Witness To Apartheid:

A Teaching Guide
by William Bigelow

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Produced and directed by Sharon Sopher
Co-produced by Kevin Harris

Classroom version of **Witness to Apartheid** made possible by the Aaron Diamond Foundation.

Introduction

The story **Witness to Apartheid** tells is stark: children in South Africa — the same age as students we teach — are today being beaten, detained, even tortured. As one recent human rights report summarizes, the South African government is waging a "war against children."

The images of **Witness to Apartheid** are not seen on the evening news: a father shares his feelings about the cold-blooded murder of his son by a South African policeman; a young woman describes the hideous torture she experienced while in police custody; a young man mumbles that he doesn't want to go on living — his beatings by security forces have left him permanently disabled. The film documents that in today's South Africa murder, detention, torture occur not as aberrations, but systematically — sanctioned at the highest levels. To be young and black in South Africa is to be a target, a human rights offense waiting to happen.

This teaching guide provides a week's lessons which help students experience this frightening — but, paradoxically, hopeful — world of South Africa. Students will come away from the week as "witnesses to apartheid": they will simulate the inequities of life in South Africa, and learn about the repression used to prevent change; see and hear South Africans describe some of the horrors and hopes of life in that country; confront the dilemmas facing black South African student activists through role play; and finally, communicate directly to their peers in South Africa.

By the end of the week, expect students to develop a framework for understanding today's explosive events in South Africa. As they begin to see why children their own age are risking their lives to end apartheid, they will deepen their own understanding of human rights and democracy. And as students grasp the enormity of injustice in South Africa they will consider their own responsibilities as global citizens.

Summary of the Lessons:

Witness to Apartheid implicitly raises some important questions: What are people in South Africa so deeply committed to that they would be willing to risk imprisonment, even death? What is so oppressive about social conditions in South Africa that people choose such great risks? Are there changes in certain government policies which could satisfy their demands for justice, or are deeper, structural changes needed? Who benefits from this system and why are they willing to unleash such brutality on those who would seek changes?

Day one: **Apartheid Simulation** acquaints students with apartheid as a system of racial and economic domination and human rights denial, and begins to equip them to answer the above questions. Students learn how apartheid consigns blacks to the worst land, death by preventable diseases at much higher rates than whites, meager wages, and denies them a statutory voice in the governance of their own country. Further, students see that it is not simply a matter of blacks being poor and whites being rich — but rather that blacks are poor because whites are rich. This helps lay the groundwork for understanding the impassioned commitment to resistance — and the ruthless repression — portrayed in **Witness to Apartheid.**

Day two students watch and discuss **Witness to Apartheid**. Discussion questions help students deepen their understanding of human rights and reflect on **why** the government is prepared to go to such lengths to intimidate and crush those who would challenge its rule. Students also consider the motives and goals for some of those who are determined to end apartheid.

Days three and four students participate in a role play in which they learn about their counterparts in South Africa, the people Archbishop Desmond Tutu calls a "new breed of children." These are the young people seen in **Witness to Apartheid** who daily risk their lives in encounters with South Africa's security forces. Through role play, students will share in the problems, difficult choices and hopes experienced by South Africa's youth.

Finally, **Day five**, students are given the opportunity to write letters to their peers in South Africa. The internationally respected Detainees' Parents Support Committee, based in Johannesburg, has provided a list of names of young people in South Africa who have been detained. Students now have a chance to express support, direct questions and offer thoughts to the South Africans they have been studying throughout the week.

DAY ONE: APARTHEID SIMULATION*

Goals/Objectives:

1. Students will gain an understanding of apartheid not simply as segregation, but as a system by which a minority denies the majority access to land, income, power and rights.
2. Students will consider why people might rebel in South Africa.
3. Students will begin to understand why a system of deep injustice inevitably becomes dependent upon force and repression.

Materials Needed:

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

Procedure:

1. Prior to the class, mark off a large rectangle on the floor with masking tape. Within the rectangle several small areas should be marked off with tape. Combined, these small areas should total 13% of the larger rectangle. Also mark off an area in a corner of the room which can be used as a prison for uncooperative students.

2. Explain to students that they are going to do a simulation about a real country in the world today.

3. Choose approximately 16% of the students, four out of a class of twenty-five, who will occupy the 87% of the rectangle. Give **Student Handout #1: Privileged Minority** to these students and send them off to a corner of the room to read the role sheet.

4. Group (squeeze) the rest of the students into the small areas comprising the remaining 13% of the rectangle. Explain to these students that under no circumstance may they go outside their designated areas unless given permission from you or one of the "privileged minority." (Later, you may want to join the privileged minority in scolding those "stupid kaffirs" who can't follow directions and step over the lines, or even send them to prison.) Also explain that, should the need arise, you will enforce the orders given by the privileged minority.

5. With the majority confined to the various areas, quietly review **Handout #1** (so that others can't hear) with the privileged minority, making certain students understand their roles. Show students the area you have marked off as a prison. Explain that you will ensure that any student they send to prison will remain there.

6. Introduce the privileged minority to the rest of the class, explaining that only these students get to wander the classroom freely. Tell students that in this simulation "m & m" candies will represent income. Explain further that to succeed at this exercise each student must be in possession of at least **two** "m & m" candies by the end of the simulation.

7. Conspicuously give two **packets** of "m & m"s to each of the privileged minority. One packet should contain 12 "m & m"s which will be used for **personal consumption**. The other packets given to the privileged minority are to be used as the wages for the rest of the class. To determine the **total** number of "m & m" candies available for these wage packets, multiply the number of majority students by 1.5. (This simulates the roughly 8 to 1 white/African income differential in South Africa.) Give no "m & m"s to the majority.

Tell students that some people in this society make more than others, but if they haven't yet made enough to survive they can go to work for the privileged minority. (If need be, suggest certain jobs that the minority could employ the other students to do — e.g., emptying the garbage, sweeping the floor, cleaning the chalk boards, moving books, straightening desks, and even policing their other majority colleagues.) Make certain the minority demands proper respect from the others. You might even want to include yourself as one of the privileged minority.

8. Encourage the privileged minority to write any needed laws on the chalkboard: no talking back, no talking between groups, etc. If students break laws, those hired as police can be called upon to take them to jail. New laws can be enacted as needed.

9. **What to expect:** Results of the simulation vary from group to group. Generally the privileged minority will act haughtily, sometimes making outrageous demands on the majority. Usually students in the majority will compete with one another for "m & m"s and other privileges, like the right to be outside of their small area. At times, students will shove each other out of these areas or tattle on one of the others in order to curry favor with the minority. Occasionally, it will occur to the majority that they should resist the minority by refusing to cooperate. The minority will usually respond with increased repression: making laws forbidding noncooperation, talking or organizing for change, or by carting alleged troublemakers off to jail. Once, a student who was a member of the privileged minority "banished" a troublemaker to the hallway outside the classroom. A dean who happened to be patrolling the halls promptly gave this student detention for not having a pass. All this is grist for the discussion mill. Whatever happens can in some way be related to what is happening or has happened in South Africa.

10. When you feel students have adequately experienced the simulation, call a halt, have them return to their seats and begin

* Adapted from William Bigelow, **Strangers in Their Own Country: A Curriculum Guide on South Africa**, Africa World Press, Trenton, New Jersey.

discussion. Often it is useful to have students write a short reaction to the simulation: how they felt, why they responded the way they did, why they did or did not try to change the arrangement. This can help ready the class to thoughtfully discuss the simulation experience. Some possible questions:

Who succeeded in acquiring at least two "m & m"s? (Point out that the privileged minority had succeeded before the exercise had even begun.) What did you have to do to get them?

- How did this simulation make you feel? Was it fair?
- Who here would have liked to change the set-up? Who liked the way it was? Why?
- **To the majority:** Did you think the privileged minority preferred things the way they were? Did you speak out, complain or demand any changes? What were you protesting? What was most unjust? How did the minority respond to your efforts? Why did they respond that way? If you didn't speak up, why not? What made it difficult for you to change your conditions?
- **To the minority:** How did you deal with people who were uncooperative or tried to change the system? If you knew the members of the majority were dissatisfied, why didn't you try to make the situation more fair?
- Were there any conflicts among people in the majority groups? What caused these? (overcrowding? competition for jobs?) Did the privileged minority do anything to try to increase the conflict between people in the majority?
- What reasons might the majority have for prohibiting protest and change? Can you make any general statement about the connection between repression and a system which is blatantly unequal?
- In real life, how could a minority justify having so much more wealth and land than the majority?

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

As much as possible, complete the diagram with the students rather than as a lecture. Begin by asking students direct questions about their experiences. Next, ask them to infer how people might justify this arrangement, how it might have developed. Involve students in a discussion of the obstacles faced by those who wish to change the structure.

As the diagram is being completed you might break down certain words. For example, apartheid (pronounced apart-hate): an Afrikaans word meaning apartness. Continue to draw out students' reactions and include these on the board.

12. Distribute the **Student Handout #2: Map** so students can see the actual location and size of the bantustans, the designated "homelands" for black South Africans. Ask students to reflect on why these areas are chopped up into so many pieces. How might this make it difficult for a united movement for equality and justice to develop?

Homework:

Writing Assignment — Distribute copies of **Student Handout #3: Human Rights in South Africa.** Ask students to carefully read the information included in the handout. Have students write on the following topic:

Imagine that tomorrow we are going to take a field trip to South Africa. After arriving, we will first meet with a group of black South African students. What would you like to find out about these students' lives? Make a thorough list of questions in preparation for our meeting.

South African Society

Africans (Blacks)	APARTHEID	Afrikaners and English (Whites)*
Assigned to 13% of land designated as "Bantustans" or "Homelands"		Own/occupy 87% of land
Income less than 1/8 of whites'		Income eight times that of blacks
Social/occupational subordinates		Social/occupational superiors
No vote or voice in lawmaking, but must obey laws		Make laws which everyone must follow
Must have permission to live in the 87% of South Africa designated "white"		Control through laws who may or may not live in "white" South Africa.

*Note: Point out to students that not all whites support the system of apartheid in South Africa. Many belong to anti-apartheid organizations. Some have been jailed or forced into exile by the government. Students will meet some of these people in **Witness to Apartheid**.

Virtually all protest, nonviolent or otherwise, is outlawed. Even to meet together is illegal. People may be detained without trial indefinitely. Thousands are in jail without having been convicted, or even accused of any crime. According to human rights groups, 70% of these people have been physically tortured. Hundreds have been shot in the streets by police and the army.

DAY TWO: FILM "WITNESS TO APARTHEID"

Goals/Objectives:
1. Students will become aware of the widespread human rights abuses and the depth of brutality practiced by the authorities in South Africa.
2. Students will reflect on the determination of those standing up to the South African regime.
3. Students will speculate on the origins of this commitment to justice.
4. Students will consider the link between repression and the preservation of apartheid.

Materials Needed:
1. Film: Witness to Apartheid
2. Student Handout #4: Learning Was Defiance, by Dumisani Kumalo

Procedure:

1. Tell students that although the class can't travel to South Africa, South Africa can "travel" to the class in the form of a film: **Witness to Apartheid**. Ask students to use the lists they completed for homework to share what questions they would like answered by South African students. For reference, you may wish to keep some of these questions on the board as the week's study of South Africa continues.

2. Tell students that early in the film they are about to watch, Archbishop Desmond Tutu remarks that in South Africa, "We've got a new breed of children." Encourage students to think about this idea as they watch the film: What does he mean? In what ways are they similar and different?

3. Show the film.

4. Discussion questions for the film include:

- What are the most powerful images from the film that stick in your mind? What shocked or surprised you?
- In the film, Archbishop Tutu quotes a number of young people who say, "If they want to, those police can escort us with their guns at the ready. But we are going to this graveyard and we are going to march." How would you react if a friend of yours were killed and you were not allowed to attend the funeral? What gives the young people in South Africa the kind of determination described by Archbishop Tutu?
- How important are the freedoms for which the students are risking their lives to achieve? Would you also risk your life to achieve these? Where else have people risked their lives for similar goals?
- A member of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) says in the film, "We feel as if we're not free. We feel like we're in prison, even though we're at home." What does this mean? What evidence can you cite that life in South Africa is like being in prison?
- Another member of COSAS says in **Witness to Apartheid**, "I got rid of the pamphlets and the T-Shirts . . . Because what they can do is just come into your house and search there, and whatever they come across, then you're detained." Is there anything in your home that might subject you to arrest if you lived in South Africa? What about here in this classroom?
- Did you notice that a number of the policemen who are attacking children in the film are black? Based on your experience in the simulation, why do you think officials in the white government would want to hire black police officers? Why would some blacks take such jobs? How do you think residents in the black townships feel about these police officers?
- Based on some of the interviews in the film — particularly those with Mrs. Botha and the whites who were asked if they had ever been to a black township — how do whites justify living in such a grossly unequal and unfair society?
- What makes whites reluctant to change?
- From what you saw in the film, are you hopeful that South Africa could change nonviolently? What evidence is there to support the claims of COSAS students that real change will come to South Africa only through violence? Is there any evidence to the contrary? Is it reasonable to hope that the "Mrs. Bothas" of South Africa could agree to a fully equal society in South Africa?

  (Note: You may want to point out that Botha is a very common last name among Afrikaners in South Africa. It is unlikely that the Mrs. Botha in the film is related to Prime Minister P.W. Botha.)
- In the film, Curtis Nkondo of the United Democratic Front argues that "anyone who wants peace must first fight for justice," that there is no real peace without justice. Do you agree? What does he mean by justice?
- Nkondo asserts that in South Africa, "We are not fighting whites, we are fighting the system." What's the difference? Why does Nkondo feel it is so important to emphasize this distinction?
- Johann Fourie, the white advertising executive who ferries wounded children to the doctor, says, "The time had come to stand up and be counted. (I feel) ashamed for having done so little for so long." What does Fourie mean? Is there any such thing as an innocent bystander in South Africa? What would you do if you were a white South African?

DAY TWO

- Based on your experience in the apartheid simulation, why do you think the government instructs the police and army to go to such brutal lengths to crush any opposition?
- Archbishop Tutu says, "This government does not know how to handle dissent . . . They almost always respond with the iron fist." What evidence can you cite to support Archbishop Tutu's claim? Why does the government not allow dissent?
- At the end of the film, Archbishop Desmond Tutu says that in South Africa "black lives are dirt cheap. Our people are killed as if you're swatting a fly." What evidence does **Witness to Apartheid** provide to support Archbishop Tutu's chilling conclusion?
- Why is the film called **Witness to Apartheid**? If you witness some particular injustice being committed, what kind of responsibility does this give you?
- Before **Witness to Apartheid** was produced, the story of detentions of children and systematic torture of detainees was barely covered in the U.S. media. In fact, still today it is rarely mentioned. Filmmaker Sharon Sopher tells audiences that she had no more contacts in South Africa than do the correspondents for U.S. television networks based there. Why hasn't the story of widespread torture in South Africa been given more prominent treatment by the mainstream media in the U.S.? Could this be considered censorship?

Homework:

Read Student Handout #4: Learning Was Defiance, by Dumisani Kumalo.

DAY THREE: ROLE PLAY: "A NEW BREED OF CHILDREN"

Goals/Objectives:
1. Students will learn about the conditions black South African students face in their schooling and why they are so committed to changing their education and society.
2. Students will learn to apply their understanding to concrete problems as they grapple with the difficult choices facing South African students.
3. Students will gain experience in group decision-making and consider the implications of different actions.

Materials Needed:
1. Student Handout #5: South African Student
2. Student Handout #6: Challenging "Gutter Education"

Procedure:

1. As an introduction to this lesson review **Learning Was Defiance** and re-play the section in **Witness to Apartheid** which includes the COSAS students. One of these young people declares that for freedom he is "prepared to sacrifice even my life. I am prepared to do whatever I can." This lesson will explore what leads people in South Africa to such a deep commitment.

2. Seat students in a circle so they are able to talk with one another more easily. Explain to students that they are going to experience a little of what it is like to be students in the black townships of South Africa.

3. Distribute to the class **Student Handout #5: South African Student.**

4. Ask students to read the role carefully. Have them mark parts they think are especially important to remember and to note any questions they might have.

5. When students have completed the reading, remind them that for the rest of the role play each of them is to imagine being the person described in the role sheet. To work them into their roles, you should "interview" them about what is going on in their lives. Select students at random to answer a number of questions, such as:

- Tell us about your home life. What bothers you most about your living situation?
- What does your education prepare you for? How does that make you feel?
- How do you feel about your education, in fact your whole life, being determined by the color of your skin?
- What complaints do you have about your teachers and the quality of instruction? Who or what do you blame? Would better teachers make a difference?
- What have you done about these complaints?
- What difficulties do you face in organizing? How do you express your opinions if demonstrations are illegal?
- What makes you think that you can do anything to change the system in South Africa? Aren't you a little overwhelmed?
- A friend of yours was shot yesterday on the way home from school, another was beaten and, like Johnny in **Witness to Apartheid**, can hardly speak. Does that give you second thoughts about continuing your work to change the system?
- Your parents are afraid you too will be killed. If your parents asked you to stop your political activities and just go to school and not complain, what would you tell them?
- What's wrong with soldiers in the classroom? Don't they guarantee that your education will not be disrupted?
- Suppose the government promised to improve the quality of education, would that satisfy you?
- With COSAS banned, all of your student meetings are illegal. You could be arrested — even tortured — for just getting together to talk. Is it really worth it? Why? Where will you meet?

Many other questions are possible. The goal here is simply to get students to begin identifying with their role by reflecting upon the daily conditions of their life.

Another option is to have students write their answers to a few of these questions. Sometimes this helps students study the role a little more carefully.

6. Distribute **Student Handout #6: Challenging "Gutter Education."** Read the problems aloud with students and clarify any questions they might raise.

7. There are at least three different ways to handle this assignment, depending on the comfort and ease with which the class handles group discussions.

Option #1:

Have the class become a secret meeting of black students in the school described in the Handout. Talk about different methods they might use to discuss and decide the issues raised in the Handout. Students might choose a chairperson to call on other students and move the discussion along. Alternatively, there might be a rotating chairperson for each of the six issues. Still another possibility is to have no chairperson, but for each student who speaks to call on the next speaker who calls on the following speaker, and so on.

As the teacher you have no role other than to watch and take notes on different lines of argument that are raised. This is my favored option, because students not only become familiar with the difficult issues faced by the "new breed of children" in South Africa, but they also experience the problems — and excitement — of collective decision-making. However, students may have a number of problems making decisions as a group, and this can lead to conflicts which are not easily resolved.

Option #2:

Ask students to complete the assignment in small groups. After each group is finished reconvene the large group and compare answers and rationales.

Option #3:

Allow students to work individually on the questions and then lead a group discussion of all six problems.

Whichever method you choose, remind students that they need to approach each problem from the perspective of the South African students described in **Handout #5**.

Homework:

Writing assignment: Have students write a report on their deliberations. The report should explain the reasoning behind each of the decisions reached and also discuss some of the potential problems with the decision.

Or: Have students write an "interior monologue" from the point of view of the student they portrayed: what fears and expectations are going on in the mind of this young South African? Is he or she optimistic? What difficulties and challenges still await this student and other COSAS members?

DAY FOUR: ROLE PLAY: "A NEW BREED OF CHILDREN" (completion)

1. After students have completed their discussions of the six problems raised in **Student Handout #6: Challenging "Gutter Education,"** review their decisions and compare them with the choices actually being made by South African students. Use the following information as a guide.

A. What are the demands you plan to make of the Department of Education and Training (DET), the agency that oversees black education in South Africa? Do you have additional demands which might go beyond what the DET would likely be able to deal with?

One of the most important demands students have put forward has been for democratically elected Student Representative Councils. The government has steadfastly refused this demand and has instead offered schemes of representation which give no real democratic voice to students. Black students have criticized the quality of instruction in their schools and continue to demand qualified teachers. According to one student publication, 78 out of 100 teachers in black schools are unqualified. Students have also called for an end to corporal punishment and sexual harassment.

In December of 1985, students' organizations joined with a number of progressive parent and teacher groups to found the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). This national organization has subsequently led the fight for the development of a "people's education" in the schools that "eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development, and . . . encourages collective input and active participation by all." As part of this people's education students demand that they be taught from works of history and literature that equip them to understand more clearly the roots of their liberation struggle.

Students recognize that, ultimately, gutter education simply prepares them for life in the gutter and that their demands implicitly go well beyond edcational reform. Students are demanding a fully democratic society with opportunities for meaningful work and social interaction. Consequently, more and more students see themselves as activists in the broader struggle to overthrow the system of apartheid and institutionalized inequality.

B. What, if anything, will you threaten to do if your demands are not met? Can you make any changes on your own without the government's consent?

Some of the students' demands depend on government action, but students have taken other grievances into their own hands. All over South Africa, people's education and "awareness days" have been initiated by students themselves, sometimes with the cooperation of supportive teachers. In these sessions, students study an alternative view of history and literature, sing freedom songs and hear presentations from other students about political activities in other schools. At times, these awareness sessions have gone on even in schools occupied by the South African army.

In attempting to secure concessions from the government, the school boycott has been a favored tactic of the student movement, though some people have grown critical of these stayaways because students are often cut off from each other for long periods of time. Others worry about a generation of illiterates growing up.

C. What action will students in your school take to overturn Jacob Molefe's firing?

Once a progressive teacher is sacked, his or her rehiring automatically becomes one of the students' demands. Students have also joined alliances with progressive teachers' unions in South Africa to demand that teachers be rehired.

D. Should you approach COSATU to ask for help? What kind of help do you think this organization could offer? Even though the unions in COSATU might be sympathetic to your struggle, how will you explain to them why they should go out of their way to support you? From what other kinds of groups or organizations could you look for support?

Before it was banned, COSAS cooperated with the trade union movement and they supported each other's demands. In November 1984 COSAS helped initiate a general strike in the Transvaal region of South Africa (including Johannesburg) in which an estimated 650,000 workers struck for two days. Up to that time, this was the largest general strike that had been staged in the history of South Africa. Students and workers have subsequently worked together on numerous occasions, notably in organizing for the June 16, 1986 commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. For example, COSATU prepared a pamphlet written in a popular style which explained to workers the students' demands and the goals of people's education.

COSATU unions have a strong stake in the student struggles for a number of reasons. First, participation in the democratic student organizations is important experience that is built upon when those students become workers. All the struggles put the apartheid regime under increasing pressure and weaken its ability to repress easily or buy off isolated insurgencies. On a personal level, workers are also parents and care about their children's education. Each fight against the apartheid authorities is also a learning experience which, win or lose, better equips the participants and the movement as a whole to learn what works and what doesn't, and what is ultimately necessary to achieve liberation.

E. How will you respond to this new decree (to carry ID cards)?

Students in Soweto and in many other black townships had bonfires and burned cards. In other areas, sympathetic principals never issued them. By fall of 1986, it appeared that the authorities responded to widespread resistance simply by ignoring their own decrees. In some areas, particularly Soweto and the Eastern Cape, the government has shut down black schools known for their active resistance.

F. What will you do if troops come on to school grounds?

This question, and perhaps some of the others, will confront your students with issues of violence and nonviolence as viable methods of change. In South Africa, as **Witness to Apartheid** demonstrates, many students believe that violence is a legitimate tactic. This is a judgment not hastily reached, but born out of a fifty-year nonviolent struggle which, at each step, has met with increased repression (see the film **Generations of Resistance** for a history of apartheid). Questions of life and death are heavy fare for classroom discussion and deserve detailed consideration (see Lesson #10 in **Strangers in Their Own Country**).

HOMEWORK:

Writing assignment: Following the discussion, ask students to stay in their roles as South African students. Have them write letters to North American students explaining why they are so determined; what it is they are trying to achieve that is so important that they are willing to risk their lives; is there anything they want North American students to do that could support the struggle for freedom in South Africa? Encourage students to use lots of examples in their letters.

You may want students to read their letters as a way of stimulating further discussion. It's important that the horrors of apartheid not be taught in a way that lulls students into complacency about injustices in our society — inequality and racism are features still deeply embedded in the structure of our own country. The following are some intentionally leading questions which might provoke some reflection about the character and quality of our students' schooling:

- Which of the goals fought for by South African students might also be appropriate here?
- What kind of say-so do students here have in determining policies about curriculum, quality of instruction, school discipline, etc. (Do school authorities here ever set up pretend-democracies to satisfy students' desires for input as they do in South Africa?)
- Is the curriculum biased in favor of certain ethnic groups or social classes?
- How do school facilities and the quality of instruction differ among rich and poor and between racial and ethnic groups?
- Does unfair punishment or sexual harassment exist?
- Is our schooling shaped by the needs of an unequal society for a particular kind of workforce as in South Africa?
- Is there fulfilling work available for all school graduates?

Students' answers to these questions might indicate more similarities between students' conditions in South Africa and this society than might at first be apparent.

DAY FIVE: SOUTH AFRICA LETTER WRITING

Goals/Objectives:

1. Students will reflect on their responsibility to work for justice in South Africa.
2. Students will identify questions and understandings they've developed through the course of the week's study on South Africa.
3. Students will take one more step toward identifying with South Africans as people.

Materials Needed:

1. List of names of South African students who have been detained provided by the:
   Detainees' Parents Support Committee
   P.O. Box 39431
   Bramley 2018
   Johannesburg, SOUTH AFRICA

Procedure:

1. Remind students that the film they watched earlier was called **Witness to Apartheid** and that through the week's activities they have become "witnesses" to apartheid. Ask:

What responsibility does this give us to act on behalf of those fighting for human rights and justice in South Africa? If you heard someone calling insistently for help outside your house, would it be appropriate to do nothing?

What might be some ways that we here, even right at this school, could make a difference? As appropriate, share with students some of the things that other young people are doing around the country:

- Students in Oregon put on a play about apartheid to educate the community.
- Students in New York produced posters to be displayed at different schools.
- Students in Maryland researched where the gold in their class rings comes from to make sure they are not supporting South African mining companies.
- College students all around the country have been at the forefront of the movement to pressure for full U.S. corporate disinvestment from South Africa.
- High school students in Brookline, Massachusetts successfully pushed a resolution through their town council calling for divestment of local funds from corporations doing business in South Africa.
- Toronto students organized a citywide conference to educate teachers and students about apartheid and the South African struggle for democracy.

Tell students that one way to make a small difference might be to communicate directly with people in South Africa to offer encouragement or just the sense that people around the world are watching and care.

2. Ask for volunteers to read the letters they wrote as the concluding activity in the COSAS role play.

3. Tell students that they will now have an opportunity to contact by letter an actual student in South Africa. This is their chance to ask questions, offer support or share their experiences with a person directly involved in the South African struggle. It may be useful for students to imagine that they have actually received the letter they wrote as a South African to a North American student. This might spark writing ideas. Students may also wish to refer back to the assignment they completed for homework on **Day one** of the **Witness to Apartheid** curriculum.

4. Before beginning the letter writing, have students list ideas or questions they would like to bring up with their correspondents. You may wish to have students share some of these with each other.

5. Assign students a name from the list provided by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) in the Appendix (insert). Letters should be addressed c/o the DPSC.

Remarks:

A number of my students at Jefferson High School in Portland, Oregon have been writing to students in a so-called colored high school outside of Cape Town, South Africa. Some get replies, some don't. Your students should understand that there are a variety of factors making it difficult to get responses from South Africa: it's possible that South African students will not receive the letters for a number of reasons; they may fear that a response could target them or their families for detention or surveillance; work, school, family or political responsibilities may not leave time for corresponding with people so far away; for some, even the cost of an envelope and stamp may be prohibitive.

Those students of mine who do receive replies are thrilled, and we share these as a class so all can benefit. Getting a letter from South Africa makes the entire unit less abstract — the people students have been studying finally become real.

On a practical note, as of April 1987, a ½-ounce airmail letter to South Africa costs 44 cents.

REFERENCE MATERIALS:

Additional Reading Suggestions for Students:

Luli Callinicos, **Gold and Workers: A People's History of South Africa** (vol. 1.), Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985. (Distributed in the U.S. by Ohio Univ. Press, Athens, Ohio.) A fine and readable account of the importance of gold in the social and economic development of South Africa. Lots of material could be used quite successfully with high school students.

Julie Frederikse, **South Africa: A Different Kind of War**, James Currey, 1986. Drawings, interviews, photographs, news articles are woven together to give a sense for the character of the struggle in South Africa.

International Defense and Aid for Southern Africa, **Apartheid: The Facts**, IDAF, London, 1983. An excellent overview of South Africa's apartheid system. The book is full of charts and graphs that could be reproduced for classroom use. (IDAF also publishes **Namibia: The Facts**.)

International Defense and Aid for Southern Africa, **This is Apartheid, A Pictorial Introduction**, IDAF, London, 1978. A short but engaging pamphlet illustrated with photographs.

Beata Lipman, **We Make Freedom — Women in South Africa**, Pandora Press, London and Boston, 1984. Lipman has interviewed women engaged in a variety of activities in South Africa. The selections are short and could easily be used with students.

Beverly Naidoo, **Journey to Jo'burg: A South African Story**, Lipincott, New York, 1985. A moving story which captures how family life is affected by apartheid. Highly recommended for students.

Judy Seidman, **Ba Ye Zwa: The People Live**, South End Press, Boston, 1978. A collection of poetry, newspaper clippings, illustrations, etc., makes for provocative student reading.

(Ravan Press also publishes several excellent collections of short stories, many of which could be used with students.)

Reading Suggestions for Teachers:

Pam Christie / SACHED, **The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa**, SACHED/RAVAN Press, Johannesburg, 1985. A history and critique of education in South Africa. This book would be especially useful teacher background for the COSAS role play in this curriculum guide.

Kevin Danaher, **In Whose Interest? A Guide to U.S. / South African Relations**, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., 1984. Excellent overview of South African conflict. Focuses especially on U.S. Involvement in South Africa. Includes the most detailed bibliography available on South Africa.

William Finnegan, **Crossing The Line: A Year in the Land of Apartheid**, Harper and Row, New York, 1986. An engaging and insightful account of a young American teaching in a so-called coloured township in Cape Town, South Africa.

Lawyers Committee For Human Rights, **War Against the Children**, New York, 1986. A damning overview of the South African government's treatment of children in the recent struggles. Parts of this could be used with students.

Joseph Lelyveld, **Move Your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White**, Random House, 1986. Former *New York Times* correspondent writes of his impressions of the country and the current crisis.

Ann Seidman, **Roots of Crisis in Southern Africa**, Africa World Press, Trenton, N.J., 1985. Just what the title says. Seidman has spend years living in Southern Africa as a teacher and researcher. Lots of useful tables and data boxes.

Two good sources of books are:

Africa World Press
P.O. Box 1892
Trenton, NJ 08607

International Defense and Aid Fund
P.O. Box 17
Cambridge, MA 02138

Additional Film Suggestions:

South Africa Belongs to Us (Producer: Gerhard Schmidt, 35 minutes). This moving portrait of five black women from different walks of life features commentary by Winnie Mandela. It is ideal for understanding what apartheid is, how it affects all aspects of daily life, and the singular burden it imposes on women.

Generations of Resistance (Producer: Peter Davis, United Nations, 50 minutes). An unparalleled history of the evolution of apartheid and the century-long struggle of black resistance to white rule, this film provides the historical context necessary for understanding the roots of today's conflict.

Woza Albert! (David Thompson, BBC, 55 minutes). This remarkable film interweaves scenes from the international hit black South African play with actual visits by the actors to people, places and events from which their work derived. The result is an unforgettable experience of what it is like to be black in South Africa today. Excellent for senior drama and literature courses.

All these and other titles on the region are available from:

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

Sun City (Song by Little Steven Van Zandt, video by United Artists Against Apartheid, 51 minutes). This is a music video based on the popular anti-apartheid song, *Sun City*. The video includes performances by Miles Davis, Bruce Springsteen, Reuben Blades, Bob Dylan, Ringo Starr and others. This is a big hit with students and the accompanying **Making of Sun City** video explores the reasons musicians chose to take a stand against apartheid. A short curriculum guide is also available from:

The Africa Fund
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10036

This "Teaching Guide" offers a week-long introduction to apartheid. But a week can give only the barest hint of the issues tearing South Africa apart. For a more comprehensive examination of this complicated and important struggle, teachers are urged to acquire:

William Bigelow, **Strangers in Their Own County: A Curriculum Guide on South Africa**, Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ, 1985. $12.95

Stands alone as the only commercially published teaching unit on South Africa with integrity, breadth and depth.
— Marylee Croft, Curriculum Specialist, Michigan State University

Available for $12.95 from: The Southern Africa Media Center, California Newsreel, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103

Student Handout #1

PRIVILEGED MINORITY

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

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

You are privileged. You look down on the unprivileged and call them "kaffirs." They must call you "boss" if they want to work for you.

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

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

Should any of the unprivileged students fail to obey orders, leave their designated area, protest their treatment or not show you enough respect, you may punish them by sending them to prison. Designate one or more of you, or even some of the unprivileged students, as police in order to watch out for troublemakers. The teacher has marked off a part of the room for the prison.

Student Handout #2

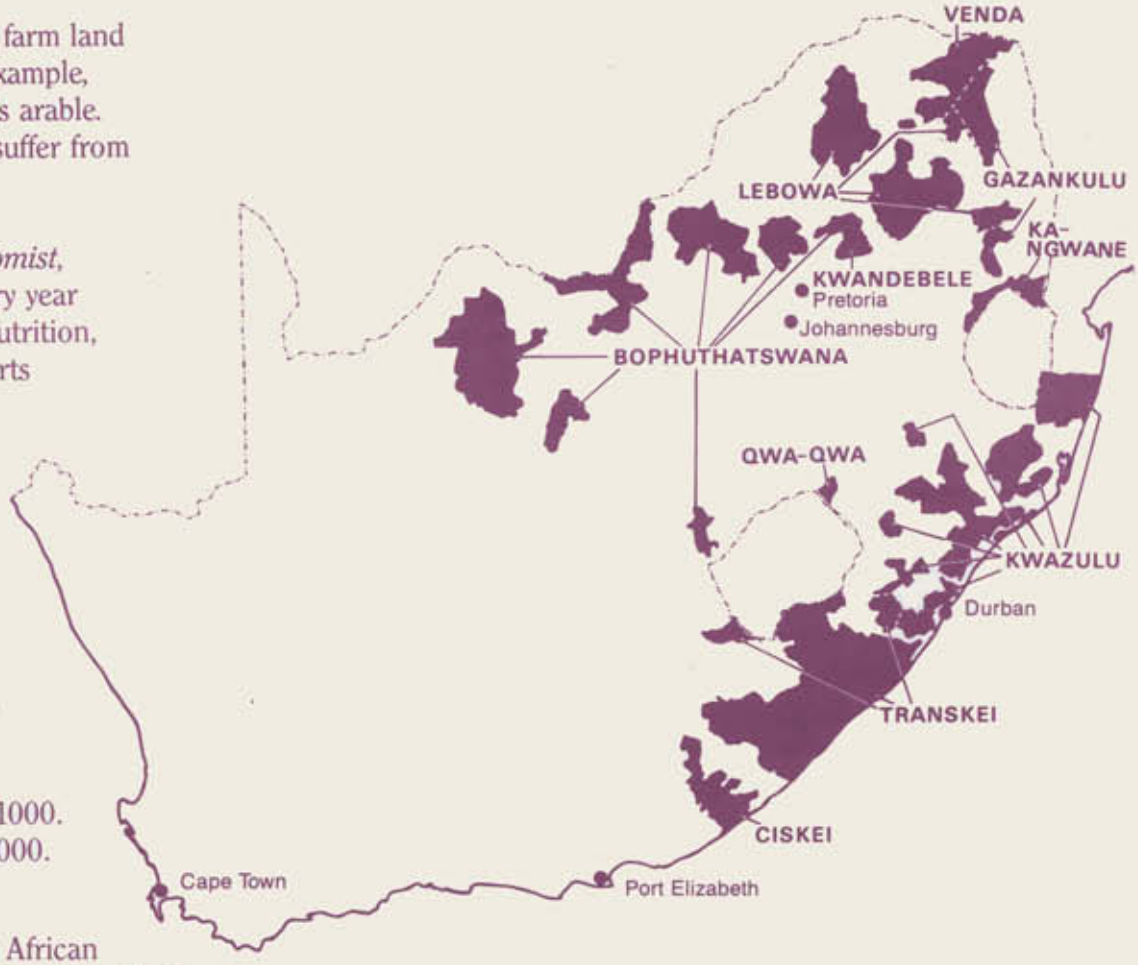
SOUTH AFRICA: THE BANTUSTANS

There is very little good farm land in the bantustans. For example, only 15% of the Ciskei is arable. 89% of Ciskei children suffer from malnutrition.

According to *The Economist*, 50,000 children die every year from the effects of malnutrition, while South Africa exports over $1 billion worth of food.

None of the bantustans has significant mineral resources.

Only 3% of practicing doctors in South Africa are in the bantustans. Infant mortality among rural blacks is 282 per 1000. Among whites, 12 per 1000.



According to the South African Council of Churches, 3.5 million blacks have been forcibly removed from "white" South Africa to the bantustans since 1960.

Student Handout #3

HUMAN RIGHTS FACT SHEET

"Because I'm black I've got to suffer, just because of my skin." - Black Student, Witness to Apartheid

A. How the System Works

- All people are classified by the government by race. The four racial categories are white, African (black), colored and Indian. A person does not determine his or her own race; the government decides.

Population (approximately):				
Total	African	White	Colored	Indian
30,780,000	22,500,000	4,400,000	3,000,000	800,000

- The Group Areas Act declares that South Africa is to be separated into white, African, colored and Indian areas. Individuals from each group are legally allowed to live only in areas determined by the government. No black, Indian or colored may reside legally in a "white" area without permission. 87% of the country's land, including that with most of the resources, minerals and best farm land, is reserved for whites only.
- Those people who are living in white areas illegally are subject to arrest and imprisonment. Although blacks are no longer required by law to carry passbooks, they still must have official permission to live in the black townships surrounding the cities. There is a severe shortage of housing for blacks. But blacks without housing may be arrested for vagrancy. Decisions to build or not to build new housing are made by the government.
- According to the South African Council of Churches, between 1960 and 1985 an estimated 3.5 million black South Africans were forced to move to barren tribal reserves, called bantustans or "homelands." Families are frequently broken up with the men working in factories located in areas designated "white." By law, 97% of black South African mineworkers must be migrant laborers — they are prohibited from bringing their families with them.
- Blacks have no vote in South Africa. The white-controlled government decides who may live where, how much money will be spent on schools, hospitals, parks, etc.

B. Schooling

- All public schools in South Africa are strictly segregated. No black child in South Africa may legally sit in a classroom with a white child.
- The government spends over seven times as much to educate a white child as it spends to educate a black child.
- On average, there is one teacher in each white South African school for every 18 students. In black schools the ratio is one teacher for 43 students.
- Many black schools in South Africa are occupied by heavily armed government troops. Soldiers with automatic rifles often sit and observe inside the classrooms. No white schools are occupied. Many black schools have been closed by the government.

C. Health Care

- If you are white in South Africa, you can expect to live 72.3 years. Africans can expect to live 58.9 years, unless they live in the rural areas where life expectancy is much lower. Coloreds live an average 56.1 years, and Indians, 63.9 years.
- An average of 136 black children die every day from the effects of malnutrition. (South Africa is one of the top seven food exporting nations in the world. Every year, the country exports over $1 billion worth of agricultural products including grain, beef, vegetables and fruit.) The major cause of death for black children in South Africa is disease brought on by malnutrition; for white children the major cause of death is swimming pool accidents.
- Government hospitals, even ambulances, are classified by race.

D. Political Repression: Preserving the Apartheid System

Because most people in South Africa suffer from apartheid, many are involved in trying to change it. The minority that benefits from apartheid uses whatever means it can to secure submission and preserve the system:

- The two major liberation organizations, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, are outlawed, as are many other student and community organizations.
- No outdoor political meetings may be held, including many funerals. In fact, almost all forms of protest are outlawed. The press is even barred from reporting any acts of resistance unless the government first gives permission.
- It is against the law for anyone to urge foreign companies to stop investing in South Africa.
- The government may arrest anyone at anytime for any reason and keep them for any length of time. No one need be notified of an individual's arrest. Under the recent State of Emergency (announced June 12, 1986) more than 30,000 people have been arrested as of April 1987; 9000 of these children under 18.
- According to independent reports, torture is widespread and systematic in South African prisons. Many of those tortured are children. A recent survey by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights found that 83% of all detainees held by South African government authorities had been physically abused.
- In the last two years, hundreds of blacks have been killed by the South African security forces — many of these people were children. Under the regulations of the State of Emergency, policemen and soldiers who beat and even kill people are immune from prosecution.

Student Handout #4

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 the 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 129. 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 could 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 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.

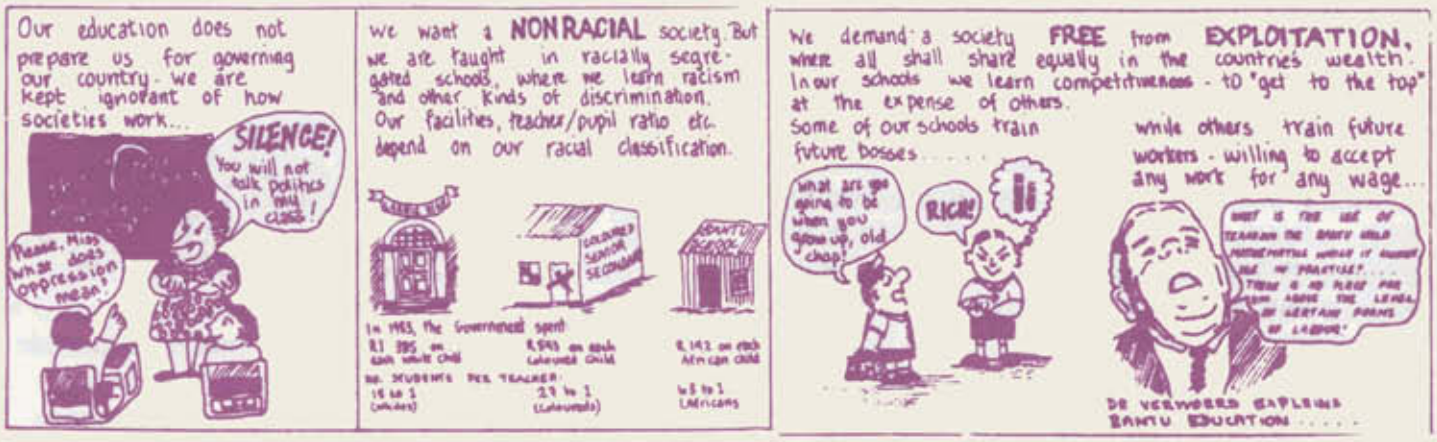
Black education suffers continually from government indoctrination and oppression and this is why students in South Africa are very politicized. In the English/Afrikaans dictionary, for example the word "baas" (the subservient word for master) was defined as "white man," "hero" and "clever man." I grew 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, was formerly projects director for the American Committee on Africa in New York. This article is reprinted courtesy of The Council on Interracial Books for Children.



REPRINTED FROM A SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT NEWSPAPER

Student Handout #5

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT

You are 16 years old and live in Soweto, a black township near Johannesburg with a population of around two million people. You are a high school student there. Your family is very poor. Your mother is a domestic. She cares for a white family with two children in Johannesburg. You see her only once a week on her day off. Your father is unemployed and even though he is experienced in many kinds of factory work, cannot find a job. You are not hopeful about finding a good job after you graduate from school. In fact, you fear you won't find any kind of job.

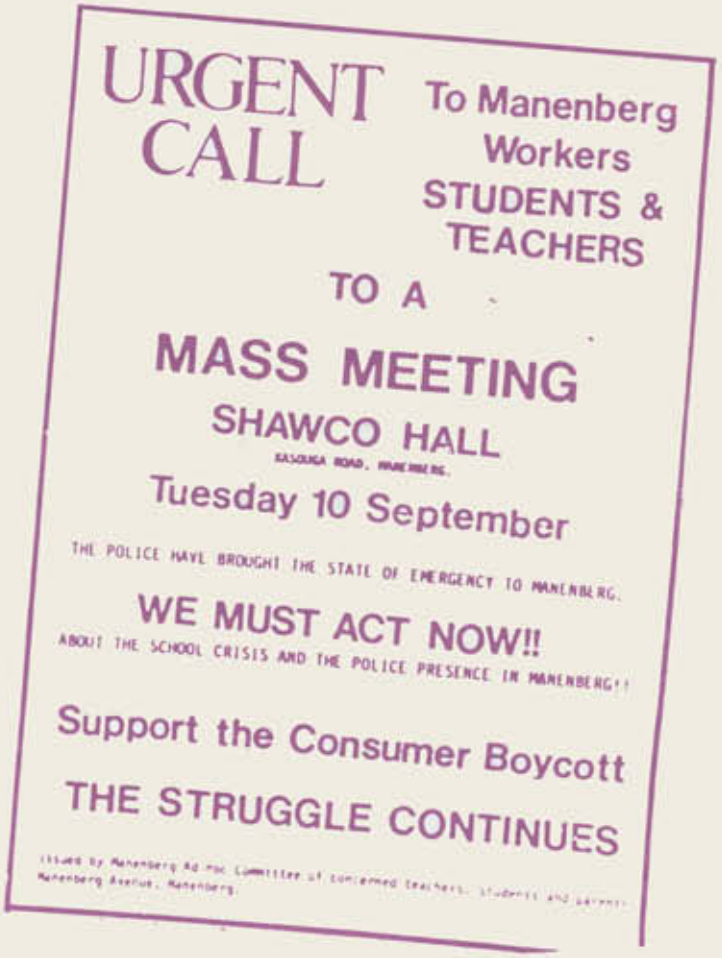
Your school is very run down. Many windows are broken; the playgrounds are dusty fields; the dirt road that runs in front of your school has garbage piled high.

Classes in your school are filled to capacity. Sixty or more students is not uncommon, though the classrooms are much too small to handle so many people. Some of the teachers in your school care about giving a good education and try hard. But many are poorly trained and don't really know how to teach. Others are insensitive to students, and lazy and at times even threaten female students with a failing grade if the girls don't agree to sleep with them. This behavior outrages you but the principal won't do anything to stop it.

Some of your teachers use corporal punishment and beat students with sticks. You watched a friend of yours beaten just because he questioned why a teacher never had you read books by blacks.

Of course, schooling in South Africa is strictly segregated. No African may attend a government-run white school. There are also separate schools for Indians and people of mixed race — the so-called "colored" people. These segregated schools are so separate they even have different vacations and different departments of education which control them. It's not that you want so badly to go to a white school. What angers you is that you have no say over any of these educational policies, and that the whites have reserved a good education for themselves.

Your school's curriculum, and the curriculum for all black schools, was written by white South Africans


URGENT CALL

To Manenberg Workers STUDENTS & TEACHERS

TO A

MASS MEETING

SHAWCO HALL

BASOUGA ROAD, MANENBERG.

Tuesday 10 September

THE POLICE HAVE BROUGHT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY TO MANENBERG.

WE MUST ACT NOW!!

ABOUT THE SCHOOL CRISIS AND THE POLICE PRESENCE IN MANENBERG!!

Support the Consumer Boycott

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Issued by Manenberg Ad Hoc Committee of concerned teachers, students and parents.
Manenberg Avenue, Manenberg.

who want everyone to believe their version of history. According to your textbook, South Africa's history began with the coming of the whites in 1652. The books say almost nothing about the long history of Africans in the country before the arrival of the white settlers. And all the history after that is also told only from the point of view of the whites. Even literature classes are taught as if white people were the only ones who ever did any writing. You want to read black writers who talk about freedom and justice like Alex La Guma, Dennis Brutus, Mtutuzeli Matshoba and Can Themba.

You've coined a phrase to sum up your feelings about the schooling you receive. You call it "gutter education."

Because you are so dissatisfied with the conditions at your school and the quality of your

education, you feel the need for some kind of elected organization to represent your views and complaints in order to win better conditions. For a long time, students at your school and other black schools in the country have called for democratically elected Student Councils. Unfortunately, the government refuses to recognize these councils and has suggested a different kind of student organization which, in your opinion, would be more like establishing a kind of student police force.

Black students in South Africa, like yourself, have not merely complained about the bad conditions, they've organized to change them. Up until just recently you had been a member of COSAS, the Congress of South African Students. COSAS was a national organization set up to fight for a "free, dynamic and compulsory education for all" and was part of the larger struggle for a nonracial democracy in South Africa.

Your organization was seen as a threat to the system by the South African government and was outlawed in August of 1985 — cut off in mid-stream before COSAS had a chance to develop a strategy.

Even though COSAS is now banned, you are still committed to working to change the whole system of apartheid education — and apartheid itself. What good would it be to have a good school in a rotten system? Even if school changed, the rest of your life would still be like slavery: you're told where you can and can't live, when you can and can't work, and you have no vote. When you can get work — which is not often these days — you work in the worst conditions for the lowest pay.

But even though you know there must be change, and that someday there will be change, it is difficult for your fellow students to know exactly what to do. Every day you are faced with difficult choices — choices which are sometimes dangerous.

Recently you heard a song which is sung by students in Cape Town that expresses perfectly what you've been thinking and feeling these days. It goes like this:

What did you learn in school today, dear little child of mine?
What did you learn in school today, dear little child of mine?
We learnt that west is always best and white is usually right
That rich and poor will always be, and that's what makes us free

What did you learn in school today, dear little child of mine?
What did you learn in school today, dear little child of mine?
That education brings opportunities in this advancing age
But we'll end up working in the factories for a measly weekly wage

What did you learn in the streets today, dear little child of mine?
What did you learn in the streets today, dear little child of mine?
We learnt that teargas burns the eyes, we learnt how police dogs bite
We learnt that batons break our bones, and we're learning how to fight

What did you hear in the news today, dear little child of mine?
What did you hear in the news today, dear little child of mine?
That agitators stir us up — and lead us astray
But we can think and we can see and we want change today.

Student Handout #6

CHALLENGING "GUTTER EDUCATION"

For most of the past year, students in your school have been boycotting classes in protest of the South African army troops occupying the black townships — including Soweto, where you live. Now you are back in school, having reluctantly decided to fight apartheid and "gutter education" from the inside. You believe your decision to return to school is not a surrender to the authorities. Far from it. You are more convinced than ever that the whole system must be scrapped.

Students in your school are holding discussions to decide a number of important issues. Remember, just to hold these meetings is illegal; participants risk being beaten by police and detained.

1. **What demands do you plan to make of the Department of Education and Training (DET), the agency that oversees black education in South Africa? Do you have additional demands which might go beyond what the DET would likely be able to deal with?** Remember, you've gone back to school in order to challenge from within, not because you're more willing to tolerate inferior education in an unequal society.

2. **What, if anything, will you threaten to do if your demands are not met? Can you make any of the changes on your own, without the government's agreement?**

3. Recently, you've learned that Jacob Molefe, a popular teacher at school and someone sympathetic to student concerns, has been fired by the principal. **What action will students in your school take to overturn his firing?**

4. It has been suggested that you approach COSATU, the black union confederation with over 600,000 members, to ask for support in getting your demands met by the DET. COSATU is a very activist and political organization and is sympathetic with the kinds of concerns you have. **Should you approach COSATU to ask for help? What kind of help do you think this organization could offer? Even though the unions in COSATU might be sympathetic to your struggle, how will you explain to them why they should go out of their way to support you? From what other kinds of groups or organizations might you look for support?**

5. The DET and other government authorities have accused "outside agitators" of stirring up students at various schools, including yours. The government minister in charge of black education, Mr. Gerrit Viljoen, has announced that from now on, all black students at schools will have to carry identification cards. Anyone found on school grounds without an ID card will be subject to arrest. No other racial group is required to carry these ID cards. **How will you respond to this new decree?**

6. The principal has learned of your secret meetings and knows how "radical" you students are. He has asked the government to send army troops to the school to prevent "disorder" from breaking out. You've seen these troops at a number of other schools in Soweto. They are often stationed right in the classrooms — with guns at the ready. **What will you do if troops come on to school grounds?**

The Southern Africa Media Center
California Newsreel, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 621-6196