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ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit is designed for secondary students in twentieth-century history and peace studies. The unit contains three activities from which students gain a better understanding of the dimensions of apartheid in South Africa. The activities are entitled: (1) "Racial Separation," an activity that gives students the opportunity to identify and research three distinct levels of social separation practiced in South Africa--"petty apartheid," "urban segregation," and "grand apartheid"; (2) "Images of Defiance," an activity where students are shown samples of Soweto Day posters and are asked to design and produce their own student protest posters; and (3) "South Africa: Free at Last!" an activity where students read an article concerning the triumph and challenges of South Africa's new multiracial government and then respond to questions. (EH)

Curriculum Module
"THE APARTHEID STRUGGLE"

Shelley Wilkes, Atlantic High School

Standard social studies curriculum content areas that these activities relate to: **twentieth-century history and peace studies.**

Racial Separation

Introduction: **This activity will give students the opportunity to identify and research the 3 distinct levels of racial separation practiced in South Africa under the apartheid system.**

Activity: **Assign groups to search for examples of:**

1) **"petty apartheid"** (social segregation) examples: *separate recreational facilities, transport, and churches*
2) **urban segregation** (Group Areas Act-sought to segregate place of residence and commerce. South African cities were redesigned as non-whites were moved out of the urban centres to leave zones for whites) examples: *District Six [Cape Town] and Cato Manor [Durban]*
3) **"grand apartheid"** (the forced resettlement and restriction of blacks to the new homelands, thereby, excluding the majority of the population from South Africa's political process) homelands: *Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele, Qwaqwa, Kangwane, Transkei, and Venda.*

Ask students to report their findings in a classroom presentation.

Sources:

Christopher, A.J. The Atlas of Apartheid. New York: Witwaterstrand University Press, 1994.

District Six. Capetown: SA National Gallery, 1995.

KWA MUHLE MUSEUM (pamphlet) Durban.

Images of Defiance

Introduction: **Posters are a powerful way of conveying information, provided they are simple and to the point. Throughout the decade of the 1980s, posters in South Africa played a crucial role in expressing the demands and beliefs of communities suffering under apartheid.**

Background: **On 16 June 1976 secondary school students of Soweto decided that they would not submit to the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. They had also had enough of racist and inferior education. Under the banner of the "Action Committee" of the South African Students Movement (SASM) pupils organized a protest march. Groups from the different Soweto schools gathered and moved towards Orlando stadium to hold a mass meeting. Units of South African Police moved in swiftly, firing live ammunition. This protest and the resulting deaths marked the beginning of an uprising which spread rapidly throughout South Africa; hundreds of school students were killed. Education had become a terrain of violence, and has remained so.**

Activity: **Students will be shown samples of Soweto Day posters then will be asked to design and produce their own student protest posters.**

Education: *Each one, teach one. . .*
By 1985, 16 June had become a *de facto* public holiday, reluctantly called Soweto Day by the white establishment, and officially proclaimed South African Youth Day by the liberation movement inside and outside the country. The posters of the 1980s continually affirm the significance of this day for students and youth throughout the country.

Samples: 1984: The Alexander Youth Congress held a printing workshop at its annual general meeting; one of the posters produced marked the death of Hector Peterson, the first person to die in the Soweto uprising in 1976.

1985: Paying homage to the struggle of 16 June and celebrating organization and unity under the banner of the UDF (United Democratic Front).

1985: The call for a democratic education system.

1985: Namibian students demand an end to Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at schools.

1985: NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) campaign poster quotes Hitler as a comment on South Africa.

1986: The UDF commemorated the tenth anniversary of Soweto Day, 16 June, when Soweto students rose up against bantu education and the system of apartheid.

1986: NUSAS notes that there is nothing to celebrate after 25 years of a white racist republic.

1986: English, Afrikaans and Xhosa poster recalls the significance of 16 June.

1987: Announcing a NUSAS national campaign.

1987: A joint UDF and COSATU (Congress of South African Students) stayaway on 16 June commemorates the death of Hector Peterson and others in 1976.

Source: Images of Defiance: South African resistance posters of the 1980s. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1991.

90 1986. The UDF commemorates the tenth anniversary of Soweto Day, 16 June, when Soweto students rose up against bantu education and the system of apartheid.
Offset litho poster produced by STP for the UDF, Transvaal
Black, red and yellow

South Africa: Free at Last!

Introduction: **From April 26 to 28, 1994, millions of voters lined up at the polls to vote in South Africa's first all-race election. On May 2, 1994, Nelson Mandela claimed victory. The death of apartheid marked one of the most stunning high points of 1994.**

Activity: **Students will read "South Africa: Free at Last!" (an article concerning the triumph and challenges of South Africa's new multiracial government) then respond to the questions that follow.**

Source: Knauer, Kelly, editor. Annual Update. Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1995.

■ South Africa

Free at Last!

"Today is a day like no other day before it. Voting in our first free and fair election has begun. Today marks the dawn of our freedom." With these words, Nelson Mandela—the symbol of black South African liberty—announced the beginning of South Africa's first all-race election. From April 26 to 28, millions of voters lined up at the polls. On May 2, with two-thirds of the votes tallied, Mandela proclaimed victory. As he danced onstage to accept the presidency, Mandela urged followers to shout a single phrase from the rooftops: "Free at last!"

The death of apartheid, the legalized separation of races, marked one of the most stunning high points of 1994. But even Mandela worried about a postelection "hangover," the letdown when some expectations go unfulfilled. The triumph and challenges of South Africa's new multiracial government form the subject of this article.

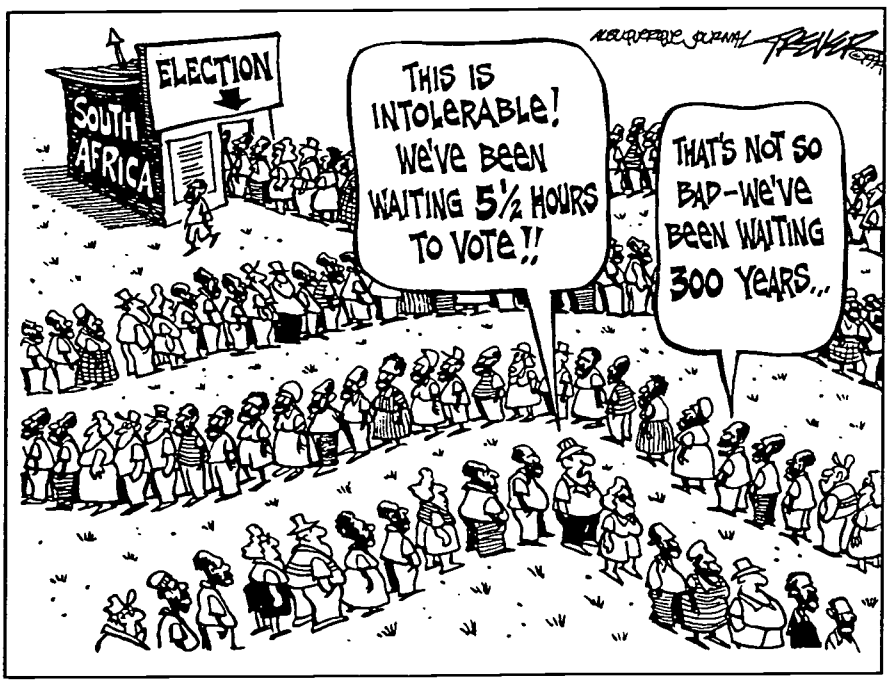
When history delivers something that looks like a miracle (the fall of the Berlin Wall, for example, or the collapse of Soviet communism), the mind experiences a kind of electricity, the thrill of beginning, of seeing a new world. That was what it felt like to watch South Africa in May of 1994. Here was a spectacle of true transformation.

For the first time, South Africans of all races were citizens. Apartheid was gone, reduced to rubble, as if in one of those slow-motion demolitions that bring down obsolete monstrosities to make way for new construction. Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for 27 years by the white regime for his staunch advocacy of equal rights for all South Africans, was elected the first black President of his country.

A First Vote. White-haired, bearded Cronje Tshaka is older than the 82-year-old African National Congress (A.N.C.). Now he has outlived apartheid. Clutching his identity book in one hand and his cane in the other, Tshaka, 95, waited patiently in line to vote—like all South Africa's black citizens, for the first time in his life. He shook off offers of help, walking unsteadily but unaided into the polling station in Guguletu, one of the toughest and grimiest of the black townships around Cape Town. Minutes later he emerged, beaming. "I never thought I would see this day," he said.

Those very words echoed in millions of minds across South Africa during one memorable week in the spring. In a series of astonishing episodes, beginning with all-race voting from the Limpopo to the Cape of Good Hope, the old South Africa of segregation and oppression peacefully dissolved itself and re-emerged tentatively as a hopeful, newly democratic nation. On Wednesday the 27th at 12:01 a.m., the old order formally ended, as cheering crowds in the nine new provincial capitals hailed the lowering of apartheid's blue-white-and-orange flag and the raising of a banner with six colors symbolizing the people, their blood, their land, the gold under the ground, the sky—and white for peace.

United We Stand. At the same moment, the country became whole again. Abolished were the 10 black homelands, including four that had pretended to independence, designed by apartheid archi-



Three out of four voters in South Africa's first all-race election were newly enfranchised blacks. How does this cartoon illustrate the effect of decades of racial inequality in South Africa?

"Economically and socially we still suffer under apartheid." So said black South African journalist Yazeed Fakier in early 1994. The effects of nearly 50 years of discrimination still cast a shadow over South Africa's blacks. Today, even as more blacks enter the professional ranks, the vast majority of urban blacks continue to live in tiny houses, packed sardine-like into sprawling townships such as Soweto (above). More than 80% of these homes have no electricity. What problems do you think the legacy of apartheid will create for Nelson Mandela's government?

tects as places of exile for surplus people with black skin. The armed services became the South African National Defense Force, and would begin to absorb former enemies from guerrilla armies like the A.N.C.'s Spear of the Nation.

Most surprising of all in this string of surprises was the unexpected last-minute cooperation of Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose Inkatha Freedom Party had threatened to boycott the election. Only seven days before the polls were to open, the Zulu leader suddenly announced he had "decided to make compromises to avoid a great deal more bloodshed and carnage." He dropped his demand for an autonomous province that he could dominate and settled for constitutional recognition of the Zulu kingdom. The Zulus' participation in the election, claimed a jubilant Nelson Mandela, "is a leap forward for peace." More than 20,000 citizens had died in the previous 10 years in South Africa, most of them not in the tensions between black and white, but in the rivalry between Inkatha and the A.N.C.

Fury on the Right. Extremist whites did not follow the Zulus' lead. A group of bloody-minded white rightists tried—and failed—to disrupt the process of change. In the last few weeks before the election, they launched a campaign of small bombings against railways, power lines and A.N.C. offices in the conservative farm region west of Johannesburg. Then, as the election drew closer, they detonated powerful car bombs in downtown Johannesburg, in neighboring Germistown and at the international airport, killing a total of 21 people and injuring more than 150. By the end of the week the police had rounded up 34 suspects, all members of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

Voters, especially blacks eager to embrace the day of their liberation, were not deterred. The election, astonishingly peaceful, succeeded beyond all expectations. Lines of determined voters stretched a mile and more at polling places. Many polls opened hours late or ran out of ballots or the invisible ink used to mark the hands of those who had already made their choice.

The ballots, printed weeks before, did not include the late-entering Inkatha Freedom Party, and had to be updated with paste-on stickers; to further ensure fairness Chief Buthelezi demanded a fourth day of voting. While exasperated thousands waited, election workers gave puzzled first-timers impromptu lessons in how to mark a ballot. Mandela said some of the ballot shortages looked like outright "sab-

TIME TABLE: THE DOING–AND UNDOING–OF APARTHEID

1652	Dutch East India Company establishes first white settlement on what is now the Cape of Good Hope.
1806	British seize "Cape Colony" from Dutch.
1836	Dutch farmers (Boers) organize "Great Trek" north into Zulu and Xhosa lands.
1850s	Boers establish two independent republics—the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.
1879	Diamonds discovered in the Transvaal.
1886	Gold discovered in the Transvaal.
1899–1902	British defeat Boers in Anglo-Boer War.
1910	British establish Union of South Africa.
1912	Black South Africans organize African National Congress (A.N.C.).
1923	Blacks prohibited from living in towns unless whites require their service.
1934	Union of South Africa becomes a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth.
1948	Afrikaner Nationalist Party takes control of government; legal apartheid begins.
1950	Groups Area Act is passed, dividing 13.7 % of South Africa's land into "homelands" (bantustans) for the black population.
1955	More than 3,000 South African delegates attend a "Congress of the People"; delegates unanimously adopt "The Freedom Charter," protesting apartheid.
1956	Organizers of Congress of the People arrested and tried for treason.
1960	A.N.C. is banned; Sharpeville Massacre occurs.
1961	South Africa severs ties with Great Britain over the issue of apartheid; A.N.C. forms a guerrilla wing.
1964	Nelson Mandela and seven other A.N.C. leaders receive life sentences.
1970	South Africa expelled from Olympics for its all-white team.
1976	Unarmed student protesters and police clash in black township of Soweto.
1977	Black Consciousness Movement forms; Stephen Biko, leader of the movement, is beaten to death allegedly by police.
1978	P.W. Botha implements gradual reforms of apartheid.
1984	Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu wins Nobel Peace Prize for efforts in bringing about a nonviolent end to apartheid.
1986	Black uprisings lead South African government to declare state of emergency; Western nations announce boycott of South Africa until apartheid is lifted.
1989	Botha resigns, and F.W. de Klerk becomes Prime Minister.
1990	De Klerk lifts 30-year ban on A.N.C. and frees Mandela.
1991	South Africa readmitted for Olympic competition.
1993	De Klerk and Mandela share Nobel Peace Prize; De Klerk agrees to South Africa's first all-race election.
1994	Zulu leaders threaten to boycott South Africa's first all-race election; violence erupts between Zulu protesters and A.N.C.
1994	Zulus agree to participate in election; Mandela elected first President of new South Africa; homelands abolished.

otage," and he too called for another day of polling. At last the election officials requested and got a one-day extension of the voting in several parts of the country.

Neither the terrorists' bombs nor the confusing logistical snarls had a significant effect on the voters' turnout or their enthusiasm. Unsurprisingly, Mandela's party won by a large margin, and the new President quickly named a coalition Cabinet that included key members of all parties.

Heritage of Hatred. The surprise was not that the election was carried out peacefully, but that it happened at all. Here was a white government, still with a monopoly grip on political power, handing over control of the country to the black majority it had held in servitude for 300 years. It was an event without historical precedent in the days of sweeping decolonization in Africa three decades before, or even in 1980 when the former British colony of Rhodesia became Zimbabwe—because 5 million former rulers are not leaving.

South Africa's whites had methodically segregated blacks, paid them a pittance, ignored their housing and barely pretended to educate them. Blacks were not second-class citizens, but third or fourth class. Yet after a relatively short period of negotiations between President F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, the whites stepped back and passed the government to that eager but ill-prepared majority.

TIME Capsule: NELSON MANDELA: A BIOGRAPHY

THE LEADER

"Nelson Mandela's talent for leadership traces back to his tribal heritage as the son of a royal family of the Thembu tribe of the Zhosa people. After earning a law degree from the University of the Witwatersrand, he joined the African National Congress. With classmate Oliver Tambo, he set up the first black law practice in South Africa in 1952. Defiantly working from a whites-only downtown neighborhood, they specialized in representing blacks who failed to carry the passes that were required of blacks in white neighborhoods.

Mandela and Tambo helped form the Youth League in 1944, and three years later set up a program of action calling for strikes, boycotts and acts of civil disobedience. In 1955 they supported the Freedom Charter, an economic credo many considered to be socialist. But Mandela abandoned peaceful methods after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, in which police killed 69 black protesters. When Tambo left to establish a headquarters in exile, Mandela stayed behind to set up the A.N.C.'s underground military wing, Unkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and launch a campaign of sabotage. After 17 months on the run, he was caught in 1962. He was convicted in June 1964 of attempting to overthrow the government along with seven others in the Rovinia trial. His sentence: life in prison.

Mandela endured years of hard labor on Robben Island, a penal colony across from Cape Town Harbor where he was incarcerated for nearly two decades, before he was moved to the Victor Verster Prison Farm outside Cape Town. For the first 10 of his 27 years in prison, Mandela swung a pickax in a limestone quarry, breaking boulders into gravel. But the harsh punishment only strengthened his resolve, and he directed his anger into a crusade for better prison conditions . . ."

TIME February 5, 1990

MARCH TO FREEDOM

"At 4:15 p.m. local time on Sunday, Feb. 11, 1990, Nelson Mandela walked out of the Victor Verster Prison farm near Cape Town—free at last. . . . As the solemn, unsmiling nationalist leader emerged hand in hand with his wife Winnie, throngs of supporters broke into a thunderous cheer. Then a broad smile lighted his face, and he raised a clenched fist in the sign of victory. Without saying a word, Mandela climbed into a BMW sedan and headed for his first public appearance in more than 27 years, at a massive rally in the heart of Cape Town. Outside city hall, hundreds of thousands of blacks gathered just to catch a glimpse of the leader many had never seen. . . .

A bulky 200-pounder when the prison doors closed behind him, Mandela is now a slim, white-haired statesman of 71. . . . He has been planning a long time for this day, and blacks—and many whites—eagerly await his guiding hand to lead the nation toward a resolution of their racial antagonism. . . . In his home township of Soweto, despite steady rain and long hours of waiting, excited crowds of young people danced and chanted around Mandela's house. Children sang, 'Mandela is coming! Mandela is coming!' "

TIME February 19, 1990

In 1958, Nelson Mandela startled Winnie Mandikzela with a strange proposal: "You know, there is a woman, a dressmaker, you must go and see her. She is going to make your wedding gown. How many bridesmaids would you like to have?" Six years later, in 1964, Mandela's conviction sentenced the couple to a life apart. This photo shows the couple on the day of Mandela's release.

"I feel a sense of achievement," said De Klerk, the Afrikaner who made himself into the country's last white President. "My plan has been put into operation."

Now the victors must govern the country they have won. It is up to Mandela and his comrades to set the course. They must finish the task of dismantling the apartheid structures, reforming bureaucracies and constructing a unified, multiracial South Africa. "We are starting a new era," said Mandela, after casting his vote outside Durban, "of hope, of reconciliation, of nation-building." Their task will not be easy.

Black Expectations. Millions of blacks, mostly poor and illiterate, went to the polls and, with a few strokes on a piece of paper, took control of their own future. It is their fate that matters now. The A.N.C. will be judged primarily on its handling of the national economy, because if that collapses, political and social reforms have little chance of growing. The A.N.C. will succeed only if it can, in the current township phrase, deliver the goods. If Mandela and his colleagues fail to show they are making progress, the long-suffering black majority may turn against them and follow other, more radical leaders who promise more.

Mandela stresses over and over that all the minorities—5 million whites, 3.5 million coloreds and 1 million Asians—have nothing to fear from his government. His long walk to freedom ended in a jubilant, triumphant election week. But his second struggle is just beginning. He now shoulders the mantle of the state, and while he will be praised for the things it achieves, he will be held responsible for everything it does not do for the people who expect the most. ■

INTERVIEW
Nelson Mandela

Three days before his inauguration, Nelson Mandela spoke with TIME editors about the future. Excerpts:

TIME: You say you are satisfied that your party got 63% of the vote, though two-thirds would have enabled you to write a new constitution without support from F.W. de Klerk's party, which came in second with 20%. We've never heard a politician say he was glad he didn't get even more votes. Can you explain?

Mandela: Mr. De Klerk was the first to telephone me to express his concern about the fact that we were on the verge of reaching a [two-thirds] majority. Mr. De Klerk was very much concerned. I didn't want him to be concerned. Therefore to have a two-thirds majority, which would have enabled us to do what we like, would have raised tensions in a situation where there should be normality, where people should be sure they are not just going to be used as rubber stamps. That is why I was relieved.

TIME: How will history judge De Klerk?

Mandela: Mr. De Klerk had the courage to come out openly and say, "Apartheid has failed. The best way is negotiations." We must compliment him for that. But in spite of the fact that he made this commendable contribution, it was a foregone conclusion that his party was going to disappear. After the next five years, I don't think anybody will ever hear of the National Party. But Mr. De Klerk has made a contribution. Without him, we could not have made this progress. It would have been a series of conflicts and turmoil that would have further destroyed our economy. By his cooperation we avoided that catastrophe.

Wrap-Up

1. Why was South Africa's first all-race election a turning point in world history?
2. What events in the TIME Table on page 4 helped pave the way for this historic event?
3. How did the collapse of apartheid change the concept of South African citizenship?
4. This article states that with the 1994 election, South Africa "became whole again." What evidence does the article use to prove this?
5. What compromises ended the Zulu boycott of the election?
6. (a) How did white extremists attempt to disrupt the election? (b) Why didn't they succeed?
7. Why did election officials extend voting?
8. What challenges does the A.N.C. face as it prepares to take over the reins of government?

Think About It

9. In the interview above, TIME asks Nelson Mandela how history will judge De Klerk. Do you agree with his response? Why or why not?
10. (a) What leadership qualities does Mandela possess? (b) Which of these qualities do you think will be most effective in helping Mandela guide South Africa toward democracy?

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mailed January 1, 1997

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