

OUTSMARTING APARTHEID: AN ORAL HISTORY OF UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE, 1960–1999

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ABSTRACT

Outsmarting Apartheid is an oral history of educational and cultural exchange programs conducted by the United States Government with citizens of South Africa during the apartheid period. The 'OA' collection, published in one volume by the University Press of the State University of New York in April of 2014, conveys the stories of those who administered the programs, as well as those who benefitted, during three troubled decades of South African history. The exchanges involved some 2 000–3 000 participants during a dark period of social unrest and institutionalized injustices. Quietly in the background, U.S. diplomats and their South African colleagues bent rules and stretched limits imposed by the apartheid regime. Collectively they played cat-and-mouse games to outsmart the regime through conniving and bravado.

The author's year as executive director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (Arlington, Virginia), 2006–2007, provided a methodology and archiving structure forming the basis of the interviews, conducted over a two-year period in the United States and South Africa.

There was little optimism at the time for South Africa's political or social future during the 1960–1990 period. After Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990 and during his presidency of 1995–1999, the country discovered rich cadres from within, of intellectuals, artists, journalists, scientists, and political leaders prepared to take on the task of constructing the New South Africa. In no small measure, these exchange programs contributed to the quick and sudden realization of suppressed wishes and aspirations for a majority of South Africa's citizens – of all ethnic and racial backgrounds.

Keywords: U.S. Government; apartheid; diplomacy; public diplomacy; training; social transformation

INTRODUCTION

The 1960s–1990s were a Golden Age for public diplomacy of the United States Government, achieving quiet and solid advances for civil society in many countries

in a Cold War context. In the period 1995–1999 I had a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to live and work in South Africa during the Mandela presidency, a period of dramatic transformation. During this four-year period, my admiration grew for those who preceded me in conducting and benefiting from U.S. government-funded exchanges. Their adroit practice of ‘public diplomacy’ in bringing the two countries together through academic and cultural exchange was transformative. I sensed that their stories might fade from memory lest someone assure their survival, so I decided in 2001 to record as many interviews as I could, and anchor these efforts as lessons learned and as valuable instances of oral history.

Through a very lucky break in 2006, I learned an oral history methodology when I became executive director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training in Arlington, Virginia. Under the tutelage of Charles Stuart Kennedy, I mimicked a technique for interviewing individuals so as to get a full picture of their backgrounds and achievements. Kennedy refined his trial-and-error approach over a 30-year period interviewing retired U.S. Foreign Service Officers. More than 1 600 transcripts of the Frontline Diplomacy collection he initiated are fully accessible to the public on the site of the U.S. Library of Congress, American Memory collection, and also at the website of the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training.¹

After twenty years of trial and error, Charles Stuart Kennedy wrote a brief document sketching his personal methodology of oral interviews: ‘The strength of the Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection is its thoroughness; the average interview runs about ten hours, done in two-hour sessions. The interviewers are themselves retired senior Foreign Service officers, who know the subject matter and are able to elicit frank accounts of diplomatic and bureaucratic life.’

The ‘Kennedy Methodology’ requires close attention to individuals’ personal narratives, while showing an ability to set these stories in the context of United State foreign policy. The process embeds a loose structure based on general knowledge of the context of the interviewee’s professional and personal background, while allowing liberal departures in the interview process in order to capture the spontaneity and sometimes undetected jewels in the individual’s narrative. A Kennedy interview is more a free conversation than a set of prescribed questions aiming for specific interview outcomes. The results yield valuable anecdotes which could otherwise be lost in a more ‘structured’ interview process.

Putting together my sense of the urgency of getting the stories of U.S.-South Africa exchanges during the apartheid period, and the tools and methods I learned at ADST, I ventured out in 2009 to get as many interviews as I could from every facet of South African society, and of some Americans who get credit for keeping a flame of hope alive during a dark period of South Africa’s history. I kept at it for a couple of years.

Veteran diplomat Bob Gosende got me in the door with SUNY press. Shortening these compelling stories was painful, but with the help of Foreign Service Officer Kari Jaksa, I was able to make the difficult cuts reducing a couple of thousand pages into 400 for publication.

I first met South African visitors to the United States in the summer of 1978. As interpreter for francophone Africans visiting the United States with Operation Crossroads Africa, I found them mixed in with groups of young African leaders brought in from 20–30 countries at a time.

Traveling across the wilds of northern New Jersey from JFK airport to the Princeton campus for orientation, one collared South African clergyman made quick eye contact with me in the airport shuttle and undertook to explain his bizarre country: ‘Brother!’ he said with deep belly laughs. ‘You can’t imagine how strange my country is. So strange, that the penalty for a black man sleeping with a white woman is a year in prison!’

I knew apartheid South Africa had peculiar rules and restrictions, but wasn’t yet versed in the particulars.

‘Well, Brother, let me tell you’, the clergyman continued, ‘It was worth it, every minute of it!’ He laughed even harder.

There was something exceptional about the South African visitors to the United States in the 1970s and 80s – most but not all of them ‘black’ and ‘colored’, to use the South African nomenclature. Cloistered but worldly, committed to social and political changes that seemed unlikely at the time, they persevered through minefields of distrust laid by Africans of other Sub-Saharan countries. Surely, if they were allowed by the apartheid regime to travel to international fora, they must be stooges, or worse: spies.

I attended the tense and arduous, hastily arranged meetings long into the night in the Princeton dorms. I tried to keep a neutral tone since as French interpreter, I was the uninvited but necessary guest to get the messages across. I tried to convey them without interpretative body language or innuendo, as Malians, Nigerians, Ivoirians, Liberians, and others subjected South Africans to harsh scrutiny. Opponents at home to their own system at personal risk and cost, the South Africans weathered the suspicions of the others, in tranquil Princeton, that they were in fact the regime’s patsies. Eventually they gained the others’ trust. It wasn’t easy.

Profound change in South Africa was imminent, but no one knew it then. Coinciding in time with events and efforts that corroded communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe to the breaking point, similar patterns played out in South Africa. Along with others, the United States Embassy pushed the envelope of transformation, hastening a painful process and short-circuiting the violence everyone expected. U.S. diplomats and their South African local employees in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, and Pretoria engaged daily in brinksmanship with police, ministry officials, and educators of the apartheid regime. They managed to get ‘majority’ South African students and professionals to the United States in significant numbers, cracking open the seemingly unshakable clouded glass ceilings. In effect they outsmarted apartheid every day for a twenty-year period.

The work of U.S. officials and their employees during that period richly deserves recognition for their contribution to the outcome two decades later. Their story is largely untold outside their own circles. *Outsmarting Apartheid* gives voice to a number of the witnesses: officials, local employees, and South African ‘grantees’ of all races who made

it to the United States during turbulent times and later took up the reins of leadership in the new South Africa of the 1990s.

The U.S. Embassy staff – Americans and South Africans – engaged local publics of all stripes and identified South Africa’s likely future leaders. They visited townships ‘illegally’, testing the limits and bending the rules of diplomatic engagement. The Fulbright, Humphrey, and International Visitors’ programs spirited out perhaps 2 000 to 3 000 individuals from South Africa’s majority and other communities, broadening their horizons and preparing them for the leadership roles they would eventually inherit.

The work required tact and skill. The regime resisted allowing travel for many of those chosen for exchanges and sought to impose limits on their contacts with the outside. The USIS staff meanwhile went ahead making travel arrangements. Seeking to avoid deeper pariah status, the regime often ‘blinked’, and allowed USIS programs to proceed over the impediments they’d established through exit visas, police monitoring, and sometimes prison.

Apartheid adversely affected all social and ethnic groups, including the supposed beneficiaries. This is not to say that all suffered equally.

Soft power served in South Africa, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere to energize and empower future leaders, while tempering the perceptions of previous and incumbent leaders. When unexpected changes opened in the society – especially after Nelson Mandela’s dramatic release from prison in February 1990 – the cadres were already formed and ready to take up the reins of political, economic, and social direction of the country.

The content from these interviews holds a mirror to South Africa’s recent past, present, and future. It also evokes unlikely achievements of bold individuals who did ‘public diplomacy’ before it even had the name. Their tales show U.S. diplomacy at its most effective. Close parallels exist with the work of U.S. embassies in Eastern Europe in the two decades before the dramatic transitions there.

American officials and their South African colleagues sustained patient, even plodding efforts, cat-and-mouse games, improved South Africa’s human condition by drawing on modest resources combined with rich grey matter and stamina. Pride and honor to those on the ground who ran these programs during their country’s darkest times.

The Outsmarting Apartheid collection, published by SUNY and available on the website of the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training, is divided into five sections:

Arts

The five interviews here touch on music, poetry, theater, and dance and contain a tale of diplomacy’s role in breaking the cultural boycott against the country. The speakers span skin pigments, genders, and nationalities. They include Franklin Larey, pianist; Sindiwe

Magone, poet; Malcolm Purkey, theater director; Adrienne Sichel, arts critic, Brooks Spector, U.S. cultural envoy.

Education

South Africans touched by United States academics later emerged as a core of the New South Africa's leadership structure. Interviewees include Professor David Coplan, teacher Mary Beth Gosende, (the late) U.S. Embassy Cultural Assistant Gill Jacot Guillarmod, Fulbright Commission Director Monica Joyi, Professor Edna van Harte, education advisor Carol Wilson.

Law and parliament

The apartheid system had a flourishing legal system and a sophisticated version of something called 'Dutch Roman' law, similar to Continental Europe's codified system. It was often used to undermine, not protect, individual liberties.

In these interviews, we see current South African structures of prosecution, defense, private practice, magistrature, and, in two cases, MPs. They include Judge Siraj Desai, prosecutor Willem Heath, former political officer Steve McDonald, journalist and MP Sejamothopo Motau, (the late) advocate Dan Nesor and (the late) civil rights activist Jenny Nesor, public defender Eshaam Palmer.

Public service

These interviewees bridged the ramparts, averted and outsmarted the system, and employed cleverness put to the cause of social transformation. The six are U.S. embassy employee Sheila Goodgall, U.S. diplomat Bob Gosende, Cape Town consulate cultural advisor Frank Sassman, Pretoria cultural advisor Klaas Skosana. The late Jerry Vogel served as president of Operation Crossroads Africa during its heyday in the 1970s and 1980s.

Science and research

The rigors of science, too, incorporated social change in the New South Africa. Demographic shifts changed the face and character of research benefiting global citizens. Participants include medical doctor Gilbert Lawrence; scientist and teacher Shirley Motaung, and Karel Nel, artist, collector and scientist.

Social engagement and community empowerment

Social engagement, the trellis of a climbing vine, withers after the growth is achieved, yet its construction permits the growth to occur. Social change and community empowerment form the enabling environment to transform theory to realization.

Represented here are U.S. diplomat's spouse Bonnie Brown, Ambassador Tim Carney, social worker Victor Daniels, cultural officer Bob Heath, city manager Wallace Mgoqi, social reformer Virginia Petersen, spouse Ruth Spector.

A couple of excerpts from the SUNY book form of the interviews follow – one from a U.S. diplomat, the other from a South African who worked at the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria during the Mandela period:

INTERVIEW WITH U.S. CULTURAL ENVOY J. BROOKS SPECTOR²

Spector: January '75. The plane landed in Johannesburg at the old Jan Smuts Airport. It landed around midnight. I had been in the air for about 28 hours. I was sort of past caring where I was. If the plane had landed in Antarctica, I would have said, 'Fine, that's enough. I have had it.' I was taken to the house I was going to live in, in the middle of the night, by two FSNs who just dropped me there. I was so tired that even that didn't seem extraordinary. I sort of vaguely unpacked, found the bed, and went to sleep.

In true South African fashion, I woke up, put my hands out for the night table to find my glasses, and I put my hand in a cup of hot coffee, which had been placed there by the housekeeper who worked in that house. I had heard all the tales about South Africa, and I was reasonably well attuned to what I thought to be the social circumstances. I would be lying if I didn't say my first thought was that the social circumstances in South Africa, the political regime, would be extraordinarily different if all the housekeepers were doing that all over the country, bringing in a cup of coffee or tea the first thing in the morning while you were [still] asleep [in bed] – if they didn't rise up and do away with all the oppressors.

Because that does not happen or did not happen, it forced me almost immediately to start thinking, 'This is a more complicated place than I thought. This is not simple straightforward good guys, bad guys, end of story, finished.' The dynamic of the place had some subtleties that I wasn't ready for. That is not an apology for anything; it is just that little things like this cup of coffee – brought to you unseen – make you reexamine what you think you know about a place.

[Over a 14-month period in 1991–1992, Spector negotiated the visit of the Dance Theater of Harlem, in effect breaking the cultural boycott imposed on South Africa.]

Spector: Why the Dance Theatre of Harlem? It was an iconic American performing group. It had its origins in the civil rights struggle and precisely the death of Martin Luther King. Arthur Mitchell, who was the co-founder and artistic director,

had broken the racial barriers of the New York City Ballet in Balanchine's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the late '50s, early '60s. Perhaps 1962.

Okay, now that is the easy part. Who is going to pay for this? It ended up costing about \$600,000 in 1992, so that was a lot of money. Dr. Ivan May was the group manager for this kind of thing at Nedbank. Now Ivan and I we put our heads together and he says, 'Well, maybe the bank can be persuaded to do this. But they have to be persuaded that A, there's a place to perform it, B, it is not going to rebound politically to our deep distress, and C, the changing nature of this country is going to be well represented in the way this is put together.' Now we have yet to talk to the Dance Theatre of Harlem about this.

DW: *You are asking a mixed race group in New York virtually to break a de facto cultural boycott.*

Spector: The iconic high art, primarily African American cultural group in America with a national and international profile. Truly if you mess it up it is banner headline in the New York Times. This goes bad, they have trouble. All of their fans, in fact the entirety of black America for all I know, will rise up and be upset.

DW: *Those who are politically involved in the boycott might expect bad behavior of the embassy, but hold the Dance Theatre of Harlem to the highest cultural standards.*

Spector: Correct. So we ask a friend if he could intercede with the company manager and Arthur Mitchell to at least entertain the question. If we can get all the things right, would they be interested, do they have time in their schedule next year to make the trip? Now the next question is, who in the world is going to be the sponsor for this? Now just visualize. This is like a large game of 'Whack-a-Mole' because every time you get one thing solved, something else goes haywire. Who could possibly sponsor such a thing? Well, there is really only one institution in the country that you can go to for this, and that is the Market Theatre.

So we go now across the street effectively to the City of Johannesburg, which has the Civic Theatre, which has been under renovation and reconstruction for five years in a curiously mismanaged process. Now up until they closed, although it wasn't absolutely segregated, it was effectively so. Nobody in the leading edge of the cultural movements wanted to have anything to do with the thing. Curiously the Civic Theatre was having major problems. They wanted to open soon, early 1992 or '93. But they have no show they can put on, because *Les Miz* and Cameron Mackintosh just told them, 'I have been deluged by telegrams. I have received letters and phone calls from cultural groups around the world and especially within South Africa telling me, 'Don't do it,' so I won't.'

So now they don't have *Les Miz*. They have nothing. And they are going to open. They decide at their board meeting that maybe they will just go with

a variety show, which is kind of dumb, to open their brand new renovated theater. It is going to be ready three months after the Dance Theatre of Harlem is available to come. So Christopher Till, who was then director for arts and culture for the City of Johannesburg, takes it upon himself because he has now got religion on this too. He goes and gets the city to revise the renovation schedule. They all work 24 hours a day to advance it so that it will be ready in September, just minutes before the company schedule looks like it would happen.

He gets the money from the city. I don't know who he beat up to get it. Eventually they commit themselves to paying for it. The cultural groups have now gotten wind of it locally, and 'The Civic Theatre? What are you people, crazy?' The Civic Theatre is part of the old regime. So we have to cut a deal with all of the cultural groups supportive of the boycott that there will be an interim new management committee of the new Civic Theatre to which they get to appoint a majority of the members. Now the board of the Civic Theatre is up in arms over this, that this is a bunch of old greybeards from the city and just taking away their candy store, let alone their candy.

So there we are. Now I start having routine lunches with Barbara Masekela, who is the speaker for arts and culture for the ANC. I am having a lunch with her as often as I can possibly arrange it, because she has just given a speech at the Grahamstown National Arts Festival indicating a new willingness on the part of the ANC that change is beginning to come, to be flexible within certain limits, and to support certain kinds of programs as long as they are consistent with the greater goal of national liberation.

I was in the position of giving them, 'Here is a real live honest-to-goodness concrete example. Now what are you going to do?' After a while, I finally get the gold standard. I get a letter from Nelson Mandela saying, 'We support this. This is the right thing to do now.'

Ah, but there is still yet another wrinkle. Unless the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid says it is okay... 'Whack-a-Mole' is the right image because every time I get something nailed down, something else becomes unglued a little bit.

DW: *Well the suspense builds. Then what?*

Spector: There is a meeting at the UN between the Dance Theatre of Harlem representatives and the UN committee, and they succeed in convincing the UN that this is an okay plan. The bank then comes forward and says, 'We are into it for X amount of dollars.' The city, in the meantime, has managed to get the Civic Theatre renovation rescheduled so that it is ready on September 10, through who knows how many dust-ups. The Market Theatre officially signs on as the sponsor of record, putting their neck in the noose because they are signing a binding document saying they are supporting this and the money will show up; don't worry. There is no U.S. government money in any of this.

You have to give the dance group enormous credit for taking the risk because this thing might still have gone badly even after they arrived.

The Dance Theatre of Harlem advance team shows up in August [1992], and my only problem is that I have to be transferred back to Washington because my tour is over. I have kids that have to go to school and all the rest of this. We can't just hang around. So I am there for the advance team from the theater. I am there for the arrival of Arthur Mitchell. But I miss the opening night by four days.

DW: *It is very frustrating to not see the fruits of your labors.*

Spector: Yeah, in one sense it is. I was so pleased that it actually happened that one little tiny corner of me was saying, 'Boy am I glad you will be out of here when it goes to hell in a hand basket.'

I was disappointed, but I was so profoundly pleased that it went off almost without a hitch. The end result was that almost 11,000 people came to a month's worth of performances. 25,000 people participated in master classes, workshops, lectures, and meetings. You just had to be happy that it all worked.

You know, you figure you earned everything you got because the ANC bought one night as a special commemorative gala. Mandela was quoted as saying, 'At least for one night, I have forgotten all of my troubles.'

INTERVIEW WITH KLAAS SKOSANA, U.S. EMBASSY³ –

Skosana: If there is any one thing that I brought back from my visit of the United States, it was to just be aware of the possibilities. When I went to the U.S., I had no clue of what a foreign country and a wealthy country looked like. I was mesmerized by the metro system, the subway. I had never seen it in my life. You know the subway and how it works and all that. I had never flown for 13.5 hours in a plane. The slogan for South Africa right now is 'Alive with possibilities.' That is the slogan the country uses to market itself internationally. But what I learned when I was in the United States was the possibilities and what was possible in this world.

I went to the Martin Luther King museum and then I saw his shoes. I concluded that his shoe size was smaller than mine; my feet are bigger than his actually. But he made the greatest impact in the world through his ideas, and I was greatly motivated. Then I went to the Jimmy Carter Center and read about his involvement in the Middle East peace process. I then remembered my international relations studies at Wits University.

I was humbled by the Carter Center. I was humbled by the simplicity. I saw a picture of Jimmy Carter wearing a cardigan, and he was sitting with some people, on an African camp with a fire. I thought, 'You know what? We take our blessings for granted, and we should be living our lives with an attitude of gratitude all the time and know that all people of this world elevate

us to higher pedestals. We are also capable of coming down to the very level of where poverty stricken people are. When we are higher, we must not be oblivious to the plight of the people.'

DW: *Let's go back chronologically, back to 1994, when you joined USIS at the U.S Embassy in Pretoria. Tell me some of the things you did there, and something about your work with the Gore-Mbeki Binational Commission starting a year later.*

Skosana: I didn't understand why the U.S was involved in this thing until we had an exhibition—it related to the Black History Month—which was called *Song of My People*. It was a photographic exhibition and I said, 'This does change your attitude, when you look at the pictures of a black American lady giving birth to her child, and her husband crying because he had never witnessed a child's birth.' So whether he thought his wife was dying or what, the nerve was flashing over his head in the picture watching his wife giving birth and he was crying. It had a great impact.

The embassy did a very good job of talking to people. Once we got them in the workshops for conflict resolution, for negotiations, when there were points of disputes between students and university administrators who were predominately white, black students would just burn the tires and trash the campuses, all of that. But the idea of USIS was to teach them negotiation skills as well. When black students were protesting about accommodations, the white students were complaining about lack of enough parking on campus. They were just in opposite directions. I mean, the white student is worried about where to park his car, but we don't even have cars, let alone accommodations.

These were indeed future leaders. It was interesting to listen to them on the issues, because the struggle which we were facing in the country was not only the struggle for accommodation and exclusion, but we were also using universities as terrains for political struggle. So it was not only about university issues, but it was also about the emancipation of the country as a whole.

David Makhura was one of the people we sent to the United States. He is now the provincial secretary for the African National Congress in Gauteng. Very soon he will be the premier of the province. Once he is the premier of the province, he may end up being the president of this country because he was in the education department of the ANC during his student days. Now he is in the movement and in the limelight, growing as a politician for the past 20 years.

Some people that were involved in the drafting of South African laws were sent to the University of Delaware to do the legislation-drafting process. And they came back, and there were statistics of the speed at which the laws in South Africa had to change.

South Africans needed to learn, and learn very fast. Through the Gore-Mbeki Binational Commission, they needed to go and study people. Go to

Wisconsin, and see how the city there was run, and how they could then translate their learning from there to say, running the city of Cape Town or the city of Jo'burg or the city of Tshwane.

It was a big project, and what it did for me personally is that I was able to use my generalist skills to negotiate with the South African government people when I was working on programs on which the U.S and South Africa could collaborate. I think the Americans benefited from the exposure to the South African situation because there were professors that were working with universities. At one point, the deans of the universities from South Africa visited the United States, and people from the United States came to South Africa.

DW: *Do you have any comment about the various programs such as Fulbright, Humphrey, Citizen Exchange, the art expeditions that you referred to?*

Skosana: The people that participated in these programs, many of them came back to contribute quite immensely. I saw a list of people that I sent to the United States and what positions they are occupying today, and I think they all have positive things to say about what they have seen in the U.S. You take what you can take from a country. You cannot focus on everything about a country, but fix your brain on a few aspects, and you will remember them forever, like the things I shared with you earlier. I think that intervention of the United States was commendable, and it did, in many ways, 'outsmart' apartheid because it exposed people to various perspectives.

DW: *Was it a tactical mistake for the apartheid regime to even permit these programs?*

Skosana: Yes. The apartheid experiment, I just believe that it was unworkable from the get-go. How do you give people two types of education systems, for people living in the same society? How do you say, 'You shall not be my neighbor, but you shall cook my food, and not use my plate or utensils to eat?' It just does not work. You are saying, 'You are subhuman. You are dirty,' but you are also saying, 'Come wash my clothes, come clean my house, or come look after my kids when I am not there. But don't be my neighbor, don't live next to me and don't get the same education as myself. When you drink coffee, do not use my cup.' But you are saying, 'Prepare a cup of tea for me.' You are just stupefying yourself.

It was once said that our Bantu education was made for us to be better tools for whites. But when you look at it, how do you expect me to help you when you don't give me enough education to be able to help you? I think they made a mistake all the way; or rather, not a mistake: what they did was unworkable. It was just a matter of time for it to collapse. How do you expose me to some kind of education, and say, 'Read this book, not a book about democracy, but about culture? Because if you read about democracy, it might be a little clever.' How do you control my access to the library? Because I will

read about Martin Luther King. I mean, the person that influenced Mandela, for example, was Jawaharlal Nehru, the politician, and look where he comes from and where he was raised, like Mahatma Gandhi. Mandela was influenced by somebody that was not from South Africa. He read about him. He did not meet him or see him.

It is these ideas that shape our world views, and the U.S. has indeed contributed to the way I view things, from studying the work of Francis Fukuyama, Henry Kissinger, visiting the Martin Luther King Center, Emory University, George Washington University, visiting the Jimmy Carter Center and just seeing the humility of a former president in addressing social issues in the world. I mean, it shapes your world. So the next time you hear the leader coming out of Africa leading the South African society into the next century or whatever, all of those ideas will be calculating in my brain, for me personally.

Talking about the country's future, I believe that South Africans as a nation are very ambitious people. We have had apartheid, and also good things, life, and progress. We believe in ourselves and we do not like failing; we always want to win. Sometimes we are very impatient with our own progress; we think we are moving too slowly. We are very positive people, full of passion and energy, and I think that if the collective mood can be circulated to individual performances, we can go much further.

[Here end two extracts from the printed version of the *Outsmarting Apartheid* collection, reprinted with kind permission of SUNY press, Albany, New York.]

Outsmarting Apartheid was released in April of 2014. It draws on an oral history methodology developed at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training team in Virginia. It conveys individual voices and stories from a cross section of a highly divided society which has since made advances in coalescing socially and politically, if not entirely economically. The refrain of the collection seems summed up in one interviewee's comment which seemed to speak for all: 'When I arrived at Kennedy airport, I saw that everything is possible.'

For further information on *Outsmarting Apartheid*, kindly contact Dan Whitman at Dwhitman89@yahoo.com

ENDNOTES

- 1 Association for diplomatic studies and training. 2014. Retrieved from www.adst.org (accessed 15 December 2014).
- 2 U.S. Cultural Envoy, Johannesburg 1975-76, Pretoria 1989-92, Johannesburg 2001-2003.
- 3 Cultural Assistant, U.S. Embassy Pretoria, 1994-1999.

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