart). It is difficult for Black people to become qualified librarians in sufficient numbers, and those that do, receive such low pay and are forced to work under such abominable conditions that many eventually decide to change their professions.

Because of the funding inequities, the white community enjoys a full range of library services, while other communities have, at best, access to only basic reader services. Such libraries as do exist in Black communities are unable to provide all other functions associated with libraries (research facilities, scientific data, electronic information, audio-visual resources).

Very few African townships, for instance, have buildings that can even properly be referred to as libraries. Such facilities exist only in the big townships connected to the larger cities (Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth). In smaller townships, vacant rooms in schools or churches are often used as libraries, if a librarian can be found to administer the facility.

Black libraries are severely limited in the number of books they can afford, but in addition, the selection process itself is controlled by the white provincial libraries, which have been responsible for providing books to the African, "Coloured" and Asian townships. (No person of color is known to be involved in the library book selection process.) While specific titles may be requested, reports indicate that most requests from Black communities are ignored.

In the so-called homelands the situation is even more desperate. Because such areas have been designated as either "self-governing homeland" or "independent homeland," the white provincial government no longer has the responsibility of providing any resources for libraries. This responsibility has shifted to the "homeland governments," the vast majority of which are unable to afford such basic services as education, health care, housing or transportation—let alone library services.

This was illustrated when some concerned African librarians attempted to establish a library in the Makweng homeland township near Pietersburg. Space was found at a local church and books were requested from the Transvaal Provincial Library Service, which customarily lends books to communities with a site and a volunteer librarian. The African librarian was referred to the Education Department of the Lebowa "homeland," which responded with a categorical "no" because funds for such a facility were unavailable.

School libraries for Africans—like public libraries—are administered by the Department of Cooperation, Development and Education in Pretoria. Each "homeland" has an education department responsible for library services but the ultimate financial control lies with Pretoria.

As with public libraries, funding is based on race, and the discrepancies between Black and white school libraries are stark. All white secondary schools with more than 400 students have well-designed central school libraries staffed by qualified school librarians. This is not so in Black schools. There are very few libraries in Black schools; those that exist are poorly stocked and qualified teacher librarians are rare.

A comparison of school libraries in one province illustrates this point further. According to the 1980 *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, the all-white Transvaal Education Department has 19 qualified teacher librarians on the administration staff alone. There are seven school library advisors (for white schools only), each assigned to a specific

area in the province. They visit schools in their districts regularly and offer help to both librarians and other school personnel. The joint holdings of the 912 white secondary and primary school libraries in the Transvaal are over 4 million. Such services and resources are simply not available to Black schools. The inspectors for Black schools theoretically also serve as library advisors, but there are so few libraries that this function has become defunct. (In the "homelands," school inspectors do not even have library qualifications.)

Inadequate library services for Blacks is not the only device the government uses to curb the free exchange of ideas and knowledge. It also employs a censorship system which affects all segments of the population. A book can be banned if it does not meet the religious and moral sensibilities of the South African neo-Calvinist credo (called National Christian Education in the educational field), if it suggests—even vaguely—alternative social, economic or political systems (particularly if they are non-racist and non-exploitative), or if it promotes critical thinking of the kind that will lead to opposition to the South African social order.

The banning process is, to put it mildly, often arbitrary and quixotic. For instance, some of an author's works will be banned while others are not. A volume will be "saved" if the Censorship Board construes that it supports the policy of separate development or demonstrates the "inherent incompatibility of the races to coexist."

Many books by South African writers, especially those living in exile, are banned. Sometimes a non-banned book that is controversial—or seen as potentially controversial—is simply not purchased.* For example, in one large Cape Province service area (1984), all of Dennis Brutus' anthologies, all of Lewis Nkosi's works and one of Peter Abraham's books are banned, as are six titles by Alex La Guma, two by Bloke Modisane, three by Es'kia Mphahlele and one by Richard Rive. Black authors from the U.S. whose works are banned (either partially or wholly) or listed as not in stock include W.E.B. DuBois, Shirley Graham DuBois, Lorenz Graham, Langston Hughes, Kristin Hunter, Ann Petry and Alice Walker. The arbitrary patterns hold true for authors from other countries as well. Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism*, *Toward the African Revolution* and *The Wretched of the Earth* are banned, but not *Black Skin, White Masks*. Wilfred Cartey's *The Africa Reader* is banned, but his *Whispers of a Continent* is not; three of the six books by Kwame Nkrumah are banned; all of C.L.R. James' works are banned.

The South African government's policies regarding libraries—like its educational policies in general—are designed to buttress and perpetuate apartheid. The library system serves apartheid by promoting ignorance and illiteracy among Blacks. It also serves to stifle the healthy development of whites, since through censorship it contributes to white ignorance of the cost and danger inherent in a privileged existence forcibly maintained at the expense of vast numbers of fellow human beings. Thus, the apartheid system—library services for Blacks being one example of how that system functions—is a malignant social system that not only destroys the victims but also the oppressors. □

*One South African Librarian writes that the censorship system "does have the horrible effect of librarians imposing their own censorship.... In a system that acknowledges and will usually act upon just one person's complaint, we can't afford to buy books which will obviously offend, get banned and have to be withdrawn from stock (taking into consideration we are responsible for [tax payers'] money in the purchasing of books). However, we take chances whenever we can."

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Library Services in South Africa: A Comparison

	POPULATION (EXCLUDING "HOMELANDS")	NUMBER OF LIBRARIES AND DEPOTS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER LIBRARY	MEMBERSHIP	MEMBERSHIP AS % OF POPULATION	RAND SPENT
TRANSVAAL PROVINCE						
Black (all sections)	5,983,340	122	1:49,043	91,436	1.5%	R504,940
White	2,140,760	405	1: 5,285	489,375	22.8%	R5,053,791
NATAL PROVINCE						
Black (all sections)	2,112,660	63	1:33,534	52,932	2.5%	R117,504
White	496,560	166	1: 2,991	168,997	34.0%	R110,777
CAPE PROVINCE						
Black (all sections)	3,822,580	124	1:30,827	152,511	4.0%	NA
White	1,183,980	332	1: 3,566	421,366	35.5%	NA
ORANGE FREE STATE						
Data not available						

Apartheid determines the nature of education in South Africa (see p. 5); five South Africans discuss their experiences

Education in South Africa: Five Personal Accounts

Dedicated Teachers Helped Me Survive

By Sakumzi Macozoma

For my family, education of the children became a monomania. As the first born, I was expected to set an example that my sisters and brother could follow. In 1963, my parents sent me to a primary school in Kwazakele, Port Elizabeth, about three-quarters of a mile from our home. At that time the Bantu Education system was less than ten years old, and it was still in the process of uprooting the previous system. (Bantu Education had introduced the so-called Mother Tongue Instruction at primary levels: students were taught in the local language until they graduated from primary school, then instructions were given in English.)

We were more than 80 children in a classroom designed for 30. Most children spent three years in the Sub-A class (only Blacks had to do two "sub-classes"). The teacher divided the classroom into three sections: the new students sat in front on the floor, those who had been there a year and showed some progress sat in one corner of the room, and those who were being prepared for the next standard (Sub-B) sat in another corner. The teacher spent more time with the latter group.

Because there were so many of us, the teacher could never know all our names; this proved to be a bonanza for us when we discovered we could get rejects from the fruit canning factories and Cadbury's at a nearby refuse dump. It took the teacher almost three months to discover that many of us spent more time there than in the classroom.

When my teacher reported my absences to my parents, they were devastated. My grandparents, who'd always maintained that the city was no place to raise children, persuaded my parents to send me to the Anglican Mission School in the Transkei, where they lived. Thus, in 1964 I started my schooling all over again at All Saints Higher Primary School. The Transkei, which had been granted "self-government" in 1963, had decided to use English as a medium of instruction at the primary level. Because it was the only district to do this and thus provided a better grounding for future education in English, it attracted students from the urban areas whose parents did not like the Mother Tongue Instruction rule.

On the whole, All Saints was a school that had survived Bantu Education and what I learned there provided the base for all my education since. (I should note, however, that the school's teacher training institute had been closed when Bantu Education was introduced and the government seized church-controlled schools, particularly those training teachers. The rationale was to control the education of teachers and thereby the education of Blacks.)

On graduating from All Saints I went to a high school controlled by the Dutch Reformed Church, the church of the ruling Afrikaners. In the two and a half years I spent there, I learned a lot about what is called the "Afrikaner mentality." The staff of the school was about 20 per cent white, but whites controlled the administration and the principal used "divide and rule" tactics with the Black staff with remarkable success.

It was here that I first understood that there was something wrong with the political system in South Africa. The realization came in fragments. I was first struck by the oddity of the fact that the official history of Blacks in South Africa starts in 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck colonized the Cape. When I started questioning my teachers about this, most would not or could not answer my questions. An incident that I still remember vividly occurred when we were taught about the 1820 British settlers in the Eastern Cape. The teacher said that one problem the British had was that "kaffirs" (derogatory word for Blacks) stole their cattle in 1822. I was surprised. I asked her if the settlers had brought cattle from England. She said no. I asked her how it came about that hardly two years after landing at Algoa Bay empty-handed, they could have had so many cattle as to be the target of theft from a people who owned cattle in the area for hundreds of years. She had no answer and threatened me with discipline. I did not realize that I had touched the nerve of white domination—historical distortion.

I did not survive another year at that school. In 1973 I was expelled from the school and from ever attending schools in the Transkei. I lost a school year, but by then I had noticed that kids who had gone through the Mother Tongue Instruction had problems adjusting to English as a medium of instruction. I went to

a high school in Zwide Township, Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape area. There my political perception grew, thanks to a few conscientious teachers. Bantu Education had managed to weed out most of the "politically-minded" teachers and new teachers were educated in tribalized schools from childhood up, so that most either did not care or knew nothing. Still, there was a corps of dedicated teachers that held to the idea of education as a liberator and tried to instill it in their students. Those of us who survived Bantu Education owe a lot to those individuals. They always went beyond the syllabus in order to impart coherent and relevant knowledge to their students. Such a teacher said to me: "My child, I want you to understand that most of your education will be outside this classroom; read, investigate and question." I owe a lot to him.

On the whole, though, the Bantu Education school was not an ideal place for education. There was a serious shortage of qualified teachers and equipment. For the first two years of my secondary school, we had no math teacher. When one was appointed, Mr. X turned out to be a brilliant alcoholic, absolutely useless as a teacher. Most schools did not have science laboratories, so fewer and fewer people remained in the sciences. Many of us became math illiterates. Bantu Education succeeded in that respect; in introducing the Bantu Education Act hadn't Prime Minister Verwoerd said something like: "What is the point of teaching a Black child mathematics if he/she won't have a place to use it?"

By the mid-70's, the government may have thought that it had succeeded in making Black students docile, but several university student organizations such as the Students Christian Movement (SCM) were providing a training ground for future student activists. I had learned of the South African Student Organization (SASO) in the early 70's from a teacher who talked to a few of us about SASO and what it stood for. My interest was great but literature about the organization was hard to get.

I joined the South African Student Movement (SASM), formed to cater to high school students, in 1975. SASM discussions helped us to focus on Bantu Education as a particular political problem in South Africa. Organizing for SASM was a difficult job because of student and teacher informers, but political consciousness in the high schools was heightened when Afrikaans was introduced as a medium of instruction in the Black schools. Although the law did not affect schools in our area because no one could teach in Afrikaans, Kwazakele High School students joined the national struggle on August 17, 1976 and to this day the East Cape has been on the forefront of student and worker organization.

After the uprisings of 1976, many students were forced to flee the country; others were detained and imprisoned. I spent some time in prison because of my involvement in the protests. On my release, I became a field worker for the South African Council of Churches, working with political prisoners and their families and also advising victims of influx control laws. I also registered with the University of South Africa. Studying privately was extremely difficult because of problems such as overcrowding at home and lack of electricity. Most of the time I would study with a candle when everybody was asleep until the early hours of the morning and then go to work the following day. I obtained the B.A. degree with distinction in African Politics in 1953.

In 1982 friends learned of a scholarship for Black South Africans to study in the United States. I was awarded a four-year scholarship to Boston University, where I am now enrolled in a master's program in journalism and Afro-American studies. Now that I am about to graduate, I have been thinking about work opportunities in South Africa. The closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* seems to suggest that the day of relatively liberal newspapers in South Africa is over. The future for me seems to lie in community newspapers which have mushroomed all over the country in the past few years. □

About the Author

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Education Impoverishes Us All

By Amelia House

I grew up in Wynberg, a small town close to Cape Town, and attended a Methodist primary (elementary) school reserved for so-called Cape "Coloureds." Division based on shades of color and hair texture was a reality I faced at a young age as my family had been split into several different groups when the laws of separation were strictly enforced according to the Population Registration Act of 1950.

When I started school, we followed the supposedly separate but equal rule with the same curriculum as all other students, but by 1963 (when I was teaching), separate curriculums—with inferior courses of study for Blacks, Asians and "Coloureds"—were fully in place. We were, however, expected to compete on "equal" grounds with the whites at exam time, even though our curriculum was not as rigorous and the government deliberately kept the pupil/teacher ratio high and allocated us very little money for materials or equipment. My English high school library, for instance, consisted of a few rows of partly filled shelves and our access to the public libraries was limited as only a few days were set aside for Blacks. (The disparity between the monies spent on Blacks and whites cannot be over-emphasized.)

It was for me a matter of pride that I passed my Senior Certificate with Exemption from the Matriculation Board. I could proceed to University. I went on to train as a teacher at Hewatt Training College.

There, for the first time, I experienced first hand the condescension of white teachers for at the university level, unlike undergraduate schools, Black and "Coloured" students are often taught by whites. Our Educational Psychology teacher repeatedly told us that the minds of Blacks do not develop beyond the age of ten years and that we Black students were merely exceptions to this general rule. (He also emphasized that he did not expect too much from us since we could not have developed greatly beyond the norm.)

The woodwork teacher—who prided himself on being a Christian—relished

"putting Blacks in their place," and he constantly referred to the students as pigs. When the head of our student government objected, the teacher addressed the entire student body. He began by saying that since we managed to get to college we were probably the cream of our people and that the student chosen as our leader must be the best among us; he ended with, "If I think your best is a pig, just what should I call the rest of you!" The Black faculty members were aware of the treatment we received, but they apparently had no desire to jeopardize their own positions.

At the end of two years, I was awarded a diploma, a "Coloured Primary Advanced Teacher's Certificate," which qualified me to teach intermediate and junior high grades to "Coloured" students only. My first teaching assignment was with a class of 55 students who varied greatly in age and background. Some students were the children of teachers, nurses or doctors, but the majority were from the shanty town of Windermere. Much of my teaching day was spent on "social welfare"; much of my meagre salary was spent on clothes and food for the children.

At that time there was much talk about compulsory education for all, but no new school buildings were proposed and Black teachers were expected to begin working double shifts for the same salary. Parents were still expected to buy many school supplies and to pay fees. Farmers could demand that the children living on their land work in the field come harvest time, causing them to miss school for weeks at a time.

In the early 60's much pressure was put on teachers to develop separate study courses for different racial groups. After I earned a B.A. from the University of Cape Town and became a high school teacher, I was approached to develop a syllabus for an English course for "Coloured" children. When I refused, I was accused of insubordination.

The education policy of the South African government continues to impoverish all the people of South Africa, culturally, technically and spiritually. It has, however, successfully served its principal function of buttressing apartheid and maintaining white domination. □

About the Author

AMELIA HOUSE is a first grade teacher at Crittenberg Elementary School in Fort Knox, Ky. After leaving South Africa, she taught in England for ten years. She is an internationally published writer of poems, short stories and critical articles.

We Could Have Been Living in Separate Countries

By Dinah

Although I was born and raised in South Africa, the education I received was modelled on the British system of education for "young ladies" and my literary upbringing was almost entirely European. It must be understood that in South Africa, it is not only the Black people who are separated from the white people, but also the Afrikaans-speaking people from English-speaking people. From pre-school years through university, there are English-speaking schools and Afrikaans-speaking schools. My knowledge of Afrikaans culture and history—let alone Black history and culture—was therefore very limited.

I practiced the art of reading with Enid Blyton, the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen. I read stories about Robin Hood, King Arthur, Hannibal and "The Children of the New Forest." These stories were set on the "moors," in "dells" filled with "bluebells" and there was snow at Christmas time. These things I saw for the first time when I went to Europe as an adult. This European perspective was reflected in our rituals. Our Christmas trees—decorated in the heat of midsummer—had pieces of cotton stuck on them to represent the snow, but we spent Christmas Day at the beach.

My only early childhood book with an "African" flavor was Rudyard Kipling's "Just So Stories." The inventions of a British adventurer and imperialist, these stories purport to be "creation myths" about African wildlife—for example, "how the leopard got its spots," "how the elephant got its trunk," "how the camel got its hump." They are wildly imaginative and filled with "atmosphere," but they had little to do with my own experiences. They certainly are not respectful towards African people, who, when they are acknowledged at all, are seen as part of the "exotic wildlife," just emerging from the animal kingdom to take their positions as domesticators of the wild animals.

At the Anglican boarding school I attended, I was taught the manners and attitudes of an "upper-class" English lady. This was designed to even further alienate me from the rest of my countrymen/women. The atmosphere was one of contempt for almost everyone else in the country—Afrikaners as well as all the Black population groups in South Africa.

The English literature we studied consisted of Dickens, Shakespeare and the Romantic poets. We had two South African textbooks in English. The first, *The Lost World of the Kalahari* by Lawrence van der Post, is an anthropological travelog of the author's journey into the Kalahari desert to study the "Bushmen." The San are depicted as savages living on the "lowest" anthropological development scale as "hunters and gatherers."

The second book (the title of which I've forgotten) was about South African child-heroes. The young protagonists are Afrikaners and their acts of heroism take place during the conflicts between the Afrikaner trekkers and the Zulu and Xhosa armies during the "Great Trek." I felt a conflict of identity in this situation because my parents had taught me to distrust the official (Afrikaans government) view of the Xhosa and Zulu armies. In the conflicts between the Afrikaner farmers and the English army during the Anglo-Boer wars, I identified with the British. Yet I could not help but identify too with the brave children. What was even more appealing about these stories was the familiar landscape, food, attitudes and place-names. So, it was with discomfort and guilt that I read them, over and over again.

Our books in Afrikaans (as a "bi-lingual" country we studied Afrikaans) were about the Afrikaners in their pre-urban times, when the "volk" (people) were fighting for their language and religion. Life was simple, adversity had to be overcome and there was adventure and romance in the "veld" (bush). Everything was in its place in a rigid, authoritarian and patriarchal culture. This culture was foreign to me at this time. It was only later at university, when I studied the Afrikaner nationalist movement (the political movement which resulted in the election of the present nationalist government, in power since a year before I was born), that I remembered these stories and was able to understand the

forces behind the Afrikaners' political ideology.

Leisure reading at secondary school consisted almost exclusively of British and American books — The Hardy Boys, Nancy Drew, the *My Friend Flicka* series, Alistair McLean, Mary Stewart and Ian Fleming. The characters are white and wealthy and concerned with mystery, adventure and romance, all in northern hemisphere settings—by now a familiar backdrop to me for fiction.

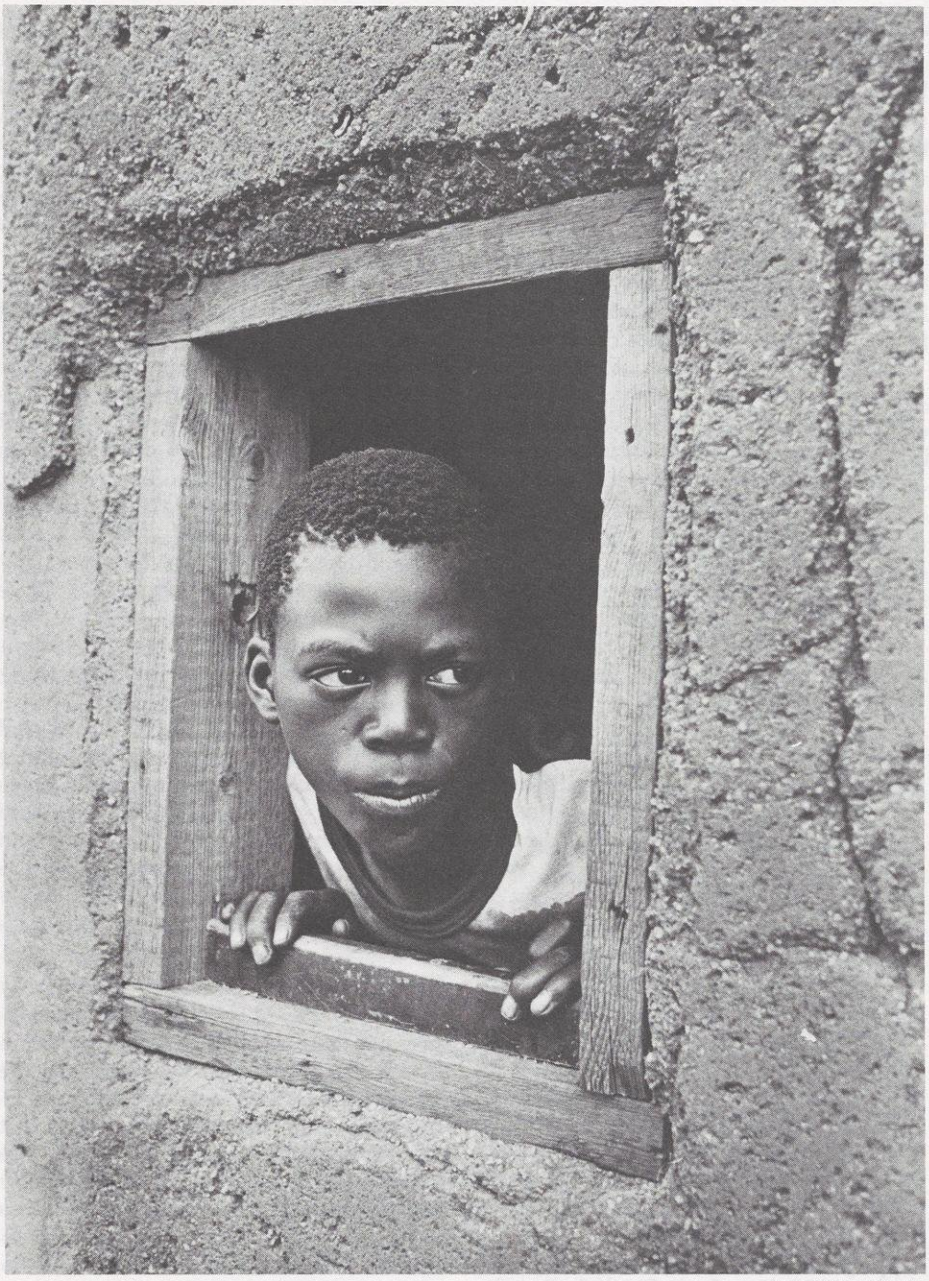
The first time I read truly African stories was in Xhosa class at university level—after 18 years of schooling. I was captivated by the highly developed and sophisticated system of debate and consensus which operates in Xhosa society and by the quality of "Ubuntu" (humanity, "humanness") which permeates the social relationships and the philosophies of the African peoples of South Africa. An additional appeal was that these qualities are in striking contrast to the rigid style of the South African government.

It was at university level, too, that I first became aware of Black and white South African writers—and Black writers from other English-speaking African countries—with whom I could identify. I was introduced to the works of Athol Fugard, Nadine Gordimer, Es'kia Mphahlele, Albert Luthuli, Alan Paton, Wole Soyinka, Olive Schreiner and others. This, I must point out, was only because my field of study was African studies and African languages; other students didn't necessarily read them. (Such books are only available at university bookstores or special Africana bookstores, so they are read by few South Africans.)

So, until I reached university and chose African Studies as my field of study, I read no South African (or African) literature that had any resemblance to my own experiences. The effects of this educational and literary separation from both my compatriots and my country were devastating. The cultural gaps between me and other South Africans were as difficult to bridge as if we had been living in separate countries. Fundamentally, this situation has not changed since I graduated from university nor will it—not as long as apartheid (apartness) continues. □

About the Author

DINAH, formerly a research and information officer in a South African civil rights organization, is now living and working in New York City.



Peter Magubane

Learning Was Defiance

By Dumisani Kumalo

I began school in Evaton, a village twenty miles south of Johannesburg. When I went to school, white education was compulsory and virtually free — and still is today. Yet, I, like other Black students, had to pay school fees to the government. If your parents could afford the fees you could get an education. But, if your parents could afford the fees but not the uniform, you couldn't get an education. If your parents could afford a uniform and school fees but no books, you still couldn't get an education.

And then, even if all fees were paid, you couldn't go to school if you didn't have a "Christian" name — meaning a

name that whites could pronounce. We would often lead dual lives. At home I was Dumisani. At school I became Shadrack. Every so often, the government inspectors would come and check the school register for Christian names and if we had paid our school fees. Those that hadn't paid were sent away.

In spite of the fees paid to the government, Black education was often left up to the community. In other words, the government didn't build schools for Black students, so my parents had to help build mine. They had to buy the furniture; they had to buy the books, the chalk and help pay the teacher's salary.

The school I went to was just four mud walls and a corrugated iron roof. During the summer the school was like an oven because there were only little holes for windows. When it rained — or hailed — we couldn't hear each other speak because of the corrugated iron roof. We had to wear uniforms — black gym dresses and white shirts for the girls, black pants and white shirts for the boys. But we had no chairs so we had to sit on the ground — the dusty ground. We had nothing. I left home wearing a nice pressed white shirt and nice black pants, but I came home dusty and dirty.

We had one teacher for a class of 120. All the grades were mixed up together. The teacher — who had one small piece of blackboard to teach us with — divided us into two shifts, one from 7 to 1 o'clock and the next from 1 to 5. Teachers were tough. They wanted to make sure we learned as much as we could in that short time. The teacher in my school was paid $20 a month to teach 120 kids per day (under rotten conditions). Teaching was something done out of love. It wasn't a career; it was a calling.

When I started school in 1953, Africans could be taught in English. But the following year, they changed the law and Bantu Education was introduced. Now Black children could be taught just enough to become the "better tool of the white man." This meant that we had to be taught in our "mother tongue." In other words, if you were a Zulu you had to be taught in Zulu. But the trick was that there were no books in Zulu. We had to read a book in English, translate it in our heads into Zulu and then write the exams in Zulu.

But we always wanted to learn. Since the government made it so difficult to get an education, we had to prove that we could. Learning became a defiance for us. It was one of the few things they couldn't take away. In old Zululand, a man's worth was judged by the amount of land he tilled and the amount of cattle he had. My father saw all his father's land and cattle taken from him, and so, education was seen as something irrevocable. They could take away our land, they could lock us up in jail, but they couldn't take away what's in our head. This was our strongest motivation for learning.

It wasn't until I was in junior high school that I became more politically aware and, as a result, more rebellious. This was around the time of the Sharpeville Massacre and I had begun demonstrating with my father. We started having strikes at school over issues as trivial as food. That was just an excuse, of course — a way to begin to voice our anger. The police would come and beat the hell out of us, but we didn't care. It didn't matter. We would be out there again the next day.

I remember very clearly one incident that made us go on strike. One thing whites used to do for amusement on Friday nights was to get very drunk and drive out to the rural areas with fishing rods and hooks. Then they would drive past Black people riding bicycles and "hook" them anywhere they could and drive away. One day they hooked the sweetest guy at our school. They badly tore up his face and that made us strike with anger.

Black education suffers continually from government indoctrination and oppression and this is why students in South Africa are very politicized. In the English/Afrikaans dictionary, for example, the word "baas" (the subservient word for master) was defined as "white man," "hero" and "clever man." I grew up being taught the praises of the heroes of Bloodriver — I mean, *our* heroes. But, when I went to school, the teacher told me that the Zulus lost in Bloodriver. I was so upset that after school I ran home as fast as I could. I went to my aunt who was the oldest member of my family (or as we put it, she had seen more winters than anyone else among us).

"How come you told me there were heroes in Bloodriver, yet the teacher says we lost to the Boers?" I asked in confusion. "Never say that again," my aunt replied forcefully. "We never lost the war; it was postponed until we got our own fire sticks." For some time after that, I lost interest in history and took up mathematics. I figured they couldn't change the numbers.

The main problem in South Africa, then, is not that there aren't enough schools. It is the nature of the education itself. That's what we are struggling against. We don't want the rotten education they are feeding us. The fundamental problem is not simply that Black children are given a different education from whites, but that it is inferior. That's what the poison is. It's not that for two school years we didn't have a classroom and had to sit under the sun in the summer. It's what they taught us. The indoctrination is the issue. While we are learning to become the "better tool of the white man," white children are learning that we are inferior and potential terrorists. □

About the Author

DUMISANI KUMALO, a South African exile, is Projects Director for the American Committee on Africa in New York. This article is based on an interview with Mr. Kumalo by Sarah Arnholz.

Growing Up Indian . . .

By Violet Cherry

I was born in Malvern, a small white suburb near Durban, the fifth of seven children. My mother was a Methodist, my father—from South India—was of the Hindu faith.

There are approximately 800,000 Indians in South Africa, most of whom live in the Province of Natal in the Durban and the Pietermaritzburg area. Indians were brought to South Africa in 1860 to work as indentured laborers on the sugar-cane fields outside of Durban. They were no more than slaves; men were not encouraged to bring wives and children and no special provisions were made for families. Many remained after their five-year indenture period; they started small vegetable gardens and developed all the area in the magisterial district of Durban. (My maternal grand-

father, a teacher from Ceylon, had worked in one of the first organized efforts to provide schools for the children of Indian indentured laborers.)

It was—and still is—commonly believed that all Indians are very wealthy merchants and businessmen. This is not so. When I was growing up in the 50s and early 60s, Indian unemployment was as high as 35 per cent and approximately 68 per cent of the Indian population lived below the poverty line. Not much has changed, although there have been some cracks in the granite walls of apartheid and some "white-collar" jobs have opened up.

Most Indian schools were government aided, with the government providing only a proportion of the monies needed to build schools; the Indian community had to come up with the rest before the foundation stone was laid. (When I was growing up, there were no more than six schools for Indians that were fully government supported.) Admission into school was always difficult for Asian children because there were always more children than room. Indian teachers once gave up part of their salaries to facilitate the building of more schools.

Although most white children entered school at the age of six, Indian children often did not get to school until they were nine or ten because there were waiting lists. On the first day of school principals' offices were always packed to capacity with hundreds of mothers begging to get their children admitted. Often families lied about their children's age or even tried to get forged birth certificates to make them appear older so that they could gain admission.

Education was not free or compulsory for Indian children until the mid-sixties. There was some aid for needy children, but it was humiliating to have to publicly acknowledge one's economic circumstances, fill in forms and be singled out in class as "the poor kids." I won a scholarship after the eighth grade, which permitted me two years in high school.

Indians make great sacrifices for their children and education is considered of primary importance. Still, we were very poor and there were five girls in our family (boys had the "right" to be educated first). Families had to make decisions about who would go to school first; the brightest children, the most likely to succeed, went first. I was sent to school before my older sister and was always one year ahead of her.

There was enormous pressure to succeed. We lived in a noisy, busy part of Durban, in an overcrowded apartment, and it was hard to concentrate. I often came home from school and slept for a couple of hours to be woken up at ten or eleven at night, when the apartments were quiet, so I could study until two or three in the morning. My mother would often sit up at night, making tea for me, so I could keep awake to study.

All Indian schools required that children wear uniforms. Our uniforms were starched white dresses that had to be carefully pleated. (Those that could afford it also wore blue blazers, but needless to say, I never could.) I often saw my mother ironing as I went to bed and again when I woke up in the morning. Not for her the luxury of an electric iron, but a steel iron filled with charcoal that had to be replenished from time to time.

In my elementary government-supported school the principal was white, as were most of the teachers. (Most of the government-aided schools had larger numbers of Indian teachers and often the principals were Indian.) In high school, the principal and all the teachers were white. This has changed; now almost all Indian schools have Indian teachers. There were many teachers who in insidious ways, by word or action, indicated that we were inferior, and some openly said that Indians were sly, cunning, dirty, and had far too many children. (In great anger I challenged one teacher and was almost expelled from school.)

Our educational system, until the mid-fifties, was modelled on the English public school system and all our textbooks were English textbooks. We were taught English folk songs, the Irish jig and the Highland fling; not for us the traditional songs of India, nor were we encouraged to read the great philosophers and writers of India. (When I eventually visited England, I had a strange feeling that I had been there before.)

Apartheid is a part of one's life from the day that you are born in South Africa if you are Indian, African or "Coloured." I loved to read but was denied admission to the library because I was not white. (I ventured in once but was thrown out.) I would wait each year for the time when the library threw out books—I would be the first in line to pick them up.

I remember a Christmas in Malvern, where we were the only Black family attending the Methodist church. I remember a giant Christmas tree, reaching almost to the ceiling, with thousands of gaily wrapped boxes and intriguing packages. My family was told by the minister that none of this was for us—this was for the white children! *Our* Christmas tree was a tree branch in the basement of the church, with a few small gifts, so pathetic in comparison to the one for white children. These slights start so early. (Years later my six-year-old son came running in from the park, asking me why God had made us Black! He had been beaten by a white park ranger, threatened with arrest and thrown out of the park because he had slipped through a barrier and had played on swings reserved for white children.)

I left school at the end of the tenth grade; we were so poor that my family could not have sustained me even if I had received another scholarship to complete high school. I went to see Dr. Sidney Kark, who had pioneered the health-center movement, and was among the first group of Indian women to be trained as health assistants and health educators by this project.

Our starting salary was about $20 per month and, to me, that was a fortune. With my first savings, I bought my mother an electric iron and stove.

I married at seventeen but worked to complete my education, earning my social science degree six years later with much pain and anguish since it was hard to put the money together for tuition and even harder to get the texbooks—and my husband totally disapproved of my pursuing the degree. (To give just one example of my difficulties: The white university did not permit us access to the library; a small shelf of books was reserved for us in a professor's office and often the books were not there.)

I won a scholarship in 1963 to come to the United States as a social worker in an international program for social workers and youth leaders. My eight months in this country whetted my appetite for more. Eventually, after further study in the U.S. and elsewhere, I left South Africa for good and settled in the U.S.

It has been a long, agonizing journey. It is not easy to forget my past and a childhood filled with racial oppression and discrimination, which start so early for Black children and which impinge on every aspect of our life. □

About the Author

VIOLET PADAYACHI CHERRY, a psychiatric social worker by training, is currently Director of Health Services for the City of Englewood, N.J. Active in national public health organizations, she has published a number of articles on both South Africa and job-related topics.

Brief biographies of South Africans who have been active in the struggle for equality

The Long Struggle for Change

Reactions to European intrusion in "South Africa" have been varied. In the biographies which appear below, the emphasis is on *resistance*. (These brief biographies are ideal for classroom use because they counter the false notion that the victims of minority rule and economic exploitation in South Africa have, until very recently, been passive objects unable to influence their fate or initiate actions.)

One of the first recorded acts of resistance against white domination occurred in 1510 when African cattlekeepers living near the Cape of Good Hope defeated an expedition of Portuguese soldiers who tried to seize African children as hostages following a trade dispute. So thoroughly were the Portuguese beaten in this encounter that they avoided the Cape thereafter. One hundred and forty-nine years later (in 1659), the first major war between Africans and Europeans in South Africa broke out (see Doman below). This conflict marked the beginning of almost 250 years of sporadic warfare between the indigenous people of South Africa and the European settlers.

It is important to understand that these wars between Black and white were not caused by "natural prejudices," *i.e.*, notions that whites and Blacks were so radically different in physical appearance and cultural characteristics that conflict was inevitable. The wars were not caused by "naturally warlike" Africans. Nor were they the result of the altruistic efforts of Europeans to bring "civilization" to the "uncivilized."

From the earliest contact, European goals in South Africa were primarily economic and self-directed. Although Europeans first saw South Africa as a halfway station between Europe and the Far East, they soon wanted land for white settlement, cheap labor, a market for European goods, control of Africa's wealth and strategic enclaves that would enable them to maintain control of the world market.

Although the Africans were often willing to ally with the Europeans in mutually beneficial ventures, they were unwilling to give up their land or to be treated as inferiors, slaves, serfs and menials. African armed resistance efforts were not futile or suicidal. In fact, prior to the late nineteenth century and the commitment of British Imperial troops to the colonial wars, allied African forces forced many Europeans to abandon newly established white settlements or modify their exploitative economic goals. "Fear and retreat" rather than "bravado and advance" accurately describe many eighteenth and nineteenth century white communities in South Africa. Had there been no mineral discoveries in the interior, it is quite possible that whites would not have had the economic and human resources needed to defeat the indigenous Southern African communities and establish an extensive colonial presence.

Although armed resistance has been the most successful form of resistance against white domination, Africans have employed other strategies. Between 1882 and 1964, political and religious protests, tax revolts, strikes, legal appeals and boycotts were widely used. Although these strategies led to the modification of some forms of discrimination, they failed to eradicate or sufficiently retard the entrenchment of white minority rule.

In the 1960s the minority regime became increasingly intolerant of any form of protest. Thousands of boycotters and marchers were arrested, beaten or forced into exile. A number were killed, banned or jailed for life. Growing awareness that the regime would not be dissuaded from violent acts by peaceful means forced many Blacks and some few whites to advocate a return to the armed resistance strategies which had been used in the past. Recent years have seen limited but increasingly effective use of more direct resistance strategies.

No one can precisely predict when minority rule will come to an end in South Africa. However, that it will end and that its demise will be due to the resistance efforts of the oppressed and those who actively assist them is certain.

In the discussion which follows, we have included short biographies of a few of the many individuals who have struggled against oppression in South Africa. Other important figures should also be brought to students' attention. Among those suggested for further research are Neil Aggett, Allan Boesak, Canon John Collins, Yusef Dadoo, Ruth First, Abram Fischer, Mohandas Ghandi, Jane Gool, Albert Luthuli, Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, Fatima Meer, Govan Mbeki, Bertha Mkhize, Florence Mkhize, James S. Moroka, Zephania Mothopeng, Beyers Naude, Duma Nokwe, Dorothy Nyembe, John Phillip, Albertina Sisulu, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Robert Sobukwe, Andreas Stockenstrom the younger, Oliver Tambo, Nimrod Boyce Tantsi, Joseph Tlhoe, Desmond Tutu and Alfred Bitini Zuma. Further information can be obtained from the sources listed at the end of this article.

The preceding introduction and the first four biographies that follow were written by Brenda Randolph, until recently a media specialist at Howard University's African Studies Center.

DOMAN

Doman was a seventeenth century Khoikhoi who lived near the Cape of Good Hope. Linguistically talented, Doman became an interpreter for the Dutch East India Company in the 1650s when the Dutch Company established a small refreshment station on land belonging to a coastal Khoikhoi group. The Dutch, involved in the spice trade in the East Indies, depended on coastal Khoikhoi cattlekeepers for meat to feed their travel-weary, half-starved crews. In exchange, the Dutch offered the Khoikhoi precious metals and luxury items such as tobacco. Unable to master the difficult Khoikhoi language, the Dutch relied on Doman and several other coastal Khoikhoi interpreters not only for translations but for geographical data and ethnographical information about Khoikhoi groups living in the interior.

When the Dutch took Doman to Java in 1657 to improve his skills as an interpreter, he apparently became aware of the disruptive nature of Dutch colonialism and suspicious of Dutch intentions in Africa. Upon his return to the Cape he became a fiery critic of Dutch policies; he tried to thwart Dutch trade transactions with groups in the interior and denounced any Khoikhoi who collaborated with the Dutch.

Doman urged rival Khoikhoi groups to unite and join him in scotching the Dutch colony before it could expand. Some ignored his pleas, believing that the Dutch posed no threat, but a few young leaders rallied behind him. In May, 1659, this group raided the Company's stock of cattle and burned their crops to the ground. Doman timed the attack to coincide with the rainy season when the Dutch guns were likely to misfire. He knew his troops couldn't destroy the Dutch fort but he hoped that the raids would make it economically unfeasible for the Dutch to maintain a presence on Khoikhoi land.

For almost one year, Doman and his troops harassed the Dutch fort. The war ended in a stalemate but the tide soon turned against the coastal Khoikhoi, due, in part, to Khoikhoi disunity and the superior weaponry of the Dutch. With the resistance of the coastal Khoikhoi broken, the Dutch were able to solidify their position, seize control of the coastal trade and begin their movement into the interior.

Doman died in 1663. He is remembered as one of the first Khoikhoi to actively protect African interests and resist Dutch colonial expansion.

Sources: Richard Elphick, *Kraal and Castle, Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) and Shula Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of African History,* XIII, I (1972), pp. 55-80.

MAKHANDA

Makhanda, a Xhosa of the amaRharhabe group, grew up during the turbulent years of the early nineteenth century when European settlers from the British-ruled Cape Colony were attempting to expand into Xhosa territory in the Eastern Cape area. At a young age, Makhanda exhibited a spiritual nature and was recognized by the Xhosa as one chosen by God to adopt the traditional role of diviner (one who understood the workings of the unseen world).

Makhanda became acquainted with Western culture through contact with white farmers, missionaries and military men from the British colonial fort of Grahamstown. Curious about Christianity, Makhanda engaged in long talks with the fort's chaplain. Impressed, he converted and for a brief time spread the Christian gospel among the Xhosa. However, he discovered that the white missionaries had no intention of accepting him as an equal partner in the ministry. Moreover, he learned that many of the Xhosa were unimpressed, indeed hostile to a religion whose ministers attacked customs and practices that they valued. Makhanda soon returned to the old Xhosa ways.

The crisis spawned by the intrusion of the European colonists into Xhosa territory prompted Makhanda to forge a new cosmology, one to explain the presence of the Europeans and suggest a means of controlling them. He came to see the world as a battleground between Mdalidiphu, the Creator of the Blacks, and Tixo, the name he assigned the God of the whites. The whites, he preached, had — by their own admission — killed Jesus, the son of their God. This act, he deduced, had so angered the white God that he had expelled his children from their land and cast them into the sea, from whence they had emerged in Xhosa territory in search of land. Makhanda assured his people that Mdalidiphu was the more powerful of the two great Gods and would push the whites back into the sea.

In 1819, Makhanda managed to briefly unite rival Xhosa groups, amassing an army of some 10,000 soldiers and attacking the Grahamstown fort. Confident and organized, the Xhosa fought well. They were defeated, however, by the superior military might of the British colonial forces. Not satisfied with their victory, the British launched a counter attack against the Xhosa. They had several objectives: to humiliate the Xhosa, to gain land and security for the white settlers, to transform the Xhosa into peasant farmers and servants, and to expel "surplus" Xhosa from the land. The ferocity of the British campaign was so great that Makhanda turned himself in to the British authorities, in the vain hope that his surrender would stop the slaughter. He was detained on Robben Island in Table Bay (where many political prisoners in South Africa have been held.)

On Christmas Day 1819, Makhanda led a mass escape of prisoners. Their boat overturned in heavy surf. All reached shore but Makhanda. He was last seen clinging to a rock and encouraging others to swim to safety.

Sources: J. B. Peires, *The House of Phalo, A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) and Neil Parsons, *A New History of Southern Africa* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983).

MOSHOESHOE

The son of a minor Sotho chief, Moshoeshoe was born about 1786 in the highlands of southern Africa. A daring and brave young warrior, he quickly established himself as chief in his own right, building a large following through generous cattle loans and politically astute marriages. By the mid-nineteenth century his Basotho kingdom numbered over 80,000 people, encompassed a wide expanse of fine green valleys, and served as the granary for much of southern Africa.

Although these achievements were laudatory, it was in the area of foreign policy that Moshoeshoe displayed true greatness. In the early nineteenth century, a number of southern African states, most notably the Zulu, centralized their governments and expanded their territories through conquest. (Competition to control the wealth generated by European trade, population pressure, severe drought and land scarcity have all been identified as

reasons for the political turbulence of this period.) Moshoeshoe adroitly opened his borders to those fleeing the ensuing violence, and his impregnable mountain fortress became a safe haven for thousands. He provided the destitute with food, land and generous cattle loans. Whole communities were permitted to settle under his authority and keep their own customs, languages and chiefs. Moshoeshoe was able to use the loyalty and labor of these immigrants to protect and develop his kingdom. The open immigration policy so advantageous when extended to Africans proved to be calamitous when extended to Afrikaner settlers, however.

In the 1830's small groups of Afrikaners approached Moshoeshoe asking for grazing rights and safe conduct to the east. Since Moshoeshoe's previous experience with Europeans — white hunters, army deserters from the Cape Colonial forces, and Christian missionaries — had been fruitful, he gave them temporary land use rights.

Moshoeshoe soon regretted his generosity. Unable to settle in the east or simply tired of trekking, the Afrikaners squatted on Basotho land, claiming that Moshoeshoe had permanently ceded land to them. This tense situation was worsened by British intervention. Anxious to reduce Moshoeshoe's power and "open up" the land to British commercial interests, the British Imperial government delineated boundaries which they argued would settle the dispute. However, they awarded so much of Moshoeshoe's kingdom to the Afrikaners and his African rivals that war was inevitable.

Moshoeshoe's well-trained troops defeated the British and the Afrikaners in several major battles, but a three-year war with the Afrikaners between 1865-68 seriously weakened Basotho resistance. (Although the British claimed neutrality in this war, they ensured an Afrikaner victory by facilitating Afrikaner access to guns and ammunition while making such sales to Africans illegal.) Fearing total destruction, Moshoeshoe pleaded with the British to help him save what was left of his kingdom. The request was granted, and, in 1868, Moshoeshoe's remaining land became the British protectorate of Basutoland.

Although devastated by the loss of much of their fertile land to the Afrikaners, the Basotho quickly recovered. Shortly after Moshoeshoe died in 1870, they regained their reputation as successful grain producers. In 1880, they successfully resisted the efforts of the British Cape Colony to disarm them.

Although the kingdom was eventually pulled into the capitalist economy and disrupted, the Basotho managed to keep their political independence, becoming the independent country of Lesotho.

Sources: William Lye and Colin Murray, *Transformations on the Highveld: The Tswana and Southern Sotho* (Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books, 1980); Neville Grant, *Moshoeshoe, Founder of a Nation* (London: Longman, 1981); Donald Denoon, *Southern Africa since 1800* (London: Longman, 1972).

BAMBATHA

Bambatha was a minor Zulu chief who lived with the bulk of his people, known as the Zondi, in the white-ruled colony of Natal on land "owned" by European settlers. By the time Bambatha became chief in 1890, the powerful Zulu kingdom had been defeated by British forces and split into "governable" segments. With their military might broken and their people divided, the Zulu were unable to hold their land. Stripped of their means of subsistence, they were subject to exploitative labor practices and draconian colonial laws. Many were forced to pay high rents for the lands which had formerly belonged to them.

Acutely aware of African resentment and always fearful that the once powerful Zulu kingdom would reconstitute itself and reclaim its territory, the Natal settler community adopted an aggressive and authoritarian posture. "Insolent" behavior or minor infractions of "native codes" frequently resulted in whippings, the burning of African crops and jail terms. Chiefs who refused to report their subjects' "rebellious" acts were quickly deposed and imprisoned.

The tense situation in the colony reached a climax in 1906 when a poll tax was imposed on a people already economically overburdened. On February 8, 1906, two white officials were killed when they tried to collect poll taxes from an impoverished Zulu group who lived near Bambatha and his Zondi people. Shortly after this incident Bambatha angered the Natal government by supporting members of his community who refused to pay the tax. When the government sent a police detachment to arrest Bambatha, he fired at them, attacked a hotel in search of arms and escaped with 300 of his followers to the mountainous Nkandla forest. From his mountain fortress he dispatched messengers to surrounding chiefs urging them to send support groups. Over a thousand Zulu men responded to his call.

Bambatha and his army were able to evade capture for two months. However, on June 10, colonial forces inflicted a crushing and decisive defeat on the army at the battle of Mome Gorge. Bambatha was killed and decapitated. A subsequent uprising eight days later resulted in even more deaths. When the fighting was over, some 3000-4000 Zulu had been killed.

Bambatha's rebellion brought to a close the first 250-year phase of armed resistance by the indigenous people of South Africa. Aware that further armed resistance would be suicidal, Africans adopted new forms of resistance, including political actions and labor strikes. However, they did not forget Bambatha. He became a great national hero, an inspiration to generations of African nationalists.

Source: Shula Marks, *The Reluctant Rebellion* (London: Clarendon Press, 1970).

1900-1960

SOLOMON TSHEKISHO PLAATJE

Sol Plaatje was born in 1879 in the Orange Free State. His only formal education was a few years in the elementary grades, but he studied privately and became proficient in at least eight languages, including German, Dutch, English and all the major African languages. On the eve of the Boer War he was sent to Mafeking as an interpreter, and during the siege of Mafeking in 1899-1900 he acted as both court interpreter and clerk to the Mafeking administrator of Native Affairs.

Plaatje turned to journalism at the end of the war, and he established the first Setswana-English weekly, *Koranta ea Becoana (Newspaper of the Tswana)* in 1901. This existed, under Plaatje's editorship, for six or seven years, after which he moved to Kimberley and established a new paper, *Tsala ea Becoana,* later renamed *Tsala ea Batho* (*The Friend of the People*). Plaatje also contributed many articles to other papers.

When the South African Native National Congress (later called the African National Congress) was formed in 1912, Plaatje, who exemplified the new spirit of national unity among African intellectuals, was chosen its first secretary-general. The first major campaign of the SANNC was against the Land Act of

1913, a measure that drastically curtailed the right of Africans to own or occupy land through the Union. In 1914 Plaatje went to Britain as a member of the deputation charged with appealing to the British government against the Act. The mission proved futile, but Plaatje decided to remain in Britain, where he lectured, worked as a language assistant at London University, and wrote three books, including a moving appeal against the Land Act. He also travelled widely, meeting with NAACP leaders in the U.S. in 1920.

Plaatje returned to South Africa in 1923. He continued to write, and when Parliament was in session he covered the sessions and lobbied for African interests as a representative of the ANC. Influenced by his travels in the United States, he became involved in the Joint Council movement and also joined the African People's Organization of Abdul Abdurahman. He died in 1932.

Source: Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964,* 4th vol. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

CLEMENTS KADALIE

Clements Kadalie was born in Nyasaland (now Malawi) around 1896. He qualified as a teacher, but taught for only one year before setting out to see the world. He arrived in Cape Town in 1918.

Friendship with a socialist candidate for Parliament led Kadalie to the idea of launching a trade union, and in January, 1918 the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) was founded in Cape Town with an initial membership of 24, most of whom were "Coloured" dock workers. Following a partially successful dock strike a year later, an attempt was made to deport Kadalie, but he succeeded in calling influential friends to his aid, and the deportation order was canceled. In 1921, Kadalie was elected the union's national secretary, a position he held for the next eight years. Wartime rises in the cost of living had led to widespread dissatisfaction among workers of all races, and the ICU expanded rapidly, coming to represent a broader following of rural and urban workers, including "Coloureds" and Indians as well as Africans, than any organization till that time. For five years, beginning in 1923, Kadalie edited a union newspaper, the *Workers' Herald.*

Kadalie worked to win recognition for

Lilian Ngoyi

the ICU as a legitimate union and voice for African workers. When all efforts to win acceptance for the ICU by white-led unions in South Africa failed, Kadalie traveled abroad seeking recognition, but personal rivalries and financial misdealings were destroying the ICU from within. Moreover, the new "hostility clause" in the Native Administration Act of 1927 threatened the union's ability to maintain its popular appeal through militant rhetoric. Kadalie himself was charged under the Act in 1928 but was acquitted in one of the ICU's best-known court victories.

In early 1929, under heavy pressures, Kadalie announced his resignation as ICU secretary. He then formed the "Independent ICU," organizing a general strike of significant proportions in East London. He served two months in jail in connection with the strike and in 1930 he was banned from attending or addressing meetings on the Rand. Subsequent attempts failed to revive the ICU nationally, but Kadalie continued to participate in national affairs as a member of the African National Congress.

Kadalie died in East London in 1951. (His autobiography was published under the title *My Life and the ICU.*)

Source: Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964,* 4th vol. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

ZACCHEUS RICHARD MAHABANE

Methodist clergyman, twice president-general of the ANC and an important figure in both the All African Convention and the Non-European Unity Movement, Z.R. Mahabane was born in the Orange Free State in 1881, the son of a prosperous Sotho farmer. He qualified as a teacher before becoming ordained as a Methodist minister in 1914.

Posted by his church to Cape Town, he joined the local Cape Congress in 1917. In 1919 he was elected president of the Cape Congress and in 1924 he was elected president-general of the national ANC, serving till 1927 and again from 1937-1940, when support for the ANC was gradually increasing. In 1940 he became the Congress chaplain.

Long a proponent of unity among South Africa's people of color, Mahabane cooperated with Abdul Abdurahman in calling a series of conferences that met between 1927 and 1934. When the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) was formed in affiliation with the AAC in 1943, Mahabane became its president, serving until 1956, when he was pressured to resign following a policy disagreement.

From the late 1940s onward Mahabane concentrated much of his energy on church-related activities, in particular the strengthening of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, founded in 1945. Within the Methodist Church he pressed for a larger role for Africans. He died in 1970.

Source: Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964,* 4th vol. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

LILIAN MASEDIBA NGOYI

The most prominent woman in the ANC in the 1950s and a leader of the Federation of South African Women, Lilian Ngoyi was born in Pretoria in 1911, the daughter of a Pedi mineworker. Her parents sacrificed to send her through primary school, and she later began nurses' training, but eventually took employment as a machinist in a clothing factory, where she worked from 1945 to 1956. She joined the Garment Workers Union, led by Solly Sachs, and later became one of its leading figures.

Ngoyi joined the ANC during the 1952 Defiance Campaign and was arrested for using "white" post office facilities. Her energy and her gifts as a public speaker won her rapid recognition, and she was elected president of the ANC Women's League. When the Federation of South African Women was formed in 1954, she became one of its national vice-presidents and was elected president in 1956.

Ngoyi was a leading organizer of the 1956 women's anti-pass march in Pretoria, one of the largest demonstrations in South African history. Her devotion to

the African cause did much to rouse the political consciousness of ordinary men and women. Later that year she became the first woman elected to the ANC national executive committee. Arrested in December 1956, she stood trial until 1961 as one of the first-string accused in the Treason Trial and was imprisoned for five months during the 1960 state of emergency. She was first issued banning orders in 1962, and in the mid-1960s she was jailed and spent 71 days in solitary confinement. Her banning orders lapsed in 1972 but were renewed for five years in 1975. She died in 1980.

Source: Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*, 4th vol. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

Contemporary

STEVE BIKO

Stephen Bantu Biko was born in King William's Town, in the Cape Province, in 1946. After matriculating in 1966, he went to Natal University to study medicine. In 1968 the all-Black South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was formed, with Biko its first president.

Biko and other SASO officers travelled the country, visiting Black campuses and propounding the emergent philosophy of Black consciousness, defining "Black" as including not only Africans, but also "Coloureds" and Asians—all designated "non-white" by the apartheid state. At the end of his third year at university, Biko was expelled for his political activities, but in the same year he was instrumental in forming the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC), an umbrella political movement for groups sharing the idea of "Black Consciousness."

Because of his political work, Biko, together with other officials of SASO and BPC, was served with banning orders in 1973. Banning orders severely restrict the activities and lives of those on whom they are served. They limit a person's travel, ability to write for publications and meet with other people. Life for a banned person is full of tensions and requires constant alertness. (For example, if Biko were in a room with his wife when a friend walked in, he could be arrested for breaking his bans.)

Biko's restrictions only increased his determination to work among his own people. In 1975 he founded the Zimele Trust Fund to help political prisoners and their families and the Ginsberg Educational Trust to assist Black students. In that same year the government acted against the young Black militants by taking many into detention. Biko was one of those arrested; he was held for 137 days without charge or trial. Afterward, he continued his political work and was arrested and detained many times, but his prestige, particularly among young activists, remained high.

Nelson Mandela

Finally, in August, 1977, Biko was arrested once again. He was taken into custody and beaten to death in detention the following month.

Source: Hilda Bernstein, *No. 46—Steve Biko* (London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1978).

HELEN JOSEPH

Helen Joseph was born in 1905 in England and educated there. After teaching in India for three years, Joseph visited South Africa in 1931 and decided to stay, finding a teaching job in Durban.

In 1945 Joseph became director of a community center in a white slum while she studied for a postgraduate diploma in social studies. In 1949, she established two community centers for the "Coloured" people in Cape Town; she gradually came to understand the need for political action to eliminate the social ills she saw every day.

Returning to Johannesburg in 1951, Joseph became secretary to the Medical Aid Society of the non-racial Garment Workers' Union in the Transvaal. She helped to found the Congress of Democrats and later served as its national vice-chairperson. She was active in the Federation of South African Women, formed in 1954, and with Lilian Ngoyi, she played a major part in organizing the 1956 mass demonstration by women against the pass laws. By then a listed person under the Suppression of Communism Act, she was arrested for treason and became one of two whites in the first group of those accused in the Treason Trial. In 1957, she was placed under bans forbidding her to attend gatherings or to leave Johannesburg. Later she was detained without charge for five months during the Emergency declared after the Sharpeville massacre.

In 1962, Joseph became the first person put under house arrest in South Africa, on a five-year order which was renewed in 1967. She endured ten continuous years of stringent restrictions, denied visitors and largely confined to her home. She received numerous death threats and insulting phone calls, and her house was constantly raided by the security police. She nonetheless continued to work and study.

After Joseph's major operation for cancer in 1971, the house arrest and banning orders were not immediately renewed, but she continued to be listed under the Suppression of Communism Act, which meant she could not be quoted or hold office in political organizations. She nevertheless continued her political work against apartheid.

In 1977, Joseph was sentenced to four months imprisonment for refusing to answer security police questions about an alleged visit to see her friend Winnie Mandela in her place of banishment.

In 1980, at the age of seventy-five, Joseph was banned once again.

Source: International Defense and Aid Fund, *To Honour Women's Day* (London: International Defense and Aid, 1981).

NELSON MANDELA

A member of the royal family of the Tembu people, Nelson Mandela was born in 1918 and studied at Fort Hare College. Subsequently, he studied law at the University of the Witwatersrand (he eventually opened a legal practice with Oliver Tambo, current head of the African National Congress [ANC], but labored against various government bans and restrictions).

With Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, Mandela participated in the foundation meetings of the ANC Youth League. With the League's expansion in 1948, Mandela was elected its national secretary; soon after he was brought into the ANC's national executive committee. He

eventually became a leading proponent of united action against apartheid.

In late 1950, Mandela was elected national president of the Youth League, and in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 he was volunteer-in-chief. In 1952 he stood trial with 19 other leaders charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. (The regime's interpretation of Communist includes any acts of protest against apartheid; the evidence clearly shows that Mandela was not a Communist.) Given a nine-month suspended sentence, he also was served with bans forbidding him to attend gatherings or leave Johannesburg for six months. Having been elected deputy national president of the ANC, he chose to accept the office and exercise leadership from behind the scenes, without attending public meetings, rather than recognize the bans' validity. A new ban imposed in September, 1953, however, required him to resign officially from the ANC and attend no gatherings for five years. From this time on—except for the Treason Trial years of 1956-60, when Mandela was one of 156 people brought to trial and the "gathering" of ANC leaders was in more or less continuous session—his leadership was exercised almost entirely in secret.

Elected organizer of the stay-at-home protest in 1961, he went underground and spent two years evading an intensive police search. In 1962 he made a secret tour of heads of state in Africa and met leading politicians in London. Soon after his return to South Africa he was captured and brought to trial, charged with inciting Africans to strike and with leaving South Africa without a valid travel document.

Mandela was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for incitement to strike and to two years for leaving the country without a valid permit. While serving the sentence, he was again brought to trial along with eight other men on charges of sabotage. This was the celebrated Rivonia Trial, which opened in Pretoria in October, 1963. Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Although he has been in prison for 20 years now, he is by far the most popular Black leader in South Africa. In a poll in February 1985, he was supported by 73 per cent of the Black people who were polled. Although Oliver Tambo heads the ANC in exile, Nelson Mandela's name is synonymous with that organization and with the vision of a free and non-racist South Africa. His wife Winnie Mandela (q.v.) and his daughter Zinzi Mandela keep his ideas and spirit alive in the Black community. He remains the symbol of Black resistance in South Africa.

Source: Mary Benson, ed., *The Sun Will Rise: Statements from the Dock by Southern African Political Prisoners* (London: International Defense and Aid, 1981) and Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964,* 4th vol. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

WINNIE MANDELA

Winnie Nomzamo Mandela was born around 1935 and grew up in a rural area. She came to Johannesburg in 1953 and gained a diploma in social science. She became the first Black medical social worker at Baragwanath Hospital and later worked for four years as a social worker with the Child Welfare Society.

Mandela joined the ANC in 1957 and became an active member of the Women's League. In 1958, shortly after her marriage to Nelson Mandela (q.v.), she was arrested for protesting against the extension of the pass laws to women and spent two weeks in detention. In 1963, she was served with a two-year banning order, confining her to the Johannesburg area.

Mandela spent the next 12½ years under continuous banning orders, the terms of which were made progressively more stringent. In 1969, she spent 491 days in detention, most of it in absolute solitary confinement. While in detention, she and 21 other detainees were charged with furthering the aims of the ANC. Despite a heart condition, she was kept without sleep and continuously interrogated for five days and nights.

Mandela's only period of freedom lasted for less than a year after her ban expired in 1975. She helped found the Black Women's Federation in that year and, during the crucial events of June, 1976, and thereafter, was a leading member of the Soweto Black Parents' Association.

She was arrested in 1976 and detained for four months under the Internal Security Act. On her release she was issued with a further five-year banning order and banished to the small town of Brandfort, where she remains under house arrest, kept under constant security police surveillance. She sees her husband for 30 minutes every two to three months, speaking to him by telephone through thick plate glass under police scrutiny. She is otherwise rarely permitted to leave Brandfort.

Mandela herself has described Brandfort as a living grave, calculated to break her spirit. This it has manifestly failed to do. As one journalist wrote, "To her there is little difference in being banned or unbanned, in prison or not. She feels that every Black person is in prison in South Africa, it is only the size of the prison which differs."

Source: International Defense and Aid Fund, *To Honour Women's Day* (London: International Defense and Aid, 1981).

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

† *For Their Triumphs and for Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa* by Hilda Bernstein, International Defense and Aid, 1978, $2.

From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964 edited by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, Hoover Institution Press, 1972. (Four volumes; Volume 4 is particularly helpful because it contains biographical profiles. Available at college libraries.)

† *Man of Christian Action, Canon John Collins, the Man and His Work* edited by Ian Henderson, Lutterworth Press, 1976, $5.60.

† *117 Days* by Ruth First, Penguin, 1982, $4.50.

† *The Sun Will Rise: Statements from the Dock by Southern African Political Prisoners* edited by Mary Benson, International Defense and Aid, 1981, $3.

† *To Honour Women's Day, Profiles of Leading Women in the South African and Namibian Struggles* by International Defense and Aid, 1981, $2.40.

† *Torture in South Africa* by Catholic Institute for International Relations, Human Rights Forum, International Commission of Jurists, 1982, $3.70.

† *Unity in Action, a Photographic History of the ANC, South Africa 1912 - 1982* by African National Congress, 1982.

† *Women and Resistance in South Africa* by Cheryl Walker, Onyx Press, 1982.

†Titles so marked are available from International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, Ma. 02138.

OTHER TITLES

Crying in the Wilderness by Desmond Tutu, Eerdmans, 1982, $5.95.

Hope and Suffering by Desmond Tutu, Eerdmans, 1984, $6.95.

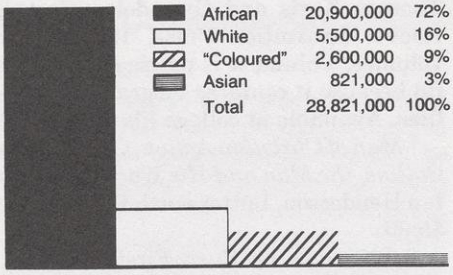
Let My People Go by Albert Luthuli, McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Information on South Africa to counter the misleading picture that appears in U.S. textbooks and other media

Fact Sheet on South Africa

Population

Racial Breakdown **Key**

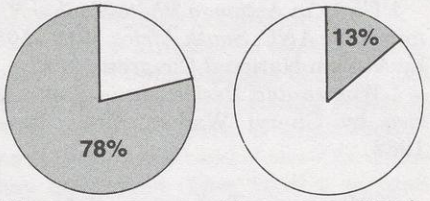


African	20,900,000	72%
White	5,500,000	16%
"Coloured"	2,600,000	9%
Asian	821,000	3%
Total	28,821,000	100%

Figures are based on 1980 census and population estimates of Bophuthatswana, Transkei, and Venda. Census figures for Africans, especially in the bantustans, are generally considered low.

Land

Land Reservation: Under the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, 87 per cent of the country's territory—472,359 square miles (larger than California, Arizona, Utah and Nevada combined)—has been reserved for whites, 13 per cent for Africans:



Africans as a percentage of the population **Percentage of land allocated to Africans**

Africans may not purchase land in white areas and may not remain in the white areas without a permit. Asians and "Coloureds" must live in segregated areas in the territory reserved for whites.

The Bantustans: The fragmented areas designated for Africans are called bantustans, homelands or national states. As of 1983 fewer than 10,000,000 Africans, or 46 per cent of the African population, lived in white areas and more than 11,000,000, or 54 per cent, lived in the bantustans. Of ten designated bantustans, the white government has implemented "independence" for the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, but this status has not been recognized by the United Nations or by any country.

Forced Removals: Since 1960, the South African government has removed 3,500,000 Blacks from white areas to areas designated for Blacks. At least 1,000,000 more Africans have been forcibly relocated within the bantustans. A further 1,700,000 people are under threat of removal. The "resettlements" and "relocations" lead to the separation of peoples, dispossession, loss of jobs, malnutrition and the destruction of family life.

Government

The South Africa Act of 1909 and the Republic of South Africa Act of 1961 restricted voting for and membership in the governing parliament to whites. Under this system, South Africa had a three-level, all-white system of government with central, provincial (*i.e.*, Cape, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal Provincial Administrations) and municipal tiers. "Coloured" and Asian South Africans were governed by the (white) Department of Internal Affairs. Black South Africans living in townships were governed by the (white) Department of Cooperation and Development; those living in the "homelands" by the "homeland governments," which are Black but responsible to Pretoria. These various white-run departments controlled housing, education, health and most other services for people of color in South Africa.

In November, 1983, white voters endorsed a new constitution establishing a tricameral parliament with separate chambers for whites, "Coloureds" and Asians. Whites retain a monopoly of real power and the African majority is totally excluded. Black political organizations and independent trade unions, as well as the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, have rejected this "reform."

Citizenship: The 1970 Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act states that every Black South African is a citizen of one of the "homelands," with citizenship decided by the language one speaks, not by residence. (Therefore, someone speaking Tswana becomes a citizen of Bophuthatswana, even if that person has never been to that area.) When the "homelands" started to be designated as "independent," citizens of those "independent homelands" lost their South African citizenship and became foreigners. (Some 8,000,000 Africans lost their South African citizenship between 1976 and 1981.) Once designated a foreigner, a person has no right to a South African passport and can be deported from white South Africa at any time. The 1984 Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Bill restricts the employment of "aliens" from the "independent homelands" in white South Africa.

Repression and Control

The Internal Security Act of 1982 consolidates a series of laws, including the Terrorism Act, the Unlawful Organization Act and the General Laws Amendment Act, with minor revisions, into one law. This act allows: 1) indefinite incommunicado

detention without charge or trial; 2) the outlawing of any organization alleged to be threatening to public safety or order; 3) the prohibition of the printing, publication or dissemination of any periodical or any other publication; 4) the prohibition of any gathering or meeting; 5) random police searches; 6) the curtailment of travel rights of any person, and restriction of rights of communication, association and participation in any activity (banning). Further, it is illegal under this act to render any assistance to any campaign, at home or abroad, that protests or seeks to modify or repeal any law if such a campaign furthers the aims of a banned organization.

The Abolition of Passes Act applies only to Africans and is the key to the administration of apartheid and labor control: all Africans over age sixteen are required to be fingerprinted and carry a pass book at all times with a record of bantustan identification, employment, permits to enter white areas, taxes and family status.

Torture: Torture is extensively inflicted on political detainees by both South African and bantustan security police. Methods used include electric shock, beatings, sleep deprivation and isolation.

Prison Population: South Africa has the highest per capita prison population in the world with 440 people jailed for every 100,000 of the population. The equivalent figure for the U.S. is 189. 40 per cent of the African prison population consists of people convicted of pass law violations, "crimes" only Africans can commit.

Hanging: Of the 130 people hanged in South Africa in 1980, only one was white.

State of Emergency: On July 20, 1985, in response to continued and escalating protests by Black South Africans, the government declared a State of Emergency. Under the emergency regulations, the police have near-absolute powers to arrest people, search homes, seize property, and order people to move from one area to another. Those detained by the police have no legal right to see lawyers or relatives and may be held indefinitely without being charged or their names being made public. Police powers are bolstered by an exemption from any legal action against them for carrying out their duties. As this *Bulletin* goes to press, more than 2,000 people have been detained (*i.e.*, arrested); estimates are that some two-thirds of these are young people under the age of eighteen.

Categories

In doing research on South Africa, one soon finds that there is no single statistic on any topic. In researching, for example, how many libraries there are in the country, one has to look at the figures for "white" libraries, "Coloured" libraries, "Asian" libraries, "urban Black" libraries, "self-governing homelands" libraries and finally, "independent national states" libraries.

In sorting through all these categories, one soon discovers that there is no point in knowing how many libraries there are in South Africa. That statistic tells us nothing about the quality of services or state spending patterns or whose needs are met and whose ignored. It is only by comparing the bald statistics in the light of population numbers that we can learn about the quality of services for different groups, the differences in state spending and who is experiencing the most severe shortages.

There is a hidden danger lurking within this discovery. It becomes very easy to use these categories without thinking about why they are there. We need to ask *why* it is that we can only analyze the situation in terms of the racist terminology and categories created by the South African government. Using these categories *legitimizes* them; they become *right* because they are *there*.

Opponents of the South African government are constantly resisting this legitimizing process. The way language is used becomes crucial. Often, writing on South Africa is sprinkled with "quotation marks" and terms are preceded by "so-called." In discussing South Africa, one has to have both hands free in order to raise them and crook the index fingers twice, indicating quotation marks.

This example of the effects of apartheid on research and statistics — and, by extension, on the researcher and statistician — illustrates the depth and scope of the apartheid structure. Nothing has escaped its bounds. Be on guard when speaking about South Africa, lest the categories start tripping off the tongue too easily.

Economy

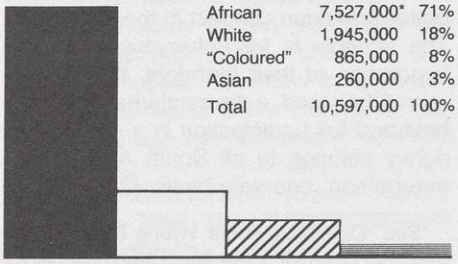
Gross National Product (total value of goods and services), 1982: $70.35 billion.

Value of Trade: Exports, 1982—$17.6 billion, including $7.9 billion in gold; 1981—$20.8 billion, including $9.59 billion in gold. Imports, 1982—$16.9 billion; 1981—$21.2 billion.

Major Trading Partners, 1982: South Africa Imports from/Exports to, in millions of dollars—U.S. $2,470/$1,215; UK $2,024/$1,300; West Germany $2,500/$780; Japan $1,705/$1,530; Switzerland $290/$936; France $710/$414.

Income and Employment

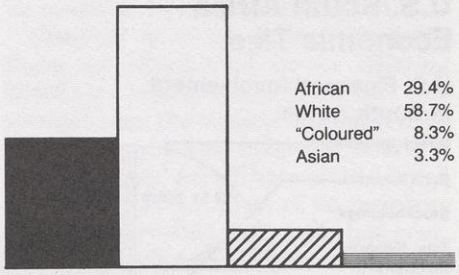
Economically Active Population—1981:



African	7,527,000*	71%
White	1,945,000	18%
"Coloured"	865,000	8%
Asian	260,000	3%
Total	10,597,000	100%

*1980 figures for Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda included.

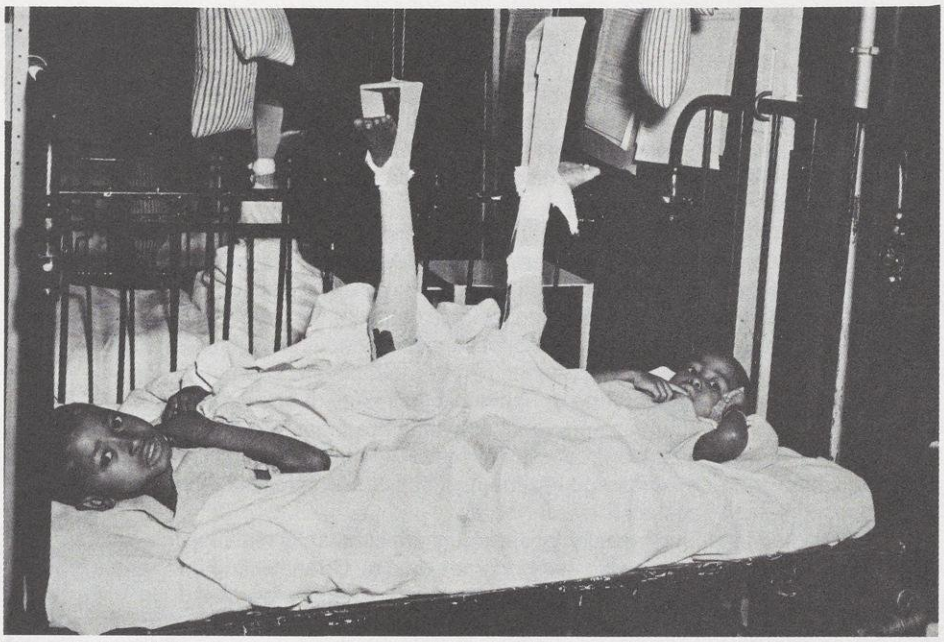
Distribution of Total Wages—1981:



Employment and Average Monthly Wages:

Mining, May 1983	# Employed	Av Monthly Wage
African	613,452	$260
White	78,020	$1,395
"Coloured"	9,581	$430
Asian	659	$690
Manufacturing, May 1983		
African	748,700	$320
White	316,600	$1,290
"Coloured"	240,800	$365
Asian	86,400	$460

Agriculture: An estimated 1,300,000 people work on white-owned farms. In 1980 the average wage for African farmworkers was $28 to $40 per month. Farmworkers also receive "in kind" payment such as minimal housing facilities and the dietary staple corn, or "mealie" meal.

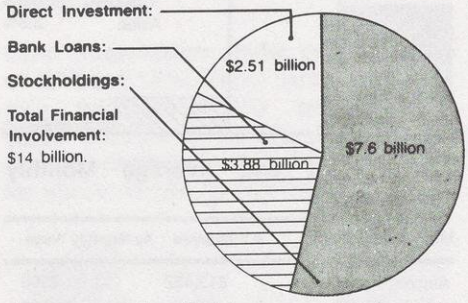


Hospital facilities for Africans are woefully inadequate. Above, a shared bed.

Domestic Workers: An estimated 700,000 people, primarily women, are employed as domestic servants. Salaries commonly range from $40 to $80 a month, but are frequently lower.

U.S./South Africa Economic Ties

U.S. Financial Involvement in South Africa



Average Rate of Return on U.S. Investment: Between 1979 and 1982, 18.7 per cent, compared to an average rate of return for U.S. companies worldwide of 16 per cent.

Divestiture: Some argue that Blacks in South Africa would be hurt more than helped if U.S. corporations pulled out. In speaking to this point, Randall Robinson, Executive Director of TransAfrica, noted in a *New York Times* interview (April 14, 1985): "If divestment hurt Blacks more than the regime, the government would not have made it an indictable offense to support it, nor would it have set up a special unit to combat disinvestment efforts in the United States and around the world. It's perfectly obvious to all who follow these issues that investment there is for the benefit of the whites and has little more than a trickle-down value to the Black majority. There are only 70,000 or so jobs for South African Blacks in American workplaces in South Africa, and fewer than 22,000 are in corporations that subscribe to the Sullivan Principles. The 70,000 jobs comprise less than 1 per cent of the South African job force, so that American involvement in terms of job provision is negligible. When that is weighed against the tremendous benefit provided to the government by these corporations, you see that it is not the Blacks that would be hurt through withdrawal, it's the government."

Robinson spoke further about the Sullivan Principles, a voluntary employment code of limited value (the Principles say, for example, that all people who do the same job should be paid the same amount, but they don't require that people of color be given the same jobs as whites—and very few are).* In any case, Robinson noted, "The Principles are quite beside the point. The struggle in South Africa is not for better American conduct in the workplace. The struggle is for enfranchisement, the restoration of their birthright, the restoration of their land, a dismantlement of apartheid and full participation in a society that rightly belongs to all South Africa, on a one-person, one-vote basis. Our corporations underpin a regime that denies them that."

*See "One Step in the Wrong Direction" by Elizabeth Schmidt (Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012).

Education

Attendance: All public education is racially segregated with racially differentiated curricula. In 1982, of the 3,708,000 African students in school, 83 per cent were in the primary grades, 16 per cent in secondary, and 2 per cent reached the post high school level. Of the 1,283,000 white students, 55 per cent were in primary, 30 per cent in secondary, and 15 per cent in the post high school level.

Per Capita Spending on Education, 1980/81: Whites—$1,115; Africans—$170; "Coloureds"—$310; Asians—$625.

Teacher/Pupil Ratios, 1982: Whites—1:18; Africans—1:39; "Coloureds"—1:27; Asians—1:24.

Health

Mortality: In 1980, the infant mortality rates per 1,000 live births were 13 for whites, 24 for Indians, 62 for "Coloureds" and 90 for Africans. In some rural areas, mortality rates for Africans are much higher with estimates of 220 per 1,000 to 320 per 1,000. Life expectancy for white men was 67 years; for African men, 55 years; for white women, 74 years; for African women, 60 years.

Malnutrition: Conservative estimates show that 2,900,000 Black children under the age of fifteen suffer from malnutrition. The death rate for Black children from nutritional diseases is 31 times higher than that for white children. One Black baby dies every ten minutes from malnutrition. By the age of ten, 45 per cent of Sowetan children suffer from malnutrition, 59 per cent from stunting and 24 percent from wasting.

Doctor/Patient Ratios: Whites—1:330; Africans—1:19,000; "Coloureds"—1:12,000; Asians—1:730.

Hospital Bed/Population Ratio: Whites—1:61.3; Asians—1:504.8; "Coloureds"—1:346.1; Africans—1:337.4.

The preceding information has been drawn largely from the "South Africa Fact Sheet" published by The Africa Fund. Copies of the Fact Sheet are available for 30¢ each—15¢/copy for 20 or more—plus 15 per cent postage from The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

Anti-Apartheid Groups in South Africa

By Mokubung Nkomo

Contrary to what is generally believed, there are numerous organizations working for change in South Africa. Listed below are just a few of the existing anti-apartheid organizations; addresses are provided for those that can supply accurate and up-to-date information. A more complete list of such organizations appears in "Bridge," a publication that can be obtained from the Human Awareness Programme (see below) for $10. plus postage.

Civic

Black Parents' Association (also *Soweto Parents Association*). Concerned with a variety of issues such as rents, bus fares, electricity, schools, etc.

Concerned Citizens' Action Committee (formerly Squatters' Action Committee). Opposes the government's resettlement program.

Cradock Residents Association. Concerned with quality of life issues including school matters in Black residential areas. One of its members, mathematics teacher Matthew Goniwe, was recently killed with three others under suspicious circumstances, possibly by a government-sponsored death squad.

Detainees' Parents Support Committee. An organization of Blacks and whites concerned with the welfare of political detainees.

Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization. Concerned with rents, bus fares, electricity, schools and general quality of life issues in Black residential areas. Also involved in the recent boycott campaign against white businesses in the Port Elizabeth area.

Soweto Civic Association. Concerned with the general welfare of Soweto, opposed to the policy of apartheid and the government-sponsored Black Council that is responsible for the governance of Soweto.

Information Sources

Association for Rural Development, Natal Province, P.O. Box 2517, Pietermaritzburg 3200, South Africa. Publishes report on the social and economic position of the rural Africans in Kwazulu and Natal. Provides information on relocation in Natal.

Black Sash, Khotso House, 42 de Villiers Street, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa. Women's civil rights organization. Authority on influx control (the "pass" laws) and its function within the structure of apartheid. Information and statistics on resettlement and influx control throughout the country.

Health Care Trust, 41 Scott Road, Observatory 7925, South Africa. Research and information on community health and industrial health problems.

Human Awareness Programme, P.O. Box 95134, Grant Park 2051, South Africa. Research and information on various aspects of the situation in South Africa. Training material on attitudinal change and strategies for change. Information on other organizations working for change in South Africa. Audio-visual materials on issues affecting Black South Africans.

South African Institute of Race-Relations, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa. Foremost source of statistics and information on South Africa. Publishes *S.A.I.R.R. Annual Survey.*

Political

African National Congress (ANC). The ANC is the oldest Black political organization, founded in 1912 to unify Black opposition to the denial of fundamental human rights occasioned by the formation of the Union of South Africa. Its Freedom Charter, viewed by many as a rational alternative to the present system, considers all South Africans regardless of color, race, sex or creed as equal citizens in an undivided (unitary) South Africa. In 1960, the ANC was banned. Despite the banning order, the ANC has recently virtually been unbanned by the vast majority of people in South Africa as its freedom songs are sung, the names of its leaders invoked publicly and its official colors used at mass funerals.

South African Indian Congress. Opposed to apartheid. Like the UDF (see below), it opposed the new constitution which established three chambers: one for whites, one for "Coloureds" and one for Indians.

United Democratic Front (UDF). Formed in 1983, it has about 700 constituent member organizations and claims a membership of over 1.5 million. It opposes apartheid in general, although its original goal was to campaign against the new constitution and the resettlement program. For this, virtually all of its national leadership has been arrested and charged with treason. Most of those remaining have been detained under the state of emergency regulations.

Religious

Catholic Conference of Bishops. Opposes apartheid. When the Conference published a report on the atrocities committed by the South African armed forces in Namibia several years ago, some of its members were prosecuted for this disclosure.

South African Council of Churches. Opposes apartheid. Also gives assistance to families of political detainees and provides other services to those in need.

Student

Azanian Student Organization. Opposes apartheid education and is involved in other, broader issues. Some of its members have been arrested.

Congress of South African Students. Focus on educational issues affecting Blacks but also played a prominent role in organizing the massive workers strike of November, 1984, involving nearly a million people. An affiliate of the United Democratic Front. Most of its members have been arrested during the last year, especially under the state of emergency. On August 28, the regime imposed a banning order on the organization.

National Union of South African Students. The oldest of the student organizations in South Africa. Liberal in orientation, its base is mainly in the English-speaking universities. It opposes the apartheid policy and some of its leaders have been arrested in recent months.

South African Student Organization. Did effective organizing of students at the Black universities before it was banned in 1977. Opposed inferior segregated education for Blacks.

About the Author

MOKUBUNG NKOMO is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Human Services at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. He is the author of Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities: The Roots of Resistance *(Greenwood Press, 1984).*

A teacher encounters a variety of perspectives in developing a curriculum on South Africa and finds that it's no easy task

Perspectives on Teaching about South Africa

By William Bigelow

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Second Thoughts

But when the classroom doors shut, what concepts about South Africa — or, as importantly, about racism, exploitation and social change — would students be acquiring from their teachers? Each of us shared the understanding that the closer the subject matter could be related to our students' own experiences or to what they already knew, the easier it would be for them to learn. Later, reflecting on the day, it seemed to me that some teachers, myself included, had been a bit too eager to take this lesson to heart; South Africa would be taught using familiar ideas from courses in U.S. History, World Geography or Psychology. I had to wonder if, in our well-intentioned zeal to make South Africa accessible, we were actually presenting students with a distorted image.

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

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

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

Teachers Draw Parallels

Teachers in our workshop, trying to grasp the enormity of the injustice in South Africa, had drawn some interesting parallels. The bantustans, that 13 per cent of the country's land mass set aside for the over seventy per cent Black population, resembled our Indian reservation system. In fact, the staggering mortality figures for people living in these mostly barren patches of land seemed to indicate that these Black "homelands" were just a version of the genocidal accomplishments of Manifest Destiny. Certainly I was familiar with statistics of genocidal proportions: one doctor for every 300 whites, one for every 19,000 Blacks; 25 per cent of the babies in the rural Ciskei bantustan die before the age of one; in Transkei 40 per cent of the children don't live to see their tenth birthday; throughout the country one Black baby dies every ten minutes from diseases brought on by malnutrition.

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

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

The white minority in South Africa has accumulated its riches through a succession of maneuvers to harness the labor of Black workers. Simultaneously, the regime has denied these workers the right to share in the wealth they create. There is a pattern here. It dates to the first Dutch settlements in 1652, but can be seen most clearly beginning with the Native Land Act of 1913 — dubbed the "law of dispossession" by Africans. A stroke of a pen relegated the African population to reserves — "Native Areas" — then comprising about seven per cent of the country's land. The other 93 per cent became "white" territory. The law wasn't intended to exclude *all* Blacks from white preserves, just those who were not productive in the white economy. As a government report recommended: "The native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."

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

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

Moribund Relics?

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

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

Thus, teachers who thought to portray South African racism as anachronistic were sadly, yet profoundly, mistaken. Racism there isn't a holdover — it is deeply embedded in the here-and-now structure of the South African economy. Any effort to teach students about racism would necessarily have to show how

*The debate over whether apartheid policies constitute genocide is a longstanding one. Whether the intent of those policies is to exterminate an entire people may be unclear, but their effect is massive malnutrition, astronomically high infant mortality rates and the destruction of Black families in genocidal proportions. Allan Boesak went to the heart of the matter when he labelled white South African leaders "the spiritual children of Hitler."—Editors

it is fused with the economic system and ask that age old question: Who stands to gain?

Student Response

The first exercise in the curriculum is for most students a shocking lesson in inequality. They discover that in a real country, somewhere, over 70 per cent of the population is forced to squeeze onto bits of land amounting to only 13 per cent of the total. Curiously, 16 per cent of the population gets to roam the other 87 per cent of the land and boss everybody else.

In a follow-up discussion, students invariably will waste no time in demanding why this 70 per cent doesn't get its act together and overthrow the 16 per cent. "I'd just get a gun and kill 'em," is not an uncommon refrain.

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

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

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

I recall one student who, after watching a "60 Minutes" segment on Sun City in the Bophuthatswana homeland, rushed up to me Monday morning with the good news that South Africa was granting Blacks independence. He'd been understandably confused by the facade of this new "country": Blacks and whites drinking together, Blacks able to own land and hold political office. But Sun City masks the reality of a complicated scheme to "re-tribalize" the African majority, thus preventing the unification of the country's Black workers. As mentioned, 13 per cent of the land in South Africa is set aside for Blacks. The South African government has chopped that 13 per cent into ten African homelands made up of over 100 scattered pieces of land. Long-range strategy — termed "Grand Apartheid" — calls for bestowing "independence" on these ten countries-to-be. Blacks would then be stripped of South African citizenship, sent off to their respective "nations" and forced to apply for temporary visas if they wished to work in white South Africa. Four homelands — Venda, Ciskei, Transkei and Bophuthatswana — have already achieved this dubious status.

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

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

The waning importance of tribal identification was impressed upon my students one year when a Black South African student came to speak to my Global Studies class. Someone asked him what tribe he belonged to. He laughed and said he supposed he was Zulu because that's what the government wrote in his pass book, but he had lived in Soweto, the township outside Johannesburg, all his life. As far as he was concerned he was Sowetan.

The fear that a unified Black population would organize for a radical redistribution of power and wealth gave birth to this counterfeit scheme of "multinational development," as the government euphemistically calls it. The regime hoped to thwart unification by dividing Blacks into tribal groups and pitting them against one another as necessary. The catch is that the prosperity of white South Africa depends on an urbanized — and hence "detribalized" — Black work force. This central fact indicates the futility of the Grand Apartheid master plan.

Constitutional "Reform"

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

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

The Black Consciousness movement of the 1970s accomplished a redefinition of the term "Black" as all those — including Asian and "Coloured" — who did not have access to white privileges. Critics of the new constitution point out that cooperating with its provisions would significantly impede that hard-won greater sense of unity, achieving nothing but continued political impotence for the foes of apartheid.

Despite the arrests of over 40 opposition leaders, the constitution's opponents appear to have won their point. In the August 1984 parliamentary election,

less than 20 per cent of the eligible voters in both the "Coloured" and Asian communities bothered to cast ballots. This massive boycott undermines the government's strategy within South Africa, though surely the international propaganda efforts will continue apace.

Ironically, while the constitutional changes helped unify opposition groups within South Africa, the measures led to the first significant split within the ruling National Party. Some on the far right of the party see these supposed reforms as the beginning of the end for white dominance. They've formed a new Conservative Party, and in so doing have cracked the Afrikaner monolith.

Corporate Razzle Dazzle

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

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

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

Although the curriculum engages students in analyzing apartheid as a system — a totality — this is often a foreign way of examining a society for them. Schooling tends to chop the world into discrete units of study and usually discourages the kind of analysis which enables students to readily understand how seemingly "good" measures — like new promotion schemes for Black workers — could actually solidify a larger evil: apartheid. However, once reminded of this new analytic framework by the teacher, students often begin penetrating the corporate doublespeak: "Say, these letters don't tell how all their great changes for workers help deal with the rest of their lives. What about the pass laws? What about the families still in the bantustans?" Against the backdrop of corporations' enormously profitable South African operations, it's little wonder that the public relations departments of Ford and IBM sidestep these questions.

The Regional Context

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

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

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

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

Student Cynicism?

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

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

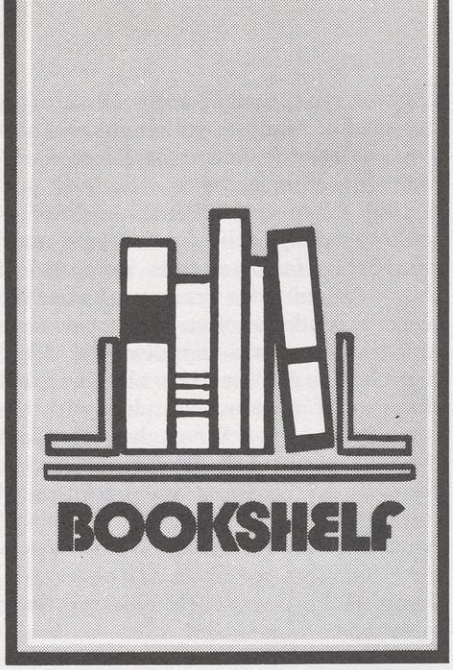
To contribute to students' hopefulness — based on reality rather than just wishful thinking — the curriculum highlights efforts which aim at the transformation of the entire society. The curriculum can guide students to a picture of South Africa as it actually exists; my deeper hope is that it will provide an opportunity for them to imagine the country as it could be. □

The preceding article has been adapted from the introduction to "Strangers in Their Own Country," a curriculum on South Africa prepared by William Bigelow. The recently published paperback curriculum can be purchased for $14.95 plus $1.50 postage/handling (75¢ each additional copy) from Africa World Press, P.O. Box 1892, Trenton, N.J. 08608.

About the Author

WILLIAM BIGELOW teaches at Jefferson High School in Portland. He would like to hear from others who are involved in teaching about South Africa; write to him at 1715 S.E. 36th Ave., Portland, OR 97214.

In the BOOKSHELF, a regular *Bulletin* department, all books that relate to minority themes are evaluated by members of the minority group depicted.—Editors.



Elizabeth Jones: Emergency

by Stephanie Gordon Tessler and Judith Enderle.
Walker, 1984,
$12.95, 164 pages, grades 7-up

There are memorable lines in this book; among them are: "[She] felt a jolt of electricity run through her" and "Those were the last words Liz heard. Her world suddenly went black" (meaning, of course, that she faints, but the possibilities for irony are great because this is a *Black* romance novel).

Student nurse Elizabeth Jones of the "café-au-lait skin" is tall and slim. (No stereotypic 300 pounder she; did we ask for *this*?) Thanks to her inheritance, she lives on a boat with Patches, her Dalmatian dog. Liz studies for her nursing finals and does superficial duty on occasion at a hospital where the Emergency Room is unlike any Emergency Room I've seen. However, this book is not about reality.

One day a young man—looking like "a dark-skinned Adonis"—swims to her boat. Ty Pippin is (of course) mysterious and charming, but Liz sends him away. The tension in the plot is a result of an attack on Liz by a man with a knife who attempts to rape her. Her dog attacks him. The man stabs the dog and staggers off the boat. The rest of the story revolves around Ty's adoring watchfulness of Liz on her boat, their boring but growing love for each other, her studying for the exams and the attempts to catch the man who attacked her.

By definition, romance novels are a problem. Superficiality and disrespect are structured into the formula that the publisher usually presents to writers. By definition, racism and sexism (particularly) are also structured into the formula. To identify the racism in this book—which is often expressed through poor attempts to be humorous—would be a bore because there is so much. (The constant repetition that "Ty's mother's nose is almost too straight and slim" is so obvious as to be slightly funny. Ty's nose is like his mother's, of course.)

It seems important, however, to comment on the outrageously casual handling of the attempted rape. To center the story around the victimization of women and to make it seem "romantic" is irresponsible.

At any rate, Ty turns out to be the son of the president of the board of the hospital where Liz is "in training." Ty is also a computer wizard in *one* of the companies owned by his father. Of course, Liz forgives his keeping his identity a secret and off they go, Mr. and Mrs. James Tyrone Pippin the Third. Pul-leeze, don't waste your time. There's better light reading. [Geraldine L. Wilson]

The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America

by Margaret Hope Bacon.
New Society Publishers, 1985,
$24.95 (hardcover), $8.95 (paper),
260 pages, grades 11-up

The Quakers have probably played a more positive role in promoting social justice than any other religious denomination in the U.S. The path of righteousness has often proved dangerous to those who tread it, but the Quakers' record is a welcome antidote to the actions of other religious and political leaders.

Since history textbooks provide minimal information about progressive stands, they prevent students from exploring the possibilities of humane, nonviolent governmental policies today. This book can serve as one corrective for such textbook omissions, and therefore it is recommended for all school libraries and for supplemental reading in high school history classes.

Be forewarned however, that — surprising to this reviewer — the author and publisher have used the male pronoun for both sexes and permitted many sexist passages. (For example, we are reassured that Quakers in the women's rights movement generally did not wear bloomers or advocate free love: "They remained feminine and modest.") The Epilogue informs us that this book was originally written in 1967-68, which might explain *some* of the sexism and the use of the word "Negro." But it does not explain why this text was published in 1985 without revision. [Lyla Hoffman]

Surrogate Sister

by Eve Bunting.
Lippincott, 1984,
$12.50, 211 pages, grades 7-up

Cassie Dedrick is a bright, artistic sixteen-year-old. She lives with her mother, her father having died when Cassie was three. The book opens as Cassie learns that her mother has decided to become a surrogate mother, enabling an anonymous infertile couple to have a child. Cassie reacts to her mother's pregnancy with anger and sarcasm. She fears the reactions of her friends and classmates, the change this could bring to her relationship with her mother, and the "unnaturalness" of surrogate motherhood.

In the months that follow, Cassie takes art lessons, goes to school, copes with her peers' censure or laughter, and begins a significant relationship with Sam, a college student. Through her relationship with Sam she becomes aware of the factors that go into a decision to have a sexual relationship. She also becomes aware of the complexities involved in making a decision to have a child and she begins to understand her mother's decision. The book ends with a reconciliation between Cassie and her mother, and within Cassie herself.

The author has done a fine job of show-

ing a teenager's reaction to this non-traditional situation. Cassie's thoughts and feelings and her relationship with her mother (a good example of a healthy single-parent family) and with Sam all ring true. I was also impressed with how Cassie's perceptions as an artist permeate her point of view.

There is a problem, however, in the portrayal of a minor character, Jay, who is a model in Cassie's life drawing class. While the author never states that Jay is gay, I was not comfortable with the number of tired old stereotypes Jay conforms to.

I was also confused by the cover art, in which Cassie looks Asian or Asian American. Although Cassie describes herself as having olive skin (as opposed to her mother's "wonderful creamy skin"), everyone in the book is white.

Despite these flaws, *Surrogate Sister* is definitely a cut above the typical young adult "problem novel." The characters are realistic, the dialogue is smooth, and, despite a few far-fetched coincidences, the plot is believable. [Christine Jenkins]

Barefoot a Thousand Miles

by Patsey Gray,
jacket illustration by Ondre Pettingill.
Walker, 1984,
$11.95, 92 pages, grades 7-up

This refreshing book utilizes the terrain and traditions of the White Mountain Apaches of the Fort Apache Reservation in Arizona as its story base. The protagonist is a formidable young man named Jim who looks after his two sisters and assists his father in the upkeep of their cattle ranch while his father works at the local sawmill. A Border collie named Quick is an important asset to Jim's farm work.

A neighborhood bully has given Quick (who is due to have puppies any day) to a family of tourists en route to California. Jim sets out to find Quick and the reader shares his adventures as he goes from the Fort Apache reservation to the Pacific. Though Jim hitchhikes, there is no glamour given to this mode of transportation. At one point, he stows away in a train with a criminal and is nearly killed; but he continues on his journey and meets many sympathetic and interesting people.

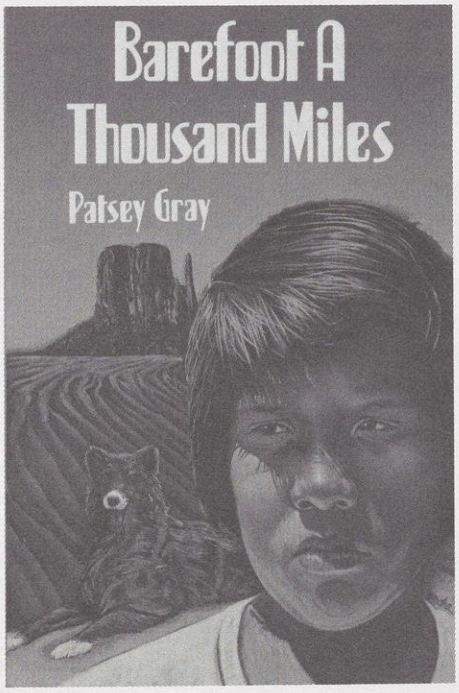
The reader is casually introduced to the Apache way of life and how it contrasts with—and survives in—the modern world. At one point, when Jim is discussing life on the reservation, the following passage occurs:

> "You boys are forgetting the Indians' basketry and beadwork," Millie put in, "and the yummy jewelry they make of turquoise and silver." She kept lumping all tribes together as "Indians" instead of using their separate tribal names. "And do you really live in teepees—or is it wigwams?" she asked.

This very accurate and unobtrusive scene is a beautiful example of what people of American Indian ancestry are subjected to on many occasions. At another point, Jim muses:

> Her sons, on the contrary, seemed to him young for their age. By Apache standards, they were irresponsible. Their parents spoiled them. He didn't envy them, for as a family they weren't really together.

There are some minor problems, however. (At one point, for example, Jim refers to the Superstition Mountains, which are part of the Fort Apache heritage, as weird.) Still, the story moves. The descriptions are vivid and Jim as an Apache is treated with dignity and respect. We see that he is responsible for more than himself—he keeps in touch with his family throughout the journey—and, most of all, we share in the tremendous courage he finds once his whole world is at stake.



This book would make a good addition to Native American collections. [Jacqueline M. Dean]

Show Me No Mercy: A Compelling Story of Remarkable Courage

by Robert Perske.
Abingdon Press, 1984,
$8.75 (paper), 144 pages, grades 8-up

Show Me No Mercy intertwines two heart-stirring story lines, each of which could easily, and probably more successfully, stand alone; combined they become too melodramatic for the average young adult reader. It is unfortunate that this author, who is clearly sensitive to issues of disability, took on more than is emotionally and intellectually acceptable and believable.

Andy Banks and his wife Maggie have worked hard and succeeded in raising two very independent teenagers. Beth, a bright high school student, cares deeply about her twin brother Ben, although having a brother who has Down's Syndrome can bring special problems. The Banks family are portrayed as well-intentioned, sincere people, human and prone to their share of mistakes and disagreements. What is unreal is the tragedies that befall this family.

While driving to a movie on Thanksgiving evening, the Banks car is struck from behind. Mother and daughter are killed, Andy is seriously injured. Ben escapes physically unscathed, but having lost the stability of his family, he desperately seeks the one anchor in his life: his father. Social workers, doctors and well-intentioned relatives try to have Ben placed in an institution but it is Ben's tenacity and family friends who succeed in bringing stability back into Ben's life. In turn, it is Ben who is instrumental in hastening his father's recovery. Ben's strengths and weaknesses are clearly presented in a realistic manner and the reader is left with some strong positive images.

We see that Ben's exposure to a mainstreamed high school setting and

his encouragement from family and friends have paid off. It is unfortunate, however, that this portrayal gets lost in a maze of melodrama. Had the author chosen a simpler path, his strength, like Ben's, would have had a better chance of shining through. [Emily Strauss Watson]

Hiawatha's Childhood

by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow,
illustrated by Errol Le Cain.
Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1984,
$10.95, unpaged, grades K-up

Le Cain has chosen the first 96 lines of Longfellow's poem to illustrate as *Hiawatha's Childhood*. Without discussing in detail the merit of the poem itself, I would say that, by now, most people know that it is not exactly culturally authentic. (Frederick J. Dockstader in *Great North American Indians*, Van Nostrand, 1977, notes that: "When Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote his classic epic poem, *Hiawatha*, he confused Indian history by basing most of his narrative upon Chippewa legend rather than Mohawk . . . the tribe from which *Hiawatha* actually came.")

In this book, the illustrations are, with regard to form and color, quite lovely, but on close examination, they reveal unattractive aspects. The Native iconography, such of it as there is, is mostly Northern Plains—full ceremonial eagle-feathered headdress, etc. The night skies are filled with figures in such attire, some on horseback. Are they meant to be spirit beings? The firefly scene is pure grotesque; the child Hiawatha is drawn as a bug-eyed little monster in the night, illumined from below by the firefly's glow. He looks like something out of Marcia Brown's *Shadow* (Scribner, 1982; see Vol. 14, Nos. 1 & 2).

Also troubling is the double-page spread of owls in headdress. Is it *still* necessary to point out that it is offensive to dress animals up like Indians? (Add to this that there are few Native peoples for whom the owl is not a bird of ill-omen.) The rest of the animals are pure Walt Disney. The last illustration shows the child sitting on a deer, with a pair of antlers tied to his head, while a representative collection of animals surrounds him, smiling benevolently.

Moreover, I do not like the darkness of these illustrations. Even in those scenes clearly meant to be taking place in daytime, the darkness is there, on the edges, waiting. It reminds me too much of the centuries-long European hatred of the Forest as something "wild," suitable only for Indians and other animals, to be feared, to be destroyed.

It is hard to avoid the impression that Le Cain, in casting about for something new on which to exercise his talents, has chosen a subject area with which he is completely unfamiliar and has not felt the need to do any pre-publication research. Even if I thought that Longfellow's *Hiawatha* was an appropriate artistic recreation of the life of Haio-hwa'tha, I could not recommend this particular interpretation. [Doris Seale]

Susan B. Anthony

by Ilene Cooper.
Watts, 1984,
$9.90, 117 pages, grades 7-up

This is the best biography of Anthony for elementary-age children that I have read. The author gives an account of Anthony's life and work plus a sense of her time and the prevailing social thought and expectations. I was particularly impressed by Cooper's commitment to facts. Here are none of the manufactured events, settings and thoughts that so often mar biographies written for children; only documented quotes are stated as conversation. This could make the book a bit dry, but the unembellished facts are interesting, and the reader is drawn into Anthony's world, a world where women waged a seven-year struggle in the 1850s simply to gain the right for married women to own property.

Anthony's grit and determination are amply illustrated, as are those of other suffragists, especially her close friend and co-worker, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. One of the main focuses of the book is the relationship between Anthony and Stanton and the depth of their mutual support, both personal and political. We are given a detailed picture of the complexity of the struggle for women's suffrage, the legal entanglements involved, and the various strategies women used in gaining the vote.

Unfortunately, this book is not without its flaws. There is an overemphasis on Anthony's appearance and whether or not she was "spinsterish." As Anthony *was* attacked on this basis by critics of her day (and this day as well, unfortunately), it is worthwhile for Cooper to take on the question directly, especially since Anthony herself was self-conscious about her looks as a child. However, the author gives the matter of looks a bit too much attention, especially when describing suffragist Lucy Stone as "a plain, pug-nosed girl" when her photo is right there for readers to draw their own conclusions. States the author, "Anti-feminist newspapers mocked what they considered to be her spinsterish ways." Just what *are* "spinsterish ways"? And why does Cooper follow this sentence with an account of all the marriage proposals Anthony received instead of challenging the valuation of women for their marriageability? Here the author plays into the very rating system that "spinsterish" implies.

Also of concern is the lack of explanation for Anthony's attitudes on race. When urging that women gain the vote, she repeatedly pointed out that uneducated Black and European immigrant men were able to vote while educated women were not. She and other women who had been active in abolition and suffrage work were bitterly divided over this issue, and Anthony walked a fine line between insisting on universal suffrage and declaring that women had *more* of a right to vote by virtue of their superior education. Notes the text: "Susan was furious at abolitionists arguing against women's suffrage—not only had women worked long and hard for this right, but in most cases they were better educated and had more political experience than the freed slaves." History should not be rewritten nor Anthony appear more enlightened than she was. However, I *would* like to see a more complete treatment of the reasons why women's rights and Blacks' rights were placed in opposition after the Civil War, rather than being fought for together.

Despite its flaws, I recommend this book for all children's and young adult collections. In addition to its fine text, the book is a manageable length for elementary and intermediate students, and it is well-indexed. This biography's usefulness is unquestionable. [Christine Jenkins]

An eye-opening, exciting and useful map, 35 × 50 inches, in full color. It dispels misconceptions about the relative size of the continents and various nations

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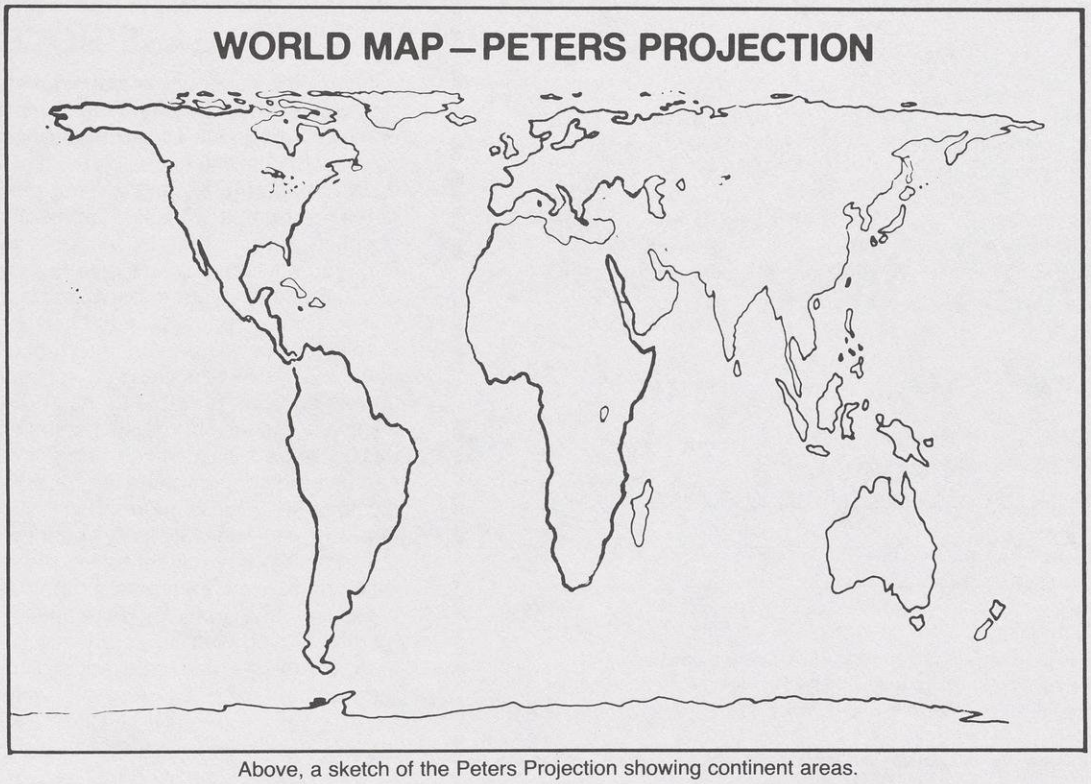

Above, a sketch of the Peters Projection showing continent areas.

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