Three Decades of South African School History Textbooks:

Historiographical Influence, Change, and Continuity

from the 1970s to the 1990s

by Lynda K. von den Steinen

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Introduction

In any society, the education of its children is an important issue. Through the educational system ideas, values, and principles are relayed in order to make the children become valuable and productive members of society. One subject that particularly carries this burden is the study of history. While a subject like math or physics can give students important skills for future employment or for simply getting by in the modern world, history gives students a view of the world in which they live, and allows them to look at the past and apply it to help them understand the present. The materials that are used to teach history to children, whether consciously or not, impart judgements and emphases that convey some of the societal ideology to the children. Through studying the past, children can form ideas about their present, and these ideas are influenced by the position taken in the texts and by their teachers.

In South Africa under the apartheid system, the teaching of history was notorious for its ideological stance and bias. Education was used as a tool in the maintenance of state control and in the reproduction and insurance of the ideology of the state. Now, with a new government and a 'new South Africa' the people involved in education in South Africa must be even more conscious than their counterparts in other countries of the possibilities, both constructive and destructive, of education. School history has to be rewritten. However, the aims, goals, and content of the 'new' version of history are not cut and dried. Though many changes have occurred in both the syllabi and textbooks over the years, there are still major problems in the way they approach history. Even today, the old views of history are perpetuated in the minds of those that learned them, and many of the old textbooks are still in use. However, a new breed of textbooks is now emerging in post-Apartheid South Africa.

There are many aspects of school history that can and should be addressed. Only one of these is the textbook. Also important are the schools, the teachers, the students, the syllabi and exams, and other related issues. Unfortunately, within the parameters of a study of this nature, all of these cannot be analysed thoroughly, though some will be briefly touched on. In narrowing the study down to the textbook, there are still several ways to look at the material. Issues of appropriateness for the age group shown by language and concepts are important, as are issues of teaching method and learning styles. This study, however, is primarily interested in the historiographical

influences found in each textbook, though it will also address teaching and learning issues as they are manifested in the historiographical schools and transferred to the textbooks. The basic historiographical background, developments from and reactions to previous textbooks, and places where similar ideas and approaches continue on in the newer texts will be addressed. Conclusions can be made about each series on its own, but it is also necessary to look at the change and continuity involved in the changes in textbook approaches in this time period.

A few words are necessary to explain the construction, methodology, and structure of this thesis. The important issues at hand are the selection of textbooks, the focus of the study, and the parameters imposed upon the research. The three series studied herein are the *History for Standard...* series, published in the mid-1970s, the *History Alive* series published in the mid-1980s, and the *In Search of History* series published in the mid-1990s. They are analysed according to historiographical stance and emphases as well as the types of teaching and learning styles that they endorsed and included. The study used twentieth century South African history as a comparison point between the texts.

Three series of textbooks were selected for the study, for numerous reasons, some more concrete than others. The first series to be addressed was published in 1976 by Maskew Miller in Cape Town, entitled *History for Standard...*, and written by G.J.J. Smit, H.G.J. Lintvelt, T.A. Eksteen, and F.P.J. Smit. This series was selected as a good example of the Afrikaner Nationalist era textbooks, though more blatantly propagandistic examples could have been selected from further back in this century. However, due to the problems in locating older textbooks and syllabi, which are very difficult to obtain and so vastly different from the later books in construct and ideology as to make any continuity with the two newer series very difficult to identify. With the much more recent production of the other two series addressed in this thesis, continuity could best be served by staying within this later time period, which would restrict the time period studied to a roughly twenty year period. Additionally, as the focus of the study is on twentieth century South African history, the later date would provide much more material to study than one produced earlier in the century. There were many textbooks to choose from that were published in the same era, and may have equally well served this study, but this particular series was suggested by

numerous sources as a good representative of the type needed. The *Timelines* series, which followed the *History for Standard...* series and was written by the same authors and released by the same publishers has been used in a number of studies as an example of Afrikaner Nationalist school history textbooks. The older series allows for change over time when compared with the other two series.

The second series, *History Alive*, published by Shuter and Shooter, and edited by Peter Kallaway, was selected for several reasons. It was published in the mid-1980s, when the 'liberal-radical debate' was reaching its peak and new ideas were beginning to emerge within these historiographical schools. It emerged in a period of major upheaval in the study of history, and reflects this in its approach. The writing was undertaken by several people involved directly in the education field, all with teaching experience at the level for which they were writing, which adds another dimension to its importance. Finally, it was possible to contact some of the people involved in the creation of the series, which allowed for interviews about the intentions, motivations, constraints and problems involved in writing the texts.

The final series, *In Search of History*, published by Oxford University Press, and written by Vivian Bickford-Smith, Jean Bottaro, Bruce Mohamed, Pippa Visser, and Nigel Worden, was selected mainly due to the accessibility of the authors. There are a few new series of textbooks emerging in post-Apartheid South Africa[1], and although this is but one example, it clearly shows several of the trends currently surfacing in the writing of school history.

The field of historiography is an important element of the study, and should be explained briefly at this point. Through the twentieth century, the study of history in South Africa has undergone major changes and passed through several trends. While classifying all of the works produced in South Africa into specific 'schools' of historiography would lead to superficial generalisations, there are some characteristics that can be defined and some (widely arguable and flexible) schools and trends that can be seen. Every work produced in South Africa cannot be easily placed into a historiographical tradition and many show different influences and ideas. However, some broad general trends are visible and in this sense it can be helpful to categorise

them into 'schools' of historiography in order to come up with the bigger picture. School history has not escaped these trends, and in this paper, the extent to which they have displayed themselves in the textbooks will be explored.

Important to this issue of historiography are four issues that are dealt with in this dissertation. The first is an attempt to figure out which 'schools' of historiography the different series represent and why; how the emphasis, myths, and style of the traditions inform the books both in structure and content. Secondly, the intentions and motivations of the people who created the texts come into play, as well as the constraints and limitations that kept them from achieving their ideal versions of history. Next, it becomes meaningful to look at the relations between the texts, how the newer texts react to the predecessors, when they ignore or exclude things that were found in earlier texts, as well as where they allow similar issues and ideas to emerge. This is just as notable as the changes in approach and style. Finally, a conclusion can be reached about the approaches being made in the post-Apartheid period, in an attempt to find whether a "new" historiographical school is emerging in school history textbooks, if the old schools are combining, or if one is emerging triumphantly. Additionally, the issue of teaching and learning styles comes into play as an extension of the views of what school history should be and how teachers and students are encouraged to use the books in the classroom.

It has been necessary to select several parameters to this study in consideration of time and space restrictions involved in a thesis of this type. The issues involved might well have been served just as successfully with different choices, but this study selected the ones it did for various reasons. South African history was selected as it would have more personal effects on the children being taught. As history education is often used as a way of socialising children into the ways of the larger society, the national history has more emphasis on issues, values, and ideas important to the society, as well as places, names, and social situations more familiar to the children studying them. The study was further narrowed by the choice to focus on twentieth century history, as most of the drastic historiographical changes, pioneering efforts, and new studies focused on the twentieth century, and some of these found their way

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[1] For example, the *Looking into the Past* series published by Maskew Miller Longman, or the *Making*

into the history textbooks. Also important is the emphasis on secondary school history, mostly due to the more sophisticated nature of the books and the increased emphasis on later history. Further reduction of the content was achieved by focusing only on the syllabi and textbooks. While the classroom itself, the teaching methods and learning styles are far more interesting and indicative of the success or failure of the ideas being passed on to the children, they are also much more difficult to measure accurately and within a limited time frame.

History series published by Centaur Publications.

Series One: *History for Standard...*

This chapter will analyse the *History for Standard...* series published by Maskew Miller Longman in 1976. Particularly pertinent to this discussion will be the *History for Standard 10* text, which, in accordance with the 1973 history syllabus, focuses on the twentieth century. Within this text, the second section on "South African History" will be addressed, which consists of five chapters, "Political Development of South Africa", "Constitutional Development", "Economic and Social Affairs", "Political, Social, and Constitutional Development of the Non-Whites", and "External Relations". The South African section can effectively be broken into three sections for analysis, the first dealing mainly with 'white South Africa' and containing the three opening chapters on politics, constitutional issues, and economic and social concerns, the second being the section on the 'non-white problem' and the third resting in the chapter on external or international relations.

History for Standard 10 was written to conform to the syllabus released in 1973. The new syllabus was to be instituted in Standard 10 classes in 1976, so the textbook would most likely have been written in 1973 and 1974. The book corresponds to the syllabus almost exactly. There are a couple of changed words in titles, such as the title, "The origin of political parties in the 4 provinces before and after 1910"[1] in the textbook, rather than the less specific, "The rise of political parties"[2] provided in the syllabus. A few issues are rearranged in order to have the themes correspond more readily, as where the text combines the "Recognition of South Africa's sovereign independence" section of the syllabus with the "Political and constitutional development" section in order to combine the topics dealing with the nature and workings of the government in the "Constitutional Development" chapter, and to combine the section on "Coalition, Fusion, and the 'purified' National Party" with the first chapter on "Political Development of South Africa".[3] Slight rearrangements such as these are present in the textbook, but it by no means changes the overall content of the syllabus, nor does it neglect to include anything in the syllabus. Those additions that are made simply provide background or more context for the issues put forth in the syllabus.

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[1] *History for Standard 10*, pg. 161.
[2] See appendix I.
[3] Ibid.

The book only adds on two topics that were not mentioned specifically in the syllabus. The first is a separate section on republicanism[4]; which provides an on-going theme throughout the textbook, and leads up to the syllabus topic, "the establishment of the Republic of South Africa 1961."[5] As discussed below, this theme is a prominent one in the historiographical tradition of which the textbook is a part. The second area that is added on consists of topics devoted to discussing Smuts' influence and repute in the world[6], which, as shall be seen below, again supports the historiographical approach and also assists in the arguments presented in the final chapter. It is safe to say that the textbook is true to the syllabus for which it is written.

The historiographical label 'Afrikaner Nationalist' means different things to different people, and is by no means a clear-cut category into which one can definitely be either included or excluded. Many works written by Afrikaners would not fall into this category, and it is important to realise that not every work done in this genre shows all of the basic characteristics attributed to the school. Such labels and 'schools' of historiography are not cut and dried moulds into which every work can fit. However, labels and categories allow one to look at the 'big picture', to come to conclusions about certain trends that do exist within the field of history writing, and certain issues that commonly arise in similar works. The term 'Afrikaner Nationalist' is used here to imply several characteristics, and to give a broad background for discussion. This treatment, though superficial, does allow for change in 'historical traditions' over time, and for different viewpoints within the same 'school'. As the school system was rigidly controlled by the government during the Apartheid era, and particularly at the time in which this textbook was created, the Afrikaner Nationalist sentiments shared by the state often found their way into the school history textbooks of the time.

History for Standard 10 is an apt example of the classic Afrikaner Nationalist textbooks that were used in South African schools throughout the Apartheid era. In the way that it approaches history, the content of the textbook itself, and the presentation of the material, it possesses many of the characteristics assigned to the original Afrikaner Nationalist historiographical tradition. The textbook holds tightly to

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[4] *History for Standard 10*, pg. 167
[5] See Appendix I.
[6] *History for Standard 10*, pgs. 172, 184.

the traditions of its early predecessors, but also bears the brand of the time it was created. There are many characteristics in the textbook that are specific to the early- to mid- 1970s period of Afrikaner Nationalist thought. However, there is little or no acknowledgement of any of the new ideas emerging in this period from other sources, like the pioneering efforts of the so-called "liberal" and "radical" schools of historiography.

The traditions of Afrikaner Nationalist historiography found their way into the textbooks of South Africa. However, the original aims and focuses of the older works from this school were not as pertinent in the later years. Many of the characteristics of Afrikaner Nationalist historiography were still present in the mid-1970s, but many of the themes and emphases had changed.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were clear cut goals for the emerging Afrikaner Nationalists. Ken Smith explains that in this early period of Afrikaner Nationalism, "In the case of the Dutch and Afrikaner writers, one of their primary aims was to mobilise Afrikaner nationalist sentiment and to see this employed in defining and achieving the Afrikaner's political aims."[7] Up until the mid-twentieth century, the Afrikaners were struggling for control of the country, independence from Britain, and economic prosperity, and the writers of histories from the time were interested in uniting them and moving them towards these goals. History was often seen as a means to an end, rather than an important discipline in its own, and was often used as a way to bring about these ends. Smith describes one of the first Afrikaner Nationalist writers, Preller, and his views, "He saw history as the fulfilment of a national calling, and events that did not accord with this view were ignored. As Preller saw it, if history were not for learning and guidance, then it was meaningless. He saw history as a means of teaching certain truths that were important in the present."[8] History was seen as a way to mobilise sentiment and unite Afrikaners against their perceived enemies and move them towards common goals.

As the twentieth century dawned, however, history as a discipline had advanced, and was being taken more seriously. Smith explains,

> "Until 1939 a smattering of Afrikaner students thus went abroad to do postgraduate work, studying under men like J. Huizinga, H. Brugmans, and F.

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[7] Smith, K., *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing*, pg. 58.
[8] Ibid. pg. 68.

> Meinecke, and this resulted in history departments at Afrikaans universities acquiring continental flavour, when they returned to South Africa these students, now young professional historians, inculcated into their students the principles of scientific historical writing as established by Ranke. In line with this tradition, historical thematology invariably centred around "national" history – politics, the state and interstate relations, military history and the deeds of great men."[9]

By no means, however, did this replace the Afrikaner focus of the previous histories or their inherent bias towards the Afrikaner causes. These characteristics combined to define Afrikaner Nationalist writings of the day. The emphasis on Afrikaners in history, the tendency towards nationalist sentiment, and the view of history as a way to unite the people and achieve their goals lived on in the new histories, but a more professional demeanour was added and the Rankean ideas were adopted to the history of Afrikaners in South Africa..

By the 1970s, the goals of independence, economic prosperity, and political power had been achieved, and different issues had come to the forefront of Afrikaner thought. While the Rankean emphasis on politics and 'great men' was still a major trend in the writing, as well as the stress on the Afrikaner in history, different themes began to emerge. The coming to power of the National Party in 1948, followed by South Africa becoming a republic in 1961, represented victory on the part of the Afrikaner 'nation'. This was followed by a period of strengthening for the Apartheid system, and an economic upswing in the 1960s. With the suppression of the ANC and PAC, black resistance to Apartheid also went through a quiet period. Dan O'Meara notes that, "White South Africa and its ruling National Party entered the 1970s at the crest of the golden age of apartheid."[10] The early 1970s saw a slight re-emergence of dissent in the trade union activity, and 1973 saw the beginning of a downswing in the economy which soon became a full fledged recession.[11] But all of this was just beginning, and overall, there was still a rosy outlook on the part of the Afrikaner 'nation' that can be seen in *History for Standard 10*.

All was not seen as perfect however; while in the past, the stress had been on the Afrikaner nation being threatened by Britain and English-speaking South Africans,

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[9] Ibid. pg. 69.
[10] O'Meara, D., *Forty Lost Years: The apartheid state and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*, pg. 170.
[11] Ibid. pg. 171.

in the 1970s, a new struggle came to the forefront. With wave of independence and freedom struggles washing over Africa, and the influence of the United Nations pressing down on South Africa, the struggle became less of an internal struggle of "Boer v. Brit" as a struggle to maintain the position of white South Africa in an increasingly hostile world. Smith notes,

> "The Afrikaners' use of the past was primarily a functional one and it served them well as they sought to maintain their identity in the face of British culture. But with the coming of a republic in 1961, which appeared to be the glorious triumph of a long term Afrikaner struggle to throw off foreign shackles, Afrikaner urbanisation and the emergence of a well-to-do class, nineteenth century rural republican values no longer had the same relevance or appeal for Afrikaners - in short, their view of history had outlived its usefulness. 'The Afrikaner had won the constitutional struggle against the Briton,' van Jaarsveld wrote in his analysis of the situation, 'but at the very moment that he was about to reap the rewards of his victory in a new Republic, he stood confronted with the challenge of a non-white majority, which, in conjunction with the outside world, threatened to deprive him of his gains... A national myth has already become established - that South Africa is an innocent nation and the victim of attack in an evil world, and that attempts to solve the racial problem by territorial divisions or separate development are 'misunderstood,'"[12]

This new version of the enemy of the Afrikaner nation, now the government of white South Africa, is addressed at length in the textbook. All of these features meet and interact in the *History for Standard 10* text, and are key features of the Afrikaner Nationalist historiographical school.

The following discussion will look at the Afrikaner Nationalist historiographical characteristics as they can be found in the *History for Standard 10* textbook. First, it will address the ways in which the textbook upholds the traditions of early Afrikaner Nationalism, whose roots lay in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In particular, the Rankean tradition of focusing on politics, diplomacy, military history, and the history of "great men" will be touched upon, as well of the implications this approach to history has on teaching and learning. Also, the textbook's focus on white South Africa, and most importantly on the history of the Afrikaner 'nation' will be looked at. The analysis will then address the time period in which the textbook was made, the early 1970s, and look at how the time changed some of the emphases and

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[12] Ibid. pg. 90, quoting van Jaarsveld. *The Afrikaner's Interpretation*, pg. 148-149.

ideas present in the traditional Afrikaner Nationalist histories. The changes happening in the Afrikaner Nationalist school at the time can clearly be seen to influence the textbook. Important here will be two key issues: the change in the approach to the idea of republicanism, and the change in portrayal of the enemies to the Afrikaner 'nation'.

The first three sections of the South African History section of *History for Standard 10* focus on the history of white South Africa from 1910 (Union) until 1970. This part of the text, in the Rankean tradition of Afrikaner Nationalist history, constantly focuses on political, diplomatic, and occasionally military issues, largely ignoring economic and social influences. It also actively uses the 'Great Man' approach which looks at history through the actions and ideas of the leaders, rather than discussing causation and broader influences and neglecting social history. History in this text is perceived as a group of facts linked together to form a narrative, each fact sufficient in its presentation, and often without explanation. These ideas can also be found in the aims of the syllabus, where history is understood to mean, "the history of [the student's] own country, the manner in which the conduct of public affairs in his own country has evolved, the history of the major events and movements which affect life in South Africa today."[13] These emphases are particularly visible in the first and third chapter of the South African section, on political development and economic and social affairs respectively.

The section on political development is single-minded, approaching issues from the points of view of the political leaders of the time. In this text, political parties are formed, broken up, combined, and redefined, and leaders fall in and out of office without much explanation. While a lot of time is spent on the personalities and views of the politicians, and the platforms that win or lose elections, almost no attention is paid to why these views were popular at any given time. Sub-sections with titles like, "Differences in viewpoints of Botha and Hertzog" and "Viewpoints of Botha and Hertzog re participation in the war"[14] are common, while the background to these viewpoints and the political base that carried the two men remain unmentioned. Those explanations that are given are very vague and un-specific, ranging from unexplained

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[13] See Appendix I.

mentions of mineworkers striking[15] to even less specific phrases such as, "the Afrikaners' inherent wish to become a free people with democratic self-government."[16] Elections and public opinion are generally acknowledged only through statistics of the number of seats won or who was in power at the time. Military history comes into play often in the beginning of the book, dealing in detail with the rebellion against South Africa entering the First World War, then documenting the actions of South African units in both World Wars, stressing particularly that they contributed to the greatest victories, as they mention for the Second World War, "South Africans took part in the first victory over the Italians...the South Africans entered Addis Ababa...and together with the British army, captured about 20 000 prisoners."[17] Overall, however, military history is not discussed much.

The history of "great men" aspect of the Rankean tradition is particularly evident in the treatment of General Smuts and his influence in the world. Four separate times in the textbook, Smuts is noted as being a distinguished figure with world wide influence. In the discussion of the aftermath of World War I, it is noted that, "In 1917 Smuts, who had played an important role in the Allied war effort, became a member of the Imperial War Cabinet. After the war, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, he played an equally significant role in the founding of the League of Nations."[18] In the World War II discussion, Smuts is said to be, "a figure of world renown, promoted to the rank of Field Marshall and one of Sir Winston Churchill's tactical advisors...One of the founders of the United Nations Organization, he was responsible especially for the preamble to the UN Charter."[19] Comments in this ilk can be found in two other places of the text. Smuts' accomplishments and renown are taken to be results of his own personality. This is a definite adherence to the 'great man' school of history writing.

The Rankean tradition of facts-based history, focusing on politics, military issues, and the 'great man' devise of history, also effects the teaching and learning styles promoted in this book. Events and issues are presented as de facto truths, without any mention of how or why they happened or developed. There is a blatant

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[14] *History for Standard 10*, pgs. 163 and 167.
[15] Ibid. pg. 165.
[16] Ibid. pg. 167.
[17] Ibid. pgs. 182-4.
[18] Ibid. pg. 172.

disregard for causation and agency demonstrated in the textbook. The preface to the textbook asserts that its intention in using the narrative style is, "to maintain the pupils' interest in 'reading' about historical developments and problems that have emerged in our time."[20] This stress on simply reading and not participating in the ideas and processes of history is one that is adhered to by the Afrikaner Nationalist writers, but that does not encourage great mental ability beyond memory skills. Again this is supported by the syllabus, in which one out of eleven ways in which, "the study of History can be of great value to the pupil," has any sign of critical or original thinking, namely part 2.6.3, which states that it enables the student, "in thinking objectively and critically." The other objectives involve using facts, finding data, making good conversation, and similar focuses.[21] Barbara Johannesson provides a good summary of these emphases in the "old school" texts, such as the *History for Standard...* series. She notes that they concentrate on "pre-digested factual narratives," and lend themselves to, "Chalk-and-talk teaching, note-taking, and rote-learning."[22] The discussion of the great depression is particularly lacking in this way. The gold standard is never defined or explained, but it is often mentioned, as going off of it is debated as a possible cure for the economic ills of the country. The nature of the debate, the implications of going off the gold standard, and the pros and cons of the different sides are never shown. It is only said that the people in charge did not want to go off the gold standard, but finally did, at which point, "Immediately the gold price rose and money poured back into the country, stimulating the economy."[23] Without further explanation, the only thing that students can glean from this section is the answer to a test question to the effect of, "What action by the government helped to turn the economy around during the great depression?" They would not, however, be able to explain why this was so from the reading of the textbook.

The questions at the ends of the chapters also support this kind of learning. They are divided into two sections, "essay type" with divisions for higher and standard grades, and "non-essay type". The latter are entirely designed for memorisation of facts, some being true/false, some multiple choice, some who/what/when/where/why

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[19] Ibid. pg. 184.
[20] Ibid. preface.
[21] See Appendix I.
[22] Johannesson, B., *The Use of History Alive 9 (Chapter One) in some Cape Town Schools: Problems and Practical Implications,* pg. 9.

questions, and some short identifications. Two of the chapters have questions in this section that consist of a paragraph taken directly from the text with words missing that the student is supposed to fill in. This is hardly challenging or mentally stimulating and encourages memorisation and rote-learning. Even the essay questions are not particularly insightful or challenging. They generally ask the student to recall what was said in the chapter, with no interpretative aspects whatsoever.[24] The methods herein are not intended to provoke thought and insight, but to encourage conformity and discourage questioning.

The theme of the Afrikaners as primary to the history of South Africa which, as mentioned above, can be found in the oldest Afrikaner Nationalist writings, runs throughout the chapter, even in small, seemingly inconsequential passages. One prime example of this is from the discussion of labour strikes on the mines, where it is noted that, "more than 150 people were killed, many of them Afrikaners."[25] Further discussion of things like the debate surrounding the flag and national anthem, Afrikaans status as an official language, and the drive towards republicanism are treated thoroughly and each advance for the language presented in a good light. The discussion of the poor white problem in the chapter on economic and social affairs particularly highlights the Afrikaner in the discussion, noting that they suffered under the Anglo-Boer war's effects, were particularly impoverished, more so than other rural Whites, and had language problems with largely English-speaking employers.[26] The English-speaking population of South Africa is mentioned only as a point of debate between the Afrikaners parties, or as opposition parties on the outskirts of the main political arena. The differences between Botha and Hertzog are explained to revolve around the question of the extent of the relationship between the Afrikaners and the English-speaking whites, or the Afrikaners and Briton, but neither is shown to be against the Afrikaner nation, and no English views on the subject are introduced. Rather, it is said that, "General Botha saw nothing wrong in Hertzog's view, but feared that his policy of conciliation would suffer because of it."[27] This mention of other ethnic groups only when they have some influence on the Afrikaners who form

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[23] *History for Standard 10*, pg. 204.
[24] Ibid. See pages 185, 200-201, 215, 235, and 256 for end-of-chapter questions.
[25] Ibid. pg. 176.
[26] Ibid. pg. 204.
[27] Ibid. pg. 165.

the centre of the narrative can also be seen in the treatment of blacks in this section of the textbook. Other than a few mentions of the lower wages of blacks as one of the issues exacerbating the poor white problem, they are only present in this chapter in the form of, "the thorny native problem," which was often mentioned as a difficulty that the whites had to deal with, but that was not debated in party politics.[28] Exactly what this "native problem" was, how it came into being, and what the influences were on the white society were largely untouched.

While the above characteristics place the textbook firmly in the old school Afrikaner Nationalist tradition, newer themes and emphases emerge in the textbook, due to the year of its birth and the events surrounding the time period. The traditional elements of Afrikaner Nationalist rhetoric, of the struggle for the ultimate goal of republic take on a new look here, and the old enemies of the Afrikaner regime, the British and the English-speaking whites in South Africa, give way in the narrative to new forces working against the Afrikaner nation.

The issue of republicanism is by no means thrust out of the limelight by the *History for Standard 10* authors. The discussion of the first section, "Political Development in South Africa," is filled with mention of the striving of the Afrikaners for independence from Britain, and it is mentioned as one of the key elements in most of the political debates of the time. However, the emphasis here changes, as the move towards republic is not presented so much as a struggle, as it had been in the past, but rather as an inevitable event that will come about due to the strength of the Afrikaner nation. The theme of republicanism is treated just as reverently as in the past, often with words befitting a novel more than a textbook, as in the phrase, "The republican ideal runs like a thread of gold through the fabric of South African history."[29] However, the progression towards that ideal is detailed and ever moving, giving the impression that it was never in doubt. A number of times in the text, the achievement of the republic is mentioned long before the discussion of the time period in which this achievement took place. As early as the founding of the national party, readers discover the end result of this particular effort, "From its inception in 1914 the National Party had a strong republican element, which gained in strength as time

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[28] Ibid. pg. 163.

passed. However, almost half a century was to elapse before the republican ideal would be realized on 31 May 1961."[30] This progression to the inevitable "happy ending" is a distinctive aspect of Afrikaner Nationalist school textbooks, according to Reville Jess Nussey, who explains that the "mode of emplotment" is a key feature to figuring out the background of the authors of the history.

> "If a historian chooses Comedy, defined as the 'drama of reconciliation', as a mode of emplotment, then the corresponding ideology is conservative. The reason for this linkage is that a comic plot usually ends happily for the protagonists...The Afrikaner nationalist, during the 1960s-1980s have emplotted their story as a comedy...Thus their story implies an acceptance of the dominance of the Afrikaner nationalists and support for the social status quo."[31]

The earlier Afrikaner Nationalist writings were not as supportive of the status quo, as it did not fulfil their desire for a republic. Before this time, the Afrikaner Nationalist works were concerned with highlighting the struggle and moving towards the achievement of their goals. Smith explains, "History was depicted as a struggle against the forces of nature, the Africans, and the British... Afrikaners had lost their independence in 1902, but they were determined to regain it... They were totally involved in a struggle to safeguard their cultural and political identity. Their ideal future was a republican one, and they used the past to help accomplish this."[32] The move towards the "comedy" mode of emplotment only occurred after the country became a republic in 1961, as the political objectives had been reached, and the country was in the hands of the Afrikaner nation. This issue of the "happy ending" in the textbook version of South African history will be discussed further below, in the sections from the textbook on the "non-whites" and on external relations.

The other main difference between the approach of the textbook, written in the 1970s, and the mainstream of Afrikaner Nationalist thought from earlier years, comes in the focus on the enemies of the state. This particularly comes to the forefront in the last two chapters of the section on South African history, "Political, Social and Constitutional Development of the Non-Whites" and "External Relations."

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[29] Ibid. pg. 181.
[30] Ibid. pg. 167.
[31] Nussey, R.J., *Philosophical Assumptions that Inform History Teaching in South Africa*, pg.14-16.
[32] Smith, K., *The Changing Past*, pgs. 63-4.

The dealings with the black population in *History for Standard 10* do bear some major resemblance to the portrayal of blacks in the preceding Afrikaner Nationalist tradition. The treatment of "non-Whites" in the text is very biased and inaccurate. In the first three chapters they are barely mentioned, except as bystanders or annoyances that had influence on laws or elections as a key issue. In the discussion of the election of 1948, it is noted that, "race relations, especially with regard to the Indians and Bantu, had developed into an extremely thorny problem... Apart from economic problems, it was the Smuts regime's inability to solve the colour question which brought about its downfall."[33] While this acknowledges that there was not complete harmony between the races, it does little to explain what was actually going on. The only other references to them in the sections on White South Africa are to note that they were at a lower level than the white workers, and that this was completely acceptable. Dean, et. al., show that this is a common feature to the Afrikaner Nationalist texts of the time, "By omitting all reference to how the racial division of labour arose, the text suggests that it followed a natural course. We are told in this respect that it became the 'accepted thing' for non-whites to do all the heavy work."[34] This is very visible in the *History for Standard 10* textbook. Once in the chapter on politics and three times in the chapter on social and economic development, it is professed that the areas of unskilled labour and the receipt of lower wages are the "traditional" roles of the black worker or that it has "always been" this way and therefore is unacceptable for the white workers.[35] One of these occasions goes so far as to claim that, "Non-White labour has always been freely available in South Africa."[36] There is no attempt to explain the reasons why the black population is relegated to unskilled position or forced to take lower wages, nor how the laws imposed on them and touted by this text as helpful and useful in actuality forced them into this position. One note is made of hut taxes being a motivation for black men to move to the cities in search of work, but combined with increased population from "tribal wars", primitive farming methods, a need for *lobola* payments and desire for Western goods,[37] it would not be clear to students that this is due to the government's

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[33] *History for Standard 10*, pgs. 189-90.
[34] Dean, et. al., *History in Black and White*, pg. 72.
[35] *History for Standard 10*, pgs. 175, 211, and twice on 214.
[36] Ibid. pg. 214.
[37] Ibid. pgs. 211-12.

imposition of such a tax in order to procure labour. In fact, if anything the urbanisation of blacks is implied to be entirely their own fault. This becomes worse when the issue of urbanisation is addressed, and the "detribalization, the loosening of tribal bonds,"[38] is shown as a bad result of urbanisation, as well as the creation of slums, with its threat to public health and the lack of schools and increased crime.[39] These problems are all attributed to the black population and finally shown to be fixed by the Government which was "forced to act" and create legislation such as "the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the establishment of a separate Department of Bantu Education in 1958."[40] This blatant disregard for causation again shows itself to be a key aspect of the Afrikaner Nationalist view of history.

One area of the text that provides a plethora of these kinds of biases and judgements is the chapter on "Political, Social and Constitutional Development of the Non-Whites." It bears mentioning that what took three chapters to cover for White South Africa, is relegated only one chapter for the rest of the population, which notes again the emphasis of the textbook and the syllabus on White South Africa. Smith notes that this is not unusual in Afrikaner Nationalist histories, giving the example of C.F.J. Muller's *Five Hundred Years: A history of South Africa*, which, "relegated the African side of the story to an Appendix."[41] Unlike the older Afrikaner Nationalist trends, however, this textbook goes beyond the biases and stereotypes of old, to formulate an argument about the nature of the black community and black resistance that fits well into the political situation of the 1970s. This chapter deals with the ideas of dissent and political consciousness on the part of the black population, how they came about, how successful they were, and why they are no longer necessary in the view of the authors.

As mentioned above, after the republic was declared, the economy stabilised, and the Afrikaner nation firmly entrenched in the power structure of the country, the focus on the English-speaking inhabitants of the country and their capitalist ways that stunted the Afrikaners, and on Britain and its imperialist aims that kept them from achieving independence, became far less important and topical to the situation of the day. The Afrikaner Nationalists turned towards the 'non-whites,' particularly those in

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[38] Ibid. pg. 214.
[39] Ibid. pg. 214.
[40] Ibid. pg. 214.

the urban areas, as a threat to the safety of the Afrikaner nation. They also looked to the opinion of the outside world, which was more and more often criticising South Africa's domestic policies. While it would have been possible to simply demonise the black resistance efforts and the world at large, this was not expedient to the time. While things were looking rosy for white South Africa at the end of the 1960s, they were by no means self-sufficient. Dan O'Meara explains that, "The pace and scale of industrial production has *always been absolutely limited by the capacity of the economy to generate inflows of foreign exchange* [italics his]- either through trade, through direct or indirect investment, or through loans. This 'foreign exchange constraint' became a growing worry through the boom of the 1960s and then generated an outright recession in the mid/late 1970s." [42] This desperate need for a continued inflow of foreign capital made it difficult for the Afrikaner Nationalist camp to write world opinion off as "communist" and leave it at that. Rather, it was necessary to justify their position and find ways to reconcile their ways with the ways of other countries. While it is unlikely that foreign critics would read this textbook, or be directly influenced by the arguments therein, the criticism and accusations coming from abroad would be visible to South African students, and explanations and justifications such as these would serve the dual purpose of allaying any doubts of the students as well as providing them with the arguments necessary to explain their position if they find themselves confronted with the criticism directly. This dual need to discredit the attacks against their policies while still keeping on good terms with the countries that helped keep the foreign capital flowing into South Africa shows through in the textbook in both of the last two chapters. The section on "non-white" affairs focuses on dissent in the black communities, and ends with a resolution in the separate development system, which again brings in the "happy ending" emplotment discussed above. The final section on "external relations" focuses on world opinion, attempting to justify South Africa's position, define other countries' ideas and policies, and come to a solution of how they can live in harmony, again aiming towards a happy ending here, though without as much success.

One major aspect of the exploration of "non-white" resistance in *History for Standard 10* is the implication that without outside influences, the black people of

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[41] Smith, K., *The Changing Past*, pg. 87.

South Africa would not be fighting against the Apartheid system. This assertion is developed on several different levels. The first is the historical precedence of the refusal of blacks to dissent. This is introduced in the first chapter in the South African section, where strikes by white workers on the Rand in 1922 are discussed as an issue in the political struggle. The strikers were said to be dissatisfied with the fact that the mines liked to employ black workers more than the whites, mainly due to the lower wages the blacks were paid, and agitated by communists encouraging the strike. The text remarks that, "Now bands of miners turned revolutionaries, roamed the Rand rioting, killing and committing arson. Some attacked Bantu workers in their compounds, but the Bantu remained quiet."[43] This stress on the black mine workers remaining peaceful despite provocation is just the first point in the argument. Later, in the section on "urbanisation of blacks" in the "Economic and Social Affairs" section the compounds are mentioned as places where the government is providing for the migrant workers, where they live together, and enjoy such recreational activities as "tribal dancing."[44] This implies that in their "natural" state, the black workers are not interested in starting any trouble with the government, and are satisfied with the status quo. The surge in black resistance in the 1950s is explained in detail in the chapter on "non-whites," and attributed entirely to outside influences.

The growth of political consciousness is largely attributed to exposure to the Western World. While some note is taken of the influence of the moves towards independence in many African countries, the biggest cause is seen as the move away from the "traditional" ideas of the black people. The text does first cite African anti-colonial struggles as an important feature, opening the chapter with the comment that, "The political awakening of the Black peoples of Africa is bound up with the struggle against colonialism,"[45] which, though acknowledging a connection between the resistance within South Africa and the struggles for liberation going on in other parts of the continent, still attributes the dissent to the outside influence of the newly independent African nations. However, later justifications focus on the "Western" influences. The text goes on to note that, "The many Blacks who fought in these [world] wars, especially in the Second World War, returned home to disseminate the

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[42] O'Meara, D., *Forty Lost Years*, pg. 173.
[43] *History for Standard 10*, pg. 176.
[44] Ibid. pg. 212.

ideals of freedom and nationalism among their people."[46] Finally cited as a reason is the urbanisation of the black population, "The South African Bantu came into contact with and were influenced by Western culture."[47] There are several other mentions of this, ranging from those resembling the above to comments about "detribalisation" and "urbanisation". This emphasis gives the impression that black resistance to white domination was largely a result of their contact with Western ways, and that, if left to their own devices and uninfluenced by these ideas of freedom and democracy, they would never have become unsettled and dissatisfied. This is obviously a grave mis-interpretation, but it serves to justify the government's policy of separate development, by explaining the unsettling influences of "Western" culture and ideas on the "tribal" blacks. The issue of separate development in the textbook is developed below, and is a major theme in this chapter of the textbook.

Black resistance is also characterised as being organised and instigated by people outside of the black community. Many mentions are made of "communist" or "socialist" influence, and the traditional state policy of writing resistance off to white agitators and communist influences definitely creeps its way into the textbooks. In the section on the African National Congress, the text notes that, "Government concern was aroused by the fact that the South African Communist Party supported the A.N.C."[48] They go on to describe the Congress of the People, and to tell how, "To eliminate the communistic elements in this organization 156 whites and non-Whites...were taken into custody and charged with high treason."[49] This implies that the African people were being led by white communists rather than organising their own political parties and protests, a claim that was in line with the party rhetoric, again pointing to the advantages of having the black population isolated in its own areas away from white influence.

The text also stresses that the attempts by non-Whites at protest or change are largely pointless. The word pnrases, "not successful," or "unsuccessful" are attached to the report of any type of dissonance, with the exception of the efforts of Clements Kadalie and the I.C.U. which are explained as having failed due to "internal

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[45] Ibid. pg. 216.
[46] Ibid. pg. 216.
[47] Ibid. pg. 216.
[48] Ibid. pg. 218.
[49] Ibid. pg. 218.

dissension."[50] It is clear that the point to be made is the lack of impact of these groups. Interestingly, the acknowledgement of the ICU, which had been and gone by the time of the Second World War, contradicts the earlier claim that black dissent came from the exposure to Western ideas in the war. However, as the use of the ICU supports their picture of black resistance as unsuccessful, the authors don't appear to notice the conflict with their earlier claims, even though it comes only two pages later in the textbook. Also avoided is the role of the government in the conflicts. The text shows a marked avoidance of agency in several cases. The deaths at Sharpeville in 1960 are acknowledged, but not how they came about, "the disturbances at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, in which seventy Blacks died."[51] Similarly, when discussing Namibia, it is noted that, "In 1959 a riot in Windhoek resulted in the death of 11 Hereros."[52] These are but two examples of this avoidance, which gives the impression that the resisters simply dropped dead spontaneously in the middle of the riots and demonstrations. There is no acceptance or note of government responsibility for these deaths, though the "rioters" were killed by South African policemen in the employ of the government. The only concession allowed to the resistance movements by the textbook is that, "the government realized that Black nationalism, which was partly responsible for the uprisings could not simply be suppressed. Instead, the blacks should develop towards self-government in an orderly manner."[53] While this acknowledgement of the influence of black resistance on the government may seem a major concession on the part of Afrikaner Nationalism, it is in fact not so far out of line with regular policy. The 1960s had been a period of almost complete quiet in the black communities following the suppression of the ANC and PAC, and though the Black Consciousness movement was gaining strength in the late 1960s and early 1970s, O'Meara comments that, "Always blissfully ignorant of the dynamics of black politics, and the gathering rage among black youth, the theorists of apartheid persuaded themselves that the 'Black Man You're on Your Own!' message of this emerging Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) simply confirmed their own belief in the impossibility of non-racial politics."[54] This comment regarding black self-government

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[50] Ibid. pg. 218.
[51] Ibid. pg. 238.
[52] Ibid. pg. 240.
[53] Ibid. pg. 219.
[54] O'Meara, D., *Forty Lost Years*, pg. 170.

gives the writers a nice bridge into the issue of separate development, which is seen as the solution to all of the problems. Similar claims are made with regard to the Indian and Coloured people, where both groups are shown as "thorny problems" whose poor living conditions are uplifted with the imposition of legislation from the benevolent government.[55] All three groups, "Bantu", "Indian", and "Coloured", were shown to have been in poverty, providing inadequate housing, health care, and education for their families when providing for themselves, and all were shown to benefit from the generous touch of the white government.

Following the upheaval of 1960 and the ensuing move towards armed struggle on the part of the black resistance movements, state suppression reached heights never before seen in South Africa. After the crushing of the resistance movements, the government went on to strengthen its Apartheid policies. Deborah Posel explains that the previous policy of "practical Apartheid" that had characterised the first stage of Apartheid gave way into a new program. She writes, "From the BAD's [Bantu Affairs Department] point of view, the escalation of African resistance was caused by too little state control, rather than too much."[56] The government shifted from the previous policies of "practical" Apartheid into the serious theoretical Apartheid that it now had the power base and organisational structure to apply. The policies of "separate development" were pursued ruthlessly in the 1960s, forced removals and endorsements out of cities increased and for the first time in years, urban Black populations decreased.[57] This increased attention to the separate development scheme provided a much needed justification for the South African government's racial policies. The separate development policy is advocated in the textbook as the solution to the problems of the non-whites, and to the criticisms coming from abroad.

Each section on the problems of the non-White communities is followed by a detailed outline of the legislation passed by the government in an attempt to move the groups towards self-government and generally improve their lots, and this is shown as the solution to all of the problems. No further resistance is documented or expected, and this gives this section of the book a happy ending of sorts, in which the country is seen to be progressing towards a peaceful co-existence, which again shows the

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[55] *History for Standard 10*, pgs. 224-235.
[56] Posel, D., *The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise*, pg. 245.
[57] Ibid. Chapter 9.

"comedy" mode of emplotment, supporting the status quo and painting a rosy picture of the future. This is perhaps the greatest harm that the book conveys to its students; since the Soweto revolt broke out the same year that this book was released, it shows either a very poor knowledge of the political situation of the time or a deliberate effort to avoid the issue of continued black dissent. Particularly noting that the Soweto uprising did not simply appear out of thin air, but was preceded by other signs of dissent, such as the strikes in Durban in October 1972, which Tom Lodge claims marked a "re-emergence of black industrial and political resistance,"[58] the evidence points more towards mis-information than ignorance.

The final chapter on "External Relations" shows several definitive characteristics of the Afrikaner Nationalist view of history in the 1970s. The amount of space (one fifth of the section on South African History) allotted to the topic of world opinion shows that this issue is an important one to the writers of the book and the syllabus.

Throughout this chapter on "external relations," an argument runs that due to previous decisions, original assertions, and historical precedents, the UNO is not justified in its attacks on South Africa, and has no right to be pursuing the line of attack it is undertaking. Smith mentions that this is characteristic of Afrikaner Nationalist texts, "History was seen as a justification for the Afrikaner's actions."[59] Through the use of precedents, the chapter argues that the United Nations should leave well enough alone, and stick to its earlier decisions and declarations that it would stay out of domestic policies. Much emphasis is placed here on Smuts' role as a founding member of the organisation in an attempt to prove South Africa's legitimate associations with the UNO. The opening of the chapter reiterates that, "General J.C. Smuts played a considerable role in the founding of this organization, of which South Africa is a founder member."[60] When combined with the earlier statement that, "One of the founders of the United Nations Organization, [Smuts] was responsible especially for the preamble to the UN Charter,"[61] South Africa's legitimacy is established and the textbook goes on to detail the ideas of the UNO. This is particularly noteworthy as

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[58] Lodge, T., *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, pg. 325.
[59] Smith, K., *The Changing Past*, pg. 65.
[60] *History for Standard 10*, pg. 236.

Smuts is often seen as a traitor to the Afrikaner people due to his conciliatory policies. Smith tells of one Afrikaner author who, "saw Hertzog and Smuts in terms of a nationalist against a holist. He rejected Smuts, the holistic imperialist, and saw Hertzog as one of the most important creations of Afrikaner Nationalism,"[62] and this was a rule rather than an exception to the Afrikaner nationalist rhetoric. For Smuts to be portrayed here in such a good light emphasises the importance of world opinion and acceptance to the textbook writers. Only two rules from the organisation's charter are deemed worthy of note in the text: that of Article 2(7), "that it would refrain from interfering in matters which fall within the domestic jurisdiction of any state," and the principle that "every member-nation, large or small, would have a vote in the General Assembly."[63] These two rules are worked into the introductory paragraph of the chapter and preview the entire argument of the writers about why the UN is being unreasonable in their treatment of South Africa. One further claim to defend their ideology is,

> "The South African government and the United Nations Organization differ in their interpretation of the terms 'human rights' and 'the right to self-determination'... According to the majority in UNO the right to self-determination can be exercised in South Africa and South West Africa only if they are treated as geographical units. This would mean that their governments would be taken over by non-White majorities. South Africa, on the other hand, regards the right to self-determination as the right of ethnic groups to achieve independence in their own territories."[64]

By explaining that it is merely a difference in ideology, rather than a deep seeded evil intent on the part of South Africa or the UNO, it is still possible to endorse a conciliatory policy. This explanation also provides support for the separate development policy shown to be the solution to dissent in the "non-white" communities in the previous chapter of the textbook. This attempt to show differences in basic ideology allows for the idea that will arise later in the text that nations can be on friendly terms with each other without agreeing with each other's policies.

Criticisms of South Africa within the United Nations are treated as terrible injustices, and treated with very emotive words. Smuts is described as, "*rudely*

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[61] Ibid. pg. 184.
[62] Smith, K., *The Changing Past*, pg. 83.
[63] Ibid. pg. 236.
[64] Ibid. pg. 236.

awakened to the *enmity* of certain nations towards South Africa [italics mine]." The "attacks" on South Africa are described as "vehement" and South Africa is always portrayed as being forced into decisions of isolation against her will.[65] This theory of South Africa's innocence being under fire continues when they cite a favourable report from a Special Committee to look into the South West Africa claim, and again when they cite a 1965 World Court decision against countries accusing South Africa of wrongs. Both instances are proclaimed, "moral victories" for South Africa,[66] and serve as precedents of the UNO being unjustified in its attacks on South African domestic policy. Legalistic terms take over when they discuss accusations, which are said to be about, "alleged" oppression of the non-white races. Overall, the attitude is one of defence and outrage that South Africa should come under such unreasonable attacks by the world organisations.

One explanation given for these attacks is that they are led by Afro-Asian countries, which would significantly not include the powerful Western nations. The textbook cites India, African states, or an "Afro-Asian" alliance as the main attackers of their policies. It is noted that, "It was largely on account of Afro-Asian enmity that Dr Verwoerd decided to withdraw from the Commmonwealth when the Union became a republic in 1961. The Afro-Asians promptly broke off trade relations with South Africa."[67] This, when coupled by the claim that Africa is over-represented in the General Assembly and that her governments are radical and being supported by communist and socialist countries gives South Africa some room to manoeuvre. This is mentioned twice, in that, "This has become one of U.N.O.'s great problems, for a single, new African state, for example, however small, has as much say in the General Assembly as the U.S.A. or any other great nation,"[68] which is followed soon by the statistic that "42 of the 143 member-states are African."[69] This has the effect of playing down the importance of UN protest to South Africa's policy by implying that only a handful of brand new African nations under the organisation of the O.A.U. are against it, many of those for ulterior motives, and that the important nations are not a large part of that argument. To the discerning eye, this contradicts the book's earlier

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[65] Ibid. pg. 236.
[66] Ibid. pgs. 240-1.
[67] Ibid. pg. 238.
[68] Ibid. pg. 236.
[69] Ibid. pg. 238.

claims that it was beneficial for smaller, not entirely independant nations like South Africa to be able to join separately, noting that after the First World War, the dominions (Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa), "were allowed to sign the Treaty of Versailles as separate states. They were also allowed to join the League of Nations as separate states and even became mandate holders."[70] This doesn't appear problematic to the writers, however, who saw this case as a step on the road to republic, and the other cases as an over-allowance of power to many small (and unfriendly) states.

This theory is continued with the exploration of South Africa's relations with other countries. South Africa is portrayed as perfectly willing to put out a hand of friendship and support to all of the struggling African nations as long as they do not insist on attacking South Africa's domestic policies. This is particularly noted in the explanation of South Africa's outward policy. The text documents an offer from South Africa in 1967 that, "technical and economic advice were freely available to any state willing to accept it...no political strings attached."[71] This is followed by another offer from Vorster that, "he was prepared to enter into dialogue with any African leader, thereby extending a hand of friendship to all African states."[72] There are even attempts to adopt the rhetoric of the liberation movements sweeping the continent, as Posel illustrates, "In an attempt to win some legitimacy in the eyes of its critics, the government's homeland solution mimicked the language of 'ethnic self-determination' used by African nationalists up north."[73] These efforts were not received with open arms by many, but the writers insist that these are positions that put South Africa on the high moral ground compared to her neighbours. In reality, there were more self-interested reasons for this attempt at good relations. O'Meara notes that, "The collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in 1974 and the threatened disappearance of at least two of the 'buffer states' around South Africa... provoked a hasty rethinking of regional strategy...the so-called 'détente' policy sought out African governments prepared to cooperate with Prétoria."[74] However, these reasons are not included in the textbook, which portrays South Africa as a benevolent and giving government.

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[70] Ibid. pg. 186.
[71] Ibid. pg. 250.
[72] Ibid. pg. 251.
[73] Posel, D., *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961*, pg. 232.
[74] O'Meara, D., *Forty Lost Years*, pg. 192.

Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho are mentioned extensively as examples where this friendship in trade and non-involvement in political issues had particularly born fruit and provided peace and prosperity for all those involved. While economic ties between South Africa and these countries are acknowledged, the text implies that the good relations are a matter of free choice on the parts of the leaders of these nations, rather than pure economic dependence. In the discussion of Botswana's favourable relationship with the country to her south, the text explains, "[Botswana's good neighbourliness towards South Africa] placed Botswana in a difficult position since her northern neighbour, Zambia, was antagonistic towards South Africa; however, Sir Seretse stood film, refusing to let his country be drawn into the O.A.U.'s campaign against the Republic."[75] Where the African states discussed were less inclined to co-operate, they were generally noted as being, "communistically inclined,"[76] or similarly, supported by China and Russia. Overall, the opinion of South Africa is expressed to be an interest in trade and support for the new developing African nations in return for their abandonment of their political ventures against South Africa.

The relations with the larger powers are portrayed somewhat more amiably, though with some bitterness evident in the discussion. The U.S.A. is seen as a key nation, and their position is stated to be that, "She had invested millions in Africa in order to win and maintain the friendship of Black Africa, and could not afford to antagonize the African states, nevertheless, the U.S.A. was opposed to the use of force against South Africa and more than once used her veto in this regard."[77] The U.S.A. is portrayed in the light of an opportunist power, trying to gain advantage from both sides of the debate. The United Kingdom is similarly portrayed as interested in trade with South Africa, while still condemning the racial policy. Interestingly, this does not seem to be problematic to the writers, presumably because they have already explained the difference in outlook between the Western powers definitions of human rights and self-determination and the definitions of South Africa. France and Japan are portrayed favourably as countries that are above politics and engaged in trade with South Africa for profit, not political issues. The constant stress on how it is possible for South

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[75] *History for Standard 10*, pg. 242.
[76] Ibid. pg. 247.
[77] Ibid. pg. 253.

Africa to have trade and diplomatic relations with countries when they don't necessary agree with each other's politics is key to the argument that relations between South Africa and the rest of the world could be cordial and co-operative if the U.N.O. and the member nations would follow the original ideals of the U.N.O., and deal with South Africa on an international basis rather than involving themselves in her domestic policies. This chapter ends, as the last, with an optimistic outlook, hoping that moderate Black African states can arise that "prefer evolutionary to revolutionary development,"[78] and who can readily enter into friendly relations with South Africa regardless of her internal politics. In light of the relations that followed, particularly with African countries, though also later with the Western powers, this too is either an amazingly short-sighted and uninformed viewpoint or a purposeful attempt to mis-inform the children learning from the text.

History for Standard 10 was written at the height of Afrikaner power and at the peak of 'the golden age of Apartheid.' It reflects the oldest traditions of Afrikaner Nationalism, stressing the importance of dates, facts, and names in history, and focusing on politics, diplomacy, military ventures, and the history of 'great men'. This can be found not only in the text itself, but also in the teaching and learning methods facilitated by the textbook, both in content and in exercises designed for the students. Additionally, the textbook focuses on the history of Afrikaners as the central point of the text, and other groups in South Africa feature only as they come in contact or conflict with this main group.

However, the textbook moves beyond the old traditions to some new emphases that emerged in Afrikaner Nationalist histories in the 1960s and 70s. One area in which this is visible is in the discussion of republicanism, which is no longer seen as a struggle for a distant but just goal, but rather as continual progress towards an inevitable victory. This change from a discourse of discontent and oppression to one of triumph, with a happy ending, emerged in part after the victory of the National Party in 1948, and more strongly after the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 and can clearly be found in the *History for Standard 10* textbook. Also present in the textbook is a change of focus on the enemies of the Afrikaner 'nation', which

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[78] Ibid. pg. 255.

was now the government of white South Africa. Rather than the earlier emphasis on the British as enemies preventing the independence of South Africa, and the 'savages' and 'barbarians' of the black chiefdoms that threatened the Voortrekker's safety and prosperity, new enemies emerged in the second half of the twentieth century. With the rise of black unrest and dissent, the urban African population took on the mantle of unofficial opposition to the government, and with the concurrent and often resultant rise of international criticism towards South Africa and her racial policies, the international community, and most particularly the newly independent African states and India were singled out as unreasonable attackers of South Africa. These new focuses are clearly present in the textbook, and can be seen to bear great influence on the content therein.

The *History for Standard 10* textbook was released in a year that saw not only the Soweto uprising break out in protest against Apartheid education policies, but also the fallout of the economic depression that had started in 1973 and reached full swing in 1976. The "golden age of Apartheid" had come to an end, and the focus of education shifted in the wake of the country's troubles. In following years, the government still held a firm control of the educational system, as well as the country itself. However, some changes were made to curriculum, and with the new pioneering ideas of the 'liberal' and 'radical' schools of historiography finally finding some openings to the educational process, new ideas and emphases made their way into some of the textbooks of the eighties. The old ideas, and textbooks such as this one still existed and with the help of the government approved syllabus, largely kept control of school history, but some new ideas managed to get through. The new ways were not exclusive however, and often shades of the old managed to peep through in the new, improved versions, continuing the legacy of textbooks like this one.

Series Two: *History Alive*

The *History Alive* series was published by Shuter and Shooter in the mid-1980s. It represents, however, a clear break from the previous school textbooks in South Africa. Here the focus will be on the *History Alive: Standard 10* textbook, particularly on the second half of the book, dealing with South African History from 1910-1970. The writers were all involved in the education field, and all had experience teaching in schools at the standard 10 level.[1] This volume was published in 1987, after the Soweto uprising, and in a era of both reform on the part of the Botha government in the early 1980s and harsh repression in the townships, where revolts broke out in the mid-1980s. It was also written to conform to the 1985 History Syllabus, and to be used in schools in a South Africa under the Apartheid government. Furthermore, it emerged in a time of historiographical change, with transformation going on in the 'liberal' and 'radical' schools, and also found some inspiration in the University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop, commonly associated with the new wave of radical historical writing.[2] All of these influences have an effect on the content, style, and approach of the textbook.

Several topics need to be addressed in looking at this textbook. First it is important to look at the intentions of the authors. Several basic ideas are set out in the introduction to the text, and some others have been mentioned in interviews with the authors. The textbook must be analysed to see whether and to what extent the conscious attempts by the authors were successful and where they failed. Next, though this issue will arise in the first section as well, it is important to look at the textbook within the realm of its historiographical background, looking for the influences of the 'revisionist' school. Finally, it is interesting to note the places in the textbook where the ways of its predecessors made it through unchanged. There are several places in which this textbook, purported to be a break from the old, allows through comments or issues that seem more appropriate to the older and staunch Afrikaner Nationalist textbooks.

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[1] *History Alive: Standard 10*, preface.

[2] The editor, Peter Kallaway, was a member of the History Workshop committee until 1984, at which time he became an associate member due to a move to Cape Town. Tatham, G.K., *The University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop and Radical South African Historical Scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s*, pgs. 12, 25.

Throughout the twentieth century, attempts were made to break away from the Afrikaner Nationalist historical tradition that characterised most historical writings as well as school history textbooks. Many of these attempts are not characterised by the debates about "historiographical schools" and many exist outside of the common schools defined by researchers. To a point however, it is possible to point to two main schools that emerged with great strength in the latter half of the century, the 'liberal' school, and the 'radical' or 'revisionist' school. While this categorisation can be very limiting, and one is wise not to take the characteristics and themes attributed to each school as ultimately representative of all of the work emerging in this period, it is helpful to use the broad representations to define some of the major trends in historical writing in these periods. Many of these trends can be seen in the *History Alive: Standard 10* textbook, as well as the changed focuses that emerged in the mid- to late-1980s. In order to explore the influences within the textbook, a very brief outline of some historiographical trends is necessary. The Afrikaner Nationalist tradition was explored in the previous chapter, but some words about the general characteristics of the liberal tradition, the radical tradition, and the trends of the mid- to late- 1980s will provide a bit of background for the exploration of the text.

The Afrikaner Nationalist tradition was not monolithic or unchallenged in the period before the mid twentieth century, but the liberal tradition as it is usually defined did not become very widespread or influential before this period. It was a conscious challenge to the Afrikaner Nationalist histories that focused on several main events and people, followed the Rankean historical method, and was not very objective when it came to matters close to the heart of the Afrikaner nation. Though the liberal tradition was by no means a neutral or entirely enlightened approach to history, and was often criticised for its own biases and limitations, it definitely broadened the realm of historical writing in South Africa. Visser and Bam explain that, "The work of the Liberal Africanist school of historians reached its culmination in...The Oxford History of South Africa," which,

> "was notable for its attempt to break away from what the editors called the 'five basic assumptions which shaped writing about South Africa history': that the history of South Africa began in 1652; that the precolonial societies of Africa were utterly static, lacking social conflict or historical change; that there were distinct 'physical types', which remained linguistically and economically

> separate from each other; that each such group formed a separate, 'pure race'; and that it was the task of historians to study the political actions of whites and for anthropologists to study the (supposedly static) social structures of blacks."[3]

These challenges to the old views of history added much to the field of South African history that had seldom been acknowledged in the older or more conservative writings. The focus on social and economic history moved away from the Rankean tradition of studying politics and "great men" and their views towards the Afrikaners' role in history and the importance of Africans in history revolutionised the field. However, they did not correct all of the problems, and found themselves often criticised by more radical historians. Smith characterises some of the more common issues in his book, *The Changing Past: Trends in South African historical writing*, in which he notes that they were criticised because; while they gave attention to blacks, they still focused on the conflict between blacks and whites, and portrayed blacks as victims rather than as active participants in history; they focused on capitalism and British influence as a generally good thing, working against Afrikaner Nationalism and Apartheid; and they over-stressed the ideas of race as all important in South African history. [4] These are some of the issues that the radical historiographical school tried to combat and correct. Though the characteristics described above are very broad generalisations of the ideas surrounding liberal historical theory, they can serve as a point of reference for further discussion.

The "radical" theorists began to come to prominence in the 1970s, though some of the characteristics of their work were present earlier. [5] In the seventies, the debate and struggle between the "liberal" and "radical" schools took the forefront in the histories being written, to the exclusion of any synthesis between the two divergent sets of ideals. The "radical" writers, in an attempt to combat the liberal histories' focus on race as the motivating factor in South African history, and in accordance with their often Marxist inspired ideas, "mostly adopt[ed] a materialist approach to history, believing that the past should be seen in terms of a class struggle and the forces and relations of production. Class, not race, was the motor of history." [6] They argued

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[3] Visser and Bam, *A New History for a New South Africa,* pgs. 22-3.
[4] Smith, K., *The Changing Past,* Chapter 4.
[5] Ibid. pg. 163.
[6] Ibid. pg. 167.

instead that "racial discrimination in South Africa provided an excellent environment for the maximum development of capitalism."[7] This earlier brand of 'revisionist' history drew inspiration from Europe's historiographical revolution and, "dealt with structures and made comparisons, studying the collective rather than the individual, groups and processes rather than specific events; it was interested in material culture and the formation of classes. It studied social change and repetitive patterns of community life, making generalisations and delineating abstract social forces."[8] Overall, the "radical" historians of the 1970s moved away from the liberal views of race ideologies and British benevolence, focusing on the overall bad behaviour of whites, and their economically motivated actions. Many of the "radical" historians were ideologically based in the Marxist tradition, and tended towards, "the development of theory and [were] less interested in the "facts" - empirical data."[9] This stress on theory tended to bring criticism to their ranks and the accusation that they were more interested in formulating abstract ideas than basing them in historical facts.

By the mid- to late- 1980s, however, this strict division and heated debate between the two schools had time to calm, and gave way to a more integrated approach. After so much criticism from the 'radical' element, the 'liberals' found themselves addressing the areas they had neglected in the past, and similarly, the 'radicals' moved on from the harsh reactions to the 'liberal' histories and adopted a more all encompassing approach as well. While this was all just beginning at the time this textbook was written, aspects of the new ideas can be found therein.

The 'radical' or 'revisionist' approach of the 1980s was often personified in the workings of the History Workshop of the University of the Witwatersrand. Gayle Kirsten Tatham characterises the main direction of this workshop as having, "three fundamental currents which were not mutually exclusive: materialist scholarship, Africanist scholarship and social history."[10] Overall, their approach was seen as a "history from below," combating the effects of the Rankean tradition in an attempt to find a different side to history.

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid. pg. 168.
[9] Ibid. pg. 170.
[10] Tatham, G.K., *The University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop*, pg. 4

The History Alive: Standard 10 textbook was structured such that a different author wrote each chapter. Authors were selected by Peter Kallaway, and the chapters were thoroughly edited by him. There were one or two conferences to discuss the series, and one or two telephonic conferences, but otherwise, the project was done through the post, with chapters being sent to Kallaway to edit, and also being passed around the group for editing and comments.[11] Jean Bottaro recalled that the process was really rather isolated, without much collaboration and feedback from the other authors.[12] Kallaway also noted that there was not the time or resources necessary to trial the book in schools and get teachers' and students' reactions.[13] The book was not well received by the authorities, and was totally rejected by the Department of Education and Training (who recommended textbooks for the schools designated for African students). However, it was not originally intended for the government schools. With a colleague on the Joint Matriculation Board, Kallaway managed to get some leeway to try out new ideas for the private schools.[14] This meant that the intended readers came from upper middle-class white backgrounds. Never originally meant for students who had English as a second language, they intended to rewrite the book for second-language students if it proved successful in its original form. Due to its very advanced language and the deviation from the strict subjects needed for the matriculation text, however, it often was used more as a teacher's manual for extra material rather than as a text for the students themselves. Even Jean Bottaro, who helped write the book, admitted that she never taught it in the classroom, but used it instead for supplementary material. Though hers was a middle-class white school of the type for which the book was written, she felt that particularly in the higher grades, attention had to be paid more to the matriculation examinations than to this new version of history.[15] Overall, the book embarked on a new direction from its predecessors, and though it didn't enjoy huge success, it marked a major departure from previous textbooks, and moved in new directions.

The 1985 syllabus made a few changes from the 1973 syllabus addressed in the previous chapter. Its opening is drastically different from its immediate ancestor, and

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[11] Kallaway interview, 11 June 1997.
[12] Bottaro interview, 9 June 1997.
[13] Kallway interview, 11 June 1997.
[14] Kallaway interview, 11 June 1997.
[15] Bottaro interview, 9 June 1997.

gives the promise of a whole new approach, but one which is then not delivered. The introduction to the syllabus shows the acknowledgement of the ideas about education that were presenting themselves at the time. Kallaway noted that during this period, there were lots of debates going on internationally, aiming towards more skills and concepts based learning. [16] With more stress on skills learning and less on the Rankean tradition of facts, dates, and names, calls were being made in the educational field for change. The syllabus opens with a statement about the nature of history, which in addition to the older definition of history adds, "Thus, history, in addition to its content, is also a mode of enquiry, a way of investigating the past which requires the acquisition and use of skills." [17] For the rest of the aims, however, they are almost exactly as they were in the 1974 syllabus. [18] There are only two additions, section 2.2.6 and 2.2.7, which state, respectively, "[history] makes [the student] aware of the changing state of historical knowledge and the contributions made by related disciplines to historical knowledge," and "it contributes towards his understanding of history as an academic discipline, and fosters intellectual skills and perspectives in the process." [19] While these give the impression that moves are being made towards some inclusion of a skills based teaching and learning method, no indications are given as to how this is to be achieved, and only the idea that, "there should also be differentiation in methods of teaching, assessment, and evaluation," is given, without any indication that this is actually going to happen. In fact, in a study done by Kallaway and Rob Sieborger in 1990, it was remarked that there was, "Very limited progress towards the development of examination papers which are based on an evidence and skills approach." [20] Jean Bottaro, a teacher at Westerford High School in Cape Town, and one of the authors in *History Alive: Standard 10* (chapter 7, on the Middle East), noted that the syllabus implied a change towards skills based methods, but did not follow through on it. [21] The overall content of the syllabus was almost identical to the 1973 syllabus, with the exception of a couple of small sections on social and economic issues. Even these new sections are simply tacked on to the main issues, in the form of

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[16] Kallaway interview, 11 June 1997.
[17] See Appendix 2, 1985 syllabus, pg. 1.
[18] See Appendices 1 and 2 for comparison.
[19] Appendix 2, 1985 syllabus, pg. 2.
[20] Kallaway and Sieborger, *The Assessment of History in the Senior Secondary Phase*, pg. 56.
[21] Bottaro interview, 9 June 1997.

"economic and social developments" sections which are said to be, "for non-essay type questions only," and allotted few periods for study.[22]

In accordance with the syllabus, the South African section was divided into three time periods, 1910-1924, 1924-1948, and 1948-1970, which were written by Peter Kallaway, Cynthia Kros, and Hermann Giliomee, respectively. Kallaway had trained history teachers at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg, and was involved in the History Workshops held there. He was a staunch Marxist at the time, and fell towards the 'revisionist' side of the historiographical debate. Kros was an ex-student of his, who held similar views and loyalties.[23] Giliomee, on the other hand, was an Afrikaner, schooled at the University of Stellenbosch, who has been described as, "a liberal Afrikaner historian."[24] Giliomee, however, explains that his approach was a synthesis of the Afrikaner Nationalist school in which he was taught, as well as the 'liberal' and 'revisionist' schools, from which he tended to bring together the ideas he thought were worthwhile from each school,[25] a claim that is supported by Smith, who notes that, "Hermann Giliomee has attempted to find his way to a compromise between the cooperation and conflict theme of the liberals and the class analysis of the radicals."[26] The different approaches of the authors can be seen in their chapters, as can be seen in the discussion below, though overall, the South African history section has a continuity that allows analysis of the three chapters together.

History Alive: Standard 10 definitely marks a break from the older textbooks. Using *History for Standard 10* as a comparison piece, it is possible to see many ways in which the new series reacts to the old, and takes different angles on history. One major difference is the tendency to compare blacks and whites in the new text. While in the old, whites and blacks are portrayed as totally separate entities, reacting to different forces, i.e. those of civilisation and those of "traditional" ways, respectively, *History Alive* focuses on the similarity of the forces acting upon the two groups and of their reactions to these. In the discussion of poverty, the text draws extensive parallels between the poor whites and the impoverished blacks. Often, the two groups are

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[22] See Appendix II. Sections 1.3, 2.2, 2.5, and 3.3 deal with economic and social issues, with 2 periods allotted to each sections, for a total of 8 of 93 periods.
[23] Kallaway interview, 11 June 1997.
[24] Beinart and Dubow, *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, pg. 189.
[25] Giliomee interview, 9 June 1997.

combined in explanations like, "These trends left the majority of rural inhabitants, 'poor blacks' and 'poor whites' in an increasingly disadvantaged position, and spurred on the process of urban migration,"[27] or, "Traditionally the 'poor white problem' was seen to have its origins in quite different economic and social processes to the much larger problem of poverty among blacks. It is only in recent years that new research has drawn out the parallels and allowed us to understand that the creation of poverty among whites and blacks was part of a single process."[28] These rough generalisations of the similarities between the two groups are drawn out farther, and it becomes clear that the comparison is a link between Afrikaners and Africans. The text cites problems with language (i.e. English), lack of marketable skills, high infant mortality rates, poor performance at work and school, and miserable living conditions as characteristics common to both black and white urban dwellers. Interestingly, these are the same reasons for and results of poverty expounded in *History for Standard 10*, except that in the earlier text they are used to explain only the poverty of the whites. It draws the connection further by noting that, "The town was often represented as an evil place in Afrikaner and African literature and art, and urban life was said to have the effect of removing Afrikaners and Africans from their traditional culture and customs."[29] This drawing of parallels is very divergent from the older texts, and serves to bring the two communities closer together in terms of social processes and similarities, rather than drawing strong distinctions between the two.

History Alive also draws similar comparisons between Afrikaner and African nationalism. This is not without precedent in the tradition of South African rhetoric, though it goes strongly against the mainstream Afrikaner Nationalist writings. As early as the 1950s, parallels were being drawn between the two phenomenon. Smith notes that,

> "[Dr Molema] could not understand how the Afrikaners could act as they did towards blacks in the light of their own struggle for freedom against the British imperialists. He warned that 'as the Dutch-Afrikaner had the British dictator and tyrant to thank... for awakening him from his complacency to form a united front, so the African, the Non-European of 1949-1952 can now, and will assuredly thank the Dutch-Afrikaner Nationalist for arousing him from his stupor of disunion to grope for his equally unprivileged brother to form a Non-

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[26] Smith, *The Changing Past*, pgs. 204-5.
[27] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 417.
[28] Ibid. pg. 425.
[29] Ibid. pg. 427.

> European United front, and having exhausted all constitutional methods of obtaining redress, to launch a determined campaign of Civil Disobedience and Defiance of Unjust Laws"[30]

The History Alive text echoes these parallels, claiming that, "Broadly speaking, Afrikaner nationalism shares many of the characteristics of African nationalism. It developed as a response to imperialist domination and its proponents struggled for national independence."[31] One of the interpretative questions asked in the text follows an excerpt from the freedom charter, and asks, "How would (a) an Afrikaner nationalist (b) an exclusive African nationalist respond to the statement 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white'?"[32] a question which begs for the answer that they would both respond negatively, and therefore links the two further in the minds of the pupils. This method of comparing the two reacts strongly against the Afrikaner Nationalist tradition, the followers of which would surely be offended at the suggestion that the Afrikaners and Africans have anything in common. Particularly looking at the policy of separate development that asserts that the races are all innately different in traditions, cultures, and ways, the Afrikaner nationalist would be horribly taken aback at the parallels drawn in History Alive, not only between political action or economic status, but even cultural backwardness in relation to the urban world, and cultural expression of literature and art. This comparison definitely contradicts the Afrikaners' claims that the Africans and Afrikaners are separate nations and have no similarities.

However, the comparison is not all positive in its application. It serves to obscure the very real differences in the living styles of the Africans and the Afrikaners. At one point the textbook goes so far as to quote an observer from the time that claimed that though their living conditions were the same, the blacks were not sinking as far into the pit of poverty as the whites were.[33] Though there are a couple of comments about the fact that the blacks didn't have the vote, so they couldn't change their condition, and that the blacks had more trouble getting into the urban areas, due to the pass laws, there is no real acknowledgement that the black situation was very

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[30] Quoted from SM Molema, "A historical parallel and warning", *Bantu World*, 4, 11 October 1952, in Smith, *The Changing Past*, pg. 161.
[31] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 486.
[32] Ibid. pg. 546.
[33] Ibid. pg. 471.

different from that of the whites. This is a very damaging omission that, when combined with the lack of description of black living conditions in the discussion of black resistance and problems (discussed below), does not give a sufficient idea to the students about the hardships with which the black population had to live.

One explanation for this attention to the similarities and ignorance of the differences between blacks and whites is that the revisionist stance of Kallaway and Kros comes through at this point. The discussion of the poor whites and blacks is found in Kallaway's chapter, and the comparisons between Afrikaner and African Nationalism comes up in Kros's chapter. By blurring the lines of racial division and focusing on similar economic and social conditions, the revisionist stress on class overcomes the liberal emphasis on race as the defining differences in experience. As Smith quotes Deborah Posel,

> "What began as an emphasis 'on the class functions and determinants of apartheid and segregation, expanded and solidified into a theoretical and methodological approach, or problematic, which imposed a functionalist and reductionist perspective on the study of South Africa history ... As a result, having opened up a new ground for historical inquiry, such revisionist theory has also tended to close it off to further expansion.'"[34]

In this case, the focus on class that they use to link the white and black impoverished or the African and Afrikaner Nationalist movements obscures any differences that might exist due to race. By overstating the similarities between the groups, they are able to show that class is the defining factor in history, as the early revisionists tended to, but this ignores other issues. While the differences in race themselves are not responsible for differences in experience, the very nature of a government that treated what they defined as racial groups in different ways dictated that their experiences would not be the same, a fact that is avoided in this text.

The *History Alive: Standard 10* text also deviates from the older texts by providing an overt discussion of issues ignored in the earlier texts. Firstly, the *History Alive* text admits agency in the suppression of black resistance by the government. *History for Standard 10* avoided the issue of agency in the case of a riot in Windhoek and in the Sharpeville massacre, "In 1959 a riot in Windhoek resulted in the death of 11 Hereros." and, "the disturbances at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, in which

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[34] Quoted from Deborah Posel, "Rethinking the 'race-class debate' in South African historiography", *Social Dynamics*, 9 (1), 1983, p. 50, in Smith, *The Changing Past*, pg. 212.

seventy Blacks died." [35] *History Alive*, however, does not avoid this issue. In describing the Bulhoek massacre, it notes, "They were mown down by machine-gun fire leaving 163 dead and 129 wounded. This action seemed to most blacks to be yet another example of Smuts' disregard for them and a demonstration of the ruthlessness of the government," [36] and when relating the incident at Sharpeville, they report, "The police shot at the crowd, killing 69."[37] This acknowledgement of police culpability in the repressive measures is a marked departure from the older texts. This is partly attributable to the fact that, according to Kallaway, the writing team was, "broadly anti-Apartheid,"[38] and would have wanted to address the problems and atrocities of the Apartheid system. All in all, this characteristic distinguishes it from the older texts that actively avoid the mention of agency.

The *History Alive* textbook takes a much more objective approach to some of the issues raised in *History for Standard 10*, particularly issues that are touchy to the Afrikaner Nationalist attempts to defend their moral correctness. Rather than the outrage at the unnecessary insults heaped on South Africa by the UN that comes across in the *History for Standard 10* text, *History Alive* explains the outrage in neutral terms, commenting that the rise of criticism caused, "many white South Africans to see themselves as persecuted and misunderstood as if, Spence suggests, it was the outside world which was 'perverse'. [39] The World Court decision in South Africa's favour that is portrayed in the older textbook as a "moral victory" is simply explained here as an unexpected decision that, "gave South Africa breathing space for the next ten years." [40] The stress on the great foreign relations with neighbouring countries and the completely harmonious relationship between them expressed in *History for Standard 10,* where the relations were implied to be due to choice on the parts of the leaders, is outlined a bit more clearly in *History Alive* as, "using the economic dependence of neighbouring states like Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana to make them respect the political wishes of South Africa." [41] All in all, the seriously

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[35] *History for Standard 10*, pgs. 238 and 240, respectively.
[36] *History Alive: Standard 10,* pg. 452.
[37] Ibid. pg. 547.
[38] Kallaway interview, 11 June 1997.
[39] *History Alive: Standard 10,* pg. 514.
[40] Ibid. pg. 564.
[41] Ibid. pg. 564.

propagandistic tone of the older Afrikaner Nationalist influenced textbook gives way in the newer series to a more neutral or at least less blatantly biased look at the situations.

The authors of *History Alive: Standard 10* display a well thought out approach to the writing of history for schools. Their intentions and motivations in undertaking the writing of a new breed of textbooks are laid out clearly in the general introduction, and give some insight into the textbook itself. While it is important to see where the influences of historiographical trends and historical background come into play with the textbook on a less conscious level, the book must also be addressed regarding the conscious intentions of the authors and the extent to which these are successful or unsuccessful.

The general introduction, written by Peter Kallaway, lays out three areas of a "new" historical approach that he claims are key to the textbook, then adds a fourth later in the introduction. The first of these is, "a world history perspective on the 20th century," which would "move away from a parochial view of historical events and processes and examine them against a background of social, economic and political change on a global scale." [42] This is intended to give a view of broad global issues, while still showing the differences and uniqueness of different situations. In the South African history section, this would involve the connection of South African history to the bigger world picture. The second theme from the "new history" is, "the attempt in this text to provide a comprehensive vision and interpretation of South African history," as the old texts have focused on "the Afrikaner Nationalist interpretation of history and... largely neglected the rich tradition of African and revisionist history that has informed and enriched the understanding of our history in the past two decades." [43] This attempt to synthesise the different schools of history and to add the "revisionist" school's ideas to the history textbook show through in many places in the text, and represent a definite break from the past textbooks released in South Africa. The third area in which the "new history" is claimed to be brought into the text is in the context of, "the teaching of history in schools." Kallaway notes that, "There has been an increasing desire to get away from chalk and talk, from the 'great man' and 'great nation' approach and from excessive reliance upon narrative that was a characteristic

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[42] Ibid. general introduction.

of the conventional textbook approach." The History Alive textbook is purported to stress rather, "explanatory and analytical skills in the learning of history."[44] This issue of teaching styles endorsed and facilitated by the book will also come into play in analysing the textbook. Finally, the introduction to the South African history section explains that, "The other part of our task will be to explore aspects of the life experience of people during this era that do not always manifest themselves in the form of events but rather as social processes that make up the cement of history... It is not only the rich and the powerful who make history, it is also made by ordinary people and the poor and underprivileged."[45] This stress on the lives of "ordinary people" is a key aspect of the ideas of the mid-1980s, and the History Workshop, which was beginning to set one of its goals as gathering oral history in order to broaden the scope of accepted history, with its "Oral History" project.

The *History Alive: Standard 10* textbook fulfils many of the authors intentions. The authors are relatively successful in their attempts to bring South African history into a world perspective, linking events and ideas with the world wide forces in action at the same time. In the discussion of the Pact government's 'civilized labour policy', it is explained that they, "Wanted to avoid another explosive confrontation between white workers, employers and the state like that which had occurred in 1922. Employers and the government had been alarmed at the recent Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and had in consequence drawn specific lessons from the events and the experiences on the Witwatersrand in 1922."[46] Later, in a discussion of post- World War I South Africa, it is explained that, "the influence of socialist and Marxist ideas emanating from the Soviet Union at the time of the Russian Revolution were important influences on events such as the 1922 Rand Revolt. Secondly, Pan-African influences, derived mainly from black Americans such as Du Bois and Marcus Garvey were also significant in shaping the policy and philosophy of African nationalism."[47] These are but two examples of places in which the world perspective is successfully adapted to the discussion of South African history. This is not out of line with the syllabus, which though it does split the world history and South African history sections, does

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid. pg. 407.
[46] Ibid. pg. 485.
[47] Ibid. pgs. 461-2.

acknowledge that connection between the two is desirable.[48] Since the first half of the textbook also deals with the twentieth century, and draws out issues of nationalism, capitalism, socialism, industrialisation, and other major forces, the application to the South African scene serves as a bridge between sections, and allows the students to grasp some of the interrelationship of the different countries' histories.

This attempt at world perspective is not always so successful however. There are a few cases in which the connections drawn are shaky. An apt example of this failure is found following an account of circumstances surrounding the colour bar. The textbook reads, "In attempting to place these events within the broader spectrum of world history at this time it is important to note that racism developed in its most acute forms in those countries where there was a substantial white working class- Algeria, the US and South Africa."[49] This ignores differences in racial proportions, particularly in the case of South Africa and the US, and mentions nothing about racial competition for jobs. A country 'with a substantial white working class' could easily be any country in Europe, for example, and the dynamics of racial division in South Africa and America, though somewhat similar in policy and attitudes, are definitely different when one looks at the proportion of the different races, which adds a dimension to the issue that changes the way in which it is analysed. Narrowing down the reason for racism to one issue and ignoring differences makes this comparison between different countries a bit over-simplified. Narrowing it down to class issues alone, however, could be attributed to Kallaway's Marxist influences from the time, a tendency that is explored in more detail below.

One area in which the intentions of the *History Alive* authors are clear is in their attempt to synthesise different methods of historical analysis. In the general introduction, Kallaway asserts that they attempt, "to provide a comprehensive vision and interpretation of South African history." This is somewhat successful in that the authors do not focus on any one aspect of history, i.e. political, economic, or social issues alone. Rather, they try to bring all of these pieces into the puzzle, and to present an objective analysis of many of the historical issues at hand. While, as mentioned above in the discussion of similarities between whites and blacks, there are occasions in which the revisionist stance wins out over the others, generally speaking there is an

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[48] See Appendix II, Aims and objectives, sections 2.2.1 and 3.3.

attempt to acknowledge many different factors in the discussion of events or issues. One instance in which this is the case is the discussion of the appeal and success of Apartheid. Instead of attributing Apartheid's wide acceptance to solely economic reasons, as would the earlier "radical" historians, or simply to racial attitudes, as the earlier "liberals" would have done, the text allows for both issues being important,

> "Thus apartheid was much more than merely an appeal to racism. In politics people are swayed by a combination of interests, ideas, fears and sentiments. It is when specific class interests are joined with seductive nationalist sentiments that a potent political force arises. The Nationalist winning formula was that it appealed both to the Afrikaner nationalist sentiments and to the interests of specific Afrikaner class categories (workers, farmers, professionals), and wrapped it all up in a package labelled apartheid which meant quite different things to different people." [50]

This allowance for many different causes nicely synthesises the different approaches into a multi-faceted explanation of history. In discussion of the varied constitution of Malan's supporters, again different forces are shown to be decisive in the decision to follow his policies. After a breakdown of some of the different economic groups and why Malan's policies appealed to them, it goes on to admit, "It would be simplistic to attempt to match every Malan supporter to a corresponding set of material grievances. No doubt many Malanites believed that they were choosing the best course of action to preserve and promote Afrikaner culture for its own sake." [51] Again, different ideas are allowed for, and no one correct interpretation is endorsed.

Similarly, the textbook often looks at both sides of the pictures in the influences certain forces have. Rather than the strict liberal view that Apartheid and capitalism are innately at odds with one another, or the radical argument that Apartheid and capitalism are happy bedfellows, the textbook generally allows for both interpretations. They explain that, "On the one hand, manufacturers, in particular, often opposed apartheid because it made it difficult for them to recruit and train black labour as they wanted... On the other hand it is also true that business benefited from apartheid." [52] This allowance for contradiction and paradox was not possible in the older texts, which so fervently upheld the system as perfect, but the *History Alive* textbook nicely gives

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[49] *History Alive: Standard 10,* pg. 422.
[50] Ibid. pg. 532.
[51] Ibid. pgs. 490-1.
[52] Ibid. pg. 526.

several options and interpretations, indicating that there are many different aspects to the situations and that they all act together to bring about results. This mixed approach to the relationship between Apartheid and capitalism does not always come through, however, as in Giliomee's chapter, there are several mentions of Apartheid as detrimental to capitalism[53]. Smith mentions this as a common theory in the liberal writings, which claimed that, "economic progress and prosperity would help break down the barriers of segregation which they maintained hampered further and more rapid development,"[54] and given Giliomee's liberal background, it is not surprising that this arises in his chapter. At other places in the same chapter, however, there is an acknowledgement that capitalism did benefit from the Apartheid system.

Kallaway mentions in the general introduction changes in teaching methods that are endorsed by this textbook. These changes are evident, although not entirely successful. As opposed to the *History for Standard 10* textbook, which has numerous non-essay type questions that require little more than memorization or reference back to the text, as well as essay questions that require nothing but regurgitation of the text, *History Alive* shows a much greater attempt at making questions explanatory and analytical. There are a number of questions asking the student to imagine a response to a quote or issue from a particular member of society, like a UP or NP supporter. [55] This encourages the students to put themselves in the place of someone in history, and from what they know about different political parties' ideas, to try to figure out what the response of that person would have been. This is definitely beyond the scope of the older texts' questions which require only regurgitation. Another example follows an excerpt from the Fagan report in which the students are asked, "Do you think, from what you have read, that the Fagan Report was completely opposed to the migrant labour system? Explain your answer."[56] This question encourages the student to make a close reading of a primary source, and to read between the lines to see what the attitudes of the report's writers were. Again, this takes analytical skill.

One feature of the textbook that is very well done in this respect is the use of political cartoons. Throughout the section on South African history, these cartoons are used to illustrate opinions about different issues, and students are asked to interpret

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[53] E.g. Ibid. pgs. 528, 530.
[54] Smith, *The Changing Past*, pg. 143.
[55] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 507.

the cartoons and evaluate them in reference to the issue at hand. While it is true that cartoons were used by this time in examinations as well, it has been shown that the exams often did not provide enough guidance for the student to interpret them.[57] The History Alive cartoons are usually followed by questions establishing the characters and background to a cartoon, then followed by analytical questions about the cartoon. For example, after a cartoon showing Smuts leaving Europe with a chorus of fond farewells and returning to a South Africa full of problems, questions first ask, "What had Smuts been doing in Europe during this period?" and "What accounted for the friendly farewell given Smuts in England?," then proceed on to ask about the accuracy of the cartoonist's opinion and the reasons for his choices of imagery.[58] This approach allows for both exploration of the historical issues and analysis of the source. This is a far cry from the questions in *History for Standard 10*, some of which ask the students to 'fill in the blanks' of a paragraph straight from the text. Most of the questions in the textbook are well written and allow the students to interpret and analyse material from the source. Another area where this change from the old teaching ideas comes to light is in the discussion of the gold standard crisis. In the *History for Standard 10* textbook, as discussed above, the gold standard crisis was narrated without any explanation or analysis, in such a way that a student would be able to answer the questions, "When and to what effect did South Africa go off of the gold standard?" but not "Why was this so?" In contrast, the *History Alive: Standard 10* discussion of the crisis provides a thorough explanation of why it was important and had the effects it did, that would allow for understanding of the situation, rather than simple memorisation of certain facts.

There are a few cases where the questions are not so well adapted to the newer trends in teaching methods that were emerging in this period. There are a few very leading questions, that border on being manipulative. Though it is outside of the South African section, the most disturbing example is in the section on American history, in which a picture of the Ku Klux Klan lynching some men is provided for stimulus. The students are then asked, "If you were to guess, what sort of work do you think these spectators might have done? What class do you think they might have come from?"

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[56] Ibid. pg. 509.
[57] Kallaway and Sieborger, *The Assessment of History in the Senior Secondary Phase*, pg. 14 and sample exams, appendices.

There is no indication of class or occupation in the picture, and this question basically asks the students to choose a stereotype of a class or occupation. Worse, there is one man in the picture with a small black moustache underneath his nose, and the text asks, "Examine the face of the man pointing up at one of the victims who has been hanged. Who does he remind you of? Why?"[59] This is obviously an attempt to get the student to reply, "Hitler," and as for the "Why?" the only good reason is that he has a similar moustache. Though the Ku Klux Klan is by no means a benevolent organisation, and the man in the picture may very well have some similar ideas to Hitler, asking the student such a question is very indulgent and superficial, allowing for little or no analytical skill. In moving away from regurgitative questions, the authors also occasionally show a tendency to ask a question that the student just doesn't have the information to answer. An example of this is when in the 1924-1948 chapter, the text asks "How effective has the boycott strategy been from the time this document was written to the present day? "[60] Not only is this difficult for the children to answer since they have not gone past this date thirty years before the present day, but considering that the textbook, in accordance to the syllabus, ends seventeen years before the present day, it becomes basically impossible. While it may be an attempt to link the students' history book to wider knowledge and experience, the fact that the book had been written for largely white, upper-middle class students, makes it very unlikely that they would have the further knowledge or experience that would allow them to answer the question.

While the text makes a marked effort towards moving away from the traditional talk and chalk method by including several primary quotes and occasionally a rhetorical question in the middle of the text, it still takes on a traditional narrative form throughout the majority of the book. This is not as decisive a move away from the old texts as the authors' appear to want it to be, but it is definitely progress over the old.

One area of the authors' intentions that the book seriously fails in is the attempt to incorporate 'social history' into the narrative. While there is a clear move away from the political and "great man" forms of historical writing, this is not directly

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[58] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 459.
[59] Both questions, Ibid. pg. 16.
[60] Ibid. pg. 507.

replaced by a 'history from below', which could have enriched the textbook. The political focus of the older texts does not come through as strongly in this textbook as it did in *History for Standard 10*. The extent to which it does enter into the book can partly be explained by the fact that the book had to conform to the syllabus. The prescribed periods in the syllabus allot 66 of the 93 periods to various manifestations of political history.[61] This does not leave much room to manoeuvre in the realms of social and economic history, which is only allotted 8 of the 93 periods. (The remaining 19 periods are devoted to international relations.) In practice, however, the History Alive textbook diverts about 15% of the space from politics and international issues to the realm of social and economic history, but overall, it is limited by the syllabus. The sections on economic and social issues that are included, however, are lacking in their portrayal of the social situations of the 'ordinary people' involved in the history.

The portrayal of the black population's living standards are particularly lacking. While there are several mentions of black resistance, and that it was, "successful in publishing the plight of black South Africans,"[62] the text never really divulges what the plight is. Overall, the only concrete reasons for resistance mentioned had to do with laws and political representation, which while a part of the reasons for black unrest completely ignores the living conditions they were forced to endure and the effects that had on their lives. Out of about 160 pages of South African history, there is one mention of the break-up of black families due to government policies[63], and a few references to living conditions of the coloured population, citing malnutrition and illiteracy as epidemic.[64] There are vague allusions to laws, "producing considerable hardships"[65] for the black population, but what exactly the hardships are is not discussed. The issue of culture, a main focus of the History Workshop papers[66] that were beginning to emerge in this period, is also largely ignored here. There is one reference to the emergence of township jazz[67], but otherwise the subject is ignored. Similarly, statistics of decline in the productiveness of the reserves are given, but no

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[61] My calculations. from the Cape Education Department Senior Secondary Course Syllabus for History Higher Grade 1985, See appendix II for explanation.
[62] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 450.
[63] Ibid. pg. 473.
[64] Ibid. pg. 540.
[65] Ibid. pg. 436.
[66] Tatham, *The University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop*, pg. 104.
[67] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 427.

The *History Alive: Standard 10* textbook has two further aspects to it. These are contradictory, but both exist within the text and deserve mention. The first is that the text does show some characteristics of the purely "radical" tradition of historiography and the second is that it also has some inclinations towards the traditional Afrikaner Nationalist interpretations that emerge in the text.

The heavy focus on Marxist theory that was characteristic of so many of the early "revisionist" works shows through in some places in the textbook. In the rejection letter from one government agency to Kallaway, he was told in Afrikaans, (his translation to English), that the textbook was, "too Marxist in its approach,"[70] which wouldn't apply to the entire text, but definitely shows up in a few spots. In the discussion of black resistance, the authors commonly fall into the trap of discussing Marxist theory as the way that the resistance should operate or the reasons why it does or does not work. One comment in the context of black resistance is that, "In general, Africans did not think that their condition was due to the fact that they were workers in a capitalist system."[71] There is no explanation of why they should have thought this first and foremost, and it would have been much more objective to tell what they *did* think, rather than what theory they didn't believe. Later, again on the subject of black resistance, it is explained that the resistance was largely pointless, "These campaigns

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[68] Ibid. pg. 473.
[69] Ibid. pg. 493.
[70] Kallaway interview, 11 June 1997.

could not be sustained for a prolonged period of time. Ultimately both apartheid and capitalism were most vulnerable to the organized power of the black working class," it goes on to give examples of successful strikes that gained wage increases, then mentions, "strikes to protest against white rule and apartheid were less successful."[72] This focus on the relation between apartheid and capital, and away from legitimate political protest shows the early revisionist ideas at work. The stress on theory is apparent again in this context when they discuss the connection between economic growth and political freedom. The theory starts the discussion, "Comparative studies show that political freedom tends to grow in countries in which the economy absorbs all labour supplies and where workers are free to choose jobs or to leave them." It then progresses to a discussion of why black resistance was largely unsuccessful in their view. "Why did black workers not offer greater resistance to the system of apartheid? If we look to other parts of the world we see that it is usually only groups, classes or communities with a firm base which can organize effective resistance."[73] It goes on to explain in Marxist terms why this was not the case in the African communities. This does not acknowledge the mass movements that did take place against apartheid, such as the defiance campaign, the anti-pass campaign of the 60s, and the students' revolt in Soweto, which deny the existence of the characteristics the text claims are necessary for successful revolt. Particularly in the township revolts of the 1980s, which had just occurred prior to the publication of this textbook, class lines were blurred, and people were without ownership of property and possession of special skills, but resisting effectively nonetheless. Paulus Zulu explains in *Resistance in the Townships* that all of the sections of township society were involved in the uprisings, "What starts as localised responses such as a protest against an increase in transport fares may develop into a labour strike, and, finally, incorporate a school or consumer boycott."[74] By bringing together people across race, class, age and gender lines, a mass movement was created unlike any ever seen in South Africa. Again, this stress on theory ignores characteristics of the South African situation that do not conform to the theory.

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[71] *History Alive: Standard 10,* pg. 521.
[72] Ibid. pg. 545.
[73] Ibid. pg. 528.
[74] Zulu, P., "Resistance in the Townships: an overview," in Meer, F., ed., pg.13.

Seemingly contradictory to the theories posited in the textbook, there is a tendency to portray the resistance movements as effective, and influential on government policy. This is shown to be a characteristic of 'revisionist' work by Tatham, who notes that it tended to, "expose another side of capital and the state - not only of being manipulative, but also of responding and reacting, often in defensive ways."[75] This emphasis can be seen in the rich Africanist tradition that had its roots in a small number of studies before the 1950s, emerged into a full-fledged tradition in the 1960s and 1970s. Saunders notes that, "They were Africanists in that they sought to show that Africans had played an important role in South African history."[76] This Africanist emphasis grew out of the liberation of other African countries, but took on its own style in South Africa. According to Saunders, "The attempt to Africanise South African history bore its own special character. Elsewhere, the new African history was written in part to give the new countries a past to look back to with pride, and to help legitimise African nationalist movements and the new independent nation-states...For South Africa, there was a world of African achievement, and resistance, to recover."[77] The text refers to a political movement in the coloured community in Cape Town against the apartheid structures, "Its tactics of non-collaboration and boycott are still an important part of the political culture of Cape Town, making it very difficult for apartheid structures to succeed."[78] This show of resistance making the government's policies ineffectual is significant in the 'new history' Kallaway asserts that they are developing in the textbook. In a discussion of African resistance, the text notes, "It is important to realize that resistance in the period we are studying was not merely a series of responses to government actions or proposals. There are clear indications that, in its turn, the government was often driven to respond to certain challenges."[79] Again, this shows the influence of the resistance movements. At one point they are so keen on drawing this idea out that they end up grasping at straws. In a discussion of the removal of the coloured vote, the text claims, "In view of the rising black resistance in the 1950s the NP considered it important to impose apartheid upon the

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[75] Tatham, *The University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop*, pg. 118.
[76] Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on race and class*, pg. 143.
[77] Ibid. pgs. 144-5.
[78] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 540.
[79] Ibid. pg. 466.

South African political system."[80] It then goes on to describe the process of disenfranchising the coloured voters in the Cape. However, just before this claim that African resistance caused the move to take away political rights, it is noted that, "in the first half of the 1950s the National Party removed coloured voters from the common voters' roll of parliament because it saw their registration as a form of political integration which undermined the basic apartheid policy."[81] Therefore, the claim that it was because of African resistance, presumably the defiance campaign which worked against the carrying of the 'dompas' and the application of petty apartheid, seems discredited as a direct influence. This only serves as a way of showing African initiative having a direct effect on the government.

Although there are many aspects of the *History Alive: Standard 10* textbook that support some of the 'revisionist' historiographical trends, there are also places in the text in which the old school Afrikaner Nationalist themes of textbook writing come into play. In some cases, this appears to be totally unintentional. However, it is not altogether out of character with the revisionist tradition. In the early revisionist years, the focus was so strongly on the criticism and changing of the liberal approach, that attention was not given to the Afrikaner Nationalist ideas which were seen as already discredited. As a result, though there are different thought processes behind the issues, the end results seem very close to the discredited Afrikaner Nationalist ideas. There are many places in the textbook where it is easy to see the old views sneaking their way into the new. Black resistance is still attributed to Europe, America, and the African liberation struggles in the form of, "European socialists, American Garveyists, Pan Africanism, and, in some instances, from South Africa's own millenarian tradition."[82] Despite one mention of internal influence in the form of the "millenarian tradition" in South Africa, the motivations for resistance are still attributed to the outside world, and not South Africa's internal conditions or traditional black armed resistance to white encroachment other than the destructive form of millenarianism. It goes on to blame resistance on the part of the ANC Youth League on, "Marxist

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[80] Ibid. pg. 537.
[81] Ibid. pg. 537.
[82] Ibid. pg. 498.

influences,"[83] and links the ICU with the Communist party[84]. While the Marxist influences are assumedly not intended to be a pejorative comment, as the Afrikaner Nationalists would see it, it still gets across the implication that the resistance movements are entirely not motivated by internal forces and ideas. In this same vein, there is reference to a leader of a bus boycott in the Alexandra township as an opportunist, who having once run his own bus service, but failed, "tried to take advantage of the boycott by offering to run a service at the old fare. "[85] While this probably finds its roots in the revisionist aversion to populist movements, this portrayal of unrest as the scheme of opportunists to take advantage of the African people rather than as an expression of real grievances dovetails exactly with the excuse that an Afrikaner Nationalist would be likely to give for African unrest.

There are also a number of comments that seem to belong more in the *History for Standard 10* text than that of the 'new history'. In the description of the Apartheid system coming into effect, it is noted that, "it gave Africans some outlet for political expression in the 'own areas' i.e. the 'homelands' and provided limited opportunities for coloureds and Indians to administer their own communities. "[86] This kind of assertion though written by someone supposedly against the system, falls remarkably close to the party line. The text also gives little discussion to the black education issue. Besides a couple of mentions that it is not satisfactory, there is no explanation of why that is so, which is particularly surprising in the wake of the Soweto uprising and township revolts. There is also a stereotype of Indian merchants at one point, which notes that the reason for Indians' advance in trade was, "hard work and business acumen coupled with the fact that they were satisfied with small profit margins and kept their wage bill low by employing family members,"[87] and sounds like it should have come from a pre- *History for Standard 10* history textbook. Interestingly, these examples all come from the section written by Giliomee, and could be a case of his schooling in Afrikaner institutions finding its way into his philosophy[88].

Overall, the biggest point of continuity that the textbook shows with the old school ways is the discussion of the black population only when it is relevant to the

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[83] Ibid. pg. 543.
[84] Ibid. pg. 453.
[85] Ibid. pg. 503.
[86] Ibid. pg. 521.
[87] Ibid. pg. 541.

white population, as when it causes problems for poor whites, resists against the government, or is influenced by laws. There is no attempt to discuss the living conditions, culture, or other issues relating to the black communities independently of the white power structure. This too is a disappointing omission on the part of the authors of the 'new history'. Though the text does often move away from the old history, there is continuity between the Afrikaner Nationalist traditions and the *History Alive* textbook.

The *History Alive: Standard 10* textbook "broke the stranglehold"[89] of the traditional textbooks. It addressed the similarities between blacks and whites, rather than their differences. The textbook also acknowledged agency and avoided the blatant Afrikaner Nationalist bias of previous textbooks. Also attempted, as outlined in the introduction, was the inclusion of a world history perspective, the provision of a comprehensive vision and interpretation of South African history, and the embrace of different teaching and learning theories.

The textbook is not entirely successful in all it attempts to do, and is often obviously biased, though in a different way than its predecessors. Occasionally, the theories it tries to posit are supported by examples that are weak at best, and occasionally completely misinterpreted or taken out of context. Social history is almost completely avoided, though it is purported to be an aim of the authors. Serious revisionist ideas come through at times, and can be completely irrelevant or mistaken in regards to the material they are linked with. Perhaps worse, however, is the fact that a few of the more damaging Afrikaner Nationalist stereotypes and emphases sneak into the text, seemingly without the awareness of the authors.

Overall, however, it is not useful to dwell too much on the pitfalls the authors fell into. The bottom line is that the textbook broke new ground in school history in South Africa, introducing new ideas, updating the textbooks with the latest historiographical ideas, and introducing a more objective view of South African history. The book, in the face of a repressive government and a restricting syllabus, managed to transcend its predecessors, and even its contemporaries. It paved the way

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[88] Giliomee was schooled at the University of Stellenbosch, an Afrikaner educational stronghold.
[89] Bottaro on what they wanted to do with the textbook, Interview, 9 June 1997.

for future textbooks to challenge the old views and traditions and include up-to-date researches and teaching and learning approaches.

Series Three: *In Search of History*

The *In Search of History* series was published in 1995, after South Africa's first democratic election of 1994 installed a new government and brought an end to the rule of the Apartheid regime. With the knowledge of the past education system and its shortcomings, it was believed that a change in the curriculum was necessary. Exactly what the "new history" should consist of is still being debated today. However, some educators thought that it was necessary to get away from the old texts and create textbooks that could be used in the interim period, such as the *In Search of History* series.

When this series was written, the new curriculum had not yet been written. The debates that surrounded the creation of a new curriculum focused largely on a synthesised "Human and Social Sciences" subject rather than the strict "History" subject from the past.[1] The higher standards with their history options were, and still are, largely in the background, so the books addressed here had a lot of leeway in the development of a "new history" and very few guidelines. This makes its creation very different from the past two series. However, there have been a lot of ideas about what should and shouldn't be a part of the history books of the future for South Africa, and these can serve as guides to the general debates and guidelines that were a part of the writing of textbooks such as these. Examined here, in continuity with the past two chapters, is the *In Search of History Secondary Book 1: South African History from the Late Nineteenth Century to the 1994 Election*, in particular Sections D to G, which reach from 1913 to 1994.

The *In Search of History* series was written by a group of historians and educators. There was a lot of collaboration and debate, and constant feedback about the product that was emerging. Jean Bottaro, who also worked on the *History Alive* project, commented that this was a very different approach than *History Alive*, and one she liked very much. She notes that there was so much co-operation that it is very difficult to point to any particular part of the book and say who the author was.[2] Though there was no syllabus to guide the team, this did not make the writing process

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[1] This "Human and Social Sciences" subject is what has been written into the new curriculum. See Appendix III.

[2] Bottaro interview, 9 June 1997.

any easier. In fact, Vivian Bickford-Smith, one of the authors, described working without a syllabus as "nerve-wracking."[3] Constant debate went on about what should be in the book and a lot of compromises were made. Structurally, Bottaro explained that they decided on time periods in an attempt to get away from the traditionally set periods in school history textbooks usually dictated by important dates in white South African politics. From this base, they then tried to identify trends and themes that fit into the time periods.[4] After drafts were produced, there was a process of trialling that allowed them to see how things worked in schools, and how teachers and students reacted, an opportunity not shared by *History Alive*.

A number of basic things set this series apart from the *History for Standard...* series and the *History Alive* series. The first and most noticeable is that it is written in the context of the emergence of an entirely different type of government. The end of the white dominated Apartheid regime and the ensuing installation of the new Government of National Unity had a profound effect on the writing of this textbook. The lack of the constraints of a syllabus, particularly one so catered to the perpetuation of the status quo also puts its mark on the *In Search of History* series. Additionally, the time period covered takes a drastic departure from the last two, which though written 10 years apart, ended with the same date, 1970. All of these things make *In Search of History* part of a new breed, very divergent from the past texts, before even looking at the content itself.

Two different sets of ideas dictate the content and approach of this textbook. The first of these is the current historiographical trend that runs through academic history. The *In Search of History* authors, according to Bickford-Smith, largely came out of the revisionist tradition, but moved beyond it.[5] The focuses that were beginning at the time of the *History Alive* series' birth had continued and developed over the following years. Rather than the strict 'liberal' v. 'radical' debate, which insisted on harshly defined camps, in the late-1980s there was a movement towards integration of different aspects of both and a trend towards looking at a broader range of issues than the traditional political focus or the newer race or class focuses. The later University of

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[3] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.
[4] Bottaro interview, 9 June 1997.
[5] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.

the Witwatersrand History Workshop projects focused less on the strict Marxist theory of its predecessors, and moved towards ideas of "history from below," giving attention to new areas of history. Gayle Tatham notes that the history workshop dealt with issues of, "land, capital and labour; ideologies and power relationships; gender and age divisions; unique, regional, and local histories; and the lives of ordinary people: their consciousness, cultural patterns, experiences, family, community, race, ethnicity and religion." [6] These ideas expanded the study of history into new arenas that had as yet been unexplored. In these ways, *In Search of History* marks a carrying on of the tradition of textbook writings pioneered by the *History Alive* series, a move beyond the revisionist and early 'history from below' schools to the next stage in each of these areas. Though the two series are very different, they come from similar backgrounds historiographically, and even shared a writer, Jean Bottaro.

While there is no clear cut historiographical 'school' in the mid- 1990s to apply to this textbook, there is a general approach that has been identified. Nigel Worden explains that, "The crude structuralism of Marxist argument has given way to a more nuanced version, in which individual and community experiences have been given prime place and the diversity of response is now recognized. But the central theme of the link between racial domination and capitalist growth in the early twentieth century remains unchallenged."[7] Bickford-Smith calls it an, "eclectic" approach, that he says takes ideas from many different approaches and weaves them together.[8] This eclectic approach is clearly influential in the *In Search of History* textbook.

In addition to the historiographical influences on history writing, there is the issue of 'school history' in post-Apartheid South Africa. Several publications over the last few years have laid out ideas and debates surrounding the creation of a "new history" to combat the effects of the past and to create a subject that can instruct the children in becoming a part of the new status quo[9]. Though all of these publications were not necessarily available to the authors of the *In Search of History* series, they do

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[6] Tatham, *The University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop*, pgs. 4-5.
[7] Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa*, pg. 3.
[8] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.
[9] Some of these include: The History Education Group, *History Matters: Debates about a new history curriculum for South Africa*; Bam and Visser, *A New History for a New South Africa*; Sieborger, *New History Textbooks for South Africa;* Kros, *Trusting to the Process: reflections on the flaws in the negotiating of the history curriculum in South Africa;* and Kros and Greybe, *The Rainbow Nation vs. Healing old Wounds: an investigation into teacher and pupil attitudes to Standard Three History.*

represent the ideas that have been circulating and that were integral issues in the creation of the series. Many issues come up, but some of the main points that have been asserted are included in the *In Search of History* text. Bam and Visser's book, *A New History for a New South Africa* addresses some of the most important issues that are being suggested for a new history. One issue important to them is the application of social history, "what people did for a living, what life was like for different people, how life was different then from what it is like now, what people did in their leisure time..."[10] Also key to the new approach, according to Bam and Visser, is the need to include people in history that have been kept outside of it for so long, like workers, women, and overlooked minorities.[11]

Additionally, one of the biggest debates going on in the planning of history is the debate between 'real' history and reconciliation. Some claim that it is better to forget the past, and just forgive one another and move on. Others, however, realise that this is not possible. As one teacher in Kros and Greybe's research project notes, "You cannot simply forgive and forget when you do not know what it is you are forgiving and forgetting."[12] Visser and Bam recommend that, "We need to find a path of teaching that facilitates an understanding of historical process rather than one which either plays the 'blame' game or pretends that our past was not riddled with conflict. We need to deal responsibly with the past, acknowledge who benefited from it and at whose cost, and remember what damage was done."[13] This middle road of addressing the past but trying to avoid bitterness is a difficult path to find. While Bam and Visser don't necessary have the last word on the subject, their emphases correspond well with the more general debates about school history that are circling at the moment. These are but a few of the points that are being brought up at the moment, but represent some of the more common debates and ideas.

Beyond the ideas about what should and shouldn't be part of the content of a "new history", there are questions and speculations about what types of teaching and learning methods are important for the schools, and these debates can also be found in the *In Search of History* series. *In Search of History* sets out to accomplish many

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[10] Bam and Visser, *A New History for a New South Africa*, pg. 52.
[11] Ibid. pgs. 45-7.
[12] Kros and Greybe, *The Rainbow Nation vs Healing Old Wounds: an investigation into teacher and pupil attitudes to Standard Three History*, pg. 1.
[13] Bam and Visser, *A New History for a New South Africa*, pg. 35.

different goals in this vein. The "Note to the Reader" at the opening of the Secondary 1 book details some of the aims the book hoped to accomplish. The aims that come into this discussion include,

> •"systematically builds skills important in the learning of history (for example, skills relating to time, cause and effect, sources and evidence, and historiography) as well as general language and cognitive skills
> •builds on the skills of teachers and supports them as they approach the teaching of history in a new way."
> •develops an open-minded, questioning, critical attitude - instead of presenting a definitive view of the past or present."[14]

Between the goals and aims for the content and the teaching methods that the new textbooks endorse, they display a marked break from the past that characterises the new approach to history. However, good intentions aside, these characteristics are not all entirely successful in the final product.

Beyond these issues, it is also important to look at the ways in which this text breaks away from previous textbooks. Although the textbook has a heavily skills-based focus, it does not neglect explanation and core information. In fact, it moves far beyond its predecessors in its treatment of explanation. There are also, however, places in which the old ways seep through, lasting even past the life span of Apartheid, to find a home in this new history book. Finally, two topics will be discussed that were originally intended to be a part of the project according to the workshop papers and comments from the process of writing the series, but which did not get assimilated into the text to any great degree. The reasons for this and the implications will be addressed herein.

The eclectic approach to history definitely shows through in the textbook. Africanist history shows through clearly in the thorough coverage of the opposition to Apartheid. The emphasis on Africans as actors rather than victims or bystanders definitely comes to the surface in this text. Overall, there is a much greater attention to African people, their conditions, and their actions than there was in the past texts. Revisionist ideas are represented as well. There is a lot of attention given to workers, unions, and issues of class. The very fact that the authors chose the mineral revolution as the start of this textbook shows an move from the past focus on white political

events that had defined the dates around which history was structured previously towards labour, capitalism, and class issues as defining elements of history. The old focus on leaders and events has not disappeared, though to some extent the heroes have been changed to be more representative of the population of South Africa. Bickford-Smith noted that he was originally unsure about the inclusion of leaders and heroes, but was assured by one of the teachers involved that, "Kids want heroes."[15] While leaders and events are included, ordinary people and lifestyles are also addressed. This gives a nod towards the mid- to late- 1980s trend to look at 'history from below.' Bam and Visser explain, "Such social history focused not just on single events (wars, treaties, elections, etc.) but on broad social transformations and their impact on ordinary people and on the social relations and divisions within societies."[16] These different focuses are not equally included, however, and there is definitely an imbalance among the different approaches. The place this is most visible is in the integration of social history.

As with the *History Alive* series, the claim to focus on social history as a main focus of the textbook really isn't fulfilled. The opening of the book professes that, "You might think that history is about big events, wars and dates. But history is also about ordinary people and how they lived."[17] But while there is definitely more attention given to social history, the text still relies heavily on politics, and to a lesser degree to economics. While it does not have the same characteristics of the *History for Standard 10* textbook, which focuses on the politics of white South Africa, the politicians, elections, and issues surrounding these, the discussion is still political, dealing with the dynamics of the white government and the black resistance movements at a policy and action level rather than looking at the motivations and social conditions behind these things.

Only about twelve pages are devoted to social history, out of over a hundred in this sample section, but the coverage of social history that does find its way into the book is used well to enhance the students' understanding of the times. For instance, in the discussion about the townships, there is a section entitled, "What was life like for children at this time?" which includes a description of the schools and well as a great

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[14] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, "A Note to the Reader".
[15] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.
[16] Bam and Visser, *A New History for a New South Africa*, pg. 26.

excerpt from Es'kia Mphahlele's *Down Second Avenue*, explaining his duties in the family.[18] There is also some attention in the text given to different forms of culture, including a section on Marabi parties and overall culture in the 1950s-1970s.[19] These portions of the text help the students to see how ordinary people lived and what forms of culture emerged.

Overall, the sections on social history are far above and beyond their predecessors, but considering the amount of material they had to work from and the intentions of the authors, they could have taken this aspect of history much farther than they did. In the discussion of the homelands, the source used to describe conditions is from an observer, noting somewhat detachedly that there are waiting lists for the towns, an overabundance of women and old people and destitution.[20] However, there is no first hand account of the conditions and what they meant to the families that had to stay there. Not mentioned is the fact that often the men went to the cities to do migrant labour, and didn't send money back to the reserves, or often didn't return themselves and the women found themselves without husbands or a means of providing for their families. Nor is the impact of the migrant system shown on the families left behind, as when the mothers could no longer come up with enough to feed their children. An excerpt from Sindiwe Magona's short story "Leaving" from *Living, Loving and Lying Awake At Night* or her autobiography, *To My Children's Children* would have been a good example to include. She tells of women, herself included, in the reserves who find their husbands returning once a year just long enough to leave them with another mouth to feed on the way, and neglecting to send support, so that they had to leave the reserves to get work in the cities so that their children can eat. This, or a similar first hand account would have been better to give a clear picture of what people were actually going through. The main problem, really, is the lack of first-hand accounts telling how people's lives really were, dealing with how they provided their families with food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities. While second-hand accounts are preferable to the "cardboard cut-out," or made-up family stories found in

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[17] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, "Introduction to our history of modern South Africa."
[18] Ibid. pg. 85.
[19] Ibid. pgs. 87and 142-3 respectively.
[20] Ibid. pg. 120.

many of the newer textbooks,[21] the second-hand sources are not an adequate substitution for the first-hand accounts. These kinds of stories are the best way to get across the activities of the people involved, and to make history real for the students, but often outsiders' accounts are used instead. This is not due to the lack of material, but a conscious decision to use the second hand sources in many cases.

An earlier draft of the book gives a good example of the effects of the Separate Amenities Act on Africans in the form of Bloke Modisane's quote from *Blame me on History*, in which he explains,

> "Because I have been educated into an acceptance of the primacy of law and order I accommodated, rather than defied, this effrontery. Everywhere I turned there were these prohibitions taunting me, defying my manhood with their arrogance, their challenge was driving me out of my mind; but I am only a man, afraid and apprehensive, perhaps even a coward. I should have walked past the notices and registered, to myself, a protest against that which offended my manhood, but I was afraid to go to prison, rationalising that it would have been a futile gesture. Dear, dear God."[22]

In the final edition however, the Separate Amenities Act is illustrated only by a picture of two black men leaving one toilet while a white man leaves the other[23]. This is not nearly as effective as Modisane's frank and heart-rending discussion of the effects of the law on his feelings as a human being, and ignores the rich sources on this subject. While the language in Modisane's excerpt is a bit florid and difficult for students in this age group, it would be easy to add definitions of difficult words in brackets or to turn it into an exercise to have the students look up the words and turn it into the language of today. An excerpt from a great poem by W.C. Slater about drought and the great depression was also inexplicably cut from the final textbook, though it was a very descriptive and emotive source, dealing with the problems of drought, the move to the city that accompanied it, and well as the living and working conditions in the cities. Such an all-encompassing source would really have enriched the textbook. Similarly, the story of a squatter, illustrating why he went to the city, what problems he encountered upon arriving there, and the efforts he made to better his situation are included in the next to last draft of the book, but inexplicably left out of the final, in

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[21] Kros and Greybe, *The Rainbow Nation vs Healing Old Wounds*, pg. 10. (These types of cardboard cut-out families do surface in the elementary textbooks in the *In Search of History* series.)
[22] Fourth Draft, no page number available.
[23] *In Search of History, Secondary Book 1*, pg. 117.

favour of several superficial mentions of squatters. The mention of Mpanza, a man who ran a squatter community in Orlando, in the squatter's story is relegated to a "people of the period" piece, that with the opening remark, "James Mpanza was a shady opportunist, who called himself the 'King' of Orlando,"[24] downplays his efforts and actions against the authorities. Interestingly, this labelling of the man's character is reminiscent of *History for Standard 10*, which starts sentences in the manner of, "Tielman Roos, the opportunist,"[25] with no back up evidence, or of *History Alive* which notes that one boycott leader, "tried to take advantage of the boycott by offering to run a service at the old fare."[26] Both of these older textbooks pass judgements on their characters without clear proof, and the newer textbook does not escape this legacy.

Though there are attempts to discuss the lives of real people, they are not always as effective as they could be, and often, the idea that real people were affected by these forces, and how, does not get across to the readers. Even an explanation at the opening of the book would help. The claim that "history is also about ordinary people and how they lived," is not sufficient to get across the idea to students that the people in their history book are real and ordinary people. Particularly without textual backup in the form of serious attention to social history, it would be difficult for the students to come to grips with this idea. If the book explained that history is not just about abstract forces but is made by and influences people, that the lowliest starving farmer in the reserves as well as the powerful state president or resistance leader are all human beings, concerned about the care and safety of their families and the reaching of goals for themselves, there would be a much better understanding of why things happen the way they do and what motivates people to act as they do, as well as a greater appreciation for the sacrifices some made for the struggle. Even better would be an exercise requiring children to look at what motivates them to do things, like go to school, obey their parents, help a friend or family member with something, etc. Then this could be followed by some text explaining that everyone in history has motivations for what they do, often very similar to the children's own, from Nelson Mandela to a nameless sharecropper dealing with expulsion under a new legislation. Without this

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[24] Ibid. pg. 110
[25] *History for Standard 10*, pg. 179.
[26] *History Alive: Standard 10*, pg. 503.

kind of explanation however, the effects of things like Apartheid on the average person are largely unexplained.

The textbook does deal well with including people in history that have generally been neglected. Bam and Visser note that this is important to include in the 'new history,' they explain, "Much of the history of the past was based on silencing certain voices and giving prominence to others. Those who were omitted now need to be included. Obviously this will mean giving far more attention to the historical roles played by those who were oppressed under apartheid, but there are other omissions as well, and it is time to rectify these."[27] The former part of this is accomplished well by the textbook, which discusses the resistance to Apartheid at length. Mention should have been made, however, of the idea that one of the most widespread and successful resistance methods was that of simply breaking the laws and evading the police. This is even mentioned by the *History Alive* book from ten years earlier, but is only hinted at in this text, and not explained further, "However hard the government tried to stop blacks from settling in the cities, people kept on coming. This was one of the main reasons why apartheid could not work."[28] More often, the laws are shown to come into effect immediately and with grave consequences, without any acknowledgement of the fact that often, particularly in the early years of apartheid, it was difficult or impossible for the laws to work as they were intended, and they were often circumvented by blacks, whites, and government officials alike.[29] Workers are well represented in the book, appearing as main actors throughout, though there is a stress on mineworkers in Johannesburg more than a general picture of workers all over the country in all different jobs. There is a lot of discussion of the union movements throughout South African history, and of the role of workers in the overall resistance movements. Though their obscurance in older history textbooks was not universal, and they featured as large players in the *History Alive* series, here they are presented in a more neutral light, not as parts of a revisionist argument about Marxist theory.

Women, too, play a much stronger role in the history presented in *In Search of History* than in the other textbooks looked at, where they warrant little or no mention.

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[27] Bam and Visser, *A New History for a New South Africa*, pg. 45.
[28] *In Search of History, Secondary Book 1*, pg. 111.
[29] Posel, *The Making of Apartheid*, chapter 3.

There are several pictures featuring women, at work, in the communities, and in the resistance movements. There is only one section focusing particularly on the women's roles in history, "Women march to the Union Buildings to protest against the pass laws," but discussions of women's roles do occur occasionally, as in the cartoon explaining other political movements, where one woman explains that, "Like many rural African women, we organize our own protests, such as boycotts,"[30] and the note in the section on the effects of World War II mentions, "The war also increased the number of women who worked in factories. The women were paid lower wages than the men for the same work."[31] More attention could definitely have been paid to women's roles, however, both showing their separate experiences as well as their action in the larger movements.

As mentioned above, the women's march on the union buildings in protest against the pass extension to women is covered, but the wider movement of resistance around this law is largely ignored. The protest against women getting passes was so forceful and effective, that the government eased up on policing it, and didn't put the law into full force until 1959, though the law was first passed in the 1940s.[32] This kind of effective protest, and on the part of women, no less, is definitely noteworthy, and would be a great example for the girls in the South African schools, as well as the boys. Simply knowing that some women marched on parliament without learning the wide extent of their campaign and its dramatic success gives little understanding of the topic. While the attention to source based history may partially explain it, this would be far more effective if sources and specific events are used as examples and tied in with the bigger issues. Several other women's issues are ignored as well, such as the greater freedom of women in the townships to pursue their own business outside of the white world. There is one mention of "shebeen queens" in the section on the Marabi parties[33], but otherwise this topic is widely ignored, and there are many studies on women's roles in the townships could be drawn upon to this end. Also, as mentioned above, women's experiences in the reserves would greatly add to the understanding of the effects of Apartheid, but are largely ignored here.

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[30] *In Search of History, Secondary Book 1*, pg. 75.
[31] Ibid. pg. 97.
[32] Posel, *The Making of Apartheid*, pg. 216.
[33] Ibid. pg. 87.

The treatment of women in the text shouldn't just be relegated to separate sections, however. Rather than simply adding on material on previously silenced voices, these voices should be integrated into the main story of history. More could have been done with women who worked in the struggle, perhaps a "people of the period" biography on a woman who joined the MK (there is one who works at campus control at UCT and would have been easily available to the authors), or women in the trade unions (Emma Mashinini's autobiography, *Strikes Have Followed me All my Life* has lots of good information on the trade unions and what it was like being a woman in them). Overall, considering the resources that are available, much more could have been done regarding women's roles in history. However, the textbook does still go leaps and bounds beyond the exclusion of women from older textbooks, which is definitely praiseworthy.

The teaching and learning styles facilitated in the textbook are also a departure from the older texts. Just as *History Alive: Standard 10* showed a marked move towards new teaching and learning styles from the *History for Standard 10* textbook, the *In Search of History, Secondary Book 1* moves even further on to new methods. *History Alive* allowed for more interpretative questions, as well as adding a few sources to work from, but did so sparingly and not always entirely successfully. *In Search of History* moves far beyond the past books by combining skills based techniques with a core content, allowing for interpretation by the student while still providing background to inform them about the issues they are expected to come to grips with. The most obvious place that this new approach can be found is in the questions, activities and exercises that are prescribed in the textbook. Most of these encourage investigation of sources, synthesis of different issues, or understanding of the people of the times and their ideas. The attempts to analyse sources range from looking for bias to speculating what the motivation behind it was to deciding about the reliability of a source. One particularly good example of this follows an imaginary discussion between an ANC member and a PAC member. The question asks, "Source G is an invented conversation. How reliable do you think it is as a historical source?"[34] One really well written question that allows for interpretation, writing practice,

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[34] Ibid. pg. 132.

imagination, and synthesis of different issues is found after the discussion of the Defiance campaign and it's move towards 'people's history' in the opposition of Bantu Education. The students are asked, "With a partner, choose any topic in South African history...How do you think that this topic would have been taught in • one of the government's Bantu Education schools; and • one of the ANC's independent schools?"[35] Most of the questions like these are very helpful in allowing the students to develop the skills necessary to participate in history, and are backed up by sufficient content to make them possible.

The biggest problem that surrounds these methods is that they place a big burden on teachers to figure out what kinds of answers should be given and how to evaluate such ideas. Ideally, the teachers would have more training in these methods, but in the meantime, these new ideas are sure to provide some problems, despite the teacher's guide, which gives some guidelines about what to expect and to look for. The teacher's guide[36] does give some suggestions and ideas to help the teachers along in this new method, but if a teacher is altogether unfamiliar with the new ideas in schooling, as many are, the suggestions will not be all that helpful, as they simply discuss issues like the ways a project could be done or different activities that could come out of the ideas in the text. It does not, however, give a teacher uninitiated into the new ways any clue on how to start the process of change in his classroom, how to get out from behind the desk and in front of the chalkboard and allow more freedom in the class interaction. Without training, it is unlikely that many teachers are going to be able to use this new approach effectively in the classroom.

The textbook as a whole does not entirely fulfil its promise in the "note to the reader" that the book, "develops an open-minded, questioning, critical attitude - instead of presenting a definitive view of the past or present." While there is much more emphasis on open-mindedness and exercises meant to lead the students to question and look at issues critically, the text as a whole does present a relatively definitive view, and occasionally presents a pretty narrow view of some issues. In a couple of places in the text, the reasons for events or actions are narrowed down to

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[35] Ibid. pg. 125.
[36] Bottaro, J. and Visser, P., *In Search of History Secondary Book 1: South African history from the late nineteenth century to the 1994 election, Teacher's Guide.*

one motivation, which obscures other factors, and misleads. This often happens in the introductions to each section. While it is not necessary to go into great detail in the introductions, superficial explanations should be kept to a minimum, and rather simply the topics introduced in the short space. The introduction to Section F notes that, "Some members of the ANC left to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) because they believed that only black people should lead the fight against apartheid."[37] Particularly considering that students are often lazy when it comes to doing their schoolwork, and try to learn the basics from things like introductions, this is particularly short-sighted. A simple, "Some members of the ANC left to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) due to differences in policy and ideology." would suffice for the introduction, which would be supported by the main body of the chapter. Even in the main text this reduction of issues to one main belief occurs, obscuring the many-faceted motivations behind many movements. In the discussion of the Black Consciousness movement, it is stated that, "Because they argued that blacks (they included coloureds and Indians in this term) should lead this fight rather than whites, they became known as a "black consciousness" organization."[38] This was not the only reason, or even the main one for the naming of the Black Consciousness movement, which stressed that being black was not an inferior thing to being white and rejected the negating rhetoric of white supremacy, which saw things in terms of "white" and "non-white" rather than white and black.

Interestingly, both of these instances stress the emphasis on blacks leading their own movements as a key issue in the development of each organisation. This is particularly notable when it is seen that the authors were particularly trying to remain far more neutral than in a ANC party line text such as Pampallis' *Foundations of the New South Africa*.[39] Despite this conscious effort, however, these two instances really come across as pro-ANC ideas. With the victory of the non-racial politics of the ANC in the 1994 election, this stress on only the idea that only blacks were allowed in the PAC and BC movements serves to discredit their intentions. Though the treatment of the PAC within the chapter is very well balanced, the introduction still leaves the reader with the first impression that the PAC had racist policies. This is even more

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[37] Ibid. pg. 111.
[38] Ibid. pg. 141.
[39] Worden interview, 28 May, and Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June, 1997.

pronounced with the treatment of the Black Consciousness movement, where other issues and policies, such as the moves to overcome inferiority complexes caused by the racist society and its constant insults and slights and to gain pride and understanding of people's communities, traditions and past are not even mentioned. In the light of the fact that the organisation that has emerged as the leader in the anti-apartheid fight and the new government is the ANC, which stresses co-operation between the races, and the unification and reconciliation of the races, this stress on racial ideas gives other organisations a negative portrait.

Another place where this stress on the 'party line' or more appropriately, the focus on the winning outcome, comes in is the text's treatment of violence. While there is lots of space dedicated to the struggle against Apartheid, the issue of violence is largely avoided when it comes to the black population. The textbook does not avoid the blame of the Apartheid forces, as when it deals with Soweto and says, "On 16 June 1976 several school pupils taking part in a protest march in Soweto were shot dead by police."[40] However, when it comes to portraying the people working against the government as violent the text becomes almost silent. There is only one mention of the armed struggle. Rather than a normal discussion of the topic or a source based exploration, the mention is part of an exercise requiring the students to arrange events on a timeline. The event noted is, "June 1961; Armed struggle begins; ANC forms Umkhonto we Sizwe; PAC forms Poqo."[41] There is no talk of what the 'armed struggle' is, what the organisations formed were, nor why they were formed, nor what their ideas were. Similarly, in the discussion of violence leading up to the elections in 1994, while there is some mention of IFP/ANC clashes, third force involvement, and Chris Hani's assassination, there is no mention of the problems in the soon-to-be former homelands, like Bophuthatswana, where the leader brought in right wing militants to put down an uprising on the part of the civil service, or of the serious apprehension of the public about violent resistance to the elections. As with the portrayals of the PAC and BC movements, this can be partially attributed to the fact that the idea of non-violence won out in the end, with a negotiated settlement and a peaceful solution. By focusing on the non-violent tradition, it not only gave the moral

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[40] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, pg. 146.
[41] Ibid. pg. 139.

upper hand to those who struggled against apartheid, but also implied that the non-violent resistance was the tradition throughout the struggle against Apartheid.

Though the authors consciously tried to avoid Pampallis' committed pro-ANC approach to history, and succeeded in that they are not quite as biased as he was, they definitely fall on the side of the anti-apartheid struggle. Every single one of the "people of the period" biographies in the section being discussed here was about someone who was anti-apartheid. The only slight exception is that of Mpanza, who is said to be an "opportunist" but who nonetheless was working against Apartheid laws. There is also a rather simplified division between black and white, good and bad, and poor and rich. Bickford-Smith agreed with this, and noted that he wanted a more "nuanced" approach that would provide more disturbances, exceptions, and different perspectives[42], but this did not come about. Bam and Visser comment that, "Teaching history for the future would defeat its purpose if, for example, both young Sarie van der Merwe and her classmate Gcina Khumalo were left with the impression that *all* Afrikaans-speaking whites were racist oppressors, or led to believe that *all* blacks were heroic resistors."[43] However, this is the impression that comes across in the text. Without more emphasis on people who didn't resist, who collaborated or simply coped, the end result comes out somewhere near Pampallis' work ideologically. There are one or two exceptions, like the inclusion of Bram Fischer in a "people of the period" sketch, who was not only an Afrikaner, but a son of an Afrikaner Nationalist politician[44]. However, the exceptions are too few to combat the overall impression.

This textbook moves beyond its predecessors in that it provides a lot of explanation for things that have happened in history, which is crucial for the students to understand history. Unlike the *History for Standard 10* text, which lists events without any explanations of how they happened or what effects they had, and unlike *History Alive*, which, though it has more explanation, sticks mainly towards the economic side, *In Search of History* often gives clear, concise accounts of how things happened and why. In the discussion of the downfall of the United Party government, several opinions on the subject are noted, and explained well. It notes that,

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[42] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.
[43] Bam and Visser, *A New History for a New South Africa*, pg. 34.
[44] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, pg. 118.

> "Many blacks had hoped that segregation would end after the war and that they would be given political rights. When this did not happen they criticized the government... Overseas countries also started to speak out against South Africa's racial policies. The government of newly-independent India, for example, criticized the Ghetto Act... Many white voters thought that there wasn't enough segregation between blacks and whites and wanted the government to pass more laws protecting white workers from black competition. The growth of black trade unions and their demands for better working conditions and higher wages worried white voters."[45]

This follow up of sentiments of the population with explanations for their views goes far beyond the past textbooks, which would either not explain the views of the public at all, as in the case of *History for Standard 10*, or would list the views but not always explain the motivations behind the sentiments, as *History Alive* was wont to do. The discussion of the PAC break away from the ANC is well done also, explaining their policies in far more detail than the *History Alive* book had, even disproving the ideas that they were inherently anti-white,[46] though as mentioned above, the introduction to the section still provides the impression that the PAC was racialist. There are, however, a few places in which the explanations given may leave reasons out, as in the discussion of the Soweto revolts. When the text explains why the Soweto revolts broke out, it offers several influences, coming both from inside and outside of the country, which is a decisive break from the other two texts. It explains,

> "Although the immediate reason for the protest had been the government's decision on Afrikaans, school pupils who took part in the revolt of 1976 were influenced by other ideas and events. Many students were inspired by the ideas of the black consciousness movement (see Unit 26). The downfall of the white governments in Mozambique and Angola had led these students to believe that successful resistance was now possible in South Africa."[47]

This attribution of several different influences is a noted departure from its predecessors, but this is stated in a very closed-ended manner, as though those were the only reasons. The overall Bantu Education system, the situation of living in the townships, and other influences came into play as well, and while it may not be possible to list every reason for things that happened, it is more correct to state that a list contains "some" of the reasons, rather than making it appear exhaustive.

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[45] Ibid. pg. 105.
[46] Ibid. pg. 131.
[47] Ibid. pg. 146.

Occasionally this lack of explanation is so acute as to be completely confusing. Without the details of the legislations, for instance, the 1936 disenfranchisement law and the 1956 one are said to do the same thing, "took the vote away from the last black voters in the country, in the Cape Province," and "took the vote away from the last 'non-whites' who still had the vote (coloured people in the Cape Province)," respectively.[48] Without a discussion of what different terms, such as 'black' or 'non-white' mean, these two sentences are confusing and contradictory. This is even more true if one knows that the common usage of the word 'black' in later years included 'coloured' people. Worse still is the discussion of the mid-1980s. First the text discusses the government attacks on its opponents, and the declaration of a state of emergency in 1985.[49] There is no mention whatsoever of the immediate triggers to the state of emergency, only reaction back to the 1970s and 1960s. It is then noted that "Soldiers and police entered schools and townships to stop any political protest,"[50] but does not note that any political protest is particularly going on at the time in question. There is an unrest report from the Cape Times a couple of pages later[51], but no bigger picture to put it into. Then the text goes back to 1983 and the formation of the UDF, listing it as a "New Political movement of this time," but citing only its role in the fight against the tricameral parliament.[52] At this time, however, the townships were erupting into the largest display of unrest ever seen in South Africa, drawing from a wider mass base than ever before, and occasionally bursting into full-out war in the streets, as comrades "necklaced" collaborators and fought guerrilla-like battles with the armed forces stationed there. This unrest stretched from the installation of the tricameral parliament in 1984, until it was finally suppressed by the state of emergency in 1987, but is not mentioned at all in the textbook. While Sharpeville and Soweto surely had impact on the downfall of Apartheid and are given their own sections in the textbook, this new wave of unrest was much closer in time to the decision to negotiate, and was on a larger scale in many ways, but rates no mention at all other than the un-contextualised unrest report. Without this context, not only is an important event in the struggle against apartheid, which finds a large place in the textbook, ignored, but

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[48] Ibid. pgs. 91, 119.
[49] Ibid. pg. 150.
[50] Ibid. pg. 151.
[51] Ibid. pg. 153.
[52] Ibid. pg. 154.

the context necessary for understanding the actions of the government is also not provided. There is no obvious reason for this. Studies on the township revolts had been published before the main writing of the textbook got underway.[53] Bickford-Smith noted two reasons for the omission. The first was simply one of too little space to fit in every issue. The second was a conscious decision that the history was getting too depressing, focusing too much on oppression and resistance and it need a lightening up at that point[54]. While it is true that South African history can be a bit too conflict-, and injustice- filled for children, that is not a good enough reason for sterilising it to the point where the whole story is not coming through. Basically, it comes down to a focus on either reconciliation or 'real' history. Cynthia Kros asserts that, "[some authors] want children to be able to identify with historical characters; to feel a warm glow of belonging when they read their history textbooks. These sentiments are all entirely understandable given the levels of violence in South Africa and history's reputation for being exclusive. But what do they help us to understand about South African society?"[55] There are definitely drawbacks to spelling out South African history in all of its brutal details, but the glossing over of past problems does nothing to help the students understand the world they are living in, in which the South African past plays a large role in people's attitudes.

In some places, however, the old ways come through clearly despite the overall approach being practically opposite of the old textbooks. One of the worst, and most familiar of these deja vus, is in the discussion of the Rand Revolt, in which it is noted that, "Black workers on the gold mines were paid low wages and were given only unskilled work (work that you needed no special training to do). White workers, on the other hand, were paid higher wages and did skilled work."[56] While this textbook doesn't go so far as to call this division of labour "traditional" as in the *History for Standard 10* book, there is no explanation given for why this difference exists, which gives a more subtle, but still similar implication to the readers. The description of the government's actions towards blacks during the depression is similarly unexplained. The text only says, "Some members of the government did not want black people to

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[53] Jeremy Seekings, *Heroes or Villains? Youth Politics in the 1980s* was published in 1993, Fatima Meers, *Resistance in the Townships* came out in 1989 and Lodge and Nasson, *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* was released in 1991.
[54] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.
[55] Kros, C., *Trusting to the process*, pg. 13.

settle permanently in the cities. They argued that only blacks with jobs should be allowed to live there."[57] It is not explained whether this sentiment came about due to racial ideas, economic reasons, political motivations, or a combination of these, but simply that they "did not want" it. In excerpts like this, there is little difference to be seen between *In Search of History* and *History for Standard 10*.

While overall, the textbook is rather well done, and brings many new ideas and methods to the subject of history, there is one important issue in particular that it does not adequately address. Throughout the discussion documents, notes on the drafts, and correspondence between the writers and proof-readers there is an acknowledgement of the need to explain the issue of race; how it was constructed, why it is seen as important, where it comes into play in history. However, the final textbook itself is remarkably devoid of such critical discussion. The Primary Book 2 from this series does deal with the subject in one section[58], but discussion is not to be found in the Secondary 1 book. There is a slight introduction to the topic in the beginning of the book, but without any further discussion, it takes on the appearance of a simple disclaimer, in the vein of the common conversational comment, "I'm not racist, but..." While the authors do acknowledge problems of race in the "Introduction to our history of modern South Africa", noting that race has played a big part in South African history, they make no indications that it is a constructed concept, and tends to change with the times, depending on the needs, concerns, and motivations foremost in the minds of the people. Rather than attempting to explain that there are not always clear-cut racial divisions, and that people adapt these ideas to serve their needs at the time, they instead instruct the students to, "remember that although people have different skin colours and speak different languages we all want the same things from life and we all have the same rights." As skin colour and language are mentioned as the defining characteristics of race, this implies that there really are distinct racial categories, though it allows for the idea that they are all similar and all human. The

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[56] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, pg. 69.
[57] Ibid. pg. 81.
[58] *In Search of History Primary Book 2*, section 26, pgs. 72-3.

idea of race does not present itself again in the text, except as a legitimate division, where issues are explained in terms of black and white.[59]

Bickford-Smith commented that he wanted more attention to this subject, but it didn't make it into the final draft. He noted that the discussion of the Spanish Flu in the beginning of the book would be a good place to stress the commonalities of South Africans, as anyone living in South Africa at that time, no matter what their colour, class, or other defining factors, would have been effected by the flu.[60] At the very least, in the explication of the apartheid laws, in particular the Population Registration Act[61], a note should have been made of the existence of the "reclassification" system, that basically contradicted the law's idea of distinct and immutable racial divisions. Though this is mentioned in some of the notes surrounding the development of the book, it is not included in the final version. One explanation given for the avoidance of the race issue was that it was too complicated for the age group they were dealing with.[62] However, it would be much more damaging not to deal with these issues while the students are in a school situation. Since children form their ideas about issues like this pretty early on, it is necessary to bring these ideas to the forefront, no matter how difficult or uncomfortable, so that the students are able to address them while they are still in school and have an appropriate forum for the discussion.

Another area neglected by the textbook is that of a world history context for the South African situation, and attention to the interaction with Africa. There are a few mentions of outside events, but they are largely treated superficially, and simply glossed over. One apt example of this tendency is in the discussion of the Great Depression. It is asserted at the beginning of the chapter that, "In the early 1930s the whole world experienced an economic crisis. This was known as the "Great Depression". It started in America with the collapse of the American Stock Exchange in 1929, and then spread to the rest of the world."[63] When shown in this sense, while it does give a bit of a wider world perspective, but no indication of how the world economy was tied together so that this effect happened. If anything, it gives the great

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[59] See discussion, pg. 72.
[60] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.
[61] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, pg. 114.
[62] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.
[63] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, pg. 76.

depression the characteristics of a virus passed around the world rather than a complex interaction of economic relations that led to the domino effect in this case. Another badly explained connection is towards the end, where it is noted that, "In 1989 several changes took place both in South Africa and overseas which would bring in a new era." These changes are then completely ignored, as the text goes on to tell of De Klerk's speech and the resultant changes. In the sources that follow, there is an allusion to the fall of the Berlin Wall and one to financial sanctions, but no real explanation of what these signified or why they led to such drastic measures on the part of the government. The treatment of the relationship between South Africa and the rest of Africa is just as superficial and adds very little to the understanding of South African history. Though there is some mention of the influence of African independence on internal resistance movements in the list of Soweto influences and a map of independent African countries, that is about all that exists on relations with Africa. Interestingly, even in the mention of youths leaving South Africa in the aftermath of Soweto, they are said to have joined, "the exiled ANC and PAC liberation movements overseas." This denies the fact that many of them went to the liberated African states and trained for armed struggle with the MK. Overall, the textbook does not link South African history with relations with neighbouring African countries or with world forces and events. Nigel Worden explains that the reason world history was avoided in the textbook was due to the lack of a syllabus. He explains that the authors were unsure of what world history would be chosen for the new curriculum, but as they were positive South African history would be part of the new syllabus, they would focus solely on that.[64] However, some connection to the bigger picture would definitely give the students a broader picture. It is relatively likely, for example, that the First World War would be included in any syllabus, but it is only mentioned here as an event that has an aftermath. There is one paragraph on the war, which comes in the introduction to the section entitled, "Between the Wars: Competition for Land and Jobs." With little or no idea of what the war was about, who won, or even who was involved, much less why it had influences on the following years, it is difficult to see how the students will have a point of reference for understanding the rest of the issues at hand. Similarly it is safe to say that some attention to regional relations with African

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[64] Worden interview, 28 May 1997.

countries would come into play in a new curriculum, as well as the aftermath of independence in many of these countries. More attention could and should have been given to the issues of both world history and the history of Africa.

The *In Search of History* series marks a new era in South African history textbooks. Free of the constraints of the Apartheid government and designated curriculum, it moves beyond its predecessors in the field by leaps and bounds. Its "eclectic" historiographical approach brings together elements from many different approaches to history, as well as continuing in both the revisionist and 'history from below' traditions of the late 1980s. It takes social history further than *History Alive* did, though it could have been extended even more. It includes people, events, and issues that have never before found their way into school history textbooks in South Africa. Also important in this series is the move towards a truly integrated mix of skill- and content- based history. Both in the way the book is structured, the questions asked, and the advice to the teachers, the book moves in directions far beyond the books examined in the last two chapters.

The series is not perfect, however, and shows several problems in its approach. Though claiming to leave decisions about history up to the readers, the text endorses a version of history geared towards resistance to Apartheid. This is not an inherently bad thing by any means, but does betray the claim that the book will not present, "a definitive view of the past of present."[65]. There is an oversimplification of forces and issues, however, that leads to a very polarised view of history, marking clear lines between white and black, rich and poor, and good guys and bad guys. At times it even leans towards the Pampallis-like rhetoric that the authors were trying to avoid all along.

The textbook moves away from the older texts, but also maintains some levels of continuity with the old. This is often unintentional, but it is interesting to see where the older issues come up, particularly as the book has the leeway to diverge greatly in structure, content, and focus to the books that preceded it. Compared to the old textbooks, *In Search of History* is definitely far down the path towards a new concept

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[65] *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, "a note to the reader".

of history, and much can be gleaned from looking at it that can help create new textbooks in the future, looking at what worked and what didn't.

Conclusion

This study has illustrated many issues about South African school history textbooks. It is clear that the historiographical influences of the academic world find their way into the school history textbooks. Also influential are the times in which a textbook is written, and the influences, ideas, and concerns that surround that time period. However, the present is not the only thing that brands a textbook; also important are the past textbooks. New history textbooks often react to older ones, making conscious efforts to move away from the old ways of which they do not approve. Even less noticeable, though still critical, is the fact that the old ways often unconsciously still bear their mark on the new, with issues and trends still finding their way into the new material. All of these issues are important when looking at textbooks, and need to be addressed in their relation to the creation of a 'new history' for the 'new nation' that is being created in South Africa. Particularly in the light of the fact that the new curriculum being developed is aiming towards an integrated "Human and Social Sciences" subject for the lower grades[1], it is crucial to look at what school history consists of and can achieve to make sure that its importance is not missed and that it does not simply get swallowed up by an interdisciplinary approach. This conclusion will recommend strategies that are important to the creation and revision of school history textbooks that can allow a true break with the past and lead towards a more conscious process of textbook writing.

The new school history textbooks being released now mark a clear break with the past, and show a huge improvement over their predecessors. However, there are some problems arising that need to be addressed and remedied if a truly ideal history is to be created. This is not to suggest that the progress made already is not immense and impressive, but rather to show how the process could be bettered. There are three areas in which they could be improved: there must be a more conscious approach to the writing process, to analysing both the past and present and realising where this influences the new material; there must be a refusal to compromise on issues that are seen to be important, despite constraints and problems; and there must be very

[1] See Appendix III.

conscious and self-critical evaluation and revision, or ideally an evaluation by an outside party who does not have an intimate connection with the material.

One way to improve the new history textbooks would be to consciously look at the previous textbooks, carefully breaking down not only the content, but also the issues and ideas that influenced the textbooks. Without this close analysis, the ways of the past can find their ways into the present, and become perpetuated. As was seen in both *History Alive* and *In Search of History*, occasionally the older ideas, which have been touted as dangerous, damaging, and wrong, still make it into the new works regardless of the best intentions of the authors. With conscious analysis and attention to the previous ideas it is easier to see where the influences and ideas make it into the new in order to prevent this from happening as often.

Additionally, though it is impossible to completely remove the influence of the time and ideas that exist during the production of a textbook, it is necessary to do one's best to break down the thought process behind the inclusion, exclusion, modification, or continuation of issues and ideas that are put into the textbook. If one thinks that a particular event or person is important to the history, it is necessary to figure out why they bear that importance and how they fit into the bigger picture that is trying to be drawn. In the "people of the period" sketches from *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, for example, by picking a person for each chapter rather than looking at the book as a whole[2], the authors managed to include only anti-apartheid biographies, which gave a very one-sided view. While it is not possible to break down all of one's ideas and motivations, a more self-conscious approach to the material can avoid some of the pitfalls that often beset textbook writers.

It is also necessary to refuse to compromise on issues that have been determined to be key to the development of a 'new history'. It is true that textbooks are not written in a vacuum, and have to consider syllabi, publisher's constraints and other limitations, however, these can not be used as excuses for not doing as much as possible towards a 'new' version of history. The *History Alive* series set out to write a 'new' version of history, but did not achieve as much as it could have even within the parameters of the syllabus for which it was written. For instance, the authors managed to create extra space for issues outside of the main political narrative, but did not use

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[2] Bickford-Smith interview, 6 June 1997.

this space effectively to present things like social history, which it claimed to support. *In Search of History* had even more leeway in what it could do with history, as the Curriculum 2005 outcomes had not yet been written and the old syllabus was discredited; however, even this series still found itself compromising some of the crucial aspects that the authors had originally thought important to their new concept of history, such as the import dealing with race issues. In South Africa, in the aftermath of the CODESA negotiations and in the light of the fact that compromise has been instrumental in the transition to a new government, the creation of new textbooks is often taking on a similar dynamic. The tendency to simply take the old history and add and subtract from that base, or to start from scratch and fall into the trap of focusing on only a couple of versions of history must be avoided. Peter Kallaway, in a discussion at a conference at Cape Town noted that, "We must get away from the idea of horse-trading: 'you can have the great trek if I can have the mfecane...' we should identify priorities at one level away from talking about content, to theorise about how to go about selection, to develop a mode of thinking where we are able to prioritise the explanatory categories or concepts we are going to use to select content."[3] While some textbook writers are attempting to overcome this tendency, as the *In Search of History* series, which tried to redefine the important dates in history, then find themes and trends within these as a way of structuring this 'new' history, it doesn't always work. Though the dates were redefined, and themes were identified to mould the content, certain topics still took precedence, such as the political topics of government and resistance. Problems still arise with compromises on all sides, and issues thought to be key can be lost in this way.

Another problem is that in attempting to include voices that have been excluded in the past, it is often all too easy to get into the habit of just tacking them on to history in separate sections or topics. It is unsatisfactory to simply give women, for example, a couple of extra separate sections in the textbook and believe that this would give them a voice in the history. This was attempted by *In Search of History*, who put one section aside for a women's march on parliament and included three biographies on women. However, this neglects to illustrate the very integrated nature of women's roles in history. Unfortunately, the new curriculum outcomes released recently are

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[3] The History Education Group, ed., *History Matters: Debates about a new history curriculum for*

falling into this trap. In detailing the subjects to look at in the category of the impact of Apartheid on areas of social life, it lists, "political system, sport and recreation, education, health, the economy, issues around land ownership and control, homeland system, housing, the environment, spiritual and cultural life, family life and children, women, workers, [and] resistance by individuals, communities and organisations." Worse yet, it advises that four of these issues should be selected,[4] allowing huge differences in focus, from a political focus on the "political system," "economy," "homeland system" and "housing" to a social history focus on, "sports and recreation," "family life and children," spiritual and cultural life," and "women." It is necessary to integrate previously silenced voices into the main narrative of history and to allow them to be a part of the bigger picture, rather than simply an addendum, or worse, an option that can be avoided.

Two of the main causes for compromise of material are restrictions of space and consideration of the children who will be taught by the books. Both of these are important considerations when writing textbooks, however, when working with these problems, it is necessary to make sure that the cutting down of material or the simplification or adaptation of material to suit children does not change the emphases intended. The problem of limited space is often unavoidable, with constraints laid out by the publishers. When dealing with these limitations, it is often possible to cut issues down to the point where they are presented in a very incomplete manner. In these cases, it would be preferable to focus in more detail on some issues rather than giving incomplete overviews of many issues. Exercises allowing for extra research for the students and reports back to the class would allow the textbook to deeply discuss some details, while still allowing for the exploration of other important issues, rather than including all of them superficially or neglecting important areas of history. Also possible would be suggesting readings both for the pupils and the teachers to supplement the textbook on issues for which sufficient space was not available.

Consideration of the children who will be reading textbooks, though important, is tending to severely limit the material included. The issue of race is one area where this becomes clear. Due to problems of the 'difficulty' of the topic, it is not being addressed well or deconstructed enough for the children to gain a good understanding

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South Africa, pgs. 16-7.

of what it is. However, the issue has a huge bearing on South African society, and in order to combat the strict imposition of racial categories and stereotypes of the past, there must be some attention given to the issue in the textbooks. *In Search of History* does a good job of this in its Primary 2 book, taking a section of the book to explain the idea of race in terms and ideas which the students can understand, but then they neglect the issue completely in the Secondary 1 book, where the children would be prepared by the previous book to explore the matter more deeply and in more detail. Again, the best intentions and ideas can face problems, as the *In Search of History Primary Book 2* was refused in the Gautang education department for this exact section, which they claimed, "foregrounded race."[5] Hopefully, this will be remedied with the new curriculum, which encourages discussion of the construction of identities.[6] As race has played such a huge part in South Africa's history, and has had such a profound effect on the present society, it is necessary to address the issue, no matter how difficult, so that children can understand their own society and so that they can deal with the difficult questions and ideas that arise within the context of race while they are still young and impressionable, and while they have an appropriate forum for the discussion of the issue.

Similarly, the often painful and depressing history of South Africa is often 'lightened up' in the new textbooks. The *In Search of History Secondary Book 1*, for example, avoided serious discussion of the township revolts so as to lighten up the content for the students.[7] While it is true that many disturbing things have happened in South African history, and the subject can be terribly serious and distressing for children, it is important to show exactly what did happen so that an understanding of the present can be reached. It is not sufficient to allow forces and people's decisions to be reified or disassociated with the people who played a part in history. While it is important to avoid making children feel guilty or depressed about the past, it is equally important to tell them the trutn about their past. Lightening the content can take away the reality of the injustices that have happened in South Africa's history, and not instil the need to avoid similar problems in the future. Perhaps a discussion of the idea of guilt, and of the children not being responsible for the past, but having a chance to

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[4] See Appendix III, pg. 50.
[5] Worden, interview 28 May 1997.
[6] See Appendix III, Specific outcome 1, (6), pg. 51, for example.

have influence on the future would allow them to look at the history of South Africa as it was, and still get something positive out of the experience. Explaining that just as a grandchild would not be put into prison if his grandfather had committed a crime, they are not responsible for what has happened in the past, but as this grandchild could learn from his grandfather's mistakes and avoid a life of crime, they too can work to avoid the mistakes of their predecessors, could help avoid promoting guilt in the students. Additionally, by telling them the whole story and not holding back on ugly truths, they will achieve a greater understanding of the struggles that had gone before, and know enough about the problems and misdeeds in the past to recognise similar issues in their present and future, and to try to keep history from repeating itself. The new curriculum does provide for issues that are very serious, such as "dispossession" and "repression"[8], but only in these very abstract terms, and it remains to be seen how the issues will be addressed in the final curriculum.

Finally it is important to remember that the writers of history textbooks are intrinsically wrapped up in the subject, and that it can often be difficult to extract oneself from the topic being written. It is necessary for the writers to take a step back from their work so that they can be self-critical in their evaluation and revision of the textbook. More self conscious appraisal needs to happen in order to avoid the problems addressed above. Alternatively, it may be necessary to turn to outsiders who are not as deeply involved in the process of writing the textbooks, or who aren't as psychologically involved in the history being written and can be more objective towards the proof reading, noting places that the book blatantly slips into biases or does not deal with issues fully. This was done with the *In Search of History* series, though some problems still slipped through unnoticed. This is the best option for critical evaluation that can shed light on problems the authors are too close to see. The authors, given this objective view, can then see where they are unconsciously allowing their own biases into the text, and decide where these are desirable and where they are not.

Overall, school history textbooks in South Africa have taken a huge leap forward in the past several years, and are still on the road to more changes. However,

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[7] See Series 3 discussion.

certain problems are arising and should be addressed so that they can be avoided. It is always necessary to look at the past in order to be able to deal with the present, an assumption that lies behind the teaching of history in itself. School history textbooks in South Africa need to be looked at critically in order to see where they should go in the future, how they are progressing in the present, and where they were in the past. Many issues that are at the forefront of current debates are not making their way into the books emerging, and this needs to be remedied. Also, some of the ideas that are being proffered are not necessarily desirable and need to be remedied. Overall, a more consciously reflective approach and more evaluation by outside parties need to be undertaken in order to develop textbooks that will aptly educate the children of the 'new South Africa' so that they can become productive members of the society to which they belong.

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[8] See Appendix III, pg. 47.

Appendix I: Excerpts from the 1973 syllabus.

Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope

Department of Education

Senior Secondary Course

Syllabus for History

(Standard Grade)

1973

SENIOR SECONDARY COURSE: SYLLABUS FOR HISTORY

(STANDARD GRADE)

The Following syllabus for History (Standard Grade) for the Senior Secondary Course will be introduced as from 1st January, 1974.

The syllabus will be introduced in Standard 8 in 1974, and the first Senior Certificate Examination on this syllabus will be held in November/ December, 1976.

SENIOR SECONDARY COURSE: SYLLABUS FOR HISTORY

(STANDARD GRADE)

AIMS:

1. The general aim of the teaching of History at school is to convey to the pupils a knowledge and understanding of the past, especially in respect of:

1.1 the history of his own country.

1.2 the manner in which the conduct of public affairs in his own country has evolved;

1.3 the history of the major events and movements which affect life in South Africa today.

2. If the above-mentioned general aim is achieved, the study of History can be of great value to the pupil in that:

2.1 It contributes to a better understanding of contemporary world trends, conditions and problems;

2.2 it broadens and enriches his knowledge so that people, places and events referred to in books, newspapers, the radio, film and conversation will have meaning and significance for him and so that he will be able to write, think and converse sensibly about them;

2.3 it fosters an appreciation of and reverence for such fundamental values as justice, liberty, truth and integrity.

2.4 it makes him conscious of his privileges and duties as a citizen.

2.5 it assists him to develop a sense of time, to appreciate the interaction of cause and effect and to value the achievements of mankind;

2.6 it enables him to use his knowledge effectively:

2.6.1 in gathering and arranging material;

2.6.2 in selecting that which is relevant for his specific needs;

2.6.3 in thinking objectively and critically;

2.6.4 in presenting data clearly, orally and in written form;

2.7 it leads to a profound spiritual experience and an appreciation of man's insignificance in relation to the Creation.

REMARKS:

1. Advantage should be taken of the pupil's natural curiosity about the events of the past.
2. Events in South Africa should be correlated with foreign history, and, where applicable, linked with current trends.
3. Training in the application of correct methods of study is of no less importance than the acquisition of historical knowledge. Methods which foster individual activity should therefore be adopted.

4. The course has been planned to enable pupils to gain a clear idea of the outstanding features of the world of today as shaped by the formative movements of the last century and a half. The new material incorporated brings the study of South African history and general history up to the present.

SECTION B: SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY 1910-1970

1. The rise of political parties: the South Africa Party; the Unionists and the Labour party' the Botha-Hertzog Crisis; the establishment of the National Party.
2. Participation in the First World War: Rebellion; occupation of S.W.A.; self-determination and the Independence Deputation; S.W.A. becomes a mandated territory.
3. The Smuts Government: union of South Africa Party and the Unionists; the strike on the Rand 1922.
4. The Pact Government: co-operation between the National Party and the Labour Party; the recognition of Afrikaans; the flag question.
5. Recognition of South Africa's sovereign independence: the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the Balfour Declaration; independent Department of External Affairs; Statute of Westminster; Status Acts; Membership of U.N.O.
6. Coalition, fusion and the "purified" National Party; the republican ideal; schism 1939; participation in the Second World War (in broad outline only).
7. Political and constitutional development: the 1948 election; the 1960 referendum; withdrawal from the Commonwealth; the establishment of the Republic of South Africa 1961; the constitution as in 1970 (central and provincial government).
8. Political, social, and economic development of the Non-Whites:

8.1 the Bantu: political awakening and development; policy and administration in respect of the Bantu; separate development and separate homelands; (N.B.: details of legislation not required.)

8.2 the Indians: role of Gandhi; economic and social conditions; the Indian Representative Council; local government;

8.3 the Coloureds: economic circumstances in urban and rural areas; political development; group areas; the Coloured Representative Council (N.B. details of legislation not required).

9. External relations (in broad outline only): South Africa, U.N.O. and the S.W.A. problem; South Africa and her neighbour states (Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories); South Africa's outward policy.

SECTION B: SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY 1910-1970

(HIGHER GRADE)

1. The rise of political parties: the South Africa Party; the Unionists and the Labour party' the Botha-Hertzog Crisis; the establishment of the National Party. .
2. Participation in the First World War: Rebellion; occupation of S.W.A.; self-determination and the Independence Deputation; S.W.A. becomes a mandated territory.
3. The Smuts Government: union of South Africa Party and the Unionists; the strike on the Rand 1922.
4. The Pact Government: co-operation between the National Party and the Labour Party; the recognition of Afrikaans; the flag question.
5. Recognition of South Africa's sovereign independence: the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the Balfour Declaration; independent Department of External Affairs; Statute of Westminster; Status Acts; Membership of U.N.O.
6. Economic and social matters: the Great Depression; the Poor White problem; the urbanisation of the population (White and Non-White) up to 1939.
7. Coalition, fusion and the "purified" National Party; the republican ideal; schism 1939; participation in the Second World War (in broad outline only).
8. Political and constitutional development: the 1948 election; the 1960 referendum; withdrawal from the Commonwealth; the establishment of the

Republic of South Africa 1961; the constitution as in 1970 (central and provincial government).

9. Political, social, and economic development of the Non-Whites:

9.1 the Bantu: political awakening and development; policy and administration in respect to the Bantu; legislation, general intent and significance of the legislation of 1913, 1923, and 1936; separate development and separate homelands; (N.B.: details of legislation not required.)

9.2 the Indians: role of Gandhi; attempts at repatriation; the Cape Town agreement of 1927; termination of immigration; Asiatic Land Tenure Act; economic and social conditions; the Indian Representative Council; local government;

9.3 the Coloureds: economic circumstances in urban and rural areas; political development; group areas; the Coloured Representative Council (N.B. details of legislation not required).

10. Aspects of further economic development; mining; factories; White and Non-White labour; the urbanisation of the population (White and Non-White).

11. External relations (in broad outline only): South Africa, U.N.O. and the S.W.A. problem; South Africa and her neighbour states (Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories); South Africa's outward policy.

Appendix II: Excerpts from the 1985 syllabus.

CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

SENIOR SECONDARY COURSE

SYLLABUS

FOR

HISTORY

HIGHER GRADE

1985

SENIOR SECONDARY COURSE

SYLLABUS FOR HISTORY (HIGHER GRADE) - STANDARDS 8, 9 AND 10

A The Senior Secondary Course syllabus for History HG which follows below will be introduced from 1 January 1985.

The syllabus will be introduced in Standard 8 in 1985 and the first Senior Certificate examination based on this syllabus will be written in November/December 1987.

1 Introduction

History is a systematic study of the past. It is a study based on evidence: a selection of facts and events that are arranged, interpreted and explained. Thus history, in addition to its content, is also a mode of enquiry, a way of investigating the past which requires the acquisition and use of skills. The events, communities and peoples of the past are studied in order to develop an appreciation of other times and places, but also because they are interesting in themselves. History develops both the imagination and the understanding of people and communities. While a study of recent history is essential for an understanding of the present, so too an understanding of the present is necessary to understand the past.

2 Aims and objectives

2.1 The general aim of the teaching of History at school is to convey to the pupils a knowledge and understanding of the past, especially with regard to

2.1.1 the history of his own fatherland, and that of other peoples and cultures

2.1.2 the way in which the conduct of public affairs has evolved in his own country

2.1.3 the history of the major events and movements which affect life in South Africa today.

2.2 If the general aim above can be attained, the study of History can be of great value to the pupil in that

2.2.1 it contributes to a better understanding of contemporary world trends, conditions and problems

2.2.2 it broadens and enriches his knowledge so that people, places and events referred to in books, newspapers on the the radio and television, in films and conversation will have meaning and significance for him, and so that he will be able to write, think and converse sensibly about them

2.2.3/...

2.2.3 it deepens his appreciation of and respect for such fundamental values as justice, liberty, truth and integrity

2.2.4 it makes him conscious of his privileges and duties as a citizen

2.2.5 it helps him to develop a sense of time, to appreciate the interaction of cause and effect and to value the achievements of mankind

2.2.6 it makes him aware of the changing state of historical knowledge and the contributions made by related disciplines to historical knowledge

2.2.7 it contributes towards his understanding of history as an academic discipline, and fosters intellectual skills and perspectives in the process

2.2.8 it enables him to use his knowledge effectively in order to

2.2.8.1 gather and arrange material

2.2.8.2 select what is relevant for his specific purposes

2.2.8.3 think objectively and critically

2.2.8.4 clearly present data, orally as well as in written form

2.2.9 it deepens his spiritual experience and leads him to a realization of man's insignificance relative to the Creation.

3 General remarks

3.1 The aims envisaged in the teaching of History will only be realized if the subject matter is presented to the pupil at an appropriate level. In addition to differentiation in syllabus content for the Higher, Standard and Lower Grades, there should also be differentiation in methods of teaching, assessment and evaluation.

3.2 The outline and content of the syllabus is such that pupils will develop a broad understanding and general knowledge.

3.3 The syllabus also ensures that the pupils will gain detailed knowledge and understanding of selected events and movements that have influenced the history of South Africa and that of the rest of the world.

3.4/...

3.4 The syllabus is designed to integrate the teaching of content, skills and attitudes.

3.5 Because skills and attitudes are less tangible, the teacher will need to give conscious and systematic consideration to them, in order to avoid an approach that is based entirely on the acquisition of content.

3.6 Attitudes and values will not be formally examined. The aim should be to make a contribution towards the maturing and growth of the pupils.

3.7 The syllabus for each year ought to be taught in such a way that there is a harmony between the learning process (the "how") and the learning products (the "what").

3.7.1 The teacher should take advantage of the pupil's natural curiosity about the events of the past.

3.7.2 Methods which promote individual activity should be encouraged.

SECTION B: SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

The political, constitutional, economic and social development of South Africa 1910 - 1970

Theme 2 is compulsory. Each year the Education Department will prescribe either Theme 1 or Theme 3 as follows:

South Africa 1910 - 1924 - 1987

South Africa 1948 - 1970 - 1988

South Africa 1910 - 1924 - 1989

South Africa 1948 - 1970 - 1990

South Africa 1910 - 1924 - 1991

South Africa 1948 - 1970 - 1992

1 South Africa 1910 - 1924

1.1 The main features of South African society in 1910 (not for examinations):
Four demographic units - Whites, Asians, Coloureds and Blacks
Whites - two broad sub-cultural groups viz. the Afrikaners and the English-speaking community
Asians - mainly plantation workers
Coloureds - mainly distributed in rural areas and on mission stations
Blacks - a multi-national population group of 9 separate peoples distributed in ethnic groups and on the mines.

1.2 The first general election:
The first parliament
The first general election
Founding of the SA Party
Political parties and their policies and principles
A rift develops between Botha and Hertzog
Founding of the NP

1.3 Economic and social development (for non-essay type questions only):
Subsistency farming (as introduction)
The development of mining
Growth of commercial agriculture - mainly for the domestic market
The secondary industries in 1910 (manufacture of wagons and coaches and engineering works)
Establishment of secondary industries during the war (1914 - 1918)

Founding/...

Founding of the Department of Mining and Industries
Labour problems (strikes of 1913, 1914)
Urbanization of the population groups

1.4 The First World War:
South Africa and the First World War
The Rebellion of 1914
The occupation of South West Africa
SA and the Treaty of Versailles
Self-determination and the Independence Deputation
Mandate over South West Africa.

1.5 The Smuts government:
Decline of the South African Party
Overtures to the National Party
Fusion of the SAP and Unionists
The strike on the Rand 1922 (only the political implications)
Further problems for the SAP
Cooperation between the NP and Labour Party
Formation of the Pact
The downfall of the Smuts Government.

(Should this theme not be examined, a maximum of five periods should be allocted to it.)

2 South Africa 1924 to 1948

2.1 The Pact:
The Pact administration after the election of 1924
The official recognition of Afrikaans
The flag question
The struggle for sovereign independence
The Imperial Conference 1926
The Balfour Declaration
Separate Department of External Affairs
The Statute of Westminister
The Status and Seal Acts

2.2 Economic development of South Africa (for non-essay type questions only):
The Pact's measures to combat unrest in industry
The position of the White labourer
The Great Depression (1929 - 1933)
Measures to combat the depression
Development of agriculture
Development of mining
Diversification of the economy
The role of the state in the development of secondary industries

2.3/...

2.3 Coalition, fusion, split:
The election of 1929
The Great Depression
Tielman Roos returns to politics
Coalition formed
Founding of the United Party
The Purified National Party and the Dominion Party
The Republican ideal
Segregation and important legislation
Prelude to the split
Outbreak of the Second World War
The issue of neutrality
The final split 1939

2.4 Participation and role in the Second World War (for non-essay type questions only):
The declaration of war
The war in East Africa
The war in North Africa
The war in Europe

2.4.1 Political division amongst the opposition parties:
The Re-united National Party
The Afrikaner Party
The New Order
The Ossewabrandwag

2.4.2 South Africa as a member of UNO and the South West Africa issue:
Role of Smuts in the founding of UNO.
Friction with UNO over the control of SWA.

2.5 Post-war internal problems (for non-essay type questions only):
Economic development and industrialisation
Urbanisation of the population
Segregation under strain
Labour unrest and discontent

2.5.1 Party politics during and after the war:
The election of 1943
Decline in Smuts' popularity (1945 - 1948)
Forms of extra-parliamentary activity
The rise of Black nationalism

2.6 The election of 1948 and the fall of the Smuts government:
The election agreement between the NP and the Afrikaner Party
Apartheid
The election

3 South Africa 1948 to 1970

3.1 Political development and founding of the Republic:
The NP consolidates its position in parliament
The severing of ties with Britain
The 1960 Referendum
Withdrawal from the Commonwealth
The Republic of South Africa

3.2 Policy on race relations and the ensuing reactions:
Apartheid, laws to enforce it, domestic and foreign reaction
Separate development with regard to the Coloureds and Asians up to 1970
Separate development with regard to the urban Blacks up to 1970
Homeland policy

3.3 Continued economic growth and social changes (for non-essay type questions only):
The growth and diversification of the mining industry
The development of agriculture
Foreign trade and investment
Labour, urbanisation and the growth of towns
Economic development in the rural areas
Economic recession and economic recovery

3.4 South Africa's foreign policy:
The World Court decision of 1950 - reasons and content
Development 1950 - 1870
Economic and social influence of SA on SWA
The intervention of the UN committees
Opinion of the World Court 1966 and the consequences
Attempts to isolate SA
Attempts by South Africa to break the isolation - Detenté

(Should this theme not be examined, a maximum of five periods should be allocated to it.)

HISTORY (HIGHER GRADE)

Allocation of periods in Std 10:

NB: This allocation serves as an indication of the depth in which the study should be undertaken. Where less than three periods have been allocated to a subsection, no essay type questions will be set on that specific subsection. Shorter questions of a general type can be set on such a subsection, except on the subsection where it specifically states that it is not for examination purposes.

Section A: General History

1	The rise of the superpowers 1917 - 1939	
1.1	The rise of Soviet Russia	9
1.2	The rise of the USA	9
2	Circumstances which led to the Second World War	
2.1	The decline of democracy in Europe (not for examination)	2
2.2	The rise of totalitarianism in Japan, Italy and Germany	9
2.3	International crises and international relations	9
2.4	The outbreak of war	3
2.5	The entry of Japan and the USA into the war	4
2.6	The aftermath of the war	4
3	International relations and events 1945 - 1970	
3.1	The United Nations Organisation	8
3.2	The Cold War in Europe	9
3.3	Conflict in the Far East	9
3.4	Conflict in the Middle East	9
3.5	Conflict in Latin America	9
3.6	Africa since the Second World War	9
	Total:	75

Section B: South African History

1	South Africa, 1910 - 1924	
1.1	The main features of South African society in 1910 (not for examination)	2
1.2	The first general election	6
1.3	Economic and social development	2
1.4	The First World War	7
1.5	The Smuts government	6
	(Should this theme not be prescribed for examination a maximum of five periods should be allocated to it.)	
2	South Africa, 1924 - 1948	
2.1	The Pact	14
2.2	Economic development of South Africa	2
2.3	Coalition, fusion, split	12
2.4	Partition and the role in The Second World War	2
2.4.1	Political division amongst the opposition parties	4
2.4.2	South Africa as a member of UNO and the South West Africa issue	4
2.5	Post-war internal problems	2
2.5.1	Party politics during and after the war	4
2.6	The election of 1948 and the fall of the Smuts government	3
3	South Africa, 1948 - 1970	
3.1	Political development and the founding of the Republic	6
3.2	Policy on race relations and the ensuing reaction	9

3.3/...

3.3	Continued economic growth and social change	2
3.4	South Africa's foreign policy	6

(Should this theme not be prescribed for examination a maximum of five periods should be allocated to it.)

NB: The allocation of periods for History Standard Grade and Lower Grade must correspond with the allocation for the Higher Grade.

In the breakdown of different areas of history noted in the chapter on *History Alive*, this text notes an allotment of time periods to different topics. This author has categorised these topics into three categories: politics, international relations, and social and economic issues. While there can certainly be some crossover between the categories, they are basically focused on only one of these. Referring to the section on the "allocation of periods in Std. 10" in the syllabus which precedes this, the sections are divided by this author in this manner:

Politics: sections 1.1, 1.2, 1.5, 2.1, 2.3, 2.4.1, 2.5.1, 2.6, 3.1, and 3.2.

these sections are allocated 2, 6, 6, 14, 12, 4, 4, 3, 6, and 9 periods respectively for a total of 66 periods.

International relations: sections 1.4, 2.4, 2.4.2, and 3.4.

these sections are allocated 7, 2, 4, and 6 periods respectively for a total of 19 periods.

Social and Economic issues: sections 1.3, 2.2, 2.5, and 3.3.

these sections are allocated 2 periods each for a total of 8 periods.

Out of 93 periods prescribed by the syllabus:

66/93, or about 71% are allocated to politics,

19/93, or about 20% are allocated to international relations,

and 8/93, or about 9% are allocated to social and economic issues.

HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

RATIONALE FOR HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Human and Social Sciences contribute to developing responsible citizens in a culturally diverse democratic society within an interdependent world. They will equip learners to make sound judgements and take appropriate action that will contribute to sustainable development of human society and the physical environment.

Human and Social Sciences comprise the study of relationships between people, and between people and their environment. These interactions are contextualised in space and time and have social, political, economic, environmental and spiritual dimensions.

They develop distinctive skills and a critical awareness of social and environmental patterns, processes and events based on appropriate investigations and reflection within and across related focuses.

SPECIFIC OUTCOMES

1. Demonstrate a critical understanding of how South African society has changed and developed.
2. Demonstrate a critical understanding of patterns of social development.
3. Participate actively in promoting a just, democratic and equitable society.
4. Make sound judgements about the development, utilisation and management of resources
5. Critically understand the role of technology in social development
6. Demonstrate an understanding of interrelationships between society and the natural environment.
7. Address social and environmental issues in order to promote development and social justice.
8 Analyse forms and processes of organisations.
9. Use a range skills and techniques in the Human and Social Sciences context.

ORGANISING PRINCIPLES

The diagramme below represents the way the learning area committee conceptualised the balance which needed to be achieved between the different aspects of Social and Human Sciences, in the context of General Education and Training.

SO 1: DEMONSTRATE A CRITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF HOW SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY HAS CHANGED AND DEVELOPED

The intention of this outcome is to equip learners with the attitudes, skills, knowledge and critical understanding to locate themselves in their own society, history and country in a global context. This background will enable them to develop, meaningfully and critically, a sense of self-worth and identity; and help empower them to exercise their full rights and responsibilities as citizens. It is also intended to promote nation building.

Where content or skills are differentiated by phase, this does not limit learning of that content or those skills to that phase: they can be learnt in any other phase in an appropriate way.

PHASE	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	RANGE STATEMENT
S	(1)The sources from which a knowledge of the South African society is constructed are identified.	<u>Source</u> Oral tradition, especially to redress its past neglect in schools (e.g. accounts passed from generation to generation; praise songs, poetry, songs; accounts of myths, legends and natural events; interviews recorded; dance forms) • Contemporary oral sources (e.g. interviews of old people; interviews of people who lived during important events; oral testimony in courts and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission) • Archaeological sources (e.g. fossils; skeletal remains; rock paintings and engravings) • Sources of material culture (e.g. pottery remains; beadwork; iron tools) • Documentary sources (e.g. letters and diaries; government records; newspapers) • Cartographic sources (e.g. maps; aerial photographs; land use surveys; meteorological charts) • Statistical sources (e.g. population census; financial records; opinion surveys). One focus at this level should be on evaluating a wide range of sources and evidence; integrating them to arrive at reasoned judgements; and using them to construct knowledge. Oral sources should be given as much weight as any other sources. The socially constructed nature of knowledge should be discussed.
I		One focus at this level is developing awareness of the wide range of sources available and means of accessing them, with special reference to oral sources. Relevant information processing skills should be developed, as well as skills related to using evidence in arguments.

F		One focus is developing awareness of the wide range of sources available and means of accessing them, with special reference to oral sources. At this level oral histories and traditions from school, family and community must accessed and discussed. In addition artefacts must be extensively used and sites visited.
S	(2) Key features of change over time are critically examined.	Not all the aspects listed in the box below need be taught in all phases; but aspects should be selected ***in a way which preserves the coherence of the whole.*** <u>Key features</u>, to include: • socio-economic relations • forms of state and power relations • forms of social organisation (e.g. hunter-gatherer, herder, farming, colonial (including slavery), industrial) • ideologies and belief systems • levels of inequality (e.g. social / class,individual circumstances) • Period: • Pre-colonial (from earliest hominids), colonial, post colonial, Apartheid, post-Apartheid. <u>Processes of change</u>, to include: • dispossession • repression • resistance and struggle • liberation. The four processes above should provide a framework for dealing with all other processes, including • migration • settlement • co-operation and trade • colonialism • conflict over resources • exploitation of resources (including human resources), especially in relation to minerals and farming • imperialism • nationalism (including African and Afrikaner) • different relations of production (e.g. unfree labour, wage labour, etc.) • formation of states and change in forms of states.

		Key activities in this phase should focus on integrating knowledge and understanding so the learner develops a comprehensive view of major processes such as: colonialism, imperialism, decolonisation and liberation.
I		By the end of this phase the learner should be familiar with major change processes in, and periods of, South African history.
F		In this phase the main focus should be on exploring change processes in a variety of contexts, both familiar and unfamiliar.
S	(3) The interrelationships between South Africa, Africa and the rest of the world are explored.	Particular attention to be paid to Southern Africa. <u>Periods:</u> • to include pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, Apartheid, post-Apartheid, <u>Aspects, to include:</u> • trade and markets • technology (e.g. spread of new technologies such as iron-making) • slavery, colonialism, imperialism, decolonisation, neo-colonialism • ideologies, philosophies and religions • diplomatic and international agreements and organisations (e.g. UNO, SADC, OAU) • relations between less developed and more developed nations • globalisation (e.g. North-South relations, information revolution, entertainment). Key activities in this phase should focus on integrating knowledge and understanding so the learner develops a comprehensive view of major interrelationships between South Africa, Africa and the rest of the world.
I		Particular attention to be paid to Southern Africa. <u>Periods:</u> • to include pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, Apartheid, post-Apartheid, <u>Aspects, to include:</u>

		• trade and markets • technology (e.g. spread of new technologies such as iron-making) • slavery, colonialism, imperialism, decolonisation, neo-colonialism • ideologies, philosophies and religions • diplomatic and international agreements and organisations (e.g. UNO, SADC, OAU) • relations between less developed and more developed nations • globalisation (e.g. North-South relations, information revolution, entertainment). By the end of this phase the learner should be familiar with major kind of relationships between South Africa, Africa and the rest of the world. They must also be aware of the work of major international organisations, such as the UNO.
F		Particular attention to be paid to Southern Africa. <u>Periods:</u> • to include pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, Apartheid, post-Apartheid, <u>Aspects to include:</u> • trade and markets • technology (e.g. spread of new technologies such as iron-making) • slavery, colonialism, imperialism, decolonisation. By the end of this phase the learner should be able to identify major kind of relationships between South Africa, Africa and the rest of the world. They must also be able to identify major international organisations, such as the UNO.
S	(4) The impact of Apartheid on development is analysed by: • acquiring knowledge of the essential features of Apartheid • considering its impact on crucial aspects of South African society.	<u>Scope of impact</u> • local, national, regional(Southern Africa), international • the past, present and future. <u>Impact on areas of social life</u>, including at least four of the following: • political system • sport and recreation

		• education • health • the economy • issues around land ownership and control • homeland system • housing • the environment • spiritual and cultural life • family life and children • women • workers • resistance by individuals, communities and organisations (locally, nationally and internationally). By the end of this phase the learner should be able to show how the impact of Apartheid on development reveals the nature of the system as a whole.
I		The main focus in this phase is to acquire a critical understanding of the basic nature of the Apartheid system and relate this to the everyday lives of ordinary people past and present.
F		Learners should be able to identify essential features of the Apartheid system and its impact on the lives of people past and present.
S	(5) Patterns of continuity and change in post-Apartheid South Africa are analysed.	Patterns of redress and development, related to at least four of the following, or any other significant area of development: • education • housing • health • infrastructure, including electricity, water and transport • employment and careers • the legal system • strategies for redress and development (e.g. RDP) • trade, aid and investment in Southern Africa Problems and possibilities in relation to development, in two of the above areas at local, regional and national level Learners should make informed and reasoned judgements about the factors promoting and obstructing redress and development.

I		Through in-depth studies of particular patterns learners should be able to identify key factors influencing redress and development.
F		The learner, through activities such as role-play, should develop an awareness of the need for redress and development.
S	(6) Relations within and between communities are critically understood.	Note: In at least two phases biographies (family and national or community figures) should be used to explore relationships within and between communities. Main focuses, to include • Issues of unity, diversity and nation building • Policies, practices and attitudes which build identity, community and society, e.g. tolerance, equity, legislation, reconstruction, rehabilitation, positive perceptions of identity, valuing diversity, anti-bias action and conflict resolution • Policies, practices and attitudes *which create division and conflict within and between communities*, e.g. legislation (historically), discrimination and prejudice, exploitation, conflicts over resources, negative perceptions of identity • Commonalities (e.g. same economic system, common past) and diversities (e.g. of culture); groupings and alliances around interests and needs; • Finding diverse solutions to common problems (e.g. shelter, clothing, food, security). Kinds of relations, to include • power relations • socio-economic and class • religious, ideological • political • cultural (e.g. customs, food, dress) • language • "race" relations • gender relations • sexuality • age and disability • close ties with neighbouring countries (e.g. family and educational).

		Types of communities (We all belong to many different communities. Definitions of each of these communities listed here should be problematised and seen as value-laden.) To include those based on: • origin / ethnicity • common experience • location • belief system • work • interests • gender • families and clans • age and disability. A major focus should be on the significance of communities in constructing both personal and national identities. Learners should have an appreciation of the complex nature of communities.
I		Learners must study at least three communities in depth, and arrive at general conclusions about the nature of relations within and between communities.
F		Learners must be able to identify commonalities and differences. In addition they should explore key relationships, within and between a number of communities. A major focus must be on the contribution of each community to national life.

S	(7) Relationships between people and key features of the environment are critically examined by: • acquiring knowledge • identifying and analysing relationships.	<u>Scope</u> • local/community to South Africa to Southern Africa and 'Africa. • Periods should include from pre-colonial times to present, and on to predict the future. <u>Key features</u>, to include • the natural environment (e.g. topography, climate, river and other eco-systems) • the built environment (e.g. infrastructure including transport systems, water and electricity services, rural and urban settlements). <u>Context</u>, to include • exploitation of resources • settlement (e.g. urbanisation) • migration • co-operation and trade • transport • regional inequalities in Southern Africa • organisation of production • political (e.g. pass-laws, resettlement, 'Bantustan" system). An important focus in this phase is developing the ability to evaluate evidence and construct reasoned arguments about major issues: e.g., the location of a new factory or road.
I		By the end of this phase the learner should be familiar with key features of the physical and built environments; and be able to identify and analyse major relationships.
F		Learners should be able to identify key relationships in their immediate environment; as well as links between local and broader environments. E.g., people depend on a river for water and the river is polluted far upstream.

SO 2: DEMONSTRATE A CRITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF PATTERNS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

This outcome compliments SO1. The broad intention is that learners will develop the ability to relate South African patterns of development with those they uncover in a global context. This provides a framework for the development of key concepts such as division of labour. Skills for the recognition and analysis of patterns are essential for effectively processing information.

PHASE	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	RANGE STATEMENTS
S	(1) Key features of a social system are identified by: • acquiring information • defining characteristics • explaining significance.	Note: For this Specific Outcome contemporary as well as past societies should be studied. Too often learners have been taught as if societies in the past do not exist in the present: e.g., as if the San still depend on hunting and gathering. Key features, to include: • Socio-economic relationships (e.g. feudalism, wage labour) • Forms of state and power relations (e.g. slavery, wage labour, self-employment) • Ideologies and belief systems (e.g. colonial state, feudal state, democratic state) • Forms of social organisation (e.g. families, clans) • Levels of inequality (e.g. social classes, individual circumstances) • Division of labour • Production of a surplus. Learners should be able to identify the defining characteristics of particular societies. In doing so, they should be able to construct reasoned arguments about significance, using a range of evidence.
I		Key features of societies should be seen in relation to patterns of development: e.g., changes in transport systems or the organisation of production.
F		The main focus is on being able to identify key features of a range of societies, familiar and unfamiliar; and explain their importance in the lives of people.

S	(2) Types of societies are analysed.	Learners should be aware that the categories used are socially constructed. Types of society, to include: • developed / less developed • feudal • colonial • capitalist • socialist. The learner should understand that societies are dynamic; and that each one is unique although they can fall into broad categories.
I		Learners must be able to relate the defining characteristics of a society (e.g., slavery) to other characteristics (eg., culture).
F		Learners should be able to differentiate between types of societies and identify some major characteristics: e.g., of subsistence farming.
S	(3) Similarities and differences between societies are explored by: • recognition of patterns of similarity and difference • analysis of patterns • recognition of the social construction of patterns.	Main focuses, to include examination of concepts of development, progress, well being and change (*Definitions of value-laden terms such as progress should be problematised*). Scope • between two or more societies between societies at different times (e.g. before and after colonialism). Skills, to include reading and construction of maps, graphs and other techniques for recognising and describing patterns. Learners explore and investigate similarities and differences in order to arrive at an understanding of continuity and change in particular societies.
I		By comparing societies, learners should be able to offer reasoned explanations of why particular changes have occurred in societies.
F		Learners must be able to recognise similarities and differences.
S	(4) Strategies of change and development in society are evaluated by: • identification of strategies and processes • consideration of theories of development where appropriate • analysis of strategies and processes.	Change and development strategies e.g. Green revolution, urban planning, empowering women. Types of impact, at different scales: personal, community and global. At this phase the main focus should be on learners being able to explain the reasons for the success or failure of strategies, and identify the criteria used in the evaluation.

I		At this phase the main focus should be on learners being able to explain the extent to which strategies have succeeded and failed.
F		Learners should be able to demonstrate knowledge of the existence of development strategies and their impact on peoples lives: e.g., electrification schemes.

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